

ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS BY CREATIVE ENTREPRENEURS

Being too busy with the things you already do

How creative entrepreneurs view their role in urban development

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Abstract

In recent years the usefulness of arts- and culture-driven urban regeneration has been recognized. The role of creative entrepreneurs – how they ‘do’ regeneration and how they make decisions about where to locate – is however being underexposed. This research investigates how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development. It focuses on the neighborhood the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam, a gentrifying area in a city in the Netherlands.

Findings suggest that creative entrepreneurs are an integral part of gentrification processes and urban development. However, counterintuitive, due to self-interest they do not perceive themselves as the ones making tangible and direct contributions.

The thesis uses a qualitative approach. Interviews with creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam are the main source of data together with already existing literature on the creative economy, the labor force of the cultural industries, and the use of culture in urban development.

Keywords: *Urban Development, Gentrification, Creative Entrepreneurs, Rotterdam, Creative City*



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Gentrification (A Sonnet)

A game of tag - new money and decay
reclaim for show and art from industry,
abandoned rusted buildings to remake
from peeling paint an opportunity.

Liberating new spaces from the old,
naked pipes and beams now celebrate
life flowing in artistic statements bold,
pushing boundaries, shaping modern tastes.

Brown bag drinkers standing mouths agape
stare at tight-jeaned strollers walking dogs
on streets where boom box youth seek to escape
working girls in spandex blankly jog.

Neighbors worry from stoops in dusty rows
while magazine men sip their cappuccinos.

Richard Sidy (2004)



1. Introduction

In the year 2002 Richard Florida published *The Rise of the Creative Class*. The publication resulted in an extended debate in which creativity was labeled a force in urban development (Scott, 2014). Policymakers, planners and practitioners started to acknowledge culture as a driver for urban economic growth and they started to turn more and more to the arts and culture to stimulate and enliven cities (Markusen, 2004; Mommaas, 2004; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Andres & Gresillon, 2011). One of the ways to enliven a city was by using creative entrepreneurs as a force to stimulate deprived areas (Jacobs, 1969; Duranton & Puga, 2001; Markusen & King, 2003; Gertler, 2004; Glaeser, 2009; Glaeser, Kerr & Ponzetto, 2010; Gennaioli, 2012). At first this went voluntarily. Creative entrepreneurs started to locate in deprived areas because of the vibe and the low rents. However, at one point – when the benefits started to show – creative entrepreneurs were ‘used’ to enliven areas (Lavanga, 2013). The process wherein creative entrepreneurs enliven a deprived neighborhood – also known as gentrification – is by some perceived as beneficial while others view it as an ‘unfortunate desecration’ of urban neighborhoods, because inhabitants of a neighborhood have to relocate due to rising rents (Sheppard, 2012). The relocation of inhabitants in gentrified neighborhoods has been well documented by various scholars (Glass, 1964; Zukin, 1987, 1995; Smith, 2002; Slater, 2009).

What has not been well-documented is how creative entrepreneurs ‘do’ regeneration, what role they play within the local economy and how they make decisions about where to locate (Glaeser, 2009; Lees & Melhuish, 2012; Markusen, 2014). Entrepreneurs are being underexposed:

While it would be hard to imagine a world in which an abundance of entrepreneurs did not strengthen the local economy, the literature documenting this effect is still in its infancy (Glaeser, 2009, p.7).

This research will investigate something that has not been done before: it will investigate – using a qualitative approach – how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development.

The study will contribute to existing research by shedding a different light on the term gentrification. Second the study will critically examine the relationship between creative entrepreneurs and urban development, for modern urban economics has paid little attention to entrepreneurs and their relationship with urban growth



(Markusen, 2006; Glaeser, 2009). Third the study will provide qualitative data on the role of creative entrepreneurs in urban regeneration, because studies that investigate how creative entrepreneurs 'do' regeneration are all quantitative (Lees & Melhuish, 2012). And fourth the study will examine whether culture-led urban development is more about rhetoric or reality (Miles & Paddison, 2005).

The study will use the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam as a case study (see *Figure 1*). The Zomerhofkwartier is a gentrifying area in Rotterdam. Rotterdam is a city in the Netherlands that is gaining more and more interest worldwide (Meeting Rotterdam, 2015). Besides, the municipality of Rotterdam recently changed its focus from trade to a focus on the cultural infrastructure, the creative class, clusters, and creative networks (Lavanga, 2006, 9). By investigating how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development the municipality of Rotterdam can address culture even better.

The neighborhood Zomerhofkwartier is chosen because it is – after a period of vacancy and threats of demolition – changing into a neighborhood with great potential and a lot of energy (Daamen, 2012). The unpredictable and transitional character of the neighborhood attracts creative industries (Peek, 2014). Furthermore, the neighborhood is a perfect tangible example of the new focus of the municipality of Rotterdam.

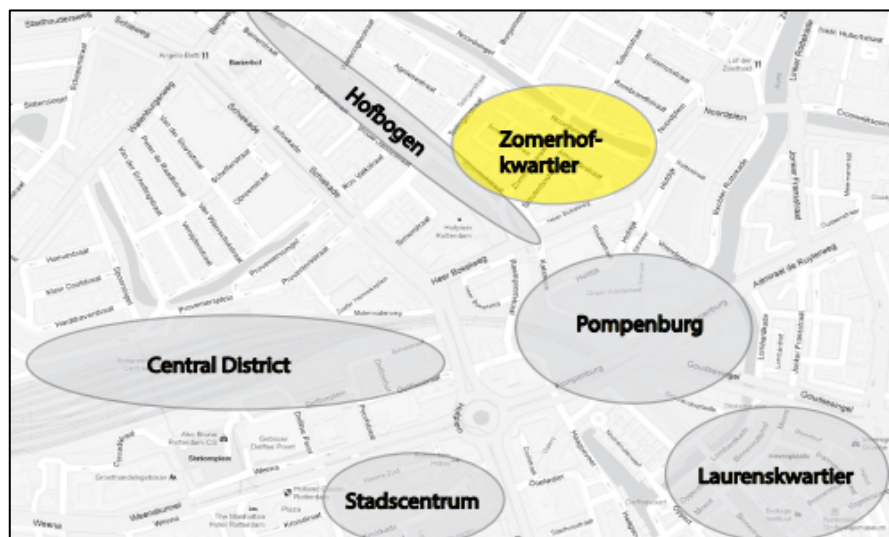


Figure 1; Location of the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam (Daamen et al., 2012, p.16)

The last reason why the Zomerhofkwartier was chosen is because within the Zomerhofkwartier you can find the Gele Gebouw (Dutch for the Yellow Building), a perfect example of a creative hub (see *Figure 2*). The Gele Gebouw tries – as a creative hub – to regenerate the area.

How creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam view their part in gentrification processes/urban development will be the focus of this thesis.



Figure 2; The Gele Gebouw in the Zomerhofkwartier, Rotterdam (Both, 2015).



1.1 Research question

The following research question was – baring in mind the existing literature – formulated:

How do creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development?

Sub-questions were formulated to answer the main research question. A division was made between theoretical and empirical sub-questions. The latter are explicitly focused on the area the Zomerhofkwartier while the theoretical sub-questions cover a larger area and have a higher generalizability. The following theoretical sub questions were formulated:

Creative entrepreneurs

1. How do creative entrepreneurs decide where to locate their business?
2. How do creative entrepreneurs create a sense of place that encourages additional investment?
3. How do creative entrepreneurs activate city life?

Gentrification

4. Under which circumstances does gentrification take place (are there possibilities to prevent it)?
5. Is gentrification a necessary step in urban revitalization?

In addition the following empirical sub-questions were formed:

1. What are the motivations of the creative entrepreneurs located in the gentrifying area the Zomerhofkwartier to be located there?
2. How do the creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier view their contribution in the neighborhood and/or revitalization/gentrification processes?



1.2 Definitions of terms

In this thesis the following definitions of the terms creative entrepreneur and gentrification will be used:

A **creative entrepreneur** is a leading visionair with a focus on creating something new and durable – using a creative input, the element of combination, innovation, and risk – in which moneymaking is not the primary focus. The term creative entrepreneur in this thesis refers to cultural entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs, and the creative class to cover every aspect concerning creativity and entrepreneurship (why social entrepreneurs and cultural entrepreneurs are connected will be explained in 2.2.3).

Gentrification concerns the process wherein creative entrepreneurs colonize underused and neglected urban neighborhoods (Gertler, 2004). This process makes the neighborhood desirable again and increases the demand for the area.



1.3 Structure of the thesis

In order to answer the main research question qualitative research was conducted. In-depth interviews with twelve creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam were conducted in March and April 2016.

The second chapter of this thesis will review existing literature on the knowledge economy, the labor force of the cultural industries, and the use of culture in urban development. It will show why culture has become a topic of interest and why it is used as a force to enliven cities. Chapter three will present the case. It will address the setting of the thesis by describing Rotterdam, the Zomerhofkwartier, and the Gele Gebouw.

Chapter four presents the methodology. It will address the general approach, the aims and research question, the units of analysis, the methods of data collection, the methods of data analysis, and the limitations of the used methodology.

The fifth chapter will introduce the findings, and the sixth and final chapter concludes the research. The final chapter will interpret the findings in relation to the theory. Furthermore the chapter answers the sub-questions and main research question; it addresses the limitations and implications of the study; and it mentions recommendations for further research.



2. Theoretical framework

This theoretical framework – which reviews existing literature – begins with an explanation about how the knowledge economy changed the economy and the demand for creativity. After the explanation, elements of the knowledge economy – the creative city, creative clusters, hubs, and cultural industries – are investigated. Second the labor force of the cultural industries will be discussed and the use of culture in urban development will be investigated. The literature review ends with a recapitulation of the theoretical part in which the most important points will be highlighted.



2.1 The new economy

“It is the first kind of economy where imagination and ingenuity decide what people want to do and make. And what they want to buy” (John Howkins, 2016).

Reviewing literature on the new economy and elements of the new economy helps establishing the context of this thesis. It shows why culture has become a topic of interest and why it is used as a force to enliven cities. The creative city, clusters, hubs and cultural industries are important to investigate because the insights gained are useful when identifying and researching the units of analysis and the sample.

2.1.1 The knowledge-based paradigm and the demand for creativity

These days we live in a society that is focused on knowledge, innovation and creativity. The focus is the result of the shift from a traditional economic paradigm to a knowledge-based paradigm, also known as the creative economy (Nakamura, 2000; Scott, 2000; Baeker, 2008). While neither creativity nor economics are new concepts, the relationship between them and how they together create value and wealth is (Howkins, 2002).

The term ‘creative economy’ was formulated and introduced by Foray and Lundval in 1994 (Council, 2000). They argued that knowledge and creativity are necessary in the functioning of any society: they are an engine for growth, competitiveness, jobs, and they improve the quality of life and environment of the residents (Council, 2000). The creative economy arose because of the emergence of new technology and globalization in the 1990’s, which made production more efficient. Self-expression and the demand for cultural and symbolic products started to prevail instead of the mass production of goods, perfect competition, homogeneous products, and price competition. New creative and innovative jobs were created and creativity became a stimulator of economic development (Nakamura, 2000). The creative economy changed the structure of the global economy from production-based to knowledge-based (Baeker, 2008). According to Howkins (2002) it changed how we work and where we work; it disrupted relationships within companies; it drove start-ups, education, and employment; and it re-shaped our cities.

Creativity stimulates the economy in at least two ways. It stimulates the economy as a pervasive force and it drives economies through certain industries and economic activity (Baeker, 2008, p.24). The first way concerns the idea that all organizations should think creatively. Thinking creatively will result in an added value and in unique and original products or services. The second way focuses on the cultural



and creative industries wherein creativity is seen as an engine of prosperity (the industries will be explained later in the literature review) (Baeker, 2008).

It is important for this research to keep in mind why and how the demand for creativity changed and how it drives the economy, because it explains the context in which creativity is used as a force to enliven cities. In brief, the term highlights the need to manage knowledge and its resources. The knowledge-based paradigm is a paradigm that not just stores and analyses information, but creatively transforms information into something new and valuable (Scott, 2000; Howkins, 2002; Florida, 2002; Bilton, 2007). The next part of the literature review will focus on how the creative economy and cities are connected and how the creative economy influences regeneration processes.

2.1.2 The creative city

Cities are ideal locations for knowledge-based activities. They have a productivity advantage that is underpinned by the benefits of sharing, matching and learning (Levy, 2011). Since the mid 1990s the creative city concept has become a new model of orientation for urban planning (Reckwitz, 2009, p.4). Before 1990 research that investigated the city and creativity could be attributed to a small number of scholars. The year 2002 marks a turning point. In this year Richard Florida published *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Reckwitz, 2009). According to Scott (2014) the publication resulted in an extended debate in which creativity was labeled a force in urban development. Florida (2002) argues in the book that regions with a high concentration of the so-called creative class have a higher level of economic development than cities that lack or have a lower concentration of the creative class. This creative class will be discussed later on in the literature review.

Besides Florida, the creative city concept can be attributed to the urban theorist Landry (2002). Landry developed the concept of a creative city in the late 1980s. The concept was a call to action. The call to action concerned the fact that over half of the world lived in cities (75 percent in Europe), but most people lived in cities because of need and not desire. Because citizens are a crucial source of the success of a city a sense of belonging had to be created to stimulate the citizens and make cities desirable places to live (Landry, 2002, p.xii). By stimulating the imagination of citizens, the database of possibilities and solutions to urban problems is broadened. This broadened database gives cities the possibility to respond flexible to chances (Landry, 2002). A city should therefore embed a culture of creativity in all its operations and focus on creative values (which are permissive and risk embracing) instead of utilitarian values (which are predictable and consistent) (Landry, 2002; Baeker, 2008).



But what are creative cities for? Why are they so interesting? First, the development of creative cities should according to Gertler (2004) be supported because they play an important role in the development of our national economy. Second, creative cities should be nurtured because they enhance the quality of life (Verwijnen, 1999).

The concept of a creative city is increasingly becoming important. But is the concept actually more than a rhetorical device (Chatterton, 2007)? According to Chatterton the concept of a creative city overlooks the inequalities that characterize city life and it does not consider poor communities. Critics argue that the term creativity is ambiguous, overused, poorly defined and not new, and that the creative city has become a catch-all phrase that is losing its meaning (Comunian 2010; Pratt, 2008). The term is however worth mentioning because it remains popular and has provided us certain insights about urban growth and creativity.

2.1.3 Creative clusters and hubs

Within the creative city we can identify clusters and hubs. Clusters are increasingly used as a source for urban cultural development (Porter, 1990; Markusen, 1996; Mommaas, 2004; Maskell and Lorenzen, 2004; Pratt, 2004; LDA, 2005; Simmie, 2006; Bagwell, 2008; Evans, 2009; Lorenzo and Frederikson, 2008; De Propriis, 2008; Spencer et al, 2010; Potts and Keane, 2011; Selada, 2011). Hubs are a more recent phenomenon (LDA, 2003; Da Cunha, 2009; Verschoor, 2009; Virani, 2015). They are an example of new urban strategies and policies that had to be developed because cities became more dynamic, complex, diverse, and open (Da Cunha, 2009). They function as a conductor for urban development processes (Verschoor, 2009).

While literature on creative hubs is limited, there are many studies on creative clusters (Virani, 2015). In this part of the literature review creative clusters and creative hubs will be defined; why they arise will be explained; and, subsequently, the difference between the concepts will be exposed.

There are many definitions of clusters. Michael Porter (1990) introduced the term. According to Porter a cluster is a geographical concentration of interconnected companies that has a key position in a certain branch because of its resources, competences and network. Definitions that follow all seem to agree that a cultural cluster is a geographical location with a mixture of different cultural functions, companies and activities that together create benefits for the economy and society by stimulating new businesses, through driving innovation, and by increasing their own



productivity in the cluster (Mommaas, 2004; Bathelt, 2004; Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2008; Potts & Keane, 2011; Selada, 2011).

The term hub was originally coined by Campbell (1994), O’Kelly and Miller (1994), and Skorin-Kapov and Skorin-Kapov (1994). They defined the term hub as “special nodes that are part of a network, located in such a way as to facilitate connectivity between interacting places” (Virani, 2015, p.5). These special nodes can arise organically and gradually or due to urban planning (Straaten & Maverick, 2008). In 2003 the term hub was connected to the creative economy. This was done in a policy document commissioned by the London Development Agency (LDA, 2003). According to this document a hub occupies – most of the times – one space, but has activities that reach far through networks (LDA, 2003, p.034). These networks are important to the health of the local creative economy (Virani, 2015). Later studies suggest that hubs are places or spaces where creative entrepreneurs from different creative disciplines work, live, and interact (LDA, 2003; Verschoor, 2009). They are closely connected with their local context, but have a broad scope that reaches other institutions and networks. This allows the exchange of knowledge; the creation of new ideas, products and services; and the opportunity for growth, development, and sustainability (LDA, 2003; Baeker, 2008; Verschoor, 2009; Virani, 2015).

But why do hubs and clusters arise? Industries cluster because they gain from clustering due to external economies (Potts & Keane, 2011). External economies concern the phenomenon of the rise of a firm’s production along with assets outside its scope (Stanley, 2010). For example, when firms cluster there are greater and more diverse opportunities for specialized work. This specialized work attracts skilled workers and lowers the cost of searching for employees (Potts & Keane, 2011). Furthermore, the clustering of firms attracts other organizations and specialist services, which makes it possible for companies to concentrate on their core capabilities. And last, consumers of the cluster have low search cost and a wide range of choice (Potts & Keane, 2011).

Hubs and clusters are controlled and influenced by a top-down or bottom-up approach. These approaches influence the development, organizational and operational features. They show whether private or public actors, money or interests are driving the development. A bottom-up approach is controlled by private actors and led by market initiatives, while a top-down approach is most of the times controlled by public actors like policy schemes, government bodies and public agencies. Nonetheless there is overlap between the two approaches (Eisebith, 2005).



Hubs and clusters have many overlapping elements. Most literature does therefore not distinguish between clusters and hubs. There is however a notable difference that is interesting for this research. Virani is one of the first scholars who pins down the difference between clusters and hubs. According to Virani (2015) creative hubs are other ‘types of industrial agglomeration’ that are closely connected with clusters (they can even be nested within them). The main difference is that hubs provide services essential for the existence and sustainability of the local creative ecology. Although clusters create benefits for the economy and society they do not necessarily provide services for society. While clusters most of the times are characterized by their informal way of working and spatial organization, hubs are understood due to what they provide and how they provide it (Virani, 2015).

2.1.4 Cultural industries

“At the heart of the creative economy are the cultural and creative industries that lie at the crossroads of arts, culture, business and technology” (British Council, 2008).

Hubs and clusters often consist of cultural industries. But what are cultural industries and what has been investigated concerning cultural industries?

Definitions

The cultural industries have become an important topic in the academic field as well as in policy in the past twenty years (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). The term Cultural Industry was – in singular – introduced by Adorno and Horkheimer in 1944. The term referred to the commercialization and industrialization of the arts. With the term they wanted to separate ‘low’ culture from ‘high’ culture. It classified film, publishing, and recorded music as ‘low’ culture, while ‘high’ culture embodied the visual and performing arts, museums and galleries (Towse, 2003).

Since Adorno and Horkheimer there have been many scholars who defined the cultural and creative industries. Few make a distinction between the cultural industries and creative industries (Cunningham, 2001; UNESCO, 2006; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007); the majority uses the terms interchangeably (O’Connor, 2000; DCMS, 2001; Pratt, 2005). In this thesis we will – following the majority – not distinguish between the cultural and creative industries.

The best-known usage of the term comes from the UK’s Department of Culture Media and Sport. The UK’s Department of Culture Media and Sport began developing creative industries strategies in 1997 (DCMS, 2001). They defined the creative industries as those requiring “creativity and talent, with potential for wealth and job



creation through exploitation of their intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001). Definitions that were established later, lead – according to Throsby (2008) – “to much the same collection of industries making up the creative sector” (p.2). But to which industries do we then refer when we talk about cultural and creative industries? Most of the times when policymakers speak of the cultural and creative industries they refer to the creative arts, all the audio-visual media, cultural heritage, publishing, design, fashion and architecture (Throsby, 2008, p.2). Furthermore, most definitions of the cultural and creative industries are based around a combination of five criteria: creativity; intellectual property; symbolic meaning; use value; and methods of production (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007, p.19).

Characteristics of cultural industries

But what then makes the cultural industries different from other industries in the economy? According to Throsby (2008, p.3) we can identify four aspects that make the cultural industries different from other industries: the output; the industry structure; the behavior of the firms; and its employment.

The output of cultural industries is a lot more complex than some other industries in the economy (Throsby, 2008). Cultural industries produce private and public goods. Works of literature for example are public goods, while a purchased artwork is a private good. But cultural goods can also be considered mixed goods. As a mixed good they exhibit – at the same time – private-good and public-good characteristics. Examples of mixed cultural goods are the civilizing functions of the arts and the contribution of culture to an identity (Throsby, 2008).

Besides the output cultural industries also have an unusual industry structure. The first remarkable point is that the cultural labor force is more than twice as likely to be self-employed than the whole economy average (Bellini et al, 2011). Second, the cultural sector contains a significant number of not-for-profit enterprises and commercial firms; and third, the sector is characterized by a public sector as well as private operations. Furthermore we can – according to Throsby (2008) – group the cultural sector into four business undertakings:

- Small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs). SMEs range from individual artists, to bands, to artists’ cooperatives, to providers of creative services etcetera. [They are the predominant type of firm in the cultural sector: 80 percent of the enterprises in the cultural sector consist of SMEs.]



- Not-for-profit organizations (NPOs). NPOs concern performing arts companies, industry organizations and unions;
- Public cultural institutions. These institutions – such as museums, art galleries and heritage sites – are publicly owned or publicly financed.
- Large commercial corporations. Large commercial corporations arise when the size level for an SME is exceeded. These corporations are found in media, publishing, and etcetera (p.5).

The third characteristic concerns the behavior of firms. Firms in cultural industries often pursue objectives that are not simply economic: “firm utility can be represented as a weighted sum of the output of economic and cultural value, to be maximized subject to resource constraints” (Throsby, 2008, p.6). The last characteristic concerns employment: in most cultural production areas a distinction between creative and non-creative occupations can be easily made (Throsby, 2008).



2.2 Labor force of the cultural industries

Persons that work in or establish cultural industries can be called cultural entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs and/or the creative class. According to Glaeser (2009) there has been little research on entrepreneurs. He states that

Urban economists have not been alone in paying little attention to entrepreneurs. This is a common feature of economic research after World War II. The general equilibrium models that came to dominate economics had little room for the idiosyncrasies of the individuals who started firms. (p. 1).

In this part I will first investigate literature on entrepreneurs; second on cultural entrepreneurs; third I will investigate social entrepreneurs and explain why I include them in my research; fourth I will focus on the creative class; and I will conclude with the location choices of these persons. Researching the labor force of the cultural industries contributes to the understanding of the units of analysis of this thesis.

2.2.1 Entrepreneurship

What defines an entrepreneur? The word entrepreneur comes from the French word *entreprendre*. *Entreprendre* means 'to do something'. The word goes back to the thirteenth century and was applied to a business venture in the year 1550 (Aageson, 2008, p.96). Although most scholars argue in line with the origin of the word (Sahlman & Stevenson, 1985; Thompson, 2000; Nijkamp, 2001; Glaeser, 2009; Bryon, 2015), no unambiguous definition was established due to the multidimensional nature of entrepreneurship (Nijkamp, 2001; Hausmann, 2010). Entrepreneurship can be approached from different perspectives. Glaeser (2009) for example defines an entrepreneur as someone who undertakes a business for the sake of profit, taking into account risk; Bryson (2015) explains entrepreneurship as a process about the creation and growth of new firms, about identifying opportunities, and developing products and services; and Nijkamp (2001) identifies an entrepreneur as a network operator and manager.

But what exactly makes an entrepreneur? According to Glaeser (2009) entrepreneurs have several distinct economic aspects: self-employment, small firms, ownership, entry, and innovation. He clarifies that it would be a mistake to assume that an entrepreneur possesses all of these aspects. In the for-profit sector there is – for example – often a separation between ownership and control when shares are being sold to an outsider. In the non-profit sector entrepreneurs often outsource their



ownership to an external board. And, an entrepreneur can sometimes be self-employed and also work for someone else (Glaeser, 2009).

Bryson (2015) emphasizes that entrepreneurship is about engaging in work for personal profit and that it is about identifying opportunities. Besides, Bryson states that the owner of a business plays different roles: he is a financier, orchestrator, innovator, a creator of jobs, and a stimulus for the local and regional environment.

Thompson (2000) and Nijkamp (2001) claim that an entrepreneur is a leader who operationalizes its skills driven by a locus of control, a will to create something new that will grow and endure, a vision, the thrill of risk, and by a need for achievement.

Adding my own perspective to the already existing definitions I argue that entrepreneurs are leading visionaries with a focus on creating something new, durable and innovative for personal profit driven by a vision and need for achievement. But in what way do cultural entrepreneurs differ from 'normal' entrepreneurs?

2.2.2 Cultural entrepreneurship

"Let's understand that creative entrepreneurs are not something new. They were always there. It's only in the context of the creative economy that we've come to understand that they are elemental" (Aageson, 2008, p.93).

Cultural entrepreneurship lies at the intersection of art, entrepreneurship and the economy (Swedberg, 2006). How can we make this intersection more concrete and who already tried to define the term cultural entrepreneurship?

One of the best-known theories concerning entrepreneurship and one of the first theories that suggests a link between art and entrepreneurship is the theory of Schumpeter (1911). Schumpeter views entrepreneurs as innovators and painters who pursue the act of combining things. However, the link between art and entrepreneurship was in Schumpeter's theory still vague. Swedberg (2006) tries to clarify the link. He posits that a cultural entrepreneur is an economic entrepreneur who works in the creative industries. The entrepreneur can

Be conceptualized as someone who makes combinations, where art is one of the elements in the entrepreneurial combination. Or the artist who is interested in economic success may be conceptualized as someone who tries to link up his or her work with other elements in some combination that works (Swedberg, 2006, p.249).

For Swedberg and Schumpeter cultural entrepreneurship is about the element of combining things in a novel manner.

But Swedberg and Schumpeter are not the only scholars who investigated cultural entrepreneurship. According to Aageson (2008) cultural entrepreneurs lay the foundation for the cultural economy. They are agents who provide a bridge between creative talent and the market, a bridge that is able to alter the economic path of an entire community. To create such a bridge you have to be a handyman: you have to be a risk taker, leader, innovator, organizer, visionair, networker, decision maker, and coordinator of economic resources (Ellmeier, 2003; Aageson, 2008; Philips, 2011). It is important to be multi-skilled, because creative entrepreneurs have long working hours and face fierce competition from bigger companies (Ellmeier, 2003).

In brief, a cultural entrepreneur is an entrepreneurial innovator working in the cultural sector. But what exactly makes them – besides that they operate in the cultural sector – different from ‘normal’ entrepreneurs? According to Philips (2011) – who argues in accordance with Caves (2000) – cultural entrepreneurs are different because the demand for their output is uncertain. The reaction of the public is unknown and there is a lack of information. Furthermore, creative entrepreneurs care about their product in a different way than workers in other industries do. They make ‘art for art’s sake’. They are not only interested in making money or selling, but they are also interested in its technical and artistic achievements and how people respond to it (Philips, 2011).

It is clear from the ‘art for art’s sake’ idea that the behavior of cultural entrepreneurs is very different from entrepreneurs in other areas. Deciding to be a creative entrepreneur is an irrational decision: “economic theory would suggest that deciding to be an art entrepreneur when you could earn more working at Wal-Mart would be an irrational decision since it involves accepting a lower income” (Philips, 2011, p.20).

There is no universally accepted definition of cultural entrepreneurship. However it seems that certain elements are present in every definition. The element of combination for example; the element of innovation; the element that moneymaking is not the primary focus; the element that they operate in the cultural sector or with a creative input; and the element of risk taking. To me risk taking is one of the most important characteristics of a cultural entrepreneur, because the cultural sector deals with an oversupply of creative entrepreneurs matched by a downward trend in demand (Hausmann, 2010, p.21). If cultural entrepreneurs do not possess these elements it is doubtful whether they can be referred to as cultural entrepreneur.

2.2.3 Social entrepreneurship

The term social entrepreneurship is used extensively, however its meaning is not widely understood. Discussions about who can be defined as a social entrepreneur have thus far not ended in a consensus. This is due to the many research fields that are associated with social entrepreneurship (Thompson, 2002; Peredo, 2006; Martin, 2007).

Although the term social entrepreneurship is not a new idea, the term has become more popular after the publication of *The Rise of the Social Entrepreneur* by Leadbeater (1997). Leadbeater states that the UK welfare system is in need of radical reforms. The world for which the system was designed does no longer exist and the system is unable to respond effectively. A solution to this problem is the social entrepreneur. Leadbeater posits that social entrepreneurs will be an important source of innovation because: they are able to identify favored areas and satisfy unmet social needs; they are driven, ambitious leaders who can create something with virtually no resources; they create flat and flexible organizations; are innovative when it comes to combining approaches; and they aim to establish long-term relationships with their consumers (Leadbeater, 1997, p.3).

In line with Leadbeater, Thompson (2000) argues that social entrepreneurs are ambitious and driven leaders who were able to clarify and communicate their mission. He states that we need social entrepreneurs because they are able to satisfy unmet needs the welfare state will or cannot meet (Thompson, 2000). Following the reasoning of Leadbeater Thompson (2000) identifies several characteristics of a social entrepreneur. He posits that social entrepreneurs are people who

- Identify a needs gap and a related opportunity – which they understand;
- Inject imagination and vision into their answer;
- Recruit and motivate others to the cause in question and build essential networks;
- Secure the resources that are needed;
- Overcome obstacles and challenges and handle the inherent risks;
- Introduce proper systems for controlling the venture (p.415).

Peredo and McLean (2006) – who make a critical review of the concept – argue that a social entrepreneur is simply an entrepreneur with social goals. The characteristics they describe are in line with the characteristics of Thompson. However they add that a social entrepreneur aims at creating value, that he/she is willing to accept an above-average degree of risk, and that they are unusually resourceful (Peredo, 2006, p.64).

Concluding we can state that social entrepreneurship is a multidimensional construct. The social entrepreneur is able to balance the interests of multiple stakeholders, he/she is risk taking, is able to identify a needs gap, knows how to fill this gap, and is always aimed at a social goal. In brief, Thompson and Leadbeater argue that cultural entrepreneurs “listen to the voice of the community and respond in meaningful ways” (Thompson, 2002, 416).

But what then is the link between cultural entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs? Although cultural entrepreneurs realize cultural values and social entrepreneurs try to realize social values, the two seem to be closely linked. In the first place, both social entrepreneurs and cultural entrepreneurs do not have moneymaking as the primary purpose. They both use the market, but it is a mere instrument and not much more (Klamer, 2011). Second, they are both risk-taking. Third, the entrepreneurial styles seem to be intertwined: a cultural entrepreneur for example maintains an extensive network to interest people in his work/art. A cultural entrepreneur thus has to have social characteristics if he/she wants to sell a painting to anyone; wants to fill a theatre; wants to get people involved with the arts (Klamer, 2011). Additionally, a social entrepreneur often has to use his/her creativity when realizing his/her values. Klamer (2011) furthermore argues that within the social sphere cultural and social values are being realized. Social entrepreneurship and cultural entrepreneurship are intertwined and they come together in the creative class.

2.2.4 The creative class

The creative class is an economic class identified by Richard Florida, an American economist. The creative class came into existence due to changes in the lifestyle of people, which could be attributed to the shift in the economy that changed from production-based to knowledge-based. According to Florida (2002) the creative class – highly educated and productive people – powers regional economic growth. These statements rest on theories of Jacobs (1969) who argued educated people accumulate knowledge in dense urban areas by face-to-face contact. Florida describes the creative class as those who “engage in work whose function is to create meaningful new forms” (Florida, 2005, p.34). Within the creative class Florida identifies the super-creative core and creative professionals. The super-creative core consists of engineers, university professors, scientists, poets, novelists, artists, actors, designers, entertainers, architects, writers, editors, urban planners, and analysts. These people create new forms. The creative professionals engage in creative problem solving and work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries. The creative class thus consists of cultural and

social entrepreneurs. Creativity is however fundamental. The members of the creative class are attracted by the 3T's of economic growth: Technology (high-tech workers), Talent (university-degree) and Tolerance (bohemians; gay men, women and all the other varieties; and foreign born). But why then is the creative class able to power regional economic growth? According to Marlet and van Woerkens (2007) educated and skilled people are more productive because they can easily generate and absorb knowledge. This productiveness and knowledge are argued to be the main drivers of regional economic growth.

Florida's work has been intensively criticized, mainly because it does not fully succeed in proving the causality between the creative class and regional economic growth (Markusen, 2006; Pratt, 2008). The concept is however worth mentioning because it remains popular and has provided us certain insights about urban growth and people. In this thesis elements from cultural entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs and the creative class are combined; calling them creative entrepreneurs. The three styles are combined because they overlap, and to cover every aspect concerning creativity and entrepreneurs.

2.2.5 Location choice

This part focuses on the location choices of creative entrepreneurs. The location factors that influence the location decisions of creative individuals are complex and studies investigating the factors for attracting creative individuals are limited (Markusen, 2014). Generally speaking, low costs of living are attractive to many people as well as a high level of leisure amenities. There are however many more factors that play a role. It is important to research location choice, because it plays a vital role in creative processes and individual aesthetic creativity (Florida, 2002; Drake, 2003; Murphy and Redmond, 2009; Musterd and Murie, 2011; Serra, 2013).

There have been various attempts in establishing the location choices of creative entrepreneurs. Some analyses assume that workers follow jobs (Greenwood & Hunt, 1984; Kleiner, 1977; Saxenian, 1994). Some assume that location choice and job are independent, but that factors such as amenities, culture, and diversity are of influence (Florida, 2002; Greenwood & Hunt, 1989; Mueser & Graves, 1995). And others assume that location choices are based upon pull and push factors, wherein the push factors concern poor working conditions, low wages, and unemployment in the region (Herzog & Schlottmann, 1984).

Dahl and Sorenson (2011) argue that entrepreneurs have a preference for regions in which they have deep roots. Contradicting with Dahl and Sorenson, Markusen



(2014) argues that creative entrepreneurs – compared to other occupations – are more likely to cross state lines because they are self-employed and thus relatively footloose. Furthermore she states that creative entrepreneurs are drawn to big cities because they respond to the presence of certain industries: advertising, media, major visual and performing arts institutions, educational options, etcetera. In an earlier study Markusen (2006) investigates the location choices of members in Florida's creative class. In this study she states that creative people prefer affordable and adequate spaces for creative production.

Besides Markusen, Dahl and Sorenson Florida (2002) investigate what draws people to a certain place. He argues that the quality of a place is the key factor. This quality of place cuts across three dimensions:

- What's there: the combination of the built environment and the natural environment; a stimulating, appealing setting for the pursuit of creative lives.
- Who's there: diverse kinds of people, interacting and providing cues that anyone can make a life in that community
- What's going on: the vibrancy of the street life, café culture, arts, and music, and people engaging in outdoor activities – altogether a lot of active, exciting, creative endeavors (Florida, 2002, 232).

Furthermore, regional science – a field of the social sciences – has developed a clear theory concerning location choice: location theory. Location theory investigates how firms (among which arts and cultural organizations) choose to locate, assuming that they profit maximize and balance supply factors with demand factors (Isard, 1956; Beyers, 1989; Markusen, 2014). Concerning commercial arts organizations – such as art fairs, music clubs – we might expect a location choice that is focused on concentrations of consumers (Markusen, 2014). Furthermore it is expected that arts organizations prefer central city locations because of a 'buzz', cheap rents or purchase prices, the safety of the neighborhood, and because of the availability of transit and parking for their employees (Florida, 2002; Storper & Venables, 2004; Markusen. 2014). A lot of arts non-profit organizations will also be sensitive to how their location choice influences their demand (Markusen, 2014).

Concluding we can say that location factors of creative entrepreneurs are complex and need more research. The contrasting view of Dahl and Sorenson and Markusen does not really help in establishing a clear picture of location decisions. However it seems that creative individuals search for an open, tolerant and affordable

environment. The location choice will however also be responsive to the specific output of the business (Markusen, 2014).

In the next chapter we focus on the use of culture in urban development and how entrepreneurs can play a role in urban development, because – according to Glaeser (2009) – entrepreneurs play an important role in making cities economically dynamic.



2.3 Use of culture in urban development

In recent years the usefulness of arts- and culture-driven urban regeneration has been recognized. Policymakers, planners and practitioners are turning more and more to the arts and culture to stimulate and enliven cities (Markusen, 2004; Mommaas, 2004; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Andres & Gresillon, 2011). Culture can “help reclaim and revitalize neighborhoods, stimulate and enable more innovative community problem-solving and provide opportunities for economically disadvantaged neighborhoods and social groups” (Gertler, 2006, p.6). It concerns improving people’s living conditions, growing the local economy and widening opportunities (Lees, 2015). It is important to regenerate deprived neighborhoods, because living in a deprived neighborhood affects the chances of individuals living in the neighborhood over their personal circumstances and characteristics (Lees, 2007). Using culture to enliven cities furthermore creates a sense of belonging, trust and civic engagement, which again brings benefits like improvements in education, health, and reductions of crime and anti-social behavior (Beedham and Wade, 2005).

But what is so special about culture? Why culture? Culture has a special character: it stimulates the imagination of possible futures of people; it engages people; it creates dialogue; and it offers self-expression (Landry, 1996). Although cultural regeneration is most of the times not an alternative to other regeneration initiatives, they “are a vital component which, like yeast in dough, can transform a given situation” (Landry, 1996, p.12).

But what then makes a city successful and how can culture be used as a tool for urban development? In the following sections I will describe what makes a city successful and some ways in which culture could be used as a tool for urban development.

2.3.1 City success factors

Key factors for the success of a city are often not analyzed (Landry, 1996). There are few studies that try to pin down what makes a city successful. Ascherson (1996) argues that a city needs an ‘imagined community’ as defined by Benedict Anderson. It needs the conviction “other inhabitants in distant streets, whom one will never meet or see, share elements of a common culture and react to events as one would react oneself” (Ascherson, 1996). According to Ascherson a community thus makes a city. What other views are there?

Jacobs (1961) argues that the physical layout and administrative divisions of a city determine a city’s success: small blocks, population density and mixed-use buildings



are characteristics that will foster cities. The diversity of the environment is very important. She furthermore argues that there has to be a clear divide between what is public space and what private; there should be eyes upon the street to insure safety; and there should be users on the street to increase the activity and entertainment on the street (Jacobs, 1961, p.35)

A study by Landry (1996) argues that it is important to have leadership (a driving force to bring about change); to create an identity (identity creates a distinguishing character which strengthens a place or situation); to utilize local strengths (each place has its potential it only needs to be addressed); turn weaknesses into strengths; to go beyond corporate style; to involve people in renewal; to broaden the scope of planning (planners are often limited by professional constructs and political constraints); and that it is important to create a balance between buildings and activities (Landry, 1996).

Florida (2002) on the other hand posits that cities should focus on creativity and attracting creative people: human capital is the key factor for regional economic development and the regeneration of cities. So how then do these factors and recommendations work in practice?

2.3.2 Clusters, hubs and cultural industries as a source of urban development

Clusters and hubs are increasingly used as a source for urban cultural development (Mommaas, 2004; Hesmondhalgh, 2008). Clusters and cultural industries contribute to the livability in a neighborhood by empowering employment, economic growth and by contributing to the quality of places (Bianchini *et al.*, 1988; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Scott, 2006; Markusen, 2006; Lavanga, 2013). How then do these cultural industries empower employment and economic growth?

Clusters strengthen the identity of a place, attract attention and promote a place (Mommaas, 2004). By attracting attention, economic activities are attracted as well. Furthermore, clusters and cultural industries consist of a concentration of creative workers. Rushton (2006) argues that it is predicted that a concentration of creative entrepreneurs has a positive impact on the productivity of knowledge workers. This positive impact consists of positive externalities from creative workers to other workers, also known as knowledge spillovers. Knowledge spillovers stimulate new ideas, which again increases the productivity and income of the workers: “technological and economic creativity are nurtured by and interact with artistic and cultural creativity” (Florida, 2002, p. 5). In the following paragraph we will elaborate on how creative entrepreneurs stimulate urban development.



2.3.3 Creative entrepreneurs as stimulators of dynamic cities

“Perhaps the single most important idea that comes out of the focus on entrepreneurship in cities is the claim that entrepreneurs play a critical role in making cities economically dynamic” (Glaeser, 2009, p.6).

The claim that entrepreneurs make cities economically dynamic was already made in the year 1776. In this year, Smith (1776) argues no country could ever exist without manufacturers. In line with Smith, Jacobs (1969) argues new businesses make cities grow. She adores small firms, which according to her foster – by face-to-face contact – innovation and density. Although it is hard to establish a causal connection between entrepreneurship and local success (Glaeser, 2009), there are quite a few urban economists who have embraced the connection between entrepreneurship and urban success.

Duranton and Puga (2001), Markusen and King (2003), and Gertler (2004) claim that entrepreneurs play a key role as agents of transformation. Entrepreneurs foster innovation, raise the overall productivity and stimulate the regional economy by exporting their work, by using their creativity, by purchasing specialized inputs from local suppliers, by helping recruit talent, and by enhancing the entrepreneurial culture of the region’s economy. Glaeser (1992) and Glaeser, Kerr and Ponzetto (2010) argue that there is a strong correlation between small businesses in a city and employment growth. Wennekers and Thurik (1999) argue that entrepreneurs lead markets to equilibrium; that they’re innovators in economic life; and that they’re alert for profit opportunities. Miracky (1992), Rosenthal & Strange (2003, 2009), Delgado, Porter & Stern (2010), Porter & Stern (2010), Glaeser & Kerr (2009) and Gennaioli et al. (2012) provide similar research.

In brief, it is argued that entrepreneurs contribute to the growth and dynamics of a city by fostering innovation and by raising the productivity in dense urban areas. Because entrepreneurs operate in dense urban areas, and because they accumulate knowledge by face-to-face contact (Jacobs, 1969), it is to be expected that creative entrepreneurs have a strong connection with the neighborhood they are developing. This expectation is supported by a study of Sleutjes (2011) who argues entrepreneurs are dependent on their neighborhood for the survival of their business.

A less positive side to the benefits that entrepreneurs create for the regional economy is the idea that they are used or abused to trigger regeneration. Lavanga (2013) argues that there is no straightforward answer to the question if artists are used or abused in regeneration processes. She does however claim that urban cultural



development is a complex process in which the economic, as well as the social, environmental and cultural dimension should be enhanced.

2.3.4 Perspectives on gentrification

So how does such a process in which culture is used for regeneration look like? A process that is well recognized by scholars and urban analysts is gentrification. Gentrification concerns the process in which creative entrepreneurs colonize underused and neglected urban neighborhoods (Gertler, 2004). Gertler states the story is by now well known: a once thriving neighborhood declines and becomes obsolete or uncompetitive. After a while creative entrepreneurs start to move into the unused buildings because of the low rent, the mixed neighborhood, the edginess of the neighborhood, the location, and because the building accommodates their functional requirements for space and light. In the next phase the neighborhood starts to attract others who are drawn to the vibrant culture and street life. Or as Landry (2002) poses it: “Only when the grottness has been tamed and made safe by the artist will this second group arrive” (p.125). Subsequently land values and rents rise: the neighborhood becomes desirable. This means that certain inhabitants of the neighborhood (and often the artists themselves) can no longer afford the rents and have to move out. This relocation of inhabitants in gentrified neighborhoods has been well documented by various scholars (Glass, 1964; Zukin, 1987, 1995; Smith, 2002; Slater, 2009). Gertler sees however, despite the conflicting output, gentrification as an overwhelmingly positive process.

Contradicting with the view of Gertler is Lees’ view. Lees sees gentrification as “an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes” (Lees, 2007, p.2457). In line with Lees, Damaris Rose (2004) argues that an uneasy cohabitation exists between gentrification and social mixing.

According to Markusen (2014) many people see gentrification as a key mission of arts and culture. Landry (2002) argues in accordance with Markusen and claims that the entrepreneur is the kick-starter of a gentrification process. Also Youn Kim (2005) portrays creative entrepreneurs as symbolic precursors of gentrification. He argues however that – to not become an intermediary expediting commercial gentrification – artists should identify themselves as residents. Lavanga (2013) attributes three different roles to creative entrepreneurs within urban regeneration processes: “agent of change, as initiators and/or an integral part of the process” (Lavanga, 2013, p.13).

Some authors view gentrification as beneficial or neutral while others view it as an ‘unfortunate desecration’ of urban neighborhoods (Sheppard, 2012). But what



conditions indicate if a neighborhood is likely to be subjected to gentrification; are there policies to prevent it; and is gentrification a necessary step in urban revitalization?

According to Kennedy and Leonard (2001) there are a couple of conditions that indicate if a community will be subjected to gentrification. These conditions consider the accessibility of the area, a high rate of renters, a high architectural value and low housing values (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001).

In alignment with Kennedy and Leonard, Smith and LeFaivre (1984) claim gentrification occurs when the gap between the current rent and the potential rent that could be requested for the area increases. Furthermore, Betancur (2014) argues that there are universal conditions of possibility for gentrification; these conditions consider a societal regime shift, the restructuring of cities and rent production, reproduction and capture (Betancur, 2014, p.2). Lees, Lopez-Morales and Shin (2016) however state that although all the conditions that indicate if a community will be subjected to gentrification are present, in the end the political struggles by agents will determine if and how gentrification will happen.

While there are a lot studies investigating gentrification, studies on how to prevent gentrification are scarce. Sheppard (2012) argues that policies that were created to prevent gentrification are worse than gentrification itself. Shaw (2008) outlines such a policy. She argues that by removing land from the market and by building more social housing gentrification could be slowed down or stopped. Walks and August (2008) state that encouraging the use of ethnic, non-market or non-profit housing will limit gentrification. Furthermore they argue that by using benign neglect, the neighborhood can be made less attractive to potential in-movers, which will reduce the real estate activity. Although there are a few scholars who try to pin down what could stop or slow down gentrification, research about it is scarce. This seems to indicate that gentrification is hard to stop. Is gentrification thus a necessary step in revitalization and does urban growth have to mean gentrification?

According to Kennedy and Leonard (2001) gentrification can even occur in the midst of a revitalization process. But does this mean gentrification is inevitable? Shortly said; when a neighborhood becomes more attractive the demand for housing in that area will rise. An increasing demand for a neighborhood means an increase of rents. Gentrification can be seen as some sort of cost-benefit analysis. It thus seems that in certain areas gentrification is a necessary and inevitable step of urban revitalization. Despite the suggestions and policies to prevent gentrification the process is hard to stop. What however should be kept in mind is that cities consist of communities of people and not machines (Bianchini, 1996).

2.4 Recapitulation of the theoretical part

In the theoretical framework, existing literature on the knowledge economy, the labor force of the cultural industries, and the use of culture in urban development has been reviewed. Reviewing this literature showed why culture has become a topic of interest and why it is used as a force to enliven cities. It was necessary to review the literature, because it helped identifying the units of analysis, the sample, and it created the context for this research. So what are the most important points of the theoretical framework?

The reviewed literature on the knowledge economy shows how the focus on knowledge, innovation and creativity changed the traditional economic paradigm to a knowledge-based paradigm wherein the demand for creativity increased (Nakamura, 2000; Scott, 2000; Baeker, 2008). Creativity became an important force that drives our economy. The literature exposed that creativity drives the economy in two ways: it drives our economy as a pervasive force, and it drives the economy through certain industries and economic activity (Baeker, 2008). This changed how we work and where we work (Howkins, 2002).

Creativity was subsequently applied to cities, which resulted in the creative city: a city that thrives on knowledge-based activities and in which people play a major role (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2002; Reckwitz, 2009; Levy, 2011; Scott, 2014). These cities are interesting because they play an important role in the development of our national economy (Gertler, 2004), and they enhance the quality of life (Verwijnen, 1999).

Next to the creative city, creative clusters, hubs, and cultural industries originated. Hubs and clusters are increasingly used as an alternative source for urban cultural development (Porter, 1990; Markusen, 1996; LDA, 2003; Mommaas, 2004; Maskell and Lorenzen, 2004; Pratt, 2004; LDA, 2005; Da Cunha, 2009; Evans, 2009; Lorenzo and Frederikson, 2008; De Propriis, 2008; Spencer et al, 2010; Potts and Keane, 2011; Selada, 2011; Virani, 2015). Often, literature does not distinguish between the concepts because they have many overlapping elements. They both gain for example from clustering due to external economies (Potts & Keane, 2011), and they are both influenced by a top-down or bottom-up approach (Eisebith, 2005). The main difference is that hubs provide services essential for the existence and sustainability of the local creative ecology. Whereas clusters do not Hubs are understood due to what they provide and how they provide it, while clusters are characterized by their informal way of working and spatial organization (Virani, 2015). The distinction is important for this research, because we want to understand what is provided and how it is provided.

Cultural industries lie at the heart of the creative economy (British Council, 2008). They can be defined as those requiring “creativity and talent, with potential for

wealth and job creation through exploitation of their intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001). Aspects that make the cultural industries different from other industries concern: the output; the industry structure; the behavior of the firms; and its employment (Throsby, 2008). Defining the cultural industries and the differentiating aspects is important for identifying and understanding the units of analysis.

Research on the labor force of the cultural industries is scarce (Glaeser, 2009). The labor force of the cultural industries consists of people who work with a creative input and create meaningful new and durable forms (Florida, 2005): the creative class consisting of cultural entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs. The location choices of these creative entrepreneurs are complex, although it seems that they search for an open, tolerant and affordable environment. The location choice is also responsive to the specific output of the business (Markusen, 2014). Investigating creative entrepreneurs is elemental, because they are the study subjects of this research.

Another aspect of the interest in culture was the use of culture in urban development. Policymakers, planners and practitioners are turning more and more to the arts and culture to stimulate and enliven cities (Markusen, 2004; Mommaas, 2004; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Andres & Gresillon, 2011). They turn to culture, because culture has a special character: it stimulates the imagination of people; it engages people; it creates dialogue; and it offers self-expression (Landry, 1996).

An urban regeneration process that is well recognized by scholars and urban analysts is gentrification: a process in which an underused and neglected urban neighborhood develops a vibrant culture and street life (Gertler, 2004). There are positive as well as negative views on this process (Gertler, 2004; Damaris Rose, 2004; Lees, 2007). Besides, some people see the process as a key mission of the arts (Markusen, 2014). Landry (2002) for example claims that the entrepreneur is the kick-starter of a gentrification process. Within such a process entrepreneurs can take on different roles: agent of change, as initiators, and/or an integral part of the process (Lavanga, 2013).

In brief, it is important for this research to keep in mind why the demand for creativity changed and how it drives the economy and our society, because it explains the context in which creativity is used as a force to enliven cities. Besides, it helps identifying and understanding the units of analysis.



3. The case

The research was conducted in March and April 2016 in the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam. Background information about the setting is needed to fully understand the root of what is being studied. The setting – which includes the city Rotterdam, the neighborhood the Zomerhofkwartier, and the building the Gele Gebouw – is of interest for this research because of its historical background, its focus, the processes that are taking place there, and of its future scenario.

3.1 Rotterdam, a dynamic city

Rotterdam is the second largest city in the Netherlands with 660.000 inhabitants (see *Figure 3*). Rotterdam was an important pole in international trade and was considered the world's busiest port between 1962 and 2004. The international trade is however generating fewer and fewer jobs (Lavanga, 2006). So why is Rotterdam interesting for this research?

In 1987 Rotterdam developed the policy *Revitalising Rotterdam* focused on encouraging creative production (Kooijman, Romein, 2007). The policy was designed to increase the urban quality of life. These days Rotterdam considers the creative industries crucial for its post-industrial urban economy (Gemeente Rotterdam 2004). The city changed its focus from solely trade to a focus on the quality of life and growth clusters (Lavanga, 2006). It is focusing on four innovative creative branches: music, audio-visual production, architecture and urban design, and design and product innovation (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2006, 2007). The new focus changed the image of the city from industrial to a dynamic city (Lavanga, 2006).

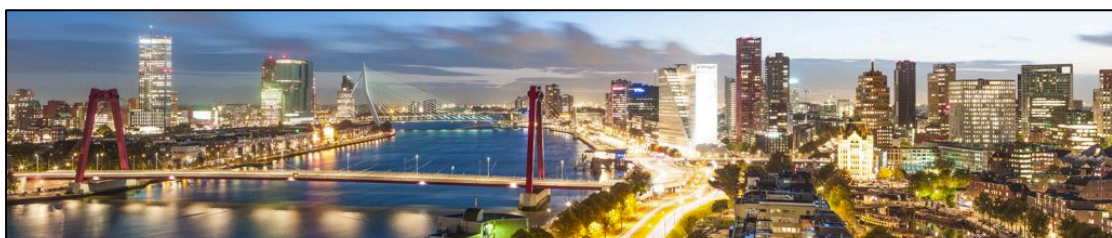


Figure 3; Rotterdam (KKEC, 2016)

Besides the focus and development, Rotterdam is interesting because the city has implemented creative city ambitions in its current policy (Romein and Trip, 2009): the city stimulates entrepreneurship; tries to improve the interaction between the four innovative creative branches and the knowledge base (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2006, 2007); tries to make creative production more visible; and invests in affordable working space by using 'old buildings' (Romein and Trip, 2009, p.11). Rotterdam can thus be identified as a creative city because it focuses on many knowledge-based activities

(Levy, 2011); it focuses on stimulating its citizens (Landry, 2002); and Rotterdam embeds a culture of creativity in all its operations (Landry, 2002; Baeker, 2008). The new focus on culture creates among other things the international profile of Rotterdam (Gemeente Rotterdam, EDBR, 2004).

Although the city still faces social problems, the city is increasing its quality of urban life and attracting more and more tourists. Rotterdam is a city with an attitude towards innovation and experimentation, a city that – after the bombing during the Second World War – has focused its policy on continuous investments in new buildings and infrastructure. (Pallagst, 2013, p.265)(see *Figure 4*). Due to this focus, background and possible future Rotterdam is an interesting case for this research.

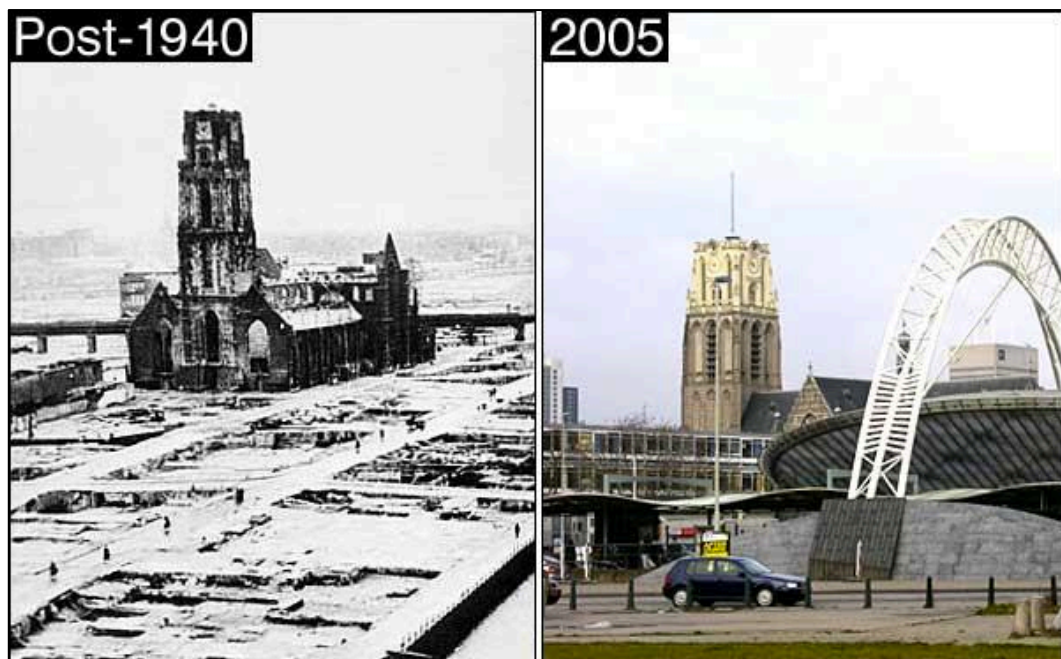


Figure 3; Rotterdam then vs. now. An example of the focus on continuous investments (Opposingviews, 2016)



3.2 The Zomerhofkwartier, a neighborhood with a lot of potential

A tangible example of the new focus of Rotterdam can be found at the Zomerhofkwartier (Peek and Troxler, 2014). The Zomerhofkwartier is located between the Hofbogen and the Agniesebuurt and is an experimental area (Nobel, 2015).

The Zomerhofkwartier is considered a part of the Agniesebuurt (see *Figure 5*). The Agniesebuurt is located close to the center of Rotterdam and consists of two parts: the Zomerhofkwartier in the southeast, and the Agniesebuurt in the northwest. The Teilingerstraat is the dividing line. About 4100 people live in the Agniesebuurt in about 1950 houses, mostly social housing. The population structure can be described as follows: 15% of the population is younger than 14 years, 65% has a non-Dutch background, and 49% is Dutch with a non-western background (mainly consisting of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants) (Karakus, 2013). Furthermore, the Agniesebuurt scores a 6 on the Safety index of Rotterdam. It is therefore a relatively safe neighborhood, however because of its location near the center, entertainment area, the Central Station and exit roads it remains an endangered area where continued vigilance is needed. The perceived safety is lower. The Agniesebuurt is perceived as an anonymous passage district adjacent to an outdated industrial area. It is an anonymous neighborhood with low social bonds (Karakus, 2013).



Figure 5; Impression of the Agniesebuurt in Rotterdam (Optimus, 2006).

At the south-eastern part of the Agniesebuurt, at the Zomerhofkwartier (see *Figure 6*), Stipo Rotterdam, housing corporation Havensteder, and the city council try to convert the old industrial area from the 1950s by combining the development of real estate and urban planning with innovation. They focus on three elements: learning, connecting and creating (Niederer, 2014). The condition of the buildings in the Zomerhofkwartier was cluttered and there were a lot of obsolete and vacant office buildings. These buildings were built after the Second World War when the neighborhood was almost completely destroyed. Because of the vacancy of these buildings and the perceived safety of the area the neighborhood was threatened to be demolished (Niederer, 2014). However, because Rotterdam changed from an industrial city to a post-industrial city with a policy that was more dynamic and that was focused on creativity, the neighborhood survived. These days the neighborhood has a lot of involved inhabitants, local businesses, housing associations, and other private parties who contribute actively to the neighborhood. It has a certain energy of which it benefits, and the area has great potential because of its strategic position between the city center and the north (Daamen, 2012). These days it is an area with a transitional character that can be identified as a gentrifying area. The area can be identified as a gentrifying area because – connecting with 2.3.4 in which conditions for a gentrifying neighborhood were discussed – the area is a district with a social disadvantage. The area is thus about to experience a societal regime shift. Furthermore, it is a mixed neighborhood with a high rate of renters, more and more (local) businesses are emerging, there are private parties who actively contribute to the neighborhood, the neighborhood has a strategic position between the city center and the north, and creative entrepreneurs moved into the unused buildings (Gertler, 2004).



Figure 6; Impression of the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam (Mull, 2014)

3.3 The Gele Gebouw

Within the neighborhood the Gele Gebouw is located (see *Figure 7*). The Gele Gebouw is an example of the development of real estate by Stipo Rotterdam, housing corporation Havensteder and the city council. The Gele Gebouw has 3.000 m² of floor space and is one of the landmarks of the Zomerhofkwartier. Within the Gele Gebouw creative entrepreneurs are located who together try to reinforce the building, the area, the city, and their profession (Het Gele Gebouw, 2015).

This building is interesting because it can be qualified as a creative hub: the activities of the entrepreneurs “range across a variety of networks” (LDA, 2003); the Gele Gebouw consists of “groupings of interconnected and interdependent businesses” (Baeker, 2008, p.25); they are a creative community (Virani, 2015); there is interaction, an innovative environment and different creative disciplines are present (Verschoor, 2009); and most important, the creative entrepreneurs (try to) provide services for society (Virani, 2015). In brief, the building provides a space for work, participation and consumption and its activities have a broad scope (Het Gele Gebouw, 2015).

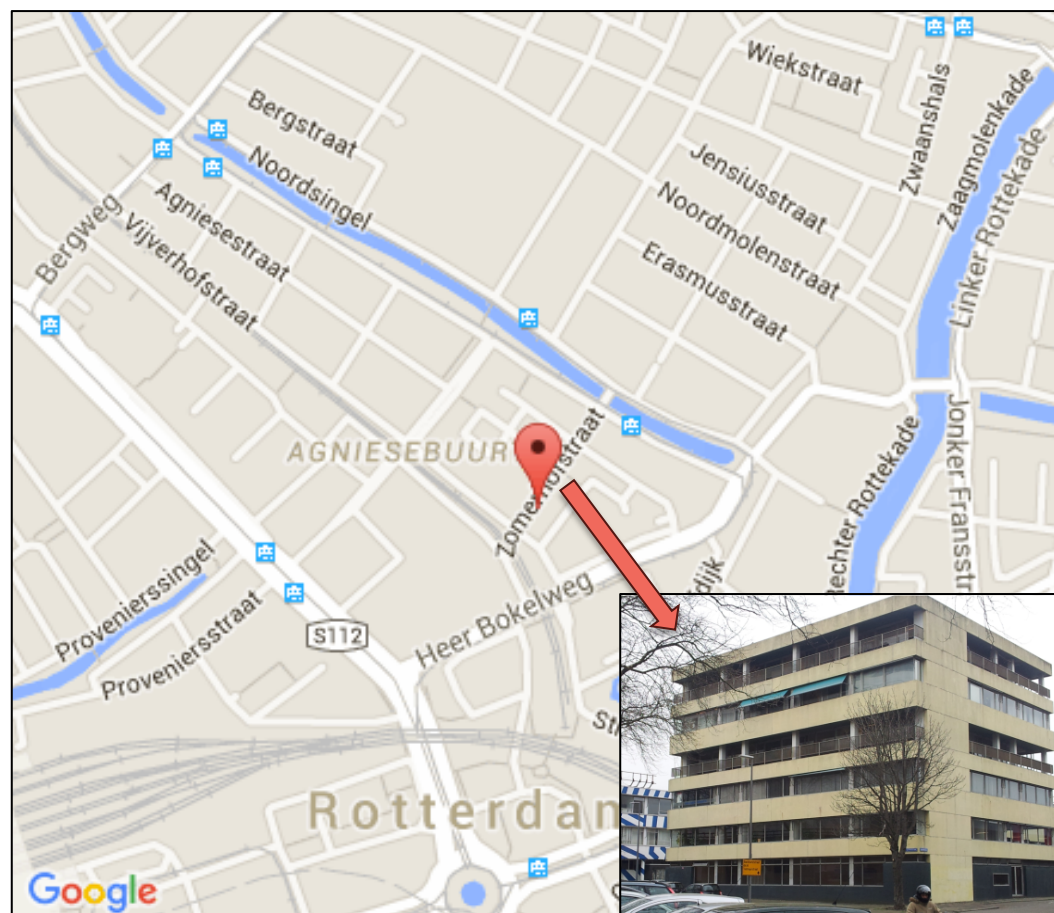


Figure 7; The Gele Gebouw in the Zomerhofkwartier (Het Gele Gebouw, 2016).

4. Methodology

4.1 General approach

In chapter two a thorough review of the existing literature was made. The concepts knowledge economy, creative city, cultural industries, entrepreneurs and gentrification were explained and defined. Defining these concepts was essential, because on the basis of the literature review the potential subjects of the research can be determined.

Furthermore, the literature review creates the theoretical framework that is needed to understand the research design. The literature review shows that the shift from a traditional economic paradigm to a knowledge-based paradigm contributed to the creation of the creative city; and it contributed to an increased interest for the cultural industries, entrepreneurs, and the use of culture in urban development.

The context was addressed in chapter three – the case of the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam. The Zomerhofkwartier and Rotterdam are interesting settings for this research, because these days Rotterdam is subject to a lot of change: the city changed its focus; is recreating its image; and it is developing a policy focused on encouraging creative production (Kooijman, Romein, 2007). The Zomerhofkwartier is interesting because it is a tangible example of the new focus of Rotterdam: an experimental area ready for a change.

Certain concepts (the cultural industries, location choice, urban development, entrepreneurship, the setting) described in the literature review will be used and tested by interviewing creative entrepreneurs at the Zomerhofkwartier. The findings contribute to existing research on the location choice of creative entrepreneurs and on the use of culture in urban development.

The methodology chapter describes the research plan of this thesis. First the aims of the thesis, the main research question and the sub-questions will be explained. In the second paragraph the units of analysis will be discussed. Third, the methods of data collection will be explained, including the interview guidelines. The fourth paragraph describes the data analysis methods. The chapter will finish with a description of the research limitations.



4.2 Aims and research question

The main aim of this research is to identify how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development. To identify these ethnographic observations we have to answer the main research question:

How do creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development?

When reviewing the existing literature a couple of sub-questions emerged. The sub-questions are mainly based on five articles: Miles and Paddison (2005), Markusen (2006), Glaeser (2009), Lees and Melhuish (2012) and Markusen (2014). Miles and Paddison (2005) ask themselves if culture-led regeneration is more about rhetoric than about reality. By researching how creative entrepreneurs view their part in urban development (and thus regeneration) reality versus rhetoric is investigated. Markusen (2006) posits that the creative agents of economic development in cities are unknown, and that the relationship between creative entrepreneurs and urban growth is far from clear. Glaeser (2009) argues that entrepreneurship is important for urban success, however literature documenting this is still in an early stage. Furthermore Lees and Melhuish (2012) claim that “there are few if any studies of how creative entrepreneurs actually ‘do’ regeneration” (p.256), that the studies that investigate how creative entrepreneurs ‘do’ regeneration are too quantitative and a more in-depth research is needed. And lastly, Markusen (2014) argues that literature on how and why creative entrepreneurs make location decisions is limited; she states, “these behavioral patterns deserve much more scrutiny than they have received” (p.575). In order to contribute to these studies the following sub-questions were formulated. A division was made between theoretical and empirical sub-questions. The latter are explicitly focused on the area the Zomerhofkwartier while the theoretical sub-questions cover a larger area and have a higher generalizability:



Theoretical sub-questions

Creative entrepreneurs

1. How do creative entrepreneurs decide where to locate their business?
2. How do creative entrepreneurs create a sense of place that encourages additional investment?
3. How do creative entrepreneurs activate city life?

Gentrification

4. Under which circumstances does gentrification take place (possibilities to prevent it)?
5. Is gentrification a necessary step in urban revitalization?

Empirical sub-questions

6. What are the motivations of the creative entrepreneurs located in a gentrifying area the Zomerhofkwartier to be located there?
7. How do the creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier view their contribution in the neighborhood/revitalization/gentrification?



4.3 Units of analysis

To do the research effectively, we have to identify the units of analysis and sample that we are going to study. The units of analysis of this master thesis are creative entrepreneurs. By creative entrepreneurs we mean leading visionaries with a focus on creating something new and durable – using a creative input, the element of combination, innovation and risk – in which moneymaking is not the primary focus (Webster's Dictionary, 1970, p.467; Glaeser, 2009). Looking at the research question it becomes clear that the creative entrepreneurs need to have a link with urban development:

- Units of analysis - Creative entrepreneurs
- Context - Linkage with urban development

Bearing in mind these two criteria; taking the case of Rotterdam as the setting; and taken into account that the creative entrepreneurs – for more valid findings – have to be located in the same area we can narrow down the different locations. Narrowing down the locations we can identify our sample:

- Creative entrepreneurs that are situated in the Gele Gebouw in the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam

In this study we will thus make use of a case study: the Gele Gebouw in the Zomerhofkwartier (Bryman, 2012).



4.4 Methods of data collection

Because the research strongly depends on the viewpoint of the creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier, a qualitative approach is most appropriate for this study. A qualitative approach focuses – among other things – on the context (Bryman, 2012). The context is important because gentrification has a strong relation with the neighborhood it is gentrifying. Furthermore a qualitative approach will be used because Lees and Melhuish (2012) stated the studies that investigate how creative entrepreneurs ‘do’ regeneration are too quantitative and a more in-depth research is needed.

A widely employed method of qualitative research is the interview. In-depth interviews are a way to reveal information about motivations and decisions (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In-depth, semi-structured interviews were used to obtain the main data, because this method allowed me to pick up relevant new elements during the interviews (Bryman, 2012) and it gave the interviewee the freedom to unfold his or her perspective (Marshall and Rossman, 2010). The semi-structured, in-depth interviews were carried out by the use of a topic list and a backup list with beforehand-formulated questions.

The topic list was constructed using the theoretical framework. The list consisted of four main topics. During the first part of the interview the interviewee was asked to introduce himself/herself and the organization. The second part consisted of questions relating to the company, their location choice, the image of the company and the relationship of the company with the neighborhood. In the third part the interviewee was asked about the neighborhood and his/her relationship with the neighborhood. The last part of the interview was concluding and focused on some general questions concerning creative entrepreneurs, the neighborhood, the Gele Gebouw and the Zomerhofkwartier. Beside the topic list there were some beforehand-formulated questions if the interview fell silent and as a remainder of what needed to be answered (see *Appendix* for the list of questions and the original Dutch version of the topic list and list of questions).



Topic list

1. The creative entrepreneur and his/her business
 - a. Who are you
 - b. Description company
2. Image of the company and the role of the building/neighborhood in this image
 - a. Imago business
 - b. The building
 - c. Location decisions
 - d. Building/neighborhood and the product
3. The cultural entrepreneur and the neighborhood
 - a. Atmosphere
 - b. Participation
 - c. Influence
4. Concluding
 - a. Cultural entrepreneurs and their neighborhood – general
 - b. The Gele Gebouw and the Zomerhofkwartier

The empirical part of this thesis includes twelve interviews of – in total – 656 minutes. All the creative entrepreneurs that were contacted fell under the following description: creative entrepreneurs are leading visionaries with a focus on creating something new and durable – using a creative input, the element of combination, innovation and risk – in which moneymaking is not the primary focus (Webster's Dictionary, 1970, p.467; Glaeser, 2009).

A purposive sampling method was used to select the respondents. This non-random method allows individuals to be selected because they have knowledge relevant to the research (Bowling, 2002). One of the respondents was obtained through snowball sampling (making use of the contacts of the respondent) (Bryman, 2012). The creative entrepreneurs were all contacted via e-mail in March and April 2016. 34 companies responded of which 11 agreed to meet for an interview, number 12 was obtained through snowball sampling (see appendix for information about the interviews). The interviews were conducted in March and April 2016 and they took place at the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam at their office. There was one exception; the interview of Buro Bliksem was conducted at Man met Bril Koffie, a café at the Vijverhofstraat in Rotterdam. Each of the interviews lasted between 29 and 83 minutes. They were recorded digitally – with the permission of the interviewee – and transcribed immediately after the interview.

4.5 Methods of data analysis

After the in-depth, semi-structured interviews took place the recorded interviews were transcribed to prevent the loss of data. This also enabled the analysis of the data and is considered to increase the validity of the research (Bryman, 2012). Next, the interviews were interpreted by coding the transcriptions. According to Bryman there is no consensus about how coding exactly works; however people agree that it involves moving from generating codes towards more abstract conceptualizations (Bryman, 2012). According to Bryman “Coding is the starting point for most forms of qualitative data analysis” (Bryman, 2012, p.575). Coding the interviews, labels were attached to parts that seemed to be of theoretical significance. The following steps were taken: first the transcripts were read without taking any notes or considering interpretation; second, the first step was repeated, only this time marginal notes were written down; third, together with information from the literature review – codes were created (see *Appendix 4. Codebook*); as a fourth step the codes were reviewed; and fifth, more general theoretical ideas in relation to codes and data were considered (Bryman, 2012, p.575). No qualitative data analysis software was used.



4.6 Limitations

Some researchers argue that qualitative research has problems with generalization and objectivity. The findings would depend too much on the researcher's point of view and the researcher would thus influence the data too much. This would reduce the representativeness of the data. Furthermore, qualitative research often makes use of smaller samples than quantitative data. Qualitative data would therefore be more difficult to replicate (Bryman, 2004, p.284). However, I am confident that a qualitative approach is the right research approach for my study, because quantitative research would make it impossible to research perceptions and experiences. Quantitative research would not let me explore in-depth. Furthermore it is important – for my research – to take the context into account. Bryman (2012) emphasizes how important the context is for qualitative research (Bryman, 2012, p.402).

Another limitation of the thesis that could have led to a bias in the collection and presentation of the data is the language. All of the interviews were conducted in Dutch. Quotes of the interviews that were used in the thesis had to be translated into English. This could have resulted in some loss of the original meaning. However, because the data was analyzed in Dutch – my mother language – I am confident that I transferred the thoughts of the respondents in their original meaning.



5. Findings

Chapter five of this master thesis presents the findings from the in-depth interviews with creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier in Rotterdam. The purpose of this research is to investigate how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes and urban development, for it is unknown how creative entrepreneurs 'do' regeneration (Lees and Melhuish, 2012); who the creative agents of economic development in cities are (Markusen, 2006); what the relationship between creative entrepreneurs and urban growth is (Markusen, 2006; Glaeser, 2009); and if culture-led regeneration is more about rhetoric than reality (Miles and Paddison, 2005). Investigating and describing the ethnographic observations of creative entrepreneurs will contribute to a decrease of this knowledge gap.

The chapter begins with an overview of the entrepreneurs and their business. It continues with presenting the findings per theme (for an explanation of the themes see *Appendix 4. Codebook*). The chapter concludes with a summary of the main findings.



5.1 The Creative entrepreneurs and their business

The empirical research consisted of twelve in-depth, semi-structured interviews with creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier:

Table 1; overview of the respondents

Respondent	Company	Type of company
1. Emma van Eijkeren	Emma's	Design/crafts One-man business
2. Frans Taminiau	Masters That Matter	Social issues Small enterprise
3. Joris de Longh	BuroBliksem	Design One-man business
4. Sander van Loon	Mesh Print Club	Design/crafts One-man business
5. Annelotte Vos	Sotine Jewelry	Design/crafts One-man business
6. Peter van der Helm	PHUrbanism	Urban challenges/city planning One-man business
7. Gijs Broos	Nouvelle Media	New media Small enterprise
8. Matthijs Klooster	MK Architecten	Architecture One-man business
9. Dahlia Soliman	Stipo	Social and urban challenges Small enterprise
10. Wim Wiegmann and Ron Blom	Wijk-TV	Video Small enterprise
11. Jan Lemmers	WIJKcoöperatie	Social issues Small enterprise
12. Rien Hilhorst	SPIN stadsontwikkelaars	Urban challenges/city planning Small enterprise

The organizations fall in one of the two the categories: one-man business or small enterprise (1 – 10 employees). Between the organizations we can make a distinction between pure cultural organizations, organizations focusing on social issues, and organizations that are concerned with urban challenges. All the entrepreneurs use their creativity to reach an end product. When asking the entrepreneurs if they thought they could be categorized as a creative industry nine confirmed:

Uh yeah, we are really core creative industries. I mean; we make a creative product on a weekly basis. – Nouvelle Media, Gijs Broos

Yeah I think so, absolutely. But architects are a little bit different. An architect is not only a creative arts form, but also has a business side. More an organizational side. – MK Architecten, Matthijs Klooster

Two added that they didn't like the term or that they thought the term was too vague:

Yeah I must say that, I am a designer, so formally I am part of the creative industries. However I have always found the term somewhat vague. – Masters that Matter, Frans Taminiau

Yes, although I dislike the word. – Buro Bliksem, Joris de Longh

Remarkable was that Mesh Print Club – a printing community and graphic workshop – did not see itself as part of the creative industries.

Three of the entrepreneurs were clearly aware of the risk they were taking by managing an entrepreneurship:

Look, there is still a risk for entrepreneurs. I can still be bankrupt at the end of the year, you know. – Nouvelle Media, Gijs Broos

What further stood out was that eight of the twelve entrepreneurs had a hard time defining their customers. An often-heard response was that their customers were very diverse.



5.2 Findings per theme

5.2.1 Neighborhood

History, past and future

How do the entrepreneurs perceive the neighborhood? The entrepreneurs are all – at first sight – satisfied with the place. If they got the change to go back in time they would all make the same decision again. The neighborhood is furthermore described as a diverse and vibrant neighborhood with frayed edges. This diversity of environment is perceived as follows by the entrepreneurs:

It has some sort of creative, non-committal thing. One person is knitting; the other is doing something serious. It doesn't matter, it's all mixed together, which creates an environment that's laid back, not too expensive, and where you can do anything. So it's a very nice chill spot. – Gijs Broos, Nouvelle Media

Yes, yes, there are multiple worlds parallel to each other. That's important. [...] They are all in their own way accessible. But among them, there are still remarkably few connections. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

There is diversity enough; there is some sort of mixing that offers a lot of possibilities. And then there is this building ... in this neighborhood, which is interesting because we are the bridge between the cool center and vice versa. – Frans Taminiau, masters that matter

Two entrepreneurs – Sotine Jewelry and Nouvelle Media – argue that the neighborhood has the same cool vibe as Berlin:

The building is just fine. It is just amazing, this place, to explain to clients when they come here. First I always have to explain and guide them through the misery, the ugliness; a bit like the shabbiness of Berlin. – Gijs Broos, Nouvelle Media

Although Gijs likes the vibe, he also shows that there is a less positive side to the neighborhood. He admits that he sometimes feels he has to take responsibility for his location choice, for the place used to be a bad-known neighborhood. The bad name of the neighborhood left its traces – as indicated by the entrepreneurs:



I think this area has been a blind spot in town for quite some time. – Frans
Taminiau, Masters that Matter

Well for me, for me this was some sort of rotten, dark and ugly place. – Gijs
Broos, Nouvelle Media

Yeah, I would describe the neighborhood as ... during the day active and
dynamic, and in the evening, uh yes unsafe. – Matthijs Klooster, MK Architecten

All the entrepreneurs are aware that the neighborhood used to be an anonymous (and
unsafe) passage district. However, it also shapes the neighborhood. The history of the
neighborhood is used to brand the place. Furthermore, 10 of the entrepreneurs agree
that the neighborhood has undergone a positive transformation:

It still is a bit of a rancid area, but it is already very different from what it used to
be. You just see that there is momentum en that the area is transforming. – Peter
van der Helm, PHUrbanism

The neighborhood has changed a lot, which makes it a pleasant place to be. –
Emma van Eijkeren, EMMA's

Sander van Loon of the Mesh Print Club does not see a very positive development:

Well before there were a lot of burglaries, then there was a period in which there
were still a lot of burglaries, and now there are fewer burglaries. – Sander van
Loon, Mesh Print Club

And Jan Lemmers from WIJKcoöperatie argues that the period is too short to make such
claims:

I can't really say that the neighborhood has gotten a lot better or worse. No. I
think the period is too short to make such statements. – Jan Lemmers,
WIJKcoöperatie



Concerning the future most entrepreneurs expect a positive development. They expect the place to become a 'hotspot' and do not expect to leave in the near future. They want to experience what is about to happen:

Yeah, for now I don't see why I would leave. Never say never. You don't know what the future will bring. But right now there are no reasons to leave.

Moreover, so much is about to change. I want to experience that. So in principle I will stay here for quite some time. And what I find interesting, what I hope will happen. Is that, that experimental, what I see as a common denominator, that we can develop that and elevate it into a brand. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

Frans Taminiau wants to brand the area. He thus wants to utilize what he sees as a local strength of the area.

One of the companies – Mesh Print Club – admitted that he thought the neighborhood has already reached its peak. He argued that the area did not live up to its expectations:

The ambition attracted me. But right now I am returning that verdict. It makes me a little bit depressed that they are still trying to hold onto something of which the momentum is already over. They stated too fast: this is it. It has already reached its peak and it could not live up to the expectations. – Sander van Loon, Mesh Print Club

Most entrepreneurs did not agree with the perspective of Sander. One of them argued that the big dilemma these days is how you keep the energy within the area and how you make sure the area keeps developing.

Although there are some negative connotations, the majority of the entrepreneurs experience a positive flow within the neighborhood. They expect a positive future. Remarkably, no one took into account how the developments could affect him or her. But on what do they base the expectations; what is their connection with the neighborhood and how do they view the connection of creative entrepreneurs – generally speaking – with their neighborhood?



Connections with the neighborhood

The entrepreneurs were asked if they felt connected with the neighborhood they were located in. Additionally they were asked if they thought creative entrepreneurs – generally speaking – have a connection with their neighborhood. The difference between the responses was striking, although the content of the questions was somewhat the same. The question, which concerned them, was answered much less positive than the question that asked about the connection in a general way. Concerning themselves only four of the twelve entrepreneurs answered that they felt connected with the neighborhood. From the eight who answered that they did not have a connection, five stated they were initially there to work and not to interact with the neighborhood. Sander van Loon, of the Mesh Print Club, argued that the work field of the cultural sector is too small to settle comfortably down somewhere:

I think the working field and the pond where we all have to fish from is too small to attribute luxury to. According to me you have to make the best of everything and be able to make everywhere your home. – Sander van Loon, Mesh Print Club

Subsequently he argued that the relationship between the entrepreneur and its neighborhood changed because of the many cuts present in the cultural sector:

Yes that used to be the case, as an entrepreneur you were sometimes supported to take up or address certain issues. Or you got some resources in certain respects. But that's no longer the case. – Sander van Loon, Mesh Print Club

In a more general sense all the entrepreneurs (although one company was a bit skeptical) thought that creative entrepreneurs and their neighborhood were strongly connected. They stated – among other things – that creative entrepreneurs are, more than any other kind of entrepreneur, connected with the neighborhood they are located in because it contributes to the company:

Yeah, I think so. I think more than any other business owner. At a wholesale you are often located at a secluded area. Then you really do not care how the building located next to you looks like. So I think the value ... the value of the neighborhood and the appearance of the neighborhood and the place where you are located and the building, that certainly reflects on your company. And that's for a cultural entrepreneur or an entrepreneur who makes a creative product



important. And also for the phase in which your business is; the customer uses that to create an image of your company. That adds to your image. A lot. – Gijs Broos, Nouvelle Media

According to Jan Lemmers from WIJKcoöperatie creative people are more open to their neighborhood than other cultures. They have more tolerance:

Creative people are more open to uhm ... a neighborhood. Also to other cultures. And I think that's an important thing. More tolerant, more open to other people in general. To see how you can accomplish things together. That's a bit my impression of the group of people who in terms of education, or work are creative ... that they often have a bigger vision than a man and a woman who both work, live in a Vinex district, bring their kids to school, both have a lease car or I know what. They come home, and that's their life. So they are a third of their time in their neighborhood. While a creative, small enterprise maybe spends eighty or ninety percent of its time in the neighborhood. – Jan Lemmers, WIJKcoöperatie

Ron Blom and Wim Wiegmann from Wijk-TV give an explanation of why some entrepreneurs are more connected with their neighborhood. They argue that the socioeconomic differences between the entrepreneurs and the neighborhood are too big. They furthermore state that entrepreneurs are opportunistic and just there to earn money. To be active within a neighborhood and establish a connection you must have an urgency. You have to have a reason as an entrepreneur to connect with a neighborhood:

Actually, if I'm really honest, I think that 99 percent of the entrepreneurs not even really ... that they are just opportunistic. They see chances to do business, so they locate there. [...] I think there are enough entrepreneurs who are located here, who do not specifically have something to do with the neighborhood. – Wim Wiegmann, Wijk-TV

I think you must have an urgency to interfere with other things. You have to have a reason as an entrepreneur ... you can for example act from passion. I do it because I like to add something to the world. That's my urgency. I want to make a difference. But I mean ... if I did not had that, why would I interact with the



neighborhood? As long as I can safely open and close my door. – Ron Blom, Wijk-TV

Besides the connection between the entrepreneur and its neighborhood the entrepreneurs were also asked about the connection between their company and the neighborhood. Did the neighborhood contribute to the image of their company? The empirical data shows that there is a small connection between the image of the organization and the neighborhood. However, according to three entrepreneurs the neighborhood first has to be explained to visitors or customers before it can contribute to the image of their organization:

I think that a lot of my clients are not aware of what's going on here. I think that they are made aware of it when I introduce them to it. So I introduce them in the concept Zoho, and from that moment it becomes interesting for them, they find it exciting. And from that moment it will also reflect on me. – Joris de Longh, Buro Bliksem

Dahlia Soliman of Stipo even stated that the company defined the neighborhood. Remarkable was furthermore that most entrepreneurs had a hard time describing their organizational image.

There is thus a small connection between the company and the neighborhood. But does the neighborhood also influence the work of the entrepreneur? There was a strong division between the answers to this question. Half of the entrepreneurs answered that the neighborhood influenced their work, while the other six saw no connection. The companies that experienced influence were the companies that focused on social issues and urban planning. Stipo for example – a company that focuses on social and urban challenges – argues that (the building and) the neighborhood serves as a business card for the company, while Buro Bliksem – a graphic design company – argues that there is no influence:

That there is a coffee shop around here does not really matter for my work. But that I have a few square meters, does matter for what I do. – Joris de Longh, Buro Bliksem

The empirical data shows that the connection between the neighborhood and the entrepreneur, work, or company is small. But do the entrepreneurs experience an added

value of being located in the Zomerhofkwartier? As stated before, all the entrepreneurs would make the same location decisions if they got the chance to go back in time. They do thus experience an added value of being located in the Zomerhofkwartier and/or the Gele Gebouw:

Well I think that a lot of clients really like it that I am located in this area, because ... well I am a creative company and this neighborhood is of course also creative, a lot is going on. So I guess that attracts many people. – Emma van Eijkeren, EMMA's

The added value consists of the image of the neighborhood, the sphere, and the networking opportunities. These elements will be discussed in detail in the location choice part.

5.2.2 The building

Within the neighborhood the Gele Gebouw is located. The Gele Gebouw is one of the landmarks of the Zomerhofkwartier. It is also the building where the entrepreneurs are located. The entrepreneurs were asked if there was a connection between the building and their work and if the building had any meaning to them. Four people confirmed that the building influenced their work. As was stated; Stipo argues that the building and the neighborhood serve as a business card for the company. Seven entrepreneurs stated that the network that is present in the building influenced their work:

Well not so much this place or the building, but the fact that you're working together with a number of different parties. – Rien Hilhorst, SPIN stadsontwikkelaars

I think that this building contributes to my network. Since I am located here I have gotten all sorts of new jobs. – Emma van Eijkeren, EMMA's

They argued that there is a lot of knowledge present in the building; that the clustering of people made sure ideas could easily be exchanged; that there is space for experiment; that there is cross-pollination; and that there is a homely atmosphere/community:



There is a good atmosphere. And that is important. You would not have that atmosphere in a modern office building. Then everything is just nice and neat. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

One person was in doubt whether the building influenced him or if he influenced the building:

I have to turn around the image they have of the place when they first come here. And that works. So then I make something cool of it. But sometimes I am asking myself: am I branding the building, or is the building branding me? – Gijs Broos, Nouvelle Media

Sander van Loon, from the Mesh Print Club, was not so positive about the network externalities that – according to the other entrepreneurs – are present in the building. He argued:

It was always the idea; to make it a ‘creators place’. But according to me ... the image they created for the place was just too big. It does not work like that. I’ve been in several collect-buildings, and the only thing that does work is a workshop where people can go do something, and then they meet by accident. – Sander van Loon, Mesh Print Club

Furthermore, the Gele Gebouw is attributed an important role in the Zomerhofkwartier; the Gele Gebouw takes the lead:

There are a lot of cool companies in the Zomerhofkwartier. But if you look at who takes the lead in the processes here in Zoho, then always companies from the Gele Gebouw take the lead. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

5.2.3 Location choice

The interviewees were asked about their reasons to locate at the Zomerhofkwartier.

Analyzing the empirical data we can create the following table:



Table 2; Location choice factors

Frequency*	Location choice factor
7	Accessibility (near the city center, etc.)
9	Liveliness and buzz/vibe of the neighborhood
8	Low rents
4	Connections within the neighborhood
8	Potential and future of the area
3	Necessity/practical (had to leave previous location)
10	Possibility to network

* Of the 12 entrepreneurs, how many entrepreneurs mentioned the factor

Using the table we can state that the location choices of the entrepreneurs in the Zomerhofkwartier are based upon factors such as amenities, culture, diversity, network, and buzz:

What I find interesting about this building and this neighborhood is that it is a place where a lot is about to happen. And the way it happens pleases me. – Matthijs Klooster, MK Architecten

There was of course regional development going on here. So we were like, that's inspiring: a lot is happening, it's a bit raw. – Ron Blom, Wijk-TV

10 of the 12 entrepreneurs mentioned the possibilities to network as a significant factor of choosing a location:

You settle down somewhere because a certain – also an ugly word – a certain Avant Garde already settled down in that area. – Joris de Long, Buro Bliksem

5.2.4 Change and influence

The entrepreneurs were asked about the neighborhood and how they experienced the location. Subsequently the answers were analyzed looking at if they noticed changes within the neighborhood and to whom they would assign these changes. Do they see themselves as an influence or do they assign the influence to another party?

As was stated in *Neighborhood, history, past and future*, 10 of the entrepreneurs agree that the neighborhood has undergone a positive transformation, 1 argues that the period is too short to make such claims, and 1 does only see a marginal development. According to Jan Lemmers of WIJKcoöperatie – who also argues that the period is too

short to make such claims – the positive development within the neighborhood contributes to a feeling of pride and safety. However, he argues that the positive development does not reach the inhabitants in the neighborhood:

You can also see it happening here; several restaurants and catering companies are starting to establish here. It makes it more beautiful, which – I think – also contributes to the perception of safety and happiness of the neighborhood. It enlivens the neighborhood. However, I don't think that it contributes to the finances or facilities of the inhabitants of the neighborhood. – Jan Lemmers, WIJKcoöperatie

Peter van der Helm assigns the changes present in the neighborhood to the people in the building and the activities they organize. However he also states that indeed not everyone will profit from the changes:

The fact that we are located here together and that we organize things, that contributes to the neighborhood. The fact that it became a place, contributes to the neighborhood. And yes, I am not sure if everybody profits from that ... but I think that it is important for the development of the city and the surrounding neighborhoods that this becomes something. That it becomes a positive something of the city, because it always used to be a negative place. – Peter van der Helm, PHUrbanism

The idea that not everybody profits from the changes is not perceived as negative:

I am aware that we can make social impact. And I also think that making social impact tangible is a way to bind people to us, to demonstrate our importance. So there is a certain focus. But it is also a means to make sure people find us important. And that's a bit ... that's also why I am telling this, because it sounds a bit selfish. Or egocentric ... But what I find interesting is that social entrepreneurship often is seen as altruistic. That you're doing everything for the greater good. But when push comes to shove we are all selfish. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

Furthermore, Frans Taminiau argues that the people located in the Gele Gebouw take away the negativity of the place:

But I think the blind spot, the negative part; we take that away. I think that's very positive, because it means that we can cycle through this area. It becomes cozy again. That's important. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

Overall, 3 of the 12 entrepreneurs explicitly say that they have no influence; 3 attribute the influence solely to other parties; 3 state that they believe they have an indirect influence together with other parties (however they cannot pin down what their influence is and how they execute it); and 3 believe that they directly influence the neighborhood together with other parties:

Table 3; Influence in the neighborhood

Influence	<i>Yes, direct</i>	<i>Yes, indirect</i>	<i>Other parties</i>	<i>No</i>
<i>Emma van Eijkeren</i>			X	
<i>Frans Taminiau</i>		X	X	
<i>Joris de Longh</i>				X
<i>Sander van Loon</i>				X
<i>Annelotte Vos</i>			X	
<i>Peter van der Helm</i>		X	X	
<i>Gijs Broos</i>				X
<i>Matthijs Klooster</i>			X	
<i>Dahlia Soliman</i>	X		X	
<i>Ron Blom and Wim Wiegmann</i>	X		X	
<i>Jan Lemmers</i>	X		X	
<i>Rien Hilhorst</i>		X	X	

Most entrepreneurs attribute the influence in the neighborhood to other (creative) parties. Furthermore it is remarkable that the interviewed entrepreneurs – when they attribute the influence to another party and/or talk about creative entrepreneurs – talk about creative entrepreneurs in a detached manner:

If there had been no creatives, than it was still ... and if there was no municipal investment to improve the neighborhood, than not much had changed. The inhabitants of the neighborhood might have the motivation, but they do not have the initiative. – Joris de Longh, Buro Bliksem

It all starts with the free spirit, and that is the creative sector much more. – Jan Lemmers, WIJKcoöperatie

And perhaps, what personally interests me is that I firmly believe that the creative person, the creative entrepreneur – all of which are foul and filthy terms – is that they are the drivers of the future. So not the ... economic-oriented or business-strategic-oriented one, but the one that can create a holistic connection. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

This indicates that although they believe creative entrepreneurs play a major role in societies, they do not perceive themselves as change makers. So how then do they think they influence the neighborhood? Frans Taminiau states that by organizing things more efficiently there is development:

Simply put; economically, there is development, because we literally make and organize things more efficiently. Which allows us to pick up new things. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

But what role do the entrepreneurs play within the neighborhood? Do they contribute to the neighborhood? Are they involved? This will be examined in the next part.

5.2.5 Sense of belonging

The entrepreneurs were asked about their sense of belonging in the neighborhood: do they participate; are they involved; do they feel a connection; and do they find it important to contribute?

As was argued, only four of the twelve entrepreneurs answered that they felt connected with the neighborhood. From the eight who answered they did not have a connection, five stated that they were initially there to work and not to interact with the neighborhood. But are the entrepreneurs active within the neighborhood and do they find it important to contribute, or are they just focused on themselves and the building?



Table 4; Involvement and the importance to contribute

Involvement and importance to contribute	<i>Involvement/active</i>		<i>Importance to contribute</i>	
	<i>Building</i>	<i>Neighborhood</i>	<i>Building</i>	<i>Neighborhood</i>
Emma van Eijkeren	Yes	No	Yes	No, positive by-product
Frans Taminiau	Yes	Yes	Yes	No, positive by-product
Joris de Longh	No	No	No	No
Sander van Loon	No	No	No	No
Annelotte Vos	Yes	No	Yes	No, positive by-product
Peter van der Helm	-	No	-	Yes, positive by-product
Gijs Broos	Yes, a bit	No	Yes	No
Matthijs Klooster	Yes, a bit	No	Yes	Yes
Dahlia Soliman	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ron Blom and Wim Wiegmann	-	Yes	-	Yes
Jan Lemmers	-	Yes	-	Yes
Rien Hilhorst	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Seven entrepreneurs stated they were active within the building, and seven also stated that they found it important to contribute. Only four entrepreneurs answered that they were active within the neighborhood, while six answered that they thought it was important to contribute to the neighborhood. Three entrepreneurs argued that it was not their main purpose to contribute to the neighborhood, but that it was a positive by-product:

Well I'm just here to work and not to make the neighborhood a nicer place. I am open to it; because I also think that's why every entrepreneur is located in the Gele Gebouw. That's why people settle down here: they want to contribute. But the main thing is work, but I like working in a creative place. – Emma van Eijkeren, EMMA's

There are social components to it. But our objective has never been to develop the area. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

When we started here I lived here. Nowadays I don't live here anymore. So then I might have contributed more. But yes, you're here to work en back then it was much more a living situation. What I do, is, I am the treasurer of the building. So that costs a lot of time. And the rest of the time I need to work. – Rien Hilhorst, SPIN stadsontwikkelaars

Yes, yes, I think that it is important. I also would like to contribute more, but well. Basically you're just too busy with the things you already do. – Matthijs Klooster, MK Architecten

It seems that, although the entrepreneurs state they find it important to contribute, or that it is a positive by-product when it happens, the creative entrepreneurs are self-interested. They are there to earn their living and feel no urgency to contribute:

Actually, if I'm really honest, I think that 99 percent of the entrepreneurs not even really ... that they are just opportunistic. They see chances to do business, so they locate there. [...] I think there are enough entrepreneurs who are located here, who do not specifically have something to do with the neighborhood. – Wim Wiegmann, Wijk-TV

No, I am not active in the neighborhood. I mean, I have got a company to run. But the building then says: you're a community Gijs, you have to do things. Now, I am not the most active person in the building. But oh well, every now and then, and on Wednesdays. You know. Then I really try to attend. But in the area ... yeah what do I have to do within the area? What I do is that, when I encounter a great initiative in the city – whether it is a nightclub or something else – than I will go and have a look if it's possible to do it in this neighborhood. Because I also profit from great initiatives in this neighborhood. When someone or a company is looking for a workspace. I link them to this area. I send them to Havensteder or the other people here. That happened a few times. So I contribute to the programming. – Gijs Broos, Nouvelle Media



5.2.6 Policy and restrictions in the neighborhood

Does the policy present in the neighborhood and building influence the entrepreneurs?

Do the entrepreneurs feel restricted within the neighborhood?

According to Rien Hilhorst and Ron Blom it was always the intention – of the founders of the building and the people in the building – to interact with the inhabitants of the neighborhood:

It has always been the intention. From listen, it is nice that we are here with a few of those cozy, alternative companies, but it is also about the inhabitants of the neighborhood. But we experience that it is difficult. – Rien Hilhorst, SPIN stadsontwikkelaars

I try, with a place-making project, to connect the Agniesebuurt with this area, Zoho. Because that was the idea; that this area is an engine of the neighborhood, but it's not. – Ron Blom, Wijk-TV

It is interesting that these claims are made, because most entrepreneurs do not feel the urgency to be active within the neighborhood. Furthermore the area is experienced as a transitional area with room for experiment. The creative entrepreneurs feel not a lot of restrictions:

It is a forgotten area ... that makes it exciting. You have the opportunity here to experiment ... with transitions laws most of the time interfere with the experiment. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

5.2.7 View on urban processes

From the answers we can subtract and create views on urban processes. What do the creative entrepreneurs think of gentrification and urban development? Notable, I found that most entrepreneurs had a clear vision about urban development and of what should happen. A factor that was mentioned multiple times was the factor of pride and identity. The idea that a neighborhood should have an identity, which again stimulates a sense of pride among inhabitants of the neighborhood:

The fact that people from outside the neighborhood come here. That this place is seen, and that people pass through this neighborhood, so that it does not become an isolated area where nobody passes through. I think that's important for an area. The fact that – for an area – there is a certain charisma, something that has

meaning and an identity. I think that that's important for an area. – Peter van der Helm, PHUrbanism

You know, no inhabitant of the neighborhood will go and have a coffee over there. But the hipsters, coming from all over the city through the Vijverhofstraat, and who think: let's get a coffee. Or on Sunday. You know, that makes a difference and it makes the neighborhood prettier. Of course people profit from that. It all looks nice, you know, it contributes to your feeling of pride, which is not insignificant. I think that's very important. You can also see it happening here; several restaurants and catering companies are starting to establish here. It makes it more beautiful, which – I think – also contributes to the perception of safety and happiness of the neighborhood. It enlivens the neighborhood. – Jan Lemmers, WIJKcoöperatie

Another idea that was mentioned multiple times was the idea that entrepreneurs are there to run their business. Entrepreneurs are self-interested:

I mean we are all working hard to earn our money, but we all do it inwardly. – Ron Blom, Wijk-TV

When push comes to shove, we only think about ourselves. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

Actually, if I'm really honest, I think that 99 percent of the entrepreneurs not even really ... that they are just opportunistic. They see chances to do business, so they locate there. [...] I think there are enough entrepreneurs who are located here, who do not specifically have something to do with the neighborhood. – Wim Wiegmann, Wijk-TV

Joris de Longh stated that gentrification is a self-fulfilling prophecy, and thus unstoppable. Sander van Loon had mixed feelings about the urban development that was happening:

I always have mixed feelings about it, that money is spent here. Or that people develop things so-called for the inhabitants of the neighborhood, but that they design and develop it for too long and too far. That they create something of

which the inhabitants of the neighborhood don't profit ... so to speak; the social problems are not solved with it. – Sander van Loon, Mesh Print Club

And according to Frans Taminiau, the creative entrepreneur is the leader of the future:

And perhaps, what personally interests me is that I firmly believe that the creative person, the creative entrepreneur – all of which are foul and filthy terms – is that they are the drivers of the future. So not the ... economic-oriented or business-strategic-oriented one, but the one that can create a holistic connection. – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter

He also argues that people cannot be controlled:

So I don't believe that you can primarily work on the development of a neighborhood. That's a philosophy that bothers me sometimes. As if people are machines. Like you throw some oil on it and it works. While it is about the needs of people. And that is so diverse. Each individual has his own cocktail of needs. So how can I control that? – Frans Taminiau, Masters that Matter



5.3 Summary of main findings

The researched organizations are all small to medium enterprises. The SMEs can be divided in pure cultural organizations, organizations focusing on social issues, and organizations that are concerned with urban challenges. All the entrepreneurs use however their creativity in order to be able to reach an end product.

The entrepreneurs are all – at first sight – satisfied with the area. If they got the chance to go back in time they would all make the same decision again. The neighborhood is described as diverse and raw; as a place that is undergoing a positive transformation; as a place with a positive future (remarkably, no entrepreneur took into account how the developments could affect him or her); but also as a place wherein the history of the neighborhood is still present. The history of the neighborhood and the process the neighborhood is going through are used to create an identity.

The creative entrepreneurs argue that there is a connection between creative entrepreneurs and their neighborhood, however they themselves do not have such a connection. The building plays – according to them – a bigger role in defining their company. Within the building they profit from the network and knowledge that is present; they profit from the clustering of people.

Considering the location choice, the possibility to network; the liveliness and buzz/vibe of the neighborhood; the low rents; and potential of the area prevail. The location choices of the entrepreneurs in the Zomerhofkwartier are based upon factors such as amenities, culture, diversity and buzz.

Most entrepreneurs assign the influence in the area to other parties. They talk about the influence of the cultural sector as if they are not part of the cultural sector. This indicates that although they believe creative entrepreneurs play a major role in societies, they do not perceive themselves as change makers.

Considering contributing to the area, it seems that – although the entrepreneurs state they find it important to contribute, or that it is a positive by-product when it happens – the creative entrepreneurs are self-interested. They are there to earn their living and feel no urgency to contribute.

Most entrepreneurs had a clear vision about urban development and of what should happen. A factor that was mentioned multiple times was the factor of pride and identity: a neighborhood should have an identity, which stimulates a sense of pride among inhabitants of the neighborhood. Another idea that was mentioned multiple times was the idea that entrepreneurs are there to run their business and not to contribute to the surroundings. Entrepreneurs are self-interested.



Concluding, the findings show that entrepreneurs are self-interested and that when they have no urgency to interact with their neighborhood, they will not do it. Additionally the findings show that most creative entrepreneurs do not attribute the influence in the neighborhood to themselves. They do however see creative entrepreneurs – generally – as an influence.



6. Conclusion and discussion

The change from the traditional economic paradigm to a knowledge-based paradigm had and has an enormous impact on our society. The demand for creativity increased and suddenly creativity had to be incorporated everywhere; it changed how we work, where we work, and it changed how we look at our cities. But are all perspectives exposed when using creativity? How creative entrepreneurs 'do' regeneration and how they make decisions about where to locate is being underexposed (Lees & Melhuish, 2012; Markusen, 2014). This research investigated how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development. This chapter will connect the findings to the reviewed literature, it will give an answer to the theoretical and empirical sub-questions stated in chapter 1.2 and 4.2, and it will answer the main research question.

In the first paragraph the findings will be connected to the literature; in the second paragraph the sub-questions will be answered; third, the main research question will be answered; fourth, the limitations and implications of the research will be discussed; and in the fifth and final paragraph recommendations for further research will be discussed.



6.1 Discussion of the findings

In chapter five the findings of the empirical research were presented. In this part of the thesis the findings will – per theme – be connected to the reviewed literature.

6.1.1 The creative entrepreneurs and their business

The organizations fall in one of the two the categories: one-man business or small enterprise (1 – 10 employees); or as Throsby (2008) would define them: they are small to medium enterprises (SMEs). This categorization was to be expected, as SMEs are the predominant type of firm in the cultural sector: 80 percent of the enterprises in the cultural sector consist of SMEs (Throsby, 2008). Furthermore the cultural labor force is more than twice as likely to be self-employed than the whole economy average (Bellini et al, 2011).

Analyzing the organizations we can argue that all the organizations identify as creative industries and the entrepreneurs identify as creative class. Using the definition by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport of Britain (2001) we can identify them as creative industries because they are industries requiring “creativity and talent, with potential for wealth and job creation through exploitation of their intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001). The entrepreneurs can be considered creative class because they are all highly educated and productive people with a social or cultural goal (Florida, 2005). Notable was that Mesh Print Club – a printing community and graphic workshop – did not see itself as part of the creative industries, while its product or service contains a creative input (UNESCO, 2006) and while its output and industry structure is different than other industries (Throsby, 2008). Three of the entrepreneurs were clearly aware of the risk they were taking by managing an entrepreneurship. Risk taking is an important part of creative entrepreneurship because the cultural sector deals with an oversupply of creative entrepreneurs matched by a downward trend in demand (Nijkamp, 2001; Aageson, 2008; Hausmann, 2010; Philips, 2011).

Furthermore, the fact that eight of the twelve entrepreneurs had a hard time defining their consumers (they stated they were very diverse) could be due to the fact that the demand for the output of cultural products is uncertain (Caves, 2000). The reaction of the public is unknown and there is a lack of information (Throsby, 2008).

6.1.2 The neighborhood

According to the theoretical framework the neighborhood the Agniesebuurt and the Zomerhofkwartier is a relatively safe neighborhood, however it remains an endangered area where continued vigilance is needed. Furthermore, the neighborhood has a low perceived safety. It is perceived as an anonymous passage district adjacent to an

outdated industrial area; an anonymous neighborhood with low social bond. How does this view respond with the view of the entrepreneurs?

The entrepreneurs have positive expectations about the neighborhood. Some of these ideas connect with city success factors posed by Jacobs (1961), Anderson (1983), Landry (1996), and Ascherson (1996). First, the entrepreneurs describe the neighborhood as a diverse place. This diversity of environment is according to Jacobs (1961) one of the factors determining the success of a city. Second, the entrepreneurs use a weakness of the neighborhood – the fact that the neighborhood used to be an anonymous (and unsafe) passage district – and turn it into a strength. They create an identity for the neighborhood using its history. This connects with Landry's (1996) theory that argues that success factors of a city are the creation of an identity and to turn weaknesses into strengths. In brief, the entrepreneurs brand the area and create an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983). This 'imagined community; creates "the conviction that other inhabitants in distant streets, whom one will never meet or see, share elements of a common culture and react to events as one would react oneself" (Ascherson, 1996).

The entrepreneurs create – by utilizing local strengths – an identity for the neighborhood. But how do they connect with the neighborhood? As was presented; from the eight entrepreneurs who answered that they did not have a connection; five stated they were initially there to work and not to interact with the neighborhood. A clarification for this focus could be the fact that a lot of entrepreneurs face long working hours and that they experience fierce competition from bigger companies (Ellmeier, 2003). Sander van Loon argued that the work field of the cultural sector is too small to settle comfortably down somewhere, this connects with Markusen (2014) who argues that creative entrepreneurs are relatively footloose. Remarkable was furthermore that most entrepreneurs had a hard time describing their organizational image, despite the definitions of Thompson (2000), Ellmeier (2003), and Aageson (2008) who describe entrepreneurs as visionaries.

6.1.3 The building

The entrepreneurs confirm that the Gele Gebouw is a creative hub – a group of interconnected businesses that produce new ideas when sufficiently networked (Baeker, 2008) – due to the role they attribute to the building in the neighborhood (Virani, 2015), and due to the network benefits they experience by being located in the building (Baeker, 2008). Hubs play an important role in the local creative community



(Virani, 2015). Following this reasoning we can state the Gele Gebouw plays an important role in the Zomerhofkwartier.

Furthermore, seven entrepreneurs stated the network present in the building – thus the clustering of human capital – influenced their work. The clustering of human capital is a positive externality and an important indicator of economic growth (Florida, 2002; Miles, 2005).

6.1.4 Location choice

Current literature on the location decisions of creative entrepreneurs is short (Markusen, 2014). The findings indicate that – connecting with Greenwood & Hunt (1989), Mueser & Graves (1995), Florida (2002), Storper & Venables, (2004), and Markusen (2014) – the location choices of the entrepreneurs in the Zomerhofkwartier are based upon factors such as amenities, culture, diversity and buzz. Furthermore the entrepreneurs seem to have intensively considered two of the three dimensions of Florida (2002):

- ‘What’s going on?’ 9 of the 12 entrepreneurs mentioned the vibe in the neighborhood as an attractive element of choosing a location.
- And ‘who’s there?’ 10 of the 12 entrepreneurs mentioned the possibilities the building and the neighborhood offered to network were a significant factor when choosing a location.

This view breaks with the theory of Greenwood & Hunt (1984), Kleiner (1977), and Saxenian (1994) who argue that workers follow jobs. Furthermore, there is no connection with the argument of Markusen (2014) who states creative organizations will take into account how their location will affect their demand. None of the entrepreneurs talked about how their location will affect their demand. From the findings we can thus argue that factors such as amenities, culture, and diversity are of influence (Florida, 2002; Greenwood & Hunt, 1989; Mueser & Graves, 1995).

6.1.5 Change and influence

The neighborhood is a tangible example of the new focus towards creativity of Rotterdam. Furthermore, Stipo Rotterdam, housing corporation Havensteder, and the city council try to convert the old industrial area from the 1950s by combining the development of real estate and urban planning with innovation. How do the entrepreneurs experience this new focus? Do they experience changes and to whom do they attribute these influences?

According to Jan Lemmers there are changes within the Zomerhofkwartier. However he states that these changes do not reach the inhabitants of the neighborhood.



The idea that the positive developments do not reach the inhabitants of the neighborhood could be an indicator that the inhabitants of the neighborhood are being disadvantaged by the new focus and upgrading of the neighborhood; is the Zomerhofkwartier becoming “an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes” (Lees, 2007, p.2457)?

Peter van der Helm assigns the changes present in the neighborhood to the people in the building and the activities they organize. He thus follows the theory that clusters and hubs create benefits for the economy and society (Lorenzen & Frederiksen, 2008; Selada, 2011).

Overall it seems that although the entrepreneurs believe creative entrepreneurs play a major role in societies, they do not perceive themselves as change makers. Connecting to Lavanga’s (2013) theory about the different roles creative entrepreneurs can play within urban development, it seems that most entrepreneurs are an integral part of the process. They are an unconscious and quiet force influencing a neighborhood without a lot of interaction. By being located in a certain area creative entrepreneurs create an identity for the place; an identity that contributes to a positive feeling and development. After analyzing the interviews we can assign the following roles to the respondents:

Table 5; The entrepreneurs and their role within the process

Interviewee	Company	Role in process
Emma van Eijkeren	Emma’s	Integral part of the process
Frans Taminiau	Masters That Matter	Integral part of the process/ Agent of change
Joris de Longh	BuroBliksem	Integral part of the process
Sander van Loon	Mesh Print Club	Integral part of the process
Annelotte Vos	Sotine Jewelry	Integral part of the process
Peter van der Helm	PHUrbanism	Integral part of the process
Gijs Broos	Nouvelle Media	Integral part of the process
Matthijs Klooster	MK Architecten	Integral part of the process
Dahlia Soliman	Stipo	Initiator
Wim Wiegmann and Ron Blom	Wijk-TV	Integral part of the process
Jan Lemmers	WIJKcoöperatie	Agent of change
Rien Hilhorst	SPIN stadsontwikkelaars	Initiator

6.1.6 Sense of belonging

Although the entrepreneurs' state they find it important to contribute, or that it is a positive by-product when it happens, the creative entrepreneurs are self-interested. This has probably to do with the fact they are all self-employed, have long working hours and experience fierce competition (Ellmeier, 2003). They are there to earn their living and feel no urgency to contribute.

6.1.7 Policy and restrictions in the neighborhood

The idea that the entrepreneurs and the building should be a driver of the neighborhood could indicate that the entrepreneurs are 'used' to regenerate the area (Lavanga, 2013). Furthermore, the area is experienced as a transitional area with room for experiment. The creative entrepreneurs thus feel not a lot of restrictions. The fact they feel free to do whatever they want and that they do not feel restricted connects with the new policy of Rotterdam in which creative production is encouraged (Kooijman, Romein, 2007). By not restricting the creative entrepreneurs they are stimulated to do their 'thing'.

6.1.8 View on urban processes

Most entrepreneurs had a clear vision about urban development and of what should happen. The mentioned views on urban processes concerned:

- The creation of an identity and stimulation of the feeling of pride: identity creates a distinguishing character which strengthens a place or situation (Landry, 1996);
- Creative entrepreneurs are self-interested and just there to do business. This could be due to long working hours and fierce competition (Ellmeier, 2003);
- Gentrification is a self-fulfilling prophecy: gentrification is hard to stop;
- A mixed feeling: should the money not go to the inhabitants of the neighborhood instead of the people in the building? Is gentrification "an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes?" (Lees, 2007, p.2457);
- The creative entrepreneur is the leader of the future: "It is in the cultural arena that battles of the future will be fought – won and lost. Thus a cultural perspective needs to move center stage in the planning of our cities" (Verwijnen, 1999, p.6);
- People cannot be controlled: cities consist of people and not machines (Bianchini, 1996).



6.2 Sub-questions

To answer the main research question the sub-questions need to be answered. The theoretical sub-questions are answered using the reviewed literature. The empirical sub-questions are answered using the empirical data obtained from the twelve in-depth interviews.

6.2.1 Theoretical sub-questions

The first theoretical sub-questions concern the location decisions of creative entrepreneurs: How do creative entrepreneurs decide where to locate their business? Creative entrepreneurs are leading visionaries with a focus on creating something new and durable – using a creative input, the element of combination, innovation, and risk – in which moneymaking is not the primary focus. The reviewed literature on location choice indicates that location factors that influence location decisions of creative individuals are complex. Additionally, the studies seem to contradict each other. While Dahl and Sorenson (2011) argue that entrepreneurs prefer regions in which they are rooted, Markusen (2014) argues that creative works are footloose and often cross state lines. The element that all entrepreneurs seem to consider when choosing a location is the quality of place (Florida, 2002), which is based on what's there, who's there and what's going on.

The other two theoretical sub-questions – focused on creative entrepreneurs – read as follows: How do creative entrepreneurs create a sense of place that encourages additional investment and, how do creative entrepreneurs activate city life? A sense of place/belonging makes cities desirable places to live (Landry, 2002). But how exactly do creative entrepreneurs create such a sense and how do they activate city life? By being located in a certain area cultural and creative entrepreneurs create an identity for a place (Landry, 1996). This identity stimulates the imagination of people; it engages people; and it creates dialogue (Landry, 1996). An 'imagined community' is created which strengthens the area and which makes the area a place that increases the chances of inhabitants of the neighborhood (Lees, 2007).

Concerning gentrification, under which circumstances does gentrification take place and are there possibilities to prevent the process? Gentrification occurs when there is an increasing gap between the current rent and the potential rent that could be requested for the area. A 'rent gap' and a high rate of renters is thus an important prerequisite (Smith & LeFaivre, 1984). Furthermore, the geographical location of the area is an important prerequisite. The area has to be easily accessible, close to the city center, it must have a high architectural value and comparatively low housing values (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001).

Overall, is gentrification a necessary step in urban revitalization? As the limited literature on the prevention of gentrification suggests: gentrification is a process that is hard to stop. It seems that – in certain areas – gentrification is a necessary and inevitable step of urban revitalization.

6.2.2 Empirical sub-questions

What can we conclude from the empirical data? First, What are the motivations of creative entrepreneurs located in a gentrifying area to be located there? As we can conclude from the researched location choice of the creative entrepreneurs (5.2.3) the possibility to network, liveliness and buzz/vibe of the neighborhood were the main motivations of the creative entrepreneurs to choose the location. This finding suggests that the location choices of the entrepreneurs in the Zomerhofkwartier are based upon factors such as amenities, culture, diversity and buzz (Greenwood & Hunt, 1989; Mueser & Graves, 1995; Florida, 2002; Storper & Venables, 2004; Markusen, 2014). The creative entrepreneurs are thus motivated by ‘what’s going on?’ and ‘who’s there?’ (Florida, 2002). They are ‘pulled’ towards the location rather than being ‘pushed’ by poor working conditions, low wages, and unemployment (Herzog & Schlottmann, 1984).

How do these creative entrepreneurs view their contribution in the neighborhood/revitalization/gentrification? Although the creative entrepreneurs perceive it as a positive by-product that they contribute to the regeneration of the neighborhood, it was never their intention. In the first place they are there to work and not to make the neighborhood more enjoyable. Although they describe creative entrepreneurs as innovators and leaders of the future they themselves work inwards. Creative entrepreneurs are self-interested and do not actively participate in regenerating the neighborhood: “When push comes to shove we are all selfish” (Taminiau, F. Personal communication, March 29, 2016).

The entrepreneurs do not perceive themselves as the ones making tangible and direct contributions to the neighborhood/revitalization/gentrification. They attribute themselves a marginal and intangible role: by just being there they contribute to the identity of the neighborhood; an identity that stimulates the feeling of pride (Throsby, 2008).



6.3 Main research question

The thesis aimed – by answering the sub-questions – to identify how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development. It furthermore tried to shed a different light on the term gentrification; it critically examined the relationship between creative entrepreneurs and urban development; it provided qualitative data on the role of creative entrepreneurs in urban regeneration; and it examined whether culture-led urban development is more about rhetoric than about reality.

From the sub-questions we can conclude that although the creative entrepreneurs located in the Zomerhofkwartier are an integral part of gentrification – they create for example an identity for the neighborhood – they do not perceive themselves as the ones making tangible and direct contributions. This is contrary to what was expected, because creative entrepreneurs are seen as kick-starters of a gentrification process (Landry, 2002; Markusen, 2014). Furthermore it is argued that educated creative people are agents of transformation (Duranton & Puga, 2001; Markusen & King, 2003; Gertler, 2004) and that they accumulate knowledge in dense urban areas by face-to-face contact (Jacobs, 1969). The counterintuitive findings insinuate that creative entrepreneurs attribute themselves a marginal and intangible role; that they are not active within a neighborhood and there is certainly no face-to-face contact.

According to the findings, the creative entrepreneurs do not attribute themselves a big role in urban development and gentrification processes due to the fact that they are self-interested and that they feel no urgency to make a (tangible) contribution. They credit the influence to other parties and only ‘help’ if they profit from it. Or as Gijs Broos from Nouvelle Media poses it:

No, I am not active in the neighborhood. I mean, I have got a company to run.

And

But in the area ... yeah what do I have to do in the area? What I do is that, when I encounter a great initiative in the city – whether it is a nightclub or something else – than I will go and have a look if it’s possible to do it in this neighborhood. Because I also profit from great initiatives in this neighborhood.

Could the fact the entrepreneurs do not view themselves part of the development indicate that gentrification is being imposed; that gentrification is executed using a top-

down approach; and that it is more about rhetoric than about reality? It seems that – because the building is not an engine for the neighborhood although according to policies it should be – rhetoric prevails. Furthermore, the fact that the entrepreneurs who are perceived the initiators and agents of change do speak about the Gele Gebouw as a driver for the neighborhood, while the creative entrepreneurs who are perceived as an integral part of the process do not, indicates that gentrification is imposed.

The counterintuitive findings indicate that the society and the economy have changed; however, the content and the way in which the term gentrification is used have not. As Sander van Loon posits:

Yes that used to be the case, as an entrepreneur you were sometimes supported to take up or address certain issues. Or you got some resources in certain respects. But that's no longer the case.

To make sure gentrification becomes about reality again instead of rhetoric, people should keep in mind that urban cultural development is a complex process in which the economic, social, environmental and cultural dimension should all be maintained and enhanced (Lavanga, 2013). Besides, local needs should be addressed. People should observe before they act; or as Jacobs (1961) poses it: "Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."

By answering how creative entrepreneurs view their part in gentrification processes/urban development I provided an insight into how creative entrepreneurs actually 'do' regeneration (Lees & Melhuish, 2012; Markusen, 2014); I provided an insight into who these people are (Markusen, 2006); why they are located somewhere (Markusen, 2014); what the relationship between creative entrepreneurs and urban development contains (Markusen, 2006; Glaeser, 2009); if the term gentrification can still be used the same way as when it first appeared in academic literature or that it needs to be adjusted; and I contributed to research on entrepreneurs, which according to Glaeser (2009) has been done too little. Furthermore, the gained insights are useful for the municipality of Rotterdam when addressing culture for urban development, for the insights show reflection and observation are necessary to make sure reality prevails instead of rhetoric.

Although the research provided insights into the relationship between creative entrepreneurship and urban development, it remains hard to establish a causal connection (Glaeser, 2009). Or as Frans Taminiu from Masters that Matter poses it:

So I don't believe that you can primarily work on the development of a neighborhood. That's a philosophy that bothers me sometimes. As if people are machines. Like you throw some oil on it and it works. While it is about the needs of people. And that is so diverse. Each individual has his own cocktail of needs. So how can I control that?



6.4 Limitations and implications

Several limitations of this study need to be mentioned. The first limitation concerns the fact that there is a lack of qualitative studies on creative entrepreneurs and gentrification. On the one hand this can be considered a benefit, because it allows you to fill a gap and research something that has not been done before. On the other hand it is a limitation, for example when developing the literature review. Second, the research was based on a single case and made use of a small amount of interviews. This makes the external validity of the research low. However, due to time constraints it was not possible to research multiple cases. The third limitation, which also concerns the external validity of the research, concerns the fact that the study is solely based on qualitative data. This makes it hard to draw proper scientific conclusions. It seemed however to be the right approach, because it allowed me to focus on the context.

Furthermore, this study has generated a number of implications that would be of interest for the creative entrepreneurs, for (the policy within) the building, the neighborhood, policies that incorporate creativity, and cities. Several of these implications are discussed below. Concerning these implications we can distinguish between implications that relate to and were generated during the process and implications that were generated by the outcome of the study.

6.4.1 Implications relating to the process

Entrepreneurs should formulate a clear mission, vision and profile of their customers

As was shown by the empirical results eight of the twelve entrepreneurs had a hard time defining their customers, and most had a hard time describing their organizational image. Knowing where you stand contributes – as argued by Thompson (2000) – to your leadership and entrepreneurial skills. To strengthen your entrepreneurship entrepreneurs should therefore formulate a clear mission, vision and profile of their customers.

Engage with the neighborhood and work on an open environment

The building was meant to be a stimulator of the environment. According to some entrepreneurs this was not the case. By engaging more with the environment, by organizing more cultural activities to stimulate a sense of belonging (Beedham & Wade, 2005), and by opening up to the neighborhood the building could become even more a



stimulator of the environment. A stimulator that contributes to the quality of life and place (Florida, 2002) and that will affect individual's life chances (Lees, 2007).

6.4.2 Implications generated by the outcome

Policies should not solely focus on one dimension, but incorporate the economic, social, environmental and cultural dimension

As was already argued, urban cultural development is a complex process in which all the different dimensions should be enhanced. This research suggests – in line with Lavanga (2013) – that focusing solely on culture and politics is not enough. The environmental and social dimensions play an important role; for example: without the inhabitants of the neighborhood it is hard to achieve something within the neighborhood.

Bottom-up initiatives should be addressed first when regenerating and enlivening an area

The society and the economy keep changing. Resources and processes that were used before are becoming outdated or need to be adjusted. Top-down initiatives that are being imposed should be used less. Incorporating inhabitants of the neighborhood and focusing on bottom-up initiatives will have much more effect.

Cities should involve creative entrepreneurs and inhabitants in urban regeneration processes

Cities should use creative entrepreneurs and inhabitants of the neighborhood to observe what is actually happening. Using these observations and subjective experiences, custom made policies could be generated.

City policies should take into account that entrepreneurs are self-interested

The finding creative entrepreneurs are self-interested and that when they feel no urgency they will not contribute could be used by city policies to address culture more properly. Making entrepreneurs more aware of their role within a neighborhood could make a difference between contributing or not.

Cities should reflect on urban development processes (that are already taking place)

As was shown by the findings cities should be aware of the threat concerning urban development in which rhetoric prevails instead of reality. To make sure cultural urban development is happening in an appropriate way cities should reflect and observe.



6.5 Recommendations for further research

The claim that entrepreneurs make cities economically dynamic was already made in the year 1776. But even today more in-depth, qualitative research is needed to understand and grasp how creative entrepreneurs view their role in gentrification process and urban development. It would be interesting – for comparison – to carry out the same research, using the same topic list and question list, in a different area. Greater attention should as well be given to

How creative entrepreneurial activity impact key urban issues

Establishing a more causal connection between creative entrepreneurship and urban issues could contribute to a more appropriate use of culture.

If gentrification can be slowed down and/or stopped

Studies investigating gentrification are plentiful, however studies investigating how gentrification could be slowed down and/or stopped are scarce. By investigating if gentrification could be slowed down or stopped a balance within neighborhoods could be created, which could take away the idea that gentrification is “an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes” (Lees, 2007, p.2457).

If entrepreneurs have a relation with their neighborhood and what the relationship comprises

Is it true what Sander van Loon states that creative entrepreneurs should be able to feel at home everywhere or are entrepreneurs rooted somewhere and do they feel connected and responsible for the neighborhood they are located in?

If entrepreneurs realize how their position will be affected by the positive developments

Although almost all the entrepreneurs agree the neighborhood has undergone a positive transformation and they expect a bright future, it does not seem that they are aware of how the development will influence their position. The increasing rents and the upgrading image of the neighborhood could lead to a relocation of themselves. If the entrepreneurs were aware of this effect, would they still play the same role?



If gentrification is becoming a rhetorical device; a catch-all phrase that is losing its meaning

The concept gentrification is these days often cited in policy documents. As evidenced by the findings, gentrification and the upgrading of a neighborhood does not always happen the way it is expected to be. Are policymakers aware of what the concept actually means and how it should be addressed? Is the term these days ambiguous, overused and poorly defined?

The development of a model

The level of involvement of creative entrepreneurs in the renewal of a neighborhood determines the success of the area (Landry, 1996). Therefore, it would be interesting and useful to develop a model – based on the findings and additional research – on how creative entrepreneurs could be involved within a neighborhood/in the upgrading of a neighborhood.



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Appendix

A. Topic list English and Dutch

Topic list - English

1. The creative entrepreneur and his/her business
 - a. Who are you
 - b. Description company
2. Image of the company and the role of the building/neighborhood in this image
 - a. Imago business
 - b. The building
 - c. Location decisions
 - d. Building/neighborhood and the product
3. The cultural entrepreneur and the neighborhood
 - a. Atmosphere
 - b. Participation
 - c. Influence
4. Concluding
 - a. Cultural entrepreneurs and their neighborhood – general
 - b. The Gele Gebouw and the Zomerhofkwartier

Topic list - Dutch

1. Inleiding: de culturele ondernemer en zijn/haar bedrijf
 - a. Wie bent u
 - b. Beschrijving bedrijf
2. Imago van het bedrijf en de rol van het gebouw/de buurt in dit imago
 - a. Imago bedrijf
 - b. Het gebouw
 - c. Locatiebeslissingen
 - d. Gebouw/buurt en het product
3. De culturele ondernemer en de buurt
 - a. Sfeer in de buurt
 - b. Participatie
 - c. Invloed
4. Afsluitend/concluderend
 - a. Culturele ondernemers en hun buurt
 - b. Gele gebouw en Zomerhofkwartier

B. Specific questions English and Dutch

English

The cultural entrepreneur and its company

1. Please introduce yourself
2. Please describe your company
3. Do you consider your company part of the creative industries?
4. When was your company established?
5. How many employees do you have?
6. Could you describe your clients?

Image of the organization and the role of the building in this image

7. How important is the image of the company for your organization?
8. What role does the building play in this image?
9. What role does the neighborhood play in this image?
10. Do the building and the neighborhood have any significance for your employees and/or customers?
11. Could you please tell me more about the building/your workspace?
12. When did you move to this building?
13. What were the most important reasons for your company to relocate?
14. If you had the opportunity to move back in time, would you choose another place to locate?
15. Does the building influence your creative work?
16. Does the neighborhood influence your creative work?
17. Could you please tell me more about the neighborhood?

The cultural entrepreneur and the neighborhood

18. How would you describe the atmosphere/sphere within the neighborhood?
19. Do you feel connected with the neighborhood?
20. Are you active within the neighborhood?
21. Do you think you contribute to the neighborhood? Is this important to you?
22. How would you describe your role within the neighborhood?
23. Do you think the building – the Gele Gebouw – influences the neighborhood? If yes, how?
24. Do you think your work influences the neighborhood? If yes, how?
25. Could you please describe the neighborhood in three words:
 - a. Before you got here
 - b. Right now

Concluding

26. Do you think cultural entrepreneurs are closely connected with their neighborhood?
27. So concluding, do you think that the Gele Gebouw has a major influence on the neighborhood?
28. How do you think that the neighborhood would have been without the Gele Gebouw?
29. Do you have anything to add?



Dutch

De culturele ondernemer en zijn/haar bedrijf

1. Kunt u uzelf voorstellen? Uw naam, hoe oud bent u, wat doet u?
2. Kunt u alstublieft het bedrijf beschrijven?
3. Beschouwt u het bedrijf als een onderdeel van de creatieve industrie?
4. Wanneer is het bedrijf opgericht?
5. Hoeveel werknemers heeft u?
6. Kunt u uw klanten beschrijven?

Beeld van de organisatie en de rol van het gebouw/de buurt in dit beeld

7. Hoe belangrijk is het imago van het bedrijf? Kunt u dit imago beschrijven?
8. Welke rol speelt het gebouw – het Gele Gebouw – in dit imago?
9. Welke rol speelt de buurt – het Zomerhofkwartier – in dit imago?
10. Heeft het gebouw en de omgeving enige betekenis voor uw medewerkers en klanten?
11. Kunt u me meer vertellen over het gebouw en uw werkruimte?
12. Wanneer bent u naar dit gebouw verhuist?
13. Wat waren de belangrijkste redenen om naar dit gebouw te verhuizen? Wat waren de belangrijkste redenen om u hier te vestigen?
14. Als u de kans kreeg om terug in de tijd te gaan, zou u een andere plek kiezen?
15. Heeft het gebouw invloed op uw werk?
16. Heeft de buurt invloed op uw werk?
17. Kunt u me meer over de omgeving vertellen?

De culturele ondernemer en de buurt

18. Hoe zou u de sfeer binnen de wijk beschrijven?
19. Voelt u zich verbonden met de buurt?
20. Bent u actief in de buurt?
21. Denkt u dat u een bijdrage levert aan de buurt? Is dit belangrijk voor u?
22. How zou u uw rol binnen de buurt beschrijven?
23. Denkt u dat het gebouw – het Gele Gebouw – de buurt beïnvloedt? Zo ja, hoe?
24. Denkt u dat uw werk de buurt beïnvloedt? Zo ja, hoe?
25. Kun u de wijk in drie woorden beschrijven? Onderscheid tussen:
 - A. Voordat u hier kwam
 - B. Huidige situatie, nu

Afsluitend/concluderend

26. Denkt u dat culturele ondernemers nauw verbonden zijn met hun buurt?

27. Denkt u dat het Gele Gebouw de buurt beïnvloedt? Hoe komt dat?
28. Hoe denkt u dat de buurt geweest zou zijn zonder het Gele Gebouw?
29. Heeft u nog iets toe te voegen?



C. Overview interviews

Table 6; Overview interviews

Interviewee	Company	Date	Duration (minutes)
Emma van Eijkeren	Emma's	March 29, 2016 - 10.00	43
Frans Taminiau	Masters That Matter	March 29, 2016 - 13.30	83
Joris de Longh	BuroBliksem	March 31, 2016 - 09.00	29
Sander van Loon	Mesh Print Club	March 31, 2016 - 14.00	47
Annelotte Vos	Sotine Jewelry	March 31, 2016 - 16.00	55
Peter van der Helm	PHUrbanism	April 1, 2016 - 10.00	64
Gijs Broos	Nouvelle Media	April 1, 2016 - 13.00	70
Matthijs Klooster	MK Architecten	April 5, 2016 - 17.00	46
Dahlia Soliman	Stipo	April 8, 2016 - 11.00	46
Wim Wiegmann and Ron Blom	Wijk-TV	April 11, 2016 - 11.00	51
Jan Lemmers	WIJKcoöperatie	April 15, 2016 - 14.00	73
Rien Hilhorst	SPIN stadsontwikkelaars	April 21, 2016 - 16.00	49

D. Codebook

Table 7; Codebook

Theme	Code	Description
Background information	Personal	Information about the interviewee: age, name, education, etc.
	Company	Information about the interviewee's company
Neighborhood	Description	A description of the neighborhood, about its sphere, its inhabitants, ...
	Change	How the neighborhood changes throughout the years
	Future	A description of the future of the neighborhood
	Connection entrepreneur and neighborhood	How entrepreneurs and a neighborhood are connected
	Connection company and neighborhood	How the company and the neighborhood are connected
	Influence neighborhood and work	If the neighborhood influences the work of the respondent
	Added value of being located in the neighborhood	If being located in the neighborhood is an added value for the respondent or for the company
	Policy	Policy in the area
Policy in the neighborhood		What policy is present in the neighborhood
Policy in the building		What policy is present in the building
Changes	Changes	Recognition of (no) changes in the neighborhood
	Changes other parties	Recognition of (no) changes in the neighborhood by other parties

Influences	Influence	Recognition of (no) influences in the neighborhood
	Influences other parties	Recognition of (no) influences in the neighborhood by other parties
Sense of belonging	Participation	If the respondent participates in the neighborhood/events/the building
	Involvement	If the respondent is involved in the neighborhood/building
	Connection with the neighborhood	If the respondent is connected to the neighborhood. If he/she feels that he/she belongs there
	Important to contribute	If the respondent finds it important to contribute to its surroundings
Location choice		Why the respondent chose this location for its company
The building	Connection building and work	If the building influences the work of the respondent or if the work of the respondent influences the building
	Network	Networks/connections between entrepreneurs in the building
Restrictions in the neighborhood		Feelings of being restricted
View on urban processes	Gentrification	The respondent's view on gentrification
	Regeneration	The respondent's view on regeneration



E. Interview transcripts

See separate document





