WHY ALMERE?

THE UNIQUE VALUE OF ALMERE FOR CREATIVE INDIVIDUALS

Master thesis

Name:	Nina van der Velde
Student number:	420049
Email address:	420049nv@eur.nl
Supervisor:	Dr. Arjo Klamer
Second reader:	Dr. Ellen Loots
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Erasmus University Rotterdam

School of History, Culture and Communication

Master Cultural Economics and Entrepreneurship

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ABSTRACT

As creative individuals are believed to be an important driving force of economic growth of cities, they have been an important topic of discussion for scholars. Although extensive literature research has focused on what attracts these creative individuals to places, these studies focus primarily on creative cities. However, practice shows us that creative individuals do not only move to creative cities and places that are considered attractive. They also locate in less attractive and creative cities, such as the Dutch New Town Almere. Although Almere is generally regarded as an unattractive city with a negative reputation, there appear to be creative individuals that seem attracted to the city by something. This is an important observation that needs to be further explored, as attracting creative individuals could benefit Almere's cultural and economic position. This study examines the unique value of Almere for creative individuals. It begins by showing the theoretical concepts that discuss what attracts creative individuals to certain locations. Next, these concepts are tested for the case of Almere, through qualitative empirical research into the location perception and evaluation of creative individuals working in Almere. The study shows that the attractiveness of cities for creative individuals cannot easily be explained by external location factors, as expected from earlier studies, but is rather dependent on internal factors and transcendental values.

Keywords: Creative Cities, New Towns, Creative Individuals, Almere, Urban Growth, City Attractiveness, City Marketing, Creative Class, Creative Clustering, Cultural Entrepreneurs, Artists

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Nina van der Velde
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1. RESEARCH INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Whether it was Almere Binnen, Almere Buiten or Almere Haven, I found it bleak and boring. I was young, I was silly, so I wrote: 'Almere is a fast growing municipality. A good example of growth not being progress by definition.'

Jort van Dijk (Nachtbrakers)

Van Dijk (n.d.) might have slightly returned to what he said, yet this quote is a good example of the existing negativity about the city of Almere. A city known to many as a depressing place, where nothing is to be found. A city with only new built houses. A city full of PVV[1] voters. A city without a history, without tradition, without culture. In 2008, Almere won a prize for being the ugliest city of The Netherlands (Heijmans, 2008). That same year, the city was ranked 40th in the list of the tenth edition of the Atlas, in which the 50 largest municipalities of The Netherlands are compared in housing attractiveness, the availability of jobs, the cultural offer, safety and accessibility of nature (Omroep Flevoland, 2008). Moreover, in an annual research to negativity about cities at online media platforms like Facebook and Twitter, it was found that people talk very negative about Almere (Van den Broek, 2013). This negative image does not exist without reason. Almere offers affordable housing and has a centre full of big chain stores, but it lacks the culture and creativity a city should have. Of the cultural activities by the citizens of Almere, 53% happens outside of the city (Cultuur 2.0, 2012, p.18). The city has a small creative industry, it misses an exciting nightlife and it does not even have its own museum. Almere is struggling to be the city it wants to be. An attractive city. A creative city. There is a high level of unemployment, the average income is low, the ambiance and living climate are displeasing; in short, a large disappointment (Milikowski, 2017). Who would want to live or work in a city like that?

Almere is a New Town in The Netherlands, built in the 1970s to alleviate the capital Amsterdam from its many inhabitants. Today, 40 years after the emergence of the city, Almere has grown into a city with 201.454 inhabitants (Oozo, 2017) with the aim to grow into a city with 350.000 citizens in 2030/2040 (RRAAM, 2012). This growth translates not only in the development and growth of housing and infrastructure, but rather in the

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[1] The PVV is a Dutch political party, often referred to as being extremely right, populist and anti-Islamic.

development of the quality of life within the city, of which culture is an essential part. An important aspect of cultural urban development is attracting creatives, or a creative class, as they stimulate economic growth with their new ideas, creative thinking and problem solving approach (Florida, 2002). Attractiveness for creative individuals therefore has become an important subject for Almere and for cities in general, and governments are more and more occupied with stimulating the creative development of cities through attracting creative individuals. For Almere, however, attracting creatives might be easier said than done. As New Towns are built to meet the desire to live in a single-family home in a calm and quiet area, but also within the reach of the urban sphere, they have both urban as suburban characteristics. The urban characteristics of a city are strongly connected to high employment opportunities in the organization of large, international companies, and attractiveness for knowledge workers and the creative class (PBL, 2012). On the other hand, suburban characteristics are less associated with attractiveness for creative individuals and creative development. Yet, it can be noticed that in Almere, the suburban characteristics are predominant to the urban characteristics, which makes it unlikely to attract creative individuals to the city and based on the creative city concept, it even seems almost impossible (PBL, 2012). Especially as being part of the Metropolitan Region Amsterdam, it is difficult for Almere to attract creatives and to compete with the creative city Amsterdam. The New Town lacks the urban atmosphere, history and cultural amenities that attract the creative individuals to a city (PBL, 2012, p.95). At the same time, Amsterdam keeps growing and the jobs that are created in the capital attract the labor forces from close by cities like Almere. In this way, the spatial division between big, popular cities and middle-sized unattractive cities in the country is growing. Being aware of this division and the problems that Almere as a New Town has, how can the city attract creative individuals to develop its cultural infrastructure? Does the city have something to offer to these creatives? Something that makes them want to go to Almere instead of the cultural magnet Amsterdam?

According to Florida (2002), creatives are attracted to diverse, creative and authentic places by its urban amenities. He mentions three aspects that can indicate whether or not a city is attractive for a creative class: Talent, Tolerance and Technology. His creative class exists of a super core creative class that involves artists, scientists, scholars, opinion makers and so on, and creative professionals that are working in innovative and knowledge-intensive industries, like healthcare and IT. These creatives are an indispensable part of the creative city (Comunian, 2011; Florida, 2002; Scott, 2014). Creatives tend to locate in creative clusters, as they can benefit from the exchange of knowledge and ideas (Wu, 2005), it offers

them social networks (Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010), it brings them inspiration and stimulates creativity (Drake, 2003; Storper & Venables, 2003), and it contributes to a good personal reputation (Drake, 2003). The creative city concept explains how creative cities tend to also be economical successful. As Hospers and Pen explain, creative cities are "breeding places for creativity, whether on the technological, cultural, intellectual or organizational level." (2008, p.263). According to Jacobs (1992), a creative city is diverse, dynamic and has a visual culture. Moreover, creative cities are innovative (Bianchini & Landry, 1995; Jacobs, 1992). They are able to recognize, identify and use their unique character and culture (Landry, 2000). Scott explains the concept as a place with "a vibrant pool of talented and qualified labour, high levels of environmental quality, a dynamic cultural milieu (…), a glamorous nightlife, recurrent festivals and spectacles, iconic architecture, and a unifying symbolic identity in the guise of a striking global brand." (2014, p. 566). The specific location factors that attract creative individuals to such cities are varying widely, from urban amenities to affordable spaces, and from job opportunities and social networks to visual or aesthetic quality (Drake, 2003; Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Lingo & Tepper, 2013; Marlet and Woerkens, 2005; Miguelez and Moreno, 2014; Murphy & Redmond, 2009; Smit, 2011). Moreover, creatives are attracted by high chances of success, in which reputation of location and the investment of the city in arts and culture play an important role (Bennett, 2010; Markusen, 2006).

Based on the current situation of Almere and the literature as described above, it appears unlikely for the city to attract a lot of creative individuals. However, a quick search on the internet shows that there áre creatives living and working in Almere, there áre creative clusters in the city, like De Voetnoot, De Blauwe Reiger and BG 22-24, and although the negative reputation of Almere will probably not disappear sooner or later and it may be difficult for Almere to become an outstanding attractive city when it is located so close to one of the most attractive cities of the country, changes cán be noticed. The cultural centre KAF is currently hosting a large exhibition with art from the 'Almeerders' themselves, the plans for the Floriade in 2022 are up and running and the Cultuurfonds Almere (culture fund Almere), founded two years ago, is fully occupied with making the city a cultural breeding place for producing and consuming creatives. The question that remains: what attracts these creatives to Almere?

This study shows the problems and difficulties that Almere has as a New Town in attracting creative individuals and becoming a creative city, and tries to find an explanation for the fact that, despite that the opposite would be expected from the literature, some

creatives are attracted to the city. The study combines a theoretical perspective of the literature with a political and cultural perspective of Almere, and a social, individual perspective of the creative individuals from Almere, in order to enlarge understanding of the attractiveness of Almere for creative individuals.

1.2 Research Problem

The research aims to create understanding of the perceptions of Almere as an attractive city in order to find the unique value of Almere for creative individuals, by asking the following research question:

To what extent is Almere, a New Town in the shadows of the cultural magnet Amsterdam, an attractive place for creative individuals and why do creative individuals choose to work in Almere?

In order to answer the research question, the following sub questions are taken into account:

1. *What is a creative city and to what extent does Almere meet its characteristics?*
2. *How is Almere positioning itself in order to attract creative individuals?*
3. *What are the difficulties in attracting creative individuals to Almere?*
4. *How do creative individuals working in Almere perceive and evaluate their location?*

1.3 Method – The Value Based Approach

The study takes a qualitative approach in researching the values of Almere and of the creative individuals that are working in Almere. The Value Based Approach, as proposed by Klamer (2016), has been used as point of departure in the research design. This approach is about realizing your values by firstly becoming aware of what these values are and secondly trying to realize these values in practice. By using the Value Based Approach, the research aims at understanding different values: the values that are included in the theoretical concepts of the Creative City, New Towns and creative individuals; the values that are important for the empirical context, Almere, from a cultural and a political perspective; and the values of the units of analysis, the creative individuals of Almere. Moreover, the research seeks to find out if these values are comparable or not and how these values can be valorized.

1.4 Goals and Objectives

The aim of the research is to gain new insights into the different perceptions of Almere and its unique value for creative individuals. The study contributes to the understanding of the attractiveness of Almere for creative individuals by displaying an extended literature research and empirical research. The research shows what we understand by a creative city, to see to what extent Almere can be considered as being a creative city. It discusses location attractiveness and shows what the most important location factors for a city are from the perspective of creative individuals. By conducting qualitative interviews with creative individuals operating in Almere and comparing the perceptions of these individuals with the existing literature and the political perceptions of Almere, broader insights on the subject can be gained.

1.5 Scientific and Societal Relevance

Whereas the scientific literature on the concepts of creative cities and city attractiveness for creative individuals seems to argue that creative individuals are attracted to creative cities with certain urban characteristics, in practice creatives also seem to be attracted to less creative and urban locations, like developing New Towns. Studying the concepts of New Towns, creative cities, and city attractiveness for creative individuals through a case study of a young, developing city with a negative reputation in the shadows of a cultural magnet, contributes to the scientific notion of these concepts and the cultural position of developing New Towns.

Moreover, the study contributes to the cultural, social and economic qualities of Almere, as it is important for the city to know how it can attract more creative individuals. After all, the literature suggests that cities that want to economically grow and develop into strong, creative and attractive cities must be able to attract creative individuals. As part of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Region, Almere has the opportunity to develop and distinguish itself with its own unique character (PBL, 2012). With the ambition of pioneers, entrepreneurs and creatives, who are able to turn the negativity in Almere around and go against the 'conformism' (INTI, 2010), the city can distinguish and develop itself. It is thus important to create and enlarge understanding of the perceptions of Almere by the creative individuals. By looking at Almere as a (possible) creative city and the perceptions of creative individuals to work or move to Almere, this thesis can be seen as relevant for local governments, policymakers, cultural organizations and creative professionals that are occupied with attracting creative individuals to the city.

1.6 Demarcation of Creative Individuals

The empirical research of this study focuses on the perceptions of location of creative individuals, existing of cultural entrepreneurs and artists. Chosen is to use the term creative individuals, and not creative class, because the creative class is too broad and contains a wide variation of people working in all kinds of sectors (Florida, 2002), while this study aims to enlarge knowledge on creatives that are specifically occupied with creating arts and culture. The cultural entrepreneurs in this study are people that are occupied with establishing innovative cultural products and projects, whereas the artists aren't necessarily occupied with establishing innovative projects or products from a business perspective, but are rather focused on creating art for aesthetic reasons. Yet, in order to create a founded understanding of the concept of creatives in general, the concept of the creative class is, next to the concepts of the cultural entrepreneur and the artist, discussed in the literature review.

1.7 Structure

The thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter explained the background from which this research has emerged and showed the goals, objectives and the relevance of the study. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the important theoretical concepts for the research problem. It describes what we understand by creative individuals by discussing three concepts of creatives: the creative class, the cultural entrepreneur and the artist. Next, it explains the relation between place, culture and economy. Moreover, it discusses the creative city concept and shows different theories on location choices for creative individuals and city attractiveness. The chapter ends with discussing how city marketing can be used to attract people to a city. Chapter 3 discusses the empirical context, Almere, and explains what we understand by New Towns. After displaying the short history of Almere, two different perceptions of the city are discussed: Almere as a problematic New Town and Almere as a cultural city. Chapter 4 explains the methodology of the study and shows how the research is conducted. Chapter 5 shows the results from the empirical research. And finally, chapter 6 discusses the conclusions that can be drawn from the results.

2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CREATIVE INDIVIDUALS & CITIES

Before closely looking at the position of Almere and its attractiveness for creative individuals, it is important to understand in which theoretical context this study is operating. This chapter will show what we understand by creative individuals, before explaining what attracts these creatives to a city and how this can be stimulated through city marketing.

2.1 The Creative Individuals

2.1.1 The Creative Class

The Creative Class: a class consisting of a super core creative class, which are artists like writers, painters, actors and musicians (also called 'bohemians'), scientists, scholars, designers, opinion makers and so on, and of the creative professionals, which are people from innovative and knowledge intensive industries, like healthcare, finance and IT (Florida, 2002, p.8). This creative class is occupied with 'creative problem-solving', using their knowledge and creativity. Florida (2002) turned around the traditional economic thought of using businesses to attract people and argued that in order to let the economy flourish, a city needs a creative class, which will stimulate economic growth. He gives three indicators for the quality of place that can attract a creative class: Talent, Tolerance and Technology. With talent, Florida means that a city should have a population full of highly talented, educated and skilled people. Tolerance is about acceptance, openness to difference and diversity. Technology concerns the technological structure within a city that is needed to nourish innovation and entrepreneurship. Moreover, the creative class is attracted to authentic, unique places by its urban amenities. Florida argues that the location decision making process of the creative class is largely based on their lifestyle interest, in which diversity and high quality of place are important factors (2002, p.20).

Although the creative class theory of Florida got much positive attention, the concept also received a lot of critique. Certain scholars argue that the way Florida shows the correlation between creativity and growth is doubtful and too easy and that the concept as a lot of duplication with the concept of human capital (Marlet & Woerkens, 2004, p. 280-283). Moreover, the empirical evidence for the creative class is thin and Florida's research focuses mainly on cities in the United States. For Dutch cities that differ quite a lot from American cities, the theory might not even be applicable. Malanga (2004) agrees that Florida does not have enough empirical results that show that cities with the largest creative classes also are the cities with the most dominant economic positions in the world economy. Other critique is based on the argument that the creative class does not stand on its own, but is dependent of

other companies, the government and the people within the city (Scott, 2006). Thus, if these factors in a city are not attractive, a creative class will not come to the city, independently from the three T's that Florida mentions. Scott argues that Florida "fails signally to articulate the necessary and sufficient conditions under which skilled, qualified, and creative individuals will actually congregate together in particular places and remain there over any reasonably long-run period of time" (2006, p.11). Moreover, it is argued that the concepts that are underlying the creative class concept are 'wooly' (Pratt, 2008). "It depends on how one defines the '3 Ts' and which variables you use, and what relationship they have to target variables: this is not something that Florida examines, nor discusses, critically." thus Pratt explains (2008, p.5). The definition and the boundaries of the creative class are not clearly defined and there is a lack in information within the concept (Pratt, 2008; Comunian, 2011). Although the concept argues that special local aspects like cultural amenities and cultural diversity are needed in a city in order to attract a creative class, it does not explain how the creative class actually deals with these aspects or why it needs these aspects (Comunian, 2011).

2.1.2 Cultural Entrepreneurs

Cultural Entrepreneurs, as part of the Creative Class, are believed to be an important source of economic growth. There are numerous notions of what a cultural entrepreneur ought to be. One of the most important characteristics of a cultural entrepreneur, as firstly argued by Schumpeter (1968), is that he is innovative. A cultural entrepreneur makes new combinations of different categories and in this ways is expanding his market, which results in an increase of audience attention (Zhao, Ishihara & Lounsbury, 2013). Making these new combinations leads to an innovative product. A cultural entrepreneur creates new cultural products and is able to find innovative ways of seeking opportunities to produce an identity as a 'new tastemaker' (Scott, 2012, p.243).

Another important aspect of cultural entrepreneurs is knowledge. Knowledge provides cultural entrepreneurs with new business opportunities (Frese & Gielnik, 2014, p.423). However, Schumpeter (1968) argues that where knowledge is imperfect, the entrepreneur is at his best. A lack of knowledge or even the presence of uncertainty leads to discovery, which will result in innovation. A cultural entrepreneur thus is a risk taker as well (Klamer 2011; Knight, 1985). Moreover, he is a discoverer; he has to have alertness to recognize the business opportunities (Chaston & Sadler-Smith, 2012; Kirzner, 1998; Klamer, 2011). They found their own businesses and are occupied with new activities for new markets, but also

know how to organize the business in later stadia when market responses might change (Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010). Heebels and Van Aalst argue that the three characteristics of entrepreneurs are "uncertainty and risk; competence in deciding on location, structure, and the use of goods, resources, and institutions; and creative opportunism" (2010, p. 248).

McCloskey (2006) explains that an entrepreneur has a certain characteristics, or virtues, like prudence, temperance, courage and the three cardinal virtues faith, hope, and love. A successful entrepreneur, she argues, has foresight and is aware of budget and other constraints, but he also has the courage to take a different road. Klamer (2011) agrees with McCloskey by stating that good cultural entrepreneurs are prudent, full of courage, hope and faith, and adds that they are creative, both artistically as pragmatic, they are persuasive, and they have passion for their artistic goals, which is more important than everything else (2011, p. 155).

2.1.3 Artists

Artists are an important part of the creative class as explained by Florida (2002). However, Markusen (2006) argues that artists cannot be easily compared with some other groups within the creative class, like for example lawyers. In her research she distinguishes four subgroups of artists: writers; musicians; visual artists; and performing artists (Markusen, 2006, p. 1925). She explains that artists contribute to the energy and diversity of cities, that they have high rates of self-employment and that they are an important source for economic regional growth through the direct export of their artistic work and through "providing import-substituting activities for other regional residents." (Markusen, 2006, p.1921). It is indeed recognized that large cities benefit artists, because they provide a city with an arts market and a prosperous audience, they attract more artists and enlarge the network of cultural producers, and they contribute positively to the reputation of the city as an 'artistic hub' and a 'cultural magnet' (Lingo & Tepper, 2013, p.346). However, many artists do not choose to work in the large cities, but in peripheral cities. Often, these peripheral cities do have magnet industries which attracts the artists. Other reasons for the artists to settle in these kind of cities are the affordability and the quality of life of the cities (Lingo & Tepper, 2013, p.347).

2.2 Place, Culture and Economy

In our modern society, people have more time and income to consume cultural products. As a result, economic activity in the form of cultural consumption is growing and sectors that

are occupied with producing cultural goods are standing at the economic borders of today's capitalism (Scott, 1997, p.323-324). Culture becomes more and more a part of capitalism and this has great impact on the shape of the cultural economy. To show what this impact is exactly, Scott (1997) explains how place, culture and economy are related to each other. Place and culture are connected, as place is where human relationships exist, out of which culture grows, as well as the other way around, because culture has place-specific characteristics. However, in the 21st century and in times of globalization, the discussion rises if culture is always bounded to place, or if it can be seen as a pattern that reacts on experiences and situations. On the one hand, place still is where culture rises, but on the other hand, culture in all forms is moving all over the world and places do not only present a place-bound culture, but also other cultures from other places, which can affect local cultures (Scott, 1997, p.324). These local cultures contribute to give form to the nature of the economic activity within a city, but at the same time the "economic activity becomes a dynamic element of the culture-generating and innovative capacities of given places." (Scott, 1997, p.325). What is so special about cultural industries, is that they have the potential to use unique location symptoms in producing products. A consequence of the complex relationship between place, culture and economy, is that often cultural products and the reputation and authenticity of these products produced in a certain place are also completely associated with that place (Scott, 1997, p.325).

The broad variation of cultural and economic production and service activities of the cultural economy often happens in creative clusters in cities, which shows that place does indeed matter. Creative clusters are geographic concentrations of firms or institutions that belong to the creative industry. Especially for creative firms, that are often small, and creative individuals that are working alone, clustering can be beneficial. As Heebels and Van Aalst explain, two perspectives can be noted in the literature on creative clustering (2010, p.360). The first perspective focuses on creative clustering in terms of being closely located to amenities and people. This results in an exchange of knowledge, information, experience, ideas and labor (Wu, 2005). Moreover, the creative clusters offer social networks and socialization (Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010). The second perspective focuses more on clustering in terms of being around places that breath a certain ambiance and that bring along a certain experience. Creative clusters are places that inspire, that have a certain energy and innovativeness. They are characterized by their ambience full of so-called 'buzz', which means that it provides ideas, knowledge and inspiration (Drake, 2003; Storper & Venables,

2003). Drake (2003) explains that creatives are attracted to creative clusters, because these places stimulate their creativity through social interaction, which can be inspiring. Moreover, being around certain creative people from the same creative industry can add to a certain reputation (Drake, 2003). As Florida (2002) argues, creatives are attracted to - and tend to cluster in - places that breathe diversity and creativity, with a high level of openness and tolerance. Having a high level of creative clusters is beneficial for a city, because it generates jobs and it provides a sustainable growth through the supply of "technological innovation, sharing information, differentiating products, and regulating the market" (Wu, 2005, p.3).

2.3 Creative Cities

As the previous paragraph showed, creatives are attracted to creative places. Creativity has always been a central present factor within cities. Creativity is rooted in people and people are the heart of the city; it is where they work and live. But especially today, the creative city it is a relevant concept. In times of transitions, changing industries, digitization and innovation, knowledge and creative thinking becomes even more important for cities. In her book *Cities and the wealth of nations*, Jane Jacobs (1984) explains how economic growth and development rises through cities. She argues that cities, not nations, should be the unit of analysis when looking at economic development. Cities produce products, exchange products with other cities, export products to cities to make profit and with this profit they can import other products. They are breeding places for creation and innovation. Through knowledge investment, new city industries are built up, and so the market grows. In her works, Jacobs talks about the importance of diversity, dynamics and the creation of new combinations within creative cities. Moreover, she stresses the importance of connecting people with the city and visualizing the city through culture, in order to stimulate development (Jacobs, 1992).

Returning to the notion of creativity, as this is an important aspect of creative cities, most scholars agree that creativity is about approaching problems in fresh, new ways, by experimentation, flexibility and discovery. Creativity is about innovation, progress and change. Bianchini and Landry (1995) explain that every period in history needs its own form creativity. They argue that the late 20th century needs a new form of creativity: a form that allows us "to synthesize, to connect, to gauge impacts across different spheres of life, to see holistically, to understand how material changes affect our perceptions, to grasp the subtle ecologies of our systems of life and how to make them sustainable." (Bianchini & Landry, 1995, p. 18). The key requirements for a successful creative city concern innovation in terms

of new ways of talking, new ways of mapping, new ways of describing things, new forms of research and development, new selection processes, removal of obstacles, orchestration, sense of direction and monitoring (Bianchini & Landry, 1995 p.55-56).

Hospers and Pen (2008) frame the concept of creative cities in the 21st century economy, which is, as they explain, a knowledge economy, with knowledge as a competitive factor. Using Schumpeter's term of 'creative destruction', they explain that with new knowledge, new born things replace the existing ones. These are times of innovations, and cities seem to be the locations where these innovations are happening. The rise of the knowledge economy is associated with globalization (Hospers & Pen, 2008, p.260). The process of globalization has both positive and negative effects: new markets and investment opportunities abroad arise, but at the same time, the competition on these markets grows. For cities, globalization means that they have to "strengthen their competitiveness in order to ensure that they are not wiped off the map by their rivals" (Hospers & Pen, 2008, p.261). Thus, cities have to become creative.

Hospers and Pen (2008) mention four forms of creative cities: Technological-Innovative Cities (1); Cultural-Intellectual Cities (2); Cultural-technological Cities (3); and Technological-Organizational Cities (4). The first form contains cities with new technological developments, such as Detroit with its automobile industry, Manchester with its textiles industry and Cambridge with its information technology. The second form contains cities with flouring culture and science, such as Athens, London, Paris and Amsterdam. The third form contains cities that have the most important characteristics of the first two mentioned forms, like Milan with its fashion industry. And the fourth form contains cities that are creative in the sense that they have found innovative solutions to urban life problems, such as the supply of water or the need for sufficient transport. Examples are Rome with its aqueducts and New York with its skyscrapers. These wide varying examples of what creative cities are, shows that *the* creative city doesn't exist. However, there are certain conditions. As Hospers and Pen explain, creative cities are "breeding places for creativity, whether on the technological, cultural, intellectual or organizational level." (2008, p.263). Moreover, important conditions for a creative city are concentration and interaction of citizens, diversity of citizens and their knowledge, skills and activities, and instability, change and dynamics are important conditions. However, some cities do match all these conditions, but are still not creative. This is because the perception of people is most important of all. Perception is formed by knowledge, and known cities thus are often perceived as being more creative, whereas small unknown cities are more often perceived as traditional and less creative

(Hospers & Pen, 2008, p.265). The history of a city plays an important role in this perception. One strategy to shape or adjust the image of a city is by applying city marketing, which is about making a city known and building a reputation. In order for a city to become truly creative, it is important to focus on its unique value and use it, instead of just stating that it is a technological city, a knowledge city or an innovative city and therefore creative. In this matter, Landry (2000) agrees with Hospers and Pen, stating that the concept of a creative city offers a strategic plan and tool to take a creative approach of city planning by using imagination. He explains: "It explores how we can make our cities more liveable and vital by harnessing people's imagination and talent" (Landry, 2000, p. 12). His approach to creative cities is in line to the economical idea of competitive advantage: the creative city strategy is about recognizing and identifying the unique character and culture of a city.

In his paper *Beyond the Creative City: Cognitive–Cultural Capitalism and the New Urbanism*, Scott (2014) discusses many different notions of the creative city, but states that an ideal vision of the creative city includes the following ingredients:

(…) an employment base comprising successful new-economy industries, a vibrant pool of talented and qualified labour, high levels of environmental quality, a dynamic cultural milieu including artists, bohemians and gays, a glamorous nightlife, recurrent festivals and spectacles, iconic architecture, and a unifying symbolic identity in the guise of a striking global brand. (Scott, 2014, p. 566).

Comunian (2011) also emphasizes the importance of the creative class, and moreover, the role of interactions and networks between the creative class, the cultural sector and the cultural infrastructure of a creative city. He argues that the cultural development of cities is a very complex system and shows that the creative city concept can be critiqued by its limitations. The idea of a creative city is that it needs certain assets, like innovation, cultural diversity and cultural amenities, but it doesn't explain how the creative class in this type of city deals with these assets (Comunian, 2011, p.1159).

2.4 City Attractiveness and Location Choice for Creative Individuals

As shown, in order to economically grow and develop into a successful creative city, competitive cities must attract creative individuals. But what are the location factors these creatives keep in mind when deciding where to locate? And what do we understand by an attractive city for creative individuals?

An attractive city in general should, amongst other things, take good care of its citizens; it should be accessible; it should have a strong and effective economy; a pleasant environment with the best possible living conditions; with good public services; a diverse culture; and high environmental and public quality (Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010, p.151). In todays contemporary choices for location, especially 'quality of place' is an important measurement scale, because nowadays "creative and talented people associate the attractive location with the "quality of a place"" (Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010, p.149). The different definitions shown by Sinkien and Kromalcas suggest that the attractive city is a diverse concept, dependent on many factors, such as the kind of businesses, citizens and visitors of the city. It is thus important for a city to understand its environment and its people, and more importantly, to understand which target audience is most important in order to make up strategies to realize economic growth. In order to develop and implement strategies that can improve a city's attractiveness, the values, identity, heritage and advantages of the city must be known. Knowing and understanding the unique value of a city for its target lies at the base of its distinction of other cities and can make a city attractive for people to settle in (Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010). Ratcliffe (2004) explains that in order to be an attractive and successful competitive city, it is amongst other things important that there is a shared vision of the future by most of the citizens, because this can influence present behaviours, choices and decisions. His visioning process shows four dimensions: an ambition for the future, a collective desire, a shared value system and several medium-term strategic axes. Within this process, there are six steps to follow: identification of present problems (1); recognition of past successes (2); exploration of wishes for the future (3); definition of goals for the future (4); identification of the resources available and of key actors to be addressed in order to reach the established goals (5); and construction of the vision and consequent action plan (6). Values of *utility, security, order* and *beauty* have to be taken in mind when developing a vision for a city. When forming an identity, the cultural, social, economical, physical and historic strengths of the city have to be taken into account. The values and the identity of a city need to be branded effectively in order to strengthen them. Moreover, Ratcliffe (2004) mentions entrepreneurship, specialisation, social cohesion and governance as important aspects for the competitiveness of a city.

As paragraph 2.1.1 explained, Florida (2002) argues that creatives are drawn to a city by the three assets talent, tolerance and technology. However, a study of Marlet and Woerkens (2005) that looked at what attracts the creative class to Dutch cities, focusing on the factors tolerance and aesthetics, amenities and job opportunities, actually found that, in contrary to

Florida's argument, tolerance does not drive the Dutch creative class to settle in certain cities. Nevertheless, they did find that aesthetic quality within cities can be seen as a factor that can influence the growth of the creative class in these cities. Job opportunities and urban amenities appear to be the most important factors in the choice of the creative class to settle in a city (Marlet & Woerkens, 2005, p. 32). Markusen (2006) also critiques the concept of a creative class by Florida, by arguing that it is much more complicated than Florida explains. She takes a closer look at one certain part of the creative class, the artists, and shows that they are distributed differentially among cities, as a result of their preferences for certain places to live, local factors that can attribute to their artistic career and the shape of the creative industries (Markusen, 2006, p. 1922). She explains: "(…) the attractiveness of certain cities for artists is not the result of atomistic responses to amenities but, rather, is shaped by investment decisions that cities, states, and funders make in artistic space and organizations." (Markusen, 2006, p. 1938).

Bennett (2010) studied the different factors that influence the choices of artists to migrate to another city, in the case leaving Perth to move to the East of Australia. From his findings it can be concluded that the most important reasons for the artists to migrate is to improve their chances of success, in which the reputation of the place takes an important role. The reasons for the migration of creative artists lie in certain push factors, like few local opportunities and geographic isolation, as well as in pull factors, like experience, networks and creative clusters (Bennett, 2010, p.15). Moreover, factors of a city that attract artists are the quality of public support for arts and culture, the level of developed creative industries and the amount of cultural consumers. In his research, Bennett specifically studies creative artists and finds that the results on artist migration are not generalizable from the results of research on the creative class. The motives for migration of the creative class lie more in moving towards friends and family next to finding work, whereas artists tend to move away from their social network and focus more on their artistic work (Bennett, 2010, p.15).

Smit (2011) studies the influence of visual quality of neighbourhoods in terms of architecture, urban design and urban spaces on location choices of creative entrepreneurs and finds a significant relationship. She explains creative entrepreneurs as owners of firms in the commercial creative sector as well as in the non-profit creative sector. They produce cultural products that are symbolic in a way and that have aesthetic value. Districts visual quality appears to be a very important aspect in the decision making process of the entrepreneurs. She explains:

(…) the overall visual character of the district needs to be perceived as distinctive (…) such visual quality contributes to increased creative productivity in several ways. Therefore, it may be a new element of the opportunity-driven location behavior of creative entrepreneurs, because they use their relative freedom of location within cities to achieve quality of place at work. (Smit, 2011, p.168)

In their study to the location choice and evaluation of creative entrepreneurs within clusters in Berlin, Heebels and Van Aalst (2010) indeed found significant results in the importance of how a place looks and feels in choosing a location.

Murphy and Redmond (2009) study hard and soft location factors by looking at the role they play in attracting and satisfying Dublin's creative knowledge workers. Hard factors are tangible factors, easy to quantify and related to the classical conditions of a location or an environment, like the availability of public services and the general cost of living. Soft factors are often intangible, harder to quantify and associated with the overall city attractiveness. This is for example the ambience or urban atmosphere, the level of tolerance, but also the cultural and leisure facilities. Figure 1 shows an overview of the soft and hard location factors they distinguish. The results of their research shows that workers within the creative knowledge class are attracted to Dublin on the basis of classic factors: employment opportunities, family and relatives, and birthplace. Hard factors are more important than soft factors in choosing to live in Dublin (Murphy & Redmond, 2009, p. 77). On the contrary, for businesses 'soft' location factors like the quality of environment are becoming more important than 'hard' factors (Van den Berg et al., 2007).

'Hard' Factors	'Soft' Factors
Public Services: Street safety; Policing services; Social security; Health services.	**Cultural and Leisure Facilities:** Public Spaces; Festivals and cultural facilities; Galleries and Museums; Pubs; Restaurants; Cinemas; Shopping facilities; Sports facilities.
Transport Infrastructure: Public transport; Transport within the city; Transport connectivity between the city and periphery; Availability of bicycle lanes	**City Environment:** Cleanliness of streets and parks; Footpath condition; Noise pollution; Air pollution; Congestion; Recycling services.
Cost of Living: Housing and related services; Food and beverages; Leisure services; Transportation.	**Tolerance and Openness:** Immigrants; Visible minorities; Different sexualities; Different socio-economic status.

Figure 1. 'Hard' and 'Soft' location factors (Murphy & Redmond, 2009, p.74)

A study of Miguelez and Moreno (2014) to the aspects that attract skilled individuals or knowledge workers, like inventors, to a place also finds that employment opportunities are an important aspect in attractiveness of a city, next to physical proximity and social networks. They mention the following predictors of spatial movement of these workers: physical separation from the former workplace, social and professional connections, the institutional framework, technological and cultural similarities, job opportunities and amenities. Heebels and Van Aalst argue that already established social and professional networks are important for creative entrepreneurs, rather than the opportunity to built new networks and the possibilities of local interaction (2010, p.360-361). Moreover, an essential factor for the location choice of these creatives is the availability of affordable spaces.

Drake studied the relationship between place and individual creativity in enterprises within the creative industry by looking at two different units of analysis: craft metalworkers and digital designers (2003, p.511). He argues that the relationship between place and creativity is important and needs to be taken in greater account when looking at the already existing theory. He explains that there are four ways in which attributes of locality can stimulate individual creativity: locality-specific communities of creative workers, locality as a resource of visual materials and stimuli, locality-based intensive social and cultural activity and locality as a brand based on reputation and tradition (Drake, 2003, p. 522-523).

Berg (2014) also looked at the location choices of entrepreneurs, but actually found that entrepreneurs do not have large sets of consideration and gaining information seems to be a less important factor in choosing a location. In fact, he finds that locations are often discovered by chance.

2.5 Stimulating Attractiveness through City Marketing

City marketing can be explained as "the process whereby urban activities are as closely as possible related to the demands of targeted customers so as to maximize the efficient social and economic functioning of the area concerned in accordance with whatever goals have been established" (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990, p.11). Cities are more and more occupied with marketing and branding, due to the increase of competition among cities to attract people and businesses (Braun, 2008; Braun & Zenker, 2010). A city should be marketed as if it is a product in order to reach and attract its 'consumers'. Moreover, strategies should be designed in order to retain the audience that can be important in the long term for the city.

2.5.1 Target Audiences of the City

As can be seen in paragraph 2.4, the factors on which location choices are made vary widely, from business opportunities to cultural amenities, and from education services to urban aesthetics. Due to the broad target audience and different target groups of a city, it can be difficult to take into account the wishes, needs and perceptions of these diverse target groups. Braun (2008) explains the four most important target groups for a city: (potential) companies, (potential) residents, (potential) visitors and (potential) investors. Where the previous paragraph discussed the location factors that attract creative individuals, this paragraph will shortly explain what the most important location factors in general are per target group.

For business companies, factors that have to do with legal regulations and requirements, land prices, available space, labour supply, suppliers and customers, market demand, reputation of location, the quality of the living environment and of the services in that environment are important (Braun, 2008; Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010; Van den Berg, Van de Meer & Otgaar, 2007). For residents, all before mentioned city characteristics that meet the needs of their family are important. Besides, home and the direct environment, education institutions, employment, leisure facilities and other institutions and services are shown to be important aspects (Braun, 2008, p.55). Moreover, for an attractive city, important aspects are a "good, accessible, clean, safe environment, good access to employment, high quality educational and health care services, high quality city culture, attention to public safety, religion and arts" (Berg et al., 1999, in Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010, p. 151). Van den Berg et al. (2007) argue that in general, the important location factors for residents are availability and diversity of employment, good and affordable houses, a clean and safe environment and a good supply of qualitative education, culture, health care, relaxation, shopping, religion and security (p.487). For visitors, a place to stay (hotel, apartment, camping, etc.) and a nice, comfortable environment with cultural facilities, entertainment facilities, shopping facilities, catering facilities and business opportunities are important factors (Braun, 2008, Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010). For investors, important factors are real estate, attractive living environment for the target group(s), attractive business environment for the target group(s) and attractive environment to visit by the target groups (Braun, 2008, p.58).

2.5.2 Place branding

The image of the city is an important point of departure for city marketing. The image is reflected in the place brand of the city. Braun explains place brand as "a network of

associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design" (Braun & Zenker, 2010, p.5). Place brand is thus about the perception of the place of the target audience of the city. In order to reach a certain perception of place by the target audience, marketing strategies are used. In developing and implementing marketing strategies, the city marketing mix is often seen as an essential aspect. A city marketing mix is a set of instruments and activities that are used to navigate the marketing strategies (Kavaratzis, 2004). It can be difficult to determine what this marketing mix consists of exactly, because it largely depends on the characteristics of the city. Kavaratzis (2004) shows three different explanations of the marketing mix, that are displayed in figure 2. He explains that the communicative effects of these measurement instruments can be reached through combining and organizing the different instruments, because they can influence each others effectiveness.

Ashworth and Voogd (1990)	Kotler et al. (1999)	Hubbard and Hall (1998)
- Promotional measures - Spatial-functional measures - Organisational measures - Financial measures	- Design (place as character) - Infrastructure (place as fixed environment) - Basic services (place as service provider) - Attractions (places as entertainment and recreation)	- Advertising and promotion - Large-scale physical redevelopment - Public art and civic statuary - Mega-events - Cultural regeneration - Public–private partnerships

Figure 2. Three approaches of the city marketing mix (Kavaratzis, 2004, p.61)

Using a city marketing mix can thus provide structure in how to develop and implement city marketing strategies. But, returning to the notion of branding, there are other structures that can be used as well. Brand management structures aim at adding value to the product in order to create loyalty and preference for the brand (Kavaratzis, 2004, p.64). Braun developed a brand management structure called Place Brand Centre (Braun & Zenker, 2010, p.6). This concept is based on the Branded House approach that explains a structure or brand architecture that contains several target group specific sub-brands that are part of an overall umbrella brand (Petromilli, Morrison & Million, 2002). In this approach, the umbrella brand presents the country and the sub-brands present the regions. In the Place Brand Centre however, the umbrella brand presents the place (city) and the sub-brands present the different target groups within that place. Figure 3 explains the process of the Place Brand Centre approach. It shows that the brand perception of target groups is first influenced by place physical properties, the place sub-brands. Next, the brand perception of the target groups is

influenced by the overall umbrella city brand and the overall place physical properties as well. Moreover, the different brand perceptions of the target groups influence each other's perceptions as well. This model allows city marketers to take into account the specific wishes and needs of the broad target audience when developing and implementing marketing strategies.
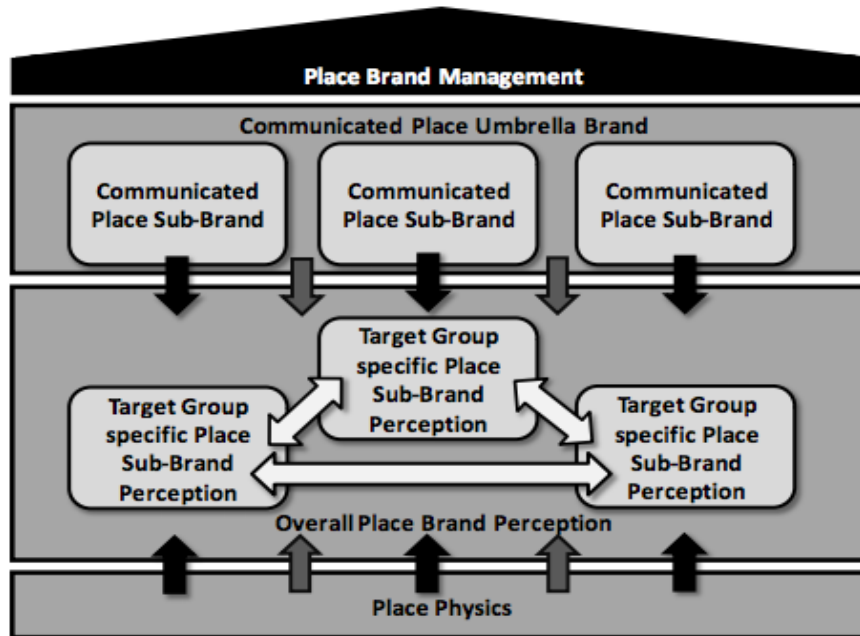

Figure 3. Place Brand Centre approach (Braun & Zenker, 2010, p.7).

3. EMPIRICAL CONTEXT - NEW TOWN ALMERE

This chapter will discuss the empirical context of this research, by focusing on the concept of New Towns in general, and more specific in The Netherlands. Moreover, a closer look will be taken at Almere as a problematic New Town on the one hand, and as a cultural city on the other hand.

3.1 New Towns

Cities are dynamic. When they are continually growing, this results in complex networks of cities and the emergence of New Towns. A New Town is a town that is built and planned on land where there was no town before, that grows into a city within a short period of time and that is autonomous in any way (INTI, 2010). These New Towns are often built to alleviate overpopulated cities and are located close to large cities. On certain aspects, the development of New Towns differs from developed cities (INTI, 2010, p.7). First of all, the design development is different, as a whole city design needs to be developed at once and choices on every aspect in the city need to be made at once, using theories and models as a base to design the desired town. Secondly, a typical aspect for New Towns in which they differ from developed cities is their size and rapid growth. Next, the development of life cycle subjects, like social changes and the rise of criminality, is different in New Towns, due to the lack of knowledge, experience or culture that can be used to deal with such issues. And last, the starting situation and concept of a New Town differs. There often is no explanation of the starting situation, because the town is built up from nothing. However, New Towns do have a starting situation and history, if only a very brief one, that can contribute to the identity of the city:

> The starting situation develops quickly into a certain 'identity' of the New Town in social, economic and cultural terms. The New Town gets a reputation that will influence its further development either favourably or negatively. Once determined, it appears difficult to change the character and image of the New Town. Such a change requires an exploratory expedition in past and present, in time and space, for traces of other ambitions and developments: the ambition of a pioneer against conformism, of an entrepreneur against the attitude of the welfare state. (INTI, 2010, p.9)

3.1.1 New Towns in The Netherlands

In the Netherlands, there have been two forms of urbanization in terms of policies and planning: the so-called 'groeikernen' (comparable to the term New Towns) in the seventies and the Vinex locations in the nineties, which were both particularly focused on housing (PBL, 2012). In 1972, the 'Groeikern' policy was implemented in The Netherlands. The aim of urbanization through growing centres or New Towns was mainly to offer public housing, to contribute to the population distribution and to offer equal opportunities for everyone.

The Dutch New Towns face a certain tension between urbanity and suburbanity, as they are built to meet the desire to live in a single-family home in a calm and quiet area, but also within the reach of the urban sphere (PBL, 2012, p.55). Nevertheless, looking at four types of environments or dimensions, it can be noted that the New Towns have a predominantly suburban character. In the spatial morphological environment, for example, the New Towns are characterized by their low building density, the many unambiguous public spaces and the emphasis on family houses with a garden, with a focus on the private space in and around the house, which are suburban characteristics (PBL, 2012, p.56). However, in the other dimensions the New Towns have become slightly more urban. Within the space-efficient environment, the question exists if a New Town should be a complete city with all its associated facilities, or if it is designated to the facilities of the nearby cities, in its role of the suburban town (PBL, 2012, p.56). In their development, the New Towns have become more urban in this respect, having the most important amenities a city should have. However, there is less differentiation and specialization than in urban cities, especially in terms of higher education, culture and catering facilities. In terms of the social environment and lifestyle, the New Towns are urbanizing as well: the diversity of the population within the New Towns keeps growing (PBL, 2012, p.57). The lifestyle however remains mostly suburban, with the emphasis on the private life, in contrast to an urban lifestyle where the focus lies on career, personal entertainment and cultural activities. In terms of cultural environment, urbanity is often described by its urban open ambience, with interactions characterized by positively appreciated anonymity, self-chosen contacts in several networks and the storing of distance. This kind of urban openness and interaction is less present within the Dutch New Towns. In terms of culture, the urban cities are characterized by diversity, freedom, openness, exchange, tolerance and creativity, whereas the suburban cities are characterized by uniformity, homogeneity, peace, stability, closeness and conformism (PBL, 2012, p.57). Here, a dilemma arises for the New Towns: on the one hand there is a desire for the urban unpredictability and 'buzz', but on the other hand they long for the suburban peace and clarity. Another

characteristic of cities in terms of culture is the identity of the citizens, which they usually derive from the identity of the city. In urban cities, this identity is often built out of proud for the history, tradition and status of the city, which leas to solidarity and harmony. In suburban areas, on the other hand, the citizens often feel displaced or alienated from the city, due to the lack of history and tradition and the rapid growth (PBL, 2012, p.57).

Recent years, the urbanization and spatial planning of the Dutch New Towns is more focused on decentralization and metropolitan development. The question arises as to what the position of the former New Towns should be within the metropolitan regions. Within these regions, everything is interwoven with each other and different landscapes, cities and villages complement each other. According to the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, the metropolitan region is comparable to the creative city concept, understood as an attractive city for the creative class, which is beneficial for the competitiveness of the city (2012, p.95). The creative city is part of the metropolitan region, but it is unclear in what way this contributes or influences the other cities within the region. The New Towns might be negatively influenced by the big cultural magnet, because they miss a certain ambience, a history and the cultural amenities that the creative city does have. However, the metropolitan region concept does offer the New Towns opportunities to develop and distinguish itself with its urban or suburban character.

The Dutch New Towns that were a result of the New Town policy in the seventies have developed in different ways. Figure 4 shows the position of the New Towns on a socio-economic axis and a spatial-functional axis.
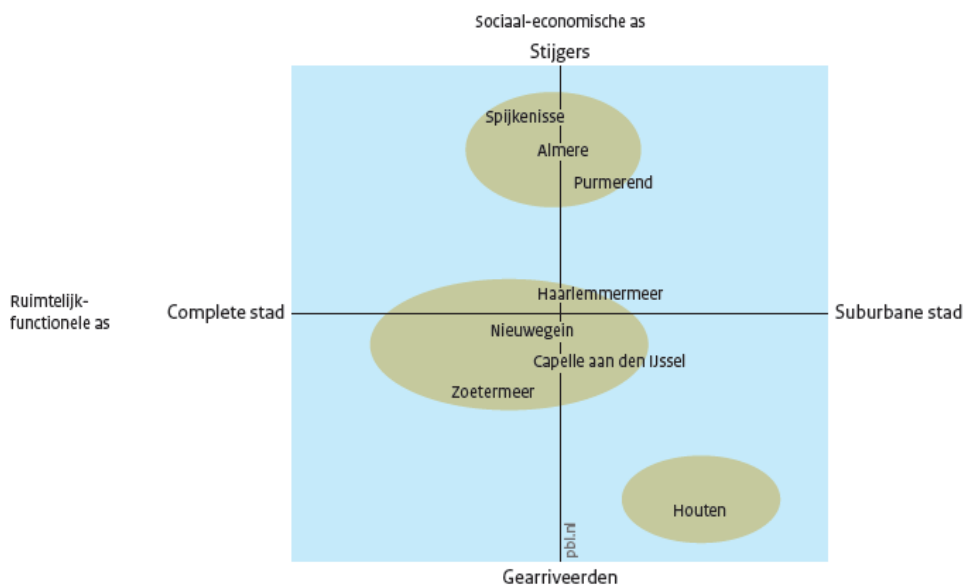

Figure 4. Position of Dutch New Towns in 2012 (PBL, 2012, p.14)

In the spatial dimension, there is a distinction between the *complete city* on the left, and the *suburban city* on the right. Complete cities have well-accessible centres full of activity, a differentiated housing stock, an extensive offer of facilities and high employment. Suburban cities are monofunctional residential areas with many commuters. In the socioeconomic dimension, a distinction is made between *risers* at the top and *arrived people* at the bottom. Risers are residents with a low education background and a low income, and risers are the residents with a high education background and a higher income. Almere is positioned as a suburban city with urban characteristics for risers.

3.2 New Town Almere

The first inhabitants moved to Almere in 1976 (Wezenaar, 1999). In 1984, Almere became an independent municipality with its own mayor. Almere was built in the polders near Amsterdam, to solve the housing problem that existed in the closest big city. Almere was supposed to become the home of 250,000 inhabitants. Today, the city has around 201.454 inhabitants[2], a number that is still growing (Oozo, 2017). The city of Almere had to be built up from nothing. Leisure land-use planning has been an important point of departure in building up the city and trying to reach the highest quality of space as possible for its inhabitants. The key objective in the leisure land-use planning of Almere was the concept of *freedom of choice* (Wezenaar, 1999, p.465). To realize this concept, a diverse range of leisure environments was developed and the future inhabitants could choose their preferred environment. In the urban planning of Almere, *unity* and *variety* were important aspects. Unity is obtained especially by a very functional infrastructure and public transport, that connects the different parts of Almere. Variety is created by the different types of environments within the city, that all have its own function (nature, recreation, entertainment, shopping, housing). Despite this idea, the planning of Almere into 4 centres, which recently has become 5 centres with Almere Poort as addition, resulted not in unity, on the contrary, it resulted in division. Almere is one of the few cities that doesn't have just one city centre, it has five small villages with each its own centre. This form of urban planning received a lot of critique. Gert Middelkoop, economist and landscape engineer at the University of Amsterdam, argues that it is much better to refurbish the city and build in the existing districts of Almere, instead of always building new centres (in Hoekstra, 2011). According to

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[2] Measurement 1 April 2017

him, to densify the city is a much better idea, because successful cities are compact cities, unlike Almere.

3.2.1 Almere, a Problematic New Town

Although it was expected in the seventies and eighties that the suburban New Towns would be a success, because they offer the advantages of the big city, and not the disadvantages, the opposite was found to be true. Now, the idea of New Towns and suburbs as the attractive cities of the future has changed into New Towns as problematic cities. As a former New Town, Almere is with its high level of unemployment, a low average income, decreasing cultural amenities, the PVV as the largest party of the city and a displeasing ambiance, indeed a problematic city (Milikowski, 2017). Almere is by many considered a *Sleeping City:* a city where nothing is to be found. This perception is also confirmed by the inhabitants of the city, as 53% of the cultural activities happen outside of Almere (RRAAM, 2012, p.18). The cultural infrastructure in Almere is still under construction and the cultural offer is smaller and less diverse compared to other Dutch cities of comparable size. Budget cuts in the cultural sector make the development of a cultural infrastructure more difficult. The plans of former city council member Adri Duivesteijn to develop Almere into a large, popular city by building more districts with each their own unique character, by attracting creatives, and by developing and improving the geographical connection between Almere and Amsterdam, seems to have failed (in Hoekstra, 2011). Adviser Peter van Rooy argues that the main problem of Duivesteijn's plans are his assumption that highly educated people and creatives can be attracted to a city like Almere (in Hoekstra, 2011). These people are attracted by things that cannot be found in Almere, like cultural amenities, history and ambiance.

Professor in urban planning Joks Jansen explains that the problems of the New Towns in The Netherlands start with the debate of the government about the contradictions between promising cities and grim cities, in which the growing big cities and shrinking periphery are discussed, but in which the medium-sized cities like Almere are forgotten (in Milikowski, 2017). As Otto Raspe, researcher at the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, explains, the dichotomy between large popular cities and the middle-sized unpopular cities in The Netherlands is growing. In large cities, more and more jobs are created for which people are attracted from the close by cities (in Milikowski, 2017). Florida acknowledges this problematic observation. In his latest book *The New Urban Crisis* (2017), he describes the growing gap between rich, popular cities versus poor, unpopular cities. He comes back to his argument made in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) that in order for a city to

grow and develop economically, it needs to attract a creative class, using urban amenities and a high level of talent, tolerance and technology, stating that he did not foresee the problems and challenges that cities nowadays deal with.

Van Rooy explains that the solution for Almere lies in creating new breeding places for creatives and to offer them space and studios (in Hoekstra, 2011). Director of the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving Hans Mommaas emphasizes the importance for the middle-sized cities like Almere to find their unique strengths, not in terms of city marketing, but in terms of the cities shared narrative (in Milikowski, 2017).

3.2.2 Almere, a Cultural City

Despite the problems Almere deals with and the negativity that exists of the city, it must also be admitted that building a cultural infrastructure from scratch takes time and the city does have some special qualities to offer. First of all, Almere is a green city, full of nature, in which the urban development and the greenery are in balance. It is a city full of extraordinary architecture. Secondly, Almere is a pioneer town, that offers opportunities in entrepreneurship and that has a refreshing future orientation (RRAAM, 2012, p.12).

The Dutch government aims to develop the Northern urban agglomeration into an international, sustainable European top region. In order to reach this goal, Almere has to grow into a city with 350.000 citizens in 2030/2040 (Cultuur 2.0, 2012). This growth translates not only in the development and growth of housing and infrastructure, but rather in the development of the quality of life within the city, of which culture is an essential part. In *Cultuur 2.0, Een visie op cultuur in Almere in relatie tot de groeiopgave* (RRAAM, 2012), the vision of the development of the cultural infrastructure in Almere over 20 years has been displayed. This vision is divided into four subjects. First of all, national facilities and cultural activities will be linked to the qualities of Almere, which are the green nature, the youth of the future and the new urbanity. Secondly, the cultural centre is strong and can finance itself. It does not depend on exploitation subsidies. The cultural offer of the city is focuses on the inhabitants needs and wants. Thirdly, entrepreneurship and participation of the inhabitants is stimulated through institutions and an attractive and challenging working climate, and the cultural infrastructure is diverse and unique. And fourth, cultural education is a prosperous asset of the city and talent development is stimulated. The aim of the development of the cultural infrastructure is to stimulate the viability of the city and to strengthen the attractiveness of the city for people and companies, because a high level of attractiveness means a high level of economic development as well.

According to Jorritsma and Grootoonk, certain cultural organisations in Almere specifically contribute to an inspiring cultural infrastructure and match the vision of Cultuur 2.0, which are theatre and company Bonte Hond, theatre company Vis à Vis, Corrosia, theatre festival Twee Turven Hoog and the library of Almere, of which Vis à Vis and Bonte Hond receive subsidies of the government (2012, p.9). Two important cultural organizations in the city, Museum De Paviljoens and architectural institute CASLa, have recently been shut down and are now part of the Kunstlinie Almere Flevoland (KAF). The plan Hectare Cultuur describes the plans for the KAF building in the centre of Almere (Van Mil & Van Giessen, 2013). The building used to be the house of the city theatre only, but now forms a cultural centre with several institutions and organizations in the field of culture and arts. The KAF presents exhibitions, own productions in all forms and external programming in all forms. The programming connects with the preferences of the people of Almere and should fill the building. The building should become a place to meet and to enjoy culture and arts, and shows the modern city that Almere is. This modernity should also be reflected in the architecture, the urban development and in the overall cultural infrastructure of the city (Jorritsma & Grootoonk, 2012).

Smaller cultural organizations, creative clusters and breeding places in the city are stimulated as well by the municipality of Almere, through renting spaces to creatives for reduced rent (Jorritsma & Grootoonk, 2012, p. 13). Some examples of these breeding places are De Voetnoot, De Blauwe Reiger, BG 22-24 and Stadslab Almere. In order to stimulate entrepreneurship and the establishment of small cultural organisations located in these creative clusters, in 2015, the first culture fund of Almere was founded. The mission statement of the fund says to "enrich the life in Almere by strengthening the cultural sector of the city" (Cultuurfonds Almere, 2015). Moreover, the fund stimulates cultural entrepreneurship, cooperation between the cultural sector and other sectors and additional funding for arts and culture in Almere.

One of the most important recommendations given for the development of the cultural infrastructure in the policy Cultuur 2.0 is to use the strengths and qualities of the city (RRAAM, 2012). The city is young, so pay attention to cultural education and talent development. The city has a lot of nature, so strengthen the relation between culture and nature. The city has space, so use that space to create possibilities for self-organisation, experiments, entrepreneurial activities. But also appreciate and take care of what the city already has in culture. As a result of these visions and advices, Almere is now largely focusing on the Floriade project, a world horticultural exhibition that will be realized in 2022.

In this project, the aim of Almere to become an important a green city is reflected (Floriade, 2015). Floriade will be a 'living laboratory' for experiments in sustainable urban development, with the aim to stimulate economic activity and attract more people to Almere.

The governmental agreement of the coalition of Almere for the period of 2014 to 2018, existing of 5 Dutch parties (D66, PvdA, VVD, Leefbaar Almere and CDA) connects with the vision of Cultuur 2.0 by stating that the focus of Almere mainly lies at Almere as a Green City, with self-esteem, power and responsibility as core values (Gemeente Almere, 2014). They add that Almere has the ambition to be the most innovative residential city and working city. Arts and culture form important cornerstones for the identity of the city. The amount of cultural consumers in Almere is growing and needs to be further stimulated. Therefore, there are no subsidy cuts this council period and a new culture fund is founded to stimulate the establishment and development of new cultural organisations. Moreover, talent development is an important point of attention. Striking is that, contrary to this notion of support for arts and culture by the coalition stands the PVV, the largest party in Almere (not part of the coalition this period), that argues that the subsidies for culture in Almere are too high and that wasn't pleased with the investment of 3.5 million euros in the KAF theater and the investments in the Floriade project (PVV Almere, 2016).

To attract more creatives to Almere and erase the negative reputation the city has, Almere City Marketing is branding the city in several ways. The organization aims on enlarging the attractiveness and popularity of Almere as a place to live, work, visit and study in (Almere City Marketing, 2011). In their branding strategies, Almere City Marketing uses the slogan 'Het kan in Almere', translated to 'It can be done in Almere', which is spread amongst people through television commercials, online campaigns, print and outdoor advertising. With words and images, the organization tries to enlarge brand awareness and a positive perception of the brand Almere. Due to the continuous growth of the city, Almere City Marketing is dealing with product diversification, which means that there is a growing number of target groups that can get something out of Almere. City marketing thus gets more and more important. The main message that Almere City Marketing wants to send is that the city offers opportunities for people with ambitions in any kind, using the following core values: Almere offers space for ambitions; Almere is innovative; Almere is colourful; Almere is young and self-conscious; Almere is the 7th largest city of The Netherlands; and Almere has a central location (Almere City Marketing, 2011, p.9).

The target audiences of Almere are companies, residents, students and visitors. The city needs to attract companies in order to create jobs and stimulate economic development.

The second target group, the residents, should be attracted by offering them a clean and safe city with good, affordable houses, public facilities, education, sport and culture. There is a need for a higher level of highly educated people with higher incomes. Almere also aims to position itself as new student city, which means the city has to keep in mind the wishes and needs of students in terms of housing, culture and facilities. Moreover, visitors are attracted through shopping facilities, which will be expanded with other attractive activities and events.

Within the Amsterdam metropolis, Almere want to profile its own economy as part of the Metropolitan Region Amsterdam focusing on Health & Wellness, ICT & Media, Trade & Logistics, Sustainable Area Development and Lelystad Airport (Almere City Marketing, 2011, p.15). Compared to other Dutch cities, Almere distinguishes itself in its beneficial geographical position and the space and possibilities it offers for companies. Within the city, the five centres each have their own profile, target groups and experience values, even though the five cores do not compete with each other and all belong to the same city. The marketing strategies are divided into five activities that all have their own set of advantages for the target groups: live, build, work, study and visit. Figure 5 shows the Brand Pyramid of Almere, that shows the values that are used in the marketing strategies.
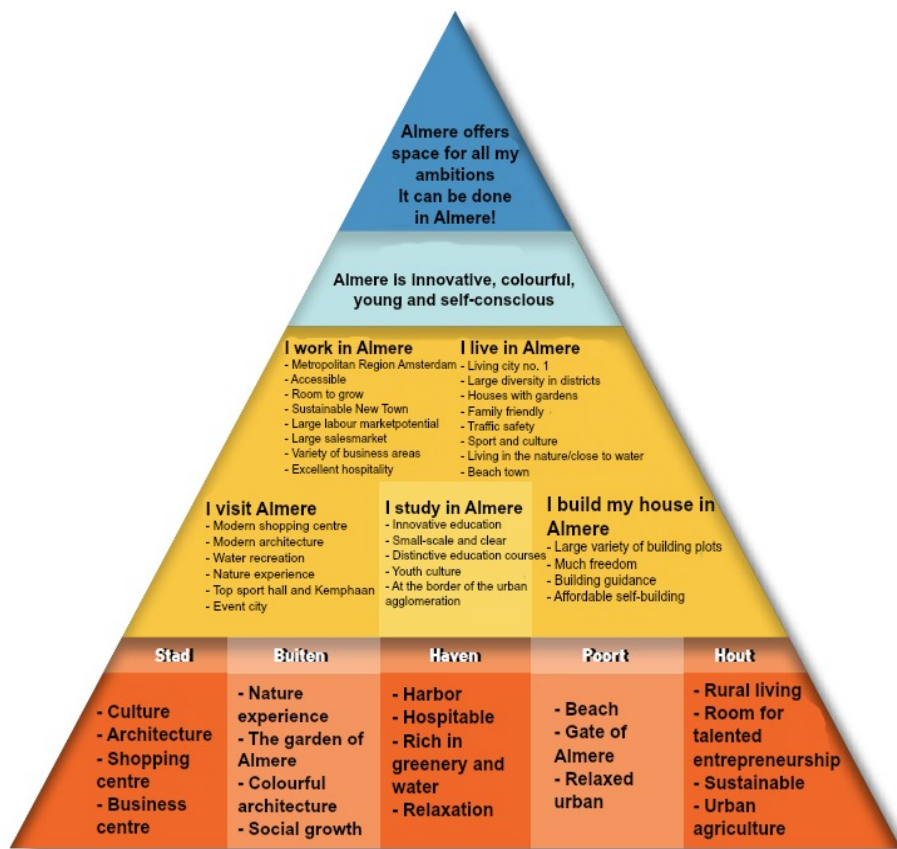

Figure 5. Brand Pyramid of Almere (Almere City Marketing, 2011, p.18)

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology of the research, based on the theoretical research that was displayed in chapter 2 and the empirical context in chapter 3. It explains the research design and methods that are used in order to answer the research question. Moreover, it shows the unit of analysis of the research and it explains how the data is collected. Finally, the chapter discusses the limitations of the research.

4.1 Research Problem and Design

As explained in chapter 1, this research aims to answer the following question: *To what extent is Almere, a New Town in the shadows of the cultural magnet Amsterdam, an attractive place for creative individuals and why do creative individuals choose to work in Almere?* The study takes a qualitative deductive approach in studying the experience of location and the unique values of Almere for creative individuals. In doing so, an epistemological position as an interpretivist is taken in order to enlarge the understanding of the concepts of creative cities, New Towns, city attractiveness and location factors by researching the interpretation of these concepts by the respondents (Bryman, 2012, p.380).

The research uses a cross sectional design, focusing on the case of Almere and collecting data from 9 creative individuals from the 25th of April to the 1st of May 2017. In order to create and enlarge the understanding of the wishes and needs in terms of location of creative individuals that are operating in Almere, semi-structured interviews with 9 creative individuals were conducted. It is important to state that the results from the interviews are a contribution to this understanding, but they aren't conducted in order to present statistic representative results. The research focuses on this particular case, because Almere is the biggest and fastest growing New Town of The Netherlands which remains in a difficult position in terms of its development. For a city like Almere, it is important to develop its position in The Netherlands in order become attractive and be able to attract more creative individuals, which will results in economic growth and which will reduce the gap between the large creative cities and the middle-sized New Towns in The Netherlands.

4.2 Research Sample

In order to create an understanding of the values, location choices and location evaluations of creative individuals operating in Almere, 9 creative individuals have been interviewed, using semi-structured interviews. The sample was collected through purposive sampling, using a criterion sampling approach, which means that the units for the sample

were collected on the base of particular criteria (Bryman, 2012, p.419). These criteria were as follows: the unit of analysis is a creative individual, which can be a creative or cultural entrepreneur or an artist, in both cases occupied with establishing their own businesses and projects; he or she is working in Almere; and he or she in any form has a relationship with Amsterdam (lives, has lived or has visited Amsterdam). The units of analysis were searched and found on the internet, through websites of different cultural organizations and breeding places in Almere. Moreover, two of the respondents were collected through unplanned snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012, p.424). One of the respondents who wasn't suitable to partake in the research himself, but does have a large network of creative individuals in Almere, forwarded three names of creative individuals, of whom two were available to participate in the research. In composing the sample, it was taken into account that the sample should contain a diverse group of people, in terms of gender, age and place of residence. A sample of at least 10 respondents was desirable, but unfortunately, only 9 creative individuals turned out to be available for the research. Table 1 shows an overview of the names, gender, year of birth, function, working place and living place of the participating respondents.

Participant name	Gender	Year of birth	Function (amongst other things)	Place of residence	Works (and lives) in Almere since
Christine van Stralen	Female	1945	Founder of Bureau van Kunstprojekten	Almere	2000
Bastiaan Gietema	Male	1977	Founder of Stichting Art Culture	Almere	2010
Hein Walter	Male	1962	Visual artist	Almere	1995
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	Male	1985	Director of Cultuurfonds Almere	Almere	1990
Johanna Braeunlich	Female	1973	Ceramic artist	Almere	2006
Kasper Jongejan	Male	1982	Fashion designer	Amsterdam	around 2004
Vere van Hal	Female	1992	Artistic manager of Stichting Maakplaats	Amsterdam	2016/2017
Marcel Kolder	Male	1958	Founder of City Senses	Almere	1992
Remon Popelier	Male	1978	Event manager (Festival Gestrand)	Almere	1984

Table 1. Creative individuals working in Almere

4.3 Research methods

Using a semi-structured interview, the respondents were asked questions that were divided into 6 parts: background questions; questions on personal values; a survey on location factors; questions on the reputation of Almere; questions on the relation between Almere and Amsterdam; and questions on the unique value of Almere for creative individuals. The interview contained 9 open questions and a survey in between, that the respondents filled in themselves. This survey showed 26 location factors, divided into groups of 5 logics (culture, home/oikos, market, government and social). A special constructed interview like such allows to prepare the respondents for the survey with a few open questions, whereafter they fill in the survey and have the possibility to ask questions or make comments during the survey, to end with a few open questions that are based on the survey. By using a survey with 26 factors, instead of asking the respondents 26 questions on the location factors, a lot of time and effort is saved. The survey showed three different columns after each location factor. The first column says 'How important is this for you?'. Here, the respondents were asked to rank each location factor from 1 to 10 (1 being not important at all, 10 being very important) on the base of how important it is that a certain factor is present in a city in general, from his or her position as a creative individual. The second column says 'How do you experience this in Almere?', where the respondents were asked to rank the location factors from 1 to 10 again (1 being very bad, 10 being very good) on the base of how they experience the factor in Almere. The third column says 'How do you experience this in Almere compared to Amsterdam). Here, it was explained to the respondents to rank the factors again from 1 to 10, but this time 1 means it is experienced much worse in Almere than in Amsterdam, 5 means it is comparable, and 10 means it is much better experienced in Almere than in Amsterdam. The respondents were encouraged to speak during conducting the survey and give comments, explanations or examples. However, not all respondents did so.

4.3.1 The Value Based Approach

In developing the method and the measuring instrument, the Value Based Approach has been used as point of departure. This approach, as proposed by Klamer (2016), is about realizing values or qualities. The two steps of the Value Based Approach are to first create awareness of what your values are and what you find truly important, and second, to find out how to make these values true; how to 'valorize' them (Klamer, 2016, p.369). Values are at the centre of this study, therefore it makes sense to use this approach. By using the Value

Based Approach, the research aims at understanding different values: the values that are included in the theoretical concepts of the Creative City, New Towns and creative individuals, the values that are important for the empirical context, Almere, from a cultural and a political perspective, and the values of the units of analysis, the creative individuals of Almere. Moreover, the research seeks to find out if these values are comparable or not and how these values can be valorized.

Within the measuring instrument, several strategies are used to enlarge understanding of the respondents' values. In the beginning of the interview, the respondents are asked what the most important values in life are for them. Through the other questions and the ranking of the location factors, it can be tested if there is a relation between their values and the location, or in other words, if it is possible to valorize the values in the specific location. At the end of the interview, the respondents are asked what they think is the unique value of Almere for creative individuals. The location factors are divided into 5 logics, as displayed in figure 6: culture, oikos, market, government, social. Each logic has its own rules, norms, values, institutions and relationships (Klamer, 2016).
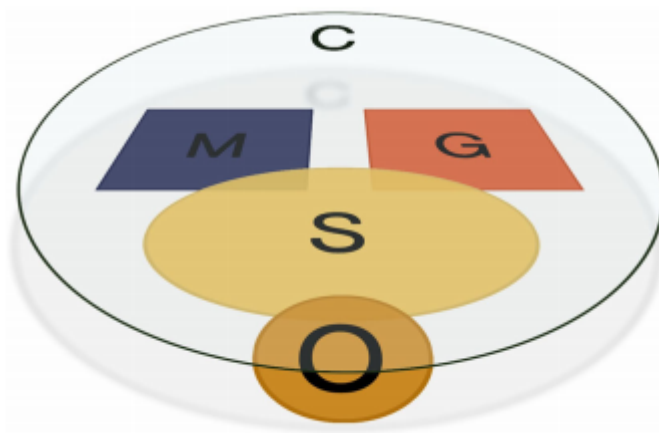
Figure 6. The five logics: Culture, Oikos, Market, Government, Social (Klamer, 2016, p.371)

The market logic is about values of economy, supply and demand, and commercialization. The goods that are valorized in this logic are private goods. The governmental logic is based on regulations, laws and rules. It is related to bureaucracy and collective goods can be valorized in this logic. The social logic is social and informal, and is about participation, collaboration and socialization. Shared goods can be valorized in this logic. The Oikos logic is about home, family and intimacy. Intimate and social goods can be

valorized in this logic. And last, the Cultural logic stands above all other logics and is about cultural values, such as religion, history and aesthetics. In this values, cultural goods can be valorized. Using these logics allows us to create understanding of which logic are most important and valued the highest. Moreover, different categories of values can be distinguished within these logics: personal values, social values, societal values and transcendental or cultural values (Klamer, 2016, p57-58). Personal values relate to individual, personal wishes and needs. Social values relate to human relationships with people. Societal values relate to the society. And transcendental or cultural values are all values that do not necessarily relate to the individual self, relationships with others or with the society, but rather to ideas, ideals, ways of living and practices. In a way, these values thus hold all before mentioned categories as well, which explains why they are called transcendental. Throughout the research, these different categories of values are taken into account.

4.4 Data Collection and Analysis

In one week, 8 interviews were conducted and recorded. Although it was planned to have at least 10 live interviews, this turned out not to be possible, because 2 of the 10 respondents that were scheduled for an interview cancelled the appointment. However, one of these 2 respondents (no. 9), offered to answer the interview- and survey questions per email. These answers are collected and used for the research as well. The other 8 interviews were transcribed. The 9 interviews have been analysed through open coding and thematic analysis, whereafter sub conclusions are developed per theme or question. These sub conclusions of all 9 respondents are put together in one document, and that document was coded again (see Appendix 2 and chapter 5). The interviews are coded using comments on the side of the interviews, and by marking words and phrases with colours, to reveal relationships between phrases and words.

4.5 Limitations

The research method and measuring instrument know certain limitations that are worth mentioning. First of all, the sample of the research is quite small, which means that the results aren't generalizable for the whole population. Even though creating generalizable results from the empirical research has not been the aim of the research, it may form a limitation for the strength of the conclusions that will come forth of the results.

A difficulty in using the measuring instrument is the way the scores were set up. In the survey, the scoring of the first and second column were very clear to all respondents, 1 being

low (negative) and 10 being high (positive). However, the third column was difficult to understand for some of the respondents. This column presents Almere in relation to Amsterdam and the scoring differs from the first two columns, in that 1 means that Almere scores much lower than Amsterdam, 5 means that Almere and Amsterdam score the same, and 10 means that Almere scores much higher than Amsterdam. Many respondents were confused and thought the third column presented Amsterdam, and thus filled the survey in wrong the first time. However, after explaining the scoring once again, the respondents did understand it and filled it in again.

Another limitation of the measuring instrument is that not all respondents were giving comments when they filled in the survey. The result is that there is much more information from some respondents than from others, and some surveys can be put in context better than others.

5. RESULTS

After conducting individual semi-structured interviews with 9 creative individuals that are operating in Almere, results where collected through qualitative coding analysis on four overall aspects: personal values, location factors, the relation between Almere and Amsterdam and the unique value of Almere. This chapter shows the main findings from the interviews per aspect and connects them to the theories explained in chapter 2 and the empirical context discussed in chapter 3. In the paragraph with the location factors, a division has been made between the five logics: culture, oikos, market, government and social. An overview of the findings per individual creative can be found in appendix 2.

5.1 Personal Values

To the question of what is the most important thing in life, one value was mentioned by all creative individuals: freedom. Having the freedom to do what you want, to create whatever you like. This value forms one of the most important reasons for the respondents to work as a creative individual.

Christine van Stralen: "To me, the most important thing has always been that I'm free to do what I like to do. And that has always been the case. To reach that, having a company of your own is ideal, of course."

One of the respondents, Kasper Jongejan, who is currently not living in Almere, explains that he did have this freedom in creating and working in Almere, but he missed a certain freedom in being who you are in the city, which is one of the reasons why he left the city. In this way, freedom is also related to tolerance: having freedom to be who you are and do what you do, and being tolerated in doing so. This is in line with Florida's argument that the creative class values tolerance when choosing their location (2002).

Another much mentioned value (by 5 out of 9 respondents) is doing what you like most and enjoying life. This is by the majority of the respondents valued over financial success, and an important reason for them to work in the creative industry.

Jan-Melle Liscaljet: "I have chosen my job for something I enjoy doing. Working in the cultural sector is hard work, you make many hours for relatively little money, but I go to work every day with a smile on my face, and I am always doing fun things with beautiful people who are all driven, which makes it a lot less bad to work 6 to 7 days a week."

Two respondents mentioned development as being an important value. They explain that education, talent development, growing, learning and experiencing are important things in life that need to be stimulated. Other, less often mentioned values (by 1 out of 9 respondents) are beauty, caretaking, balance, justice, sincerity and honesty. Moreover, one respondent mentions love as an important value, which is according to McCloskey (2006) an important characteristic of an entrepreneur.

5.2 Location Factors

During the interviews, the respondents were asked to grade 26 location factors from their position as a creative individual, that were divided into 5 logics: culture, oikos, market, government and social. Table 2 shows how many times the location factors were ranked as being important (first column - all grades with a 7 or higher are counted as important), as experienced as being good in Almere (second column - all grades with a 7 or higher are counted as experienced good), as experienced better in Almere than in Amsterdam (third column - all grades with a 7 or higher are counted as experienced better), as experienced as being bad in Almere (fourth column - all grades with a 4 or lower are counted as bad), and as experienced as worse in Almere than in Amsterdam (fifth column - all grades with a 4 or lower are counted as worse in Almere).

CULTURAL LOGIC	Important location factors for a city	Experienced as good in Almere	Experienced better in Almere than in Amsterdam	Experienced as bad in Almere	Experienced worse in Almere than in Amsterdam
1. Culture and arts in general	9	1	0	5	8
2. Developed creative industries	7	2	0	3	9
3. Leisure and cultural facilities	9	3	1	1	6
4. Urban Aesthetics	7	5	3	1	2
OIKOS LOGIC	Important location factors for a city	Experienced as good in Almere	Experienced better in Almere than in Amsterdam	Experienced as bad in Almere	Experienced worse in Almere than in Amsterdam
5. Quality of home/houses	7	6	3	0	2
6. Costs of living	5	7	4	0	0
7. Affordable housing	7	7	5	0	0

8. Friends and family	8	6	2	1	3
MARKET LOGIC	Important location factors for a city	Experienced as good in Almere	Experienced better in Almere than in Amsterdam	Experienced as bad in Almere	Experienced worse in Almere than in Amsterdam
9. Business opportunities	8	4	0	0	3
10. Work space	9	4	3	1	1
11. Strong, effective economy	7	5	0	0	3
12. Market demand	6	2	0	2	6
13. Professional networks	8	4	1	4	7
14. Technological developments	5	3	0	2	7
GOVERNMENTAL LOGIC	Important location factors for a city	Experienced as good in Almere	Experienced better in Almere than in Amsterdam	Experienced as bad in Almere	Experienced worse in Almere than in Amsterdam
15. Health care services	8	9	1	0	1
16. Social security	8	2	1	0	3
17. Educational services	8	4	1	1	6
18. Clean city	8	9	5	0	1
19. Good geographic location	7	8	2	0	2
20. Good infrastructure	8	9	3	0	0
SOCIAL LOGIC	Important location factors for a city	Experienced as good in Almere	Experienced better in Almere than in Amsterdam	Experienced as bad in Almere	Experienced worse in Almere than in Amsterdam
21. Intensive social activity	7	5	0	1	5
22. Reputation and tradition	7	1	1	2	9
23. Ambiance	9	0	0	3	8
24. Talented population	8	1	0	3	8
25. Level of tolerance	9	5	3	0	4
26. Calmness within the city	5	7	7	0	0

Table 2. Overview of how many respondents experience certain location factors.

Looking at the first column, it can be noted that all location factors are experienced as being important for a city by the majority of the respondents (at least 5 out of 9 respondents). The factors that are ranked as important the least few times (by 5 respondents) are 'costs of

living', 'technological developments' and 'calmness within the city'. The factors that are ranked as being important by all respondents are 'culture and arts in general', 'leisure and cultural facilities', 'work spaces', 'the ambiance' and 'the level of tolerance'. It is difficult to say if the location factors of a particular logic are ranked as important more often than those in other logics. However, when looking at the average amount of valued as important per logic, the cultural logic is ranked as important the most (8 times ranked on average). The governmental logic is ranked as second most important on average (7.8 times), the social logic as third (7.5 times), the market logic as fourth (7.2 times) and the oikos logic is ranked as important the least often on average (6.8 times).

When looking at the location factors in Almere, 13 out of the 26 factors are experienced as good in Almere by the majority of the respondents (at least 5 out of 9). 'Health care services', 'clean city' and 'good infrastructure' are experienced good in Almere by all respondents. One factor is by no one experienced as good in Almere, which is the ambiance of the city. It can be seen that on average, the location factors in the governmental logic are ranked as being good most often (6.8 times), and the location factors in the cultural logic the least often (2.8 times). Only three factors are ranked as being better in Almere than in Amsterdam (column three) by the majority of the respondents, which are 'affordable housing', 'clean city' and 'calm city'.

When looking at the factors that are experienced as being bad in Almere, it can be seen that only one location factor is perceived as bad by the majority of the respondents, which is 'culture and arts in general' (by 5 out of 9 respondents). 12 out of 26 location factors aren't experienced as bad in Almere by any of the respondents. However, when looking at the last column, it can be noted that many location factors (11 out of 26) are still actually experienced worse in Almere than in Amsterdam. Looking at the average scores per logic, it can be seen that the location factors in the cultural logic are experienced as worse in Almere than in Amsterdam the most times of all (6.3 times), followed by the social logic (5.7 times), the market logic (4.5 times), the governmental logic (2.2 times) and as last the oikos logic (1.3 times).

Now that we have seen how many times each location factor is ranked as important for a city in general, experienced as good and better in Almere, and experienced as bad and worse in Almere, in order to get an idea of the distribution of the sample, we can take a look at the average scores the location factors received, which are shown in table 3. The scores can be explained as follows:

Column 1 - how important is it in general for a city?	Column 2 - how is it experienced in Almere?	Column 3 – Difference between column 1 and 2	Column 4 - How is it experienced in Almere in relation to Amsterdam?
ranked 1 to 10 1 = not important at all 5 = neutral 10 = very important	ranked 1 to 10 1 = very bad 5 = neutral 10 = very good	Score of column 1 minus score of column 2	ranked 0 to 10 0 = terrible 2 = much worse 4 = slightly worse 5 = comparable 6 = slightly better 8 = much better 10 = fantastic

CULTURAL LOGIC	How important is it in general for a city?	How is it experienced in Almere?	Difference between column 1 and 2	How is it experienced in Almere in relation to Amsterdam?
1. Culture and arts in general	9,2	4,7	4,5	3
2. Developed creative industries	8,2	5,2	3	3
3. Leisure and cultural facilities	8,4	5,9	2,5	4
4. Urban Aesthetics	8,2	6,7	1,5	5
OIKOS LOGIC	How important is it in general for a city?	How is it experienced in Almere?	Difference between column 1 and 2	How is it experienced in Almere in relation to Amsterdam?
5. Quality of home/houses	8,3	7,4	0,9	6
6. Costs of living	8,0	7,5	0,5	7
7. Affordable housing	8,3	8	0,3	7
8. Friends and family	8,6	6,8	1,8	5
MARKET LOGIC	How important is it in general for a city?	How is it experienced in Almere?	Difference between column 1 and 2	How is it experienced in Almere in relation to Amsterdam?
9. Business opportunities	8,0	6,5	1,5	4
10. Work space	8,1	6,4	1,7	6
11. Strong, effective economy	7,9	6,9	1	4
12. Market demand	7,3	5,4	1,9	3
13. Professional networks	8,1	5,5	2,6	4
14.Technological developments	7,1	5,8	1,3	3

GOVERNMENTAL LOGIC	How important is it in general for a city?	How is it experienced in Almere?	Difference between column 1 and 2	How is it experienced in Almere in relation to Amsterdam?
15. Health care services	8,1	8,0	0,1	5
16. Social security	8,5	7,3	1,2	5
17. Educational services	8,1	5,8	2,3	3
18. Clean city	7,7	7,9	-0,2	6
19. Good geographic location	8,2	8,4	0,2	5
20. Good infrastructure	8,0	8,4	-0,4	6
SOCIAL LOGIC	How important is it in general for a city?	How is it experienced in Almere?	Difference between column 1 and 2	How is it experienced in Almere in relation to Amsterdam?
21. Intensive social activity	8,2	6,7	1,5	4
22. Reputation and tradition	6,7	4,7	2	2
23. Ambiance	8,3	5,0	3,3	2
24. Talented population	7,9	4,8	3,1	2
25. Level of tolerance	9,3	6,8	2,5	5
26. Calmness within the city	6,4	8,6	-2,2	8

Table 3. Average scores given to the location factors by the respondents

It can be seen that on average, 'culture and arts in general' and 'level of tolerance' receive the highest scores in column 1, which means they are perceived as most important location factors for a city. However, other factors are ranked high as well. 'Reputation and tradition' as well as 'calmness within the city' receive the lowest scores and are thus perceived less important, although on average, they still score above 6 points. Looking at the total average scores for the importance of each logic, the cultural logic scores highest with 8.5 points, followed by the oikos logic with 8.3 points, the governmental logic with 8.1 points and the market and social logic with the lowest overall average scores of 7.8 points.

Looking at the second column, it can be noted that the scores are much lower. Three location factors score an average of below 5, which means they are not experienced very good in Almere. These are 'culture and arts in general', 'reputation and tradition' and 'talented population'. Still, most location factors receive a 'good' score, higher than 5 (23 out of 26), than 6 (16 out of 26) and even higher than 7 (8 out of 26). If we look at the overall

average scores per logic, the governmental logic receives the highest average score of 7.6, followed by the oikos logic with a score of 7.4. The market logic and the social logic score a little lower, but still receive a sufficient grade of 6.1. The cultural logic receives the lowest score of 5.6.

The third column shows the difference between the scores of the first column and the second column, in order to indicate the difference between the importance of a location factor in general, and the experience of a location factor in Almere. It can be seen that 9 factors have a difference of at least two points: 'culture and arts in general', 'ambiance', 'talented population', 'developed creative industries', 'professional networks', 'leisure and cultural facilities', 'level of tolerance', 'education', and 'reputation and tradition'. The location factors that have the least difference, less than 1 point, are: 'good infrastructure', 'clean city', 'healthcare services', 'good geographic location', 'affordable housing', 'costs of living', and 'quality of homes/housing.'

The last column shows how much better or worse the location factors in Almere are experienced compared to Amsterdam. It can be seen that on average, the 'urban aesthetics', 'friends and family', 'health care services', 'social security', 'geographic location' and 'level of tolerance' are experienced the same in Almere as in Amsterdam. Almere scores especially higher on the location factors 'calmness within the city', 'affordable housing' and 'costs of living' but also 'quality of housing', 'work space', 'clean city' and 'infrastructure' are slightly better. The rest of the factors is perceived as worse in Almere than in Amsterdam, with 'reputation and tradition', 'ambiance' and 'talented population' experienced as much worse. Looking at the average scores per logic, it can be seen that overall the cultural logic, the market logic and the social logic have an average of 4, which means they are in general perceived to be slightly worse in Almere than in Amsterdam. The governmental logic scores a 5 on average, and is thus experienced the same in both cities. The oikos logic scores a 6, which means it is slightly better experienced in Almere than in Amsterdam.

Now that the overall perception of the location factors by creative individuals in Almere is clear, we will zoom in on the different logics and discuss a few striking findings.

5.2.1 Cultural Logic

It can be concluded that all nine respondents believe that the level of arts and culture within a city is very important. In Almere, this level is experienced quite negatively.

Bastiaan Gietema: "It is important, but you cannot find it in Almere. And that is why I just do not go here. I barely visit Almere for the arts and culture of the city itself. Yes, well, it's definitely important, but it should happen a lot more here in Almere."

When looking at the level of developed creative industries, 3 of the respondents observe a change going on and state that Almere is growing and improving, but the other respondents are not so convinced. Artist Hein Walter explains that Almere lacks cultural consumers, that are needed in order for the creative industries to grow. Kasper Jongejan argues that Almere is too much focusing on the Floriade project. In terms of leisure and cultural activities, two respondents state that Almere does very well in sports, shopping and leisure activities. However, in terms of cultural facilities and activities, two respondents explain that the offer is very bad in Almere.

Johanna Braeunlich: "I must say, I believe it is very bad here in Almere. We used to have a museum, Paviljoens, that is gone. They do want to change a lot, but at the moment… The stores are all chains. Compared to Amsterdam I don't like it at all. Few festivals as well. And then occasionally a large festival (...) but the small, fun things that grow at the bottom, there is almost nothing like that. Then I believe the offer is really bad."

The urban aesthetics are experienced as very good by the majority of the respondents (8 out of 9). It is perceived as a quality that Almere could use in its current position, especially compared to Amsterdam.

Marcel Kolder: "I believe that when it comes to architecture, we are more advanced here in Almere. More is possible here."

5.2.2 Oikos Logic

The location factors within the Oikos logic score in Almere relatively high according to the respondents. In general, the quality of the houses/housing in Almere is positively experienced. Looking at costs of living and affordable houses, Almere is perceived as being cheaper than other places. However, one respondent states that the amount of affordable houses is declining in the city. An explanation for the low costs of living is given by Bastiaan Gietema, who says that the costs are lower in Almere, because of the people that live in the city that in general don't want to or simply cannot spend a lot of money. By 8 out of 9

respondents, the factor 'friends and family' is rated as very important within a city. One respondent disagrees and argues that she can make friends anywhere:

Christine van Stralen: "In every city, you just have to make your own friends and that's not that difficult. And of course you have your old acquaintances who you're holding on to. But you aren't bound to a city for your social life."

Another respondent argues that, although he thinks it is important to have friends and family around, it is hard to make new friends in Almere, because people tend to be egocentric.

Bastiaan Gietema: "People choose consciously to live in Almere, because it has advantages for them. It's an egocentric choice. They leave everything behind and they choose for themselves. And it's mainly people living here who want to start a family. Thus they are very occupied with their own home, to make it beautiful, and the children that will come. Therefore, they aren't on the street that much (...) they don't have reasons to connect with people in the city."

5.2.3 Market Logic

Of all 5 logics, the market logic is on average considered the least important and overall it is perceived to be worse in Almere than in Amsterdam. 2 of the respondents argue that Almere offers limited business opportunities. Three other respondents say that the offer of business opportunities in a city doesn't really matter, because as a creative individual, you create your own business opportunities. When looking at the availability and affordability of workspace, the opinions differ. Two respondents state that it is improving in Almere. Two respondents state that there are few spaces or studios available. Two other respondents believe there are a lot of available and affordable spaces, but another person says that they are actually expensive. The opinions on the economy within Almere differ as well. The majority of the respondents perceive the economy in Almere as not very good, but one respondent states that it is actually fine. The market demand in Almere is perceived negatively: it is very low. However, most respondents say that they create their own demand, thus it is less important.

Johanna Braeunlich: "People do not just come to you. You have see yourself where to place your work, how to get acquaintance and all that. But that is of course always the case, I think. (...) I think the market demand is low here, because there is so little money here in Almere, which is a disadvantage."

The opinions on professional network in Almere are also quite negative. Half of the respondents state that it is very difficult to establish a professional network in Almere. Hein Walter however believes it the professional networks in Almere are smaller, but also more developed than in Amsterdam. Christine van Stralen explains that it is easier in Amsterdam to create a professional network, because the education level there is higher than in Almere. The opinions on technological development within the city differ as well. 2 of the respondents explain that they don't notice it. Another says that there is a lot of technological development going on in the city at the moment.

5.2.4 Governmental Logic

Looking at the governmental logic, most location factors are in general experienced as being good in Almere. The health care services in Almere are experienced as good by all of the respondents. The majority of the respondents (7 out of 9) feels the same about social security. However, one respondent explains that this social security and public safety depends on the district.

Jan-Melle Liscaljet: "Almere is a New Town and according to the design of Teun Koolhaas, we have 4 cores, which have become 5, that are connected by greenery and the bus lanes. However, the connections have become divisions instead. Thus we are dealing with 4 separate villages, that all 4 or 5 have their own identity, with their own wishes, needs and problems."

When it comes to education services, 4 respondent believes it is good in Almere. However, the other respondents are not so enthusiastic. They explain it could be improved. To the question of whether Almere should have its own university, Marcel Kolder explains that it would be nonsense for the city to have a university. According to him, it would be better to have more HBO's (college education) in Almere, because it fits the population of the city better. Jan-Melle Liscaljet explains that a city does indeed needs schools and universities

to keep students in the city. An art academy, he argues, would be very nice for the city, but at the same time a strange proposition.

Jan-Melle Liscaljet: "I wonder of how much added value it would be, with Amsterdam, Utrecht and Zwolle just around the corner. If you put an art academy here in Almere, with the existing reputation problem, how many young people will it attract? Then you really have to offer something unique. (...) Something much more accessible."

All 9 respondents are positive when it comes to Almere as a clean city, the geographic location of the city and the infrastructure of the city. However, 2 of the respondents complain about the trains that don't run all night and don't stop everywhere.

5.2.5 Social Logic
On average, the social logic is perceived to be the least important logic within a city, even though some of the location factors are actually rated high. When it comes to social activity, overall Amsterdam is rated higher than Almere. In terms of tradition or history, three respondents explain that Almere is simply too young to have a tradition or history. However, one respondent argues that even though Almere is young, it still has an interesting history. Three respondents explain that the bad reputation of Almere causes people to react negatively when they say that they live and work in Almere.

Remon Popelier: "Nationwide, Almere is not the most popular place to visit. People can be prejudiced by the fact that you are a creative individual working in this city, but that the quality of cultural infrastructure still leaves too much to be desired."

Marcel Kolder explains the negativity about Almere by especially people from Amsterdam and Het Gooi as jealousy and frustration, because Almere offers space and possibilities that cannot be found in their own location. Christine van Stralen says that the negative image of Almere has a negative influence on her own position in the art field, because people within the arts sector are strongly prejudiced about the city. However, 6 of the 9 respondents say that the reputation of Almere has no influence or even has a positive influence on their own status, because the reputation of Almere made them what they are and stimulates what they do.

Bastiaan Gietema: "I think the reputation of Almere benefits my own reputation, because I try to do something about this reputation, so people are very admirable. If you say you work in Almere then people are shocked. But if you tell them what you are doing, they actually think it's very cool. So that bad image is actually beneficial to my own reputation when I talk about it to others."

Vere van Hal: "We (my friends from Almere and I) have the idea that we have become quite creative, because there wasn't much to do in Almere. And I believe that is one of the reasons that we have this attitude (...) that if there is nothing to do, why not create it yourself? I think that that is something that came into my identity thanks to Almere."

The ambiance in Almere, in terms of inspiration, is perceived as being not very good in Almere by all of the respondents. However, one person states that the architecture can be a source of inspiration. According to 5 of the 9 respondents, Almere lacks a talented population. It would be good to attract more intellectual and talented people to the city. Jan-Melle Liscaljet explains that the talented population is developing and that Almere is currently at a tipping point. The new young generation in Almere has a different, more positive perception of the city and is more likely to go to school in Almere and stay in Almere. The opinions on the level of tolerance differ. 4 people experience the level of tolerance as being good in Almere. The rest considers it not very good. Two of the respondents mention the PVV as one of the reasons for the low level of tolerance. In terms of the calm environment of Almere, all respondents are very positive.

5.3 Almere versus Amsterdam

After asking the respondents to rate the 26 location factors in general, for Almere and in relation to Amsterdam, they were asked about their specific opinion on the relation between Almere and Amsterdam. All respondents agree that Almere needs to distinguish itself from Amsterdam, instead of copying things that Amsterdam does, because it is a very different city. Marcel Kolder uses the Blue Ocean strategy to explain why Almere should be different. This business strategy assumes that there is a blue ocean and a red ocean: the blue ocean stands for fishing in new, empty seas (creating new market space) and believes in using own unique powers, which will lead to sovereignty; the red ocean is a full of competition (existing markets), which makes it difficult to conquer the market (Kim & Mauborgne, 2005). The

respondents all agree that Almere must use its own unique powers, like the architecture, the nature, the developments, the space.

> Jan-Melle Liscaljet: "Be unique, be distinctive. In that way, we can add to what can not be done in Amsterdam. (...) use the powers and the possibilities of the city. And that is the space, the novelty, the eternal development. So be different en position yourself different in relation to Amsterdam. And don't try to copy."

In being unique and different, Almere must take into account the wishes and needs of its citizens and its own identity. One respondent experiences that in terms of culture, Almere offers two extremes: low, popular culture and high, intellectual culture. There is nothing in between, just when that is something that the city could use.

> Vere van Hal: "I do think you can take Amsterdam as a source of inspiration. That you look at certain things and think, hey, this is working, or this is cool. But then, you have to translate it into the language of Almere (...) what is the identity of Almere and what does Almere want? That is actually very important I think, to look at the citizens that live in the city right now. You cannot ignore them."

One respondent argues that Almere should focus more on the rest of Flevoland instead of on Amsterdam in attracting people to the city, because Almere offers things you cannot find in Lelystad or Zeewolde. Hein Walter explains that if Almere does choose to aim at attracting more artists from Amsterdam, they should lower the rent of houses and workplaces in Almere. This would according to him attract the artists, who in turn will bring their own creative networks as well. Two respondents explain that Almere simply is too young as a city to be compared to Amsterdam. It doesn't have the cultural history, because the town is only 30 years old.

5.4 The Unique Value of Almere

To the question of why the respondents living and working in Almere have chosen to live and work in Almere, they all mentioned the positive living opportunities, in space and in costs. Another reason to live and work in Almere is the available business opportunities the city offers.

Jan-Melle Liscaljet: "You can really do everything here. It's not easy, anything but, but there's plenty of room to do it your own way."

Christine van Stralen agrees with him, but also states that for small businesses, especially in the cultural sector, location isn't very important. The two respondents that used to live in Almere, but left the city to live in Amsterdam, say that they have left the city because of the low offer in cultural activities and events, few business and development opportunities and expensive workspaces.

It can be noticed that the respondents all experience Almere in both negative and positive ways, although the degree in this may differ. Marcel Kolder observes that more entrepreneurs and creatives are leaving the city, than are coming, due to the climate and policy of the city. Although the focus of the city is more and more aimed on entrepreneurship and culture, there is too little money, a too small cultural mass and the municipality doesn't stimulate cultural entrepreneurship from the citizens in a good way.

Marcel Kolder: "Things are devised in advance and your plans have to fit into the picture of the city. And that's something that artists or creatives hate, fitting into the picture of the city. (...) because they are stubborn people (...) Almere is a city that has not yet learned how it really works."

Two respondents explain that it is difficult in Almere to work together with larger organisations. The big parties in the city find it difficult to work together with small, new entrepreneurs and projects. They see them as new competition, instead of an addition to the city. Another respondent explains that the lack of information sources is the biggest problem of the city.

Kasper Jongejan: "There are no institutions, big or small, that can help people with information. (...) if you are a young creative, you are searching for information (...) where do you find the right people, how can they help you further, you know?"

The majority of the respondents (5 out of 9) argue that to stimulate the cultural development in Almere, time is needed. It will take a 100 years before the city is truly interesting in terms of culture and creativity.

Despite the negativity that exists amongst the respondents, they all agree that Almere does have some unique values that cannot be found elsewhere. 8 out of 9 respondents agree that the unique value of the city lies in the fact that there isn't much there yet in terms of culture, which allows you to create it yourself. Almere offers space and possibilities to create and to do it in your own way. In doing so, you have the opportunity to really contribute to the city, and to help to form the identity of the city.

Johanna Braeunlich: "Almere is unique because it is a young city. Because the city does not yet have its own face, and it is still very much possible to work with it and manifest yourself as an artist. The unique value is that you can enrich the life of a city. Here, many new things arise, so you have a lot of opportunity to create and shape the face of the city."

It can be concluded that in this way, Almere is thus a good place to valorize one important value that all respondents have: the value of freedom. Almere offers the possibility of having freedom to create. There is few competition of others, there is just the competition of another city, and that is a challenge.

Marcel Kolder: "If you are smart as a cultural entrepreneur, you are looking for things that are not there yet. So a place where you can sit down for a new idea. Especially artists can do that. Cultural entrepreneurs can do that. (...) Look at what is missing in this city and then I think the municipality will receive you with open arms."

It is possible in Almere, though you have to work hard for it, as some of the respondents explain. You have to do it yourself.

Hein Walter: "(...) the moment you give input to society, come up with ideas and make plans, you will quickly find your way to the municipality, and there, the channels are much more accessible than in Amsterdam, for example. (...) because the lines are short here, you'll get noticed quickly. (...) The only pitfall is that there is no sales market here."

Other things that are mentioned as unique values for creative individuals in Almere are the unique and special composition of the population, the architecture and the structure of the

city. Kasper Jongejan explains that if you take the time to get to know your environment, you will learn to appreciate it.

Kasper Jongejan: "(...) the love, knowledge and interest in your own city, that would make it much more beautiful. (...) The city itself is just special. The architecture is very special. The bus lanes are special. These are very small things, but I really learned to love it. Because you do not see it in other cities."

Almere offers possibilities in living and creating, possibilities you do not have elsewhere. It is a fertile city and grateful too, according to Hein Walter.

Hein Walter: "The people living in the city are living there with great pleasure. The image that exists outside of the city, that Almere would be a boring city and nothing is happening here, is completely misplaced. That's just not so, it's a stubborn thing."

5.5 Data Interpretation and Discussion

This paragraph will answer the sub questions of the research that were formulated in chapter 1, which will help to answer the core question, by linking the results that are displayed in this chapter with the literature from chapter 2 and the empirical context in chapter 3.

1. What is a creative city and to what extent does Almere meet its characteristics?

A creative city should visualise the city through its culture and should have a dynamic cultural milieu (Jacobs, 1992; Scott, 2014). According to the respondents of the research, Almere is not considered to be a city with a successful cultural milieu and in Cultuur 2.0 it is stated as well that the cultural infrastructure of the city is still under construction (RRAAM, 2012). In this respect, Almere is not considered to be a creative city. Another aspect of the creative city is the connection of the city and its cultural infrastructure with its people (Comunian, 2011; Jacobs, 1992). Half of the respondents argues that it is difficult to form a professional network within the cultural sector of Almere and one respondents explains that the citizens of Almere are too much occupied with themselves. The level of social activity is perceived lower in Almere than in Amsterdam. In general, Almere is not scoring very high on the social connections within the city, which is in contrast with the creative city concept. Moreover, it is argued by the creative individuals that the level of talent is low in Almere,

which is also in contrast to the creative city concept (Florida, 2002; Scott, 2014; Comunian, 2011).

However, the innovative architecture and structure of the city are perceived as something good and unique by the respondents, and are also mentioned as a unique value of the city in Cultuur 2.0 and by Almere City Marketing (2011). This is in line with the aspect of innovation (Bianchini & Landry, 1995; Jacobs, 1984) and iconic architecture (Scott, 2014) in creative cities. Moreover, Almere is perceived as a city that is unique and one of a kind by the respondents, which is also emphasized in Cultuur 2.0 and in the city marketing. The deployment of these unique qualities of Almere, which are its nature and greenery, the youth and the possibilities for entrepreneurship, is in line with the creative city concept, which explains that a creative city recognizes, identifies and uses the unique character of the city (Hospers & Pen, 2008; Landry, 2000). Other aspects of the creative city are its diversity and dynamics, as explained by Jacobs (1984). Creative cities are vivid breeding places for creativity and employment (Hospers & Pen, 2008; Scott, 2014). Although these aspects of diversity and dynamics are explained to be aspects of Almere as well in Cultuur 2.0 and in Almere City Marketing, these aspects aren't often mentioned by the respondents. Only one respondents mentions the unique and diverse composition of the population of Almere as a unique power of the city.

Despite the fact that Almere is in certain ways developing towards the creative city concept, it can be argued that the city cannot be considered to the utmost extent to be a creative city. Hospers and Pen (2008) explain that the perception of people of whether a city is creative or attractive or not is largely dependent on the history of the city. This can be an explanation to why Almere is not considered to be a creative city. The respondents also argue that Almere is too young and simply needs time to become a creative city.

2. How is Almere positioning itself in order to attract creative individuals?

Almere is a New Town, developed to alleviate the overpopulated city Amsterdam (INTI, 2010). In a way, Amsterdam and Almere are therefore inseparably connected to each other, because Amsterdam provided Almere for a large part of its population. When the migration of citizens of Amsterdam to Almere began in the seventies, it were mainly people with a lower income and without a high education background who couldn't afford the expensive housing in Amsterdam that moved to Almere. The result is that compared to Amsterdam, the population of Almere lacks talented people with a higher education background and higher incomes; something that is recognized by the municipality and government, as well as by the

respondents. This is one of the problems of the city, because now that Almere has become a full grown city with a face, a city that is known for, amongst other things, a lack of this talented class, it is difficult to attract new talented people from Amsterdam (Florida, 2002).

The position as well as the reputation of Almere are in this way largely influenced by Amsterdam. Due to the well-known reputation of Amsterdam as a creative city and cultural magnet, with a great offer of cultural activities, Almere is quickly stereotyped as a sleeping city, even though it does offer a reasonable amount of cultural activities and it has a creative industry that is growing. It results in 53% of the cultural activities by the citizens of Almere happening outside of the city (RRAAM, 2012). Almere is located in the Metropolitan Region Amsterdam and according to the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving (2012), the New Town may be negatively influenced by the cultural magnet, because the city misses a certain ambiance, history and the cultural amenities. From the results of the research, it can indeed be seen that Amsterdam scores higher than Almere on a lot of location factors in the cultural logic, the social logic, and also the market logic. This contrast between Amsterdam as a cultural magnet and Almere as a sleeping city might influence the negative reputation even more. However, one respondent turns this observation around and argues that the negative reputation of Almere of people from Amsterdam is actually influenced by the advantages of Almere that aren't available in Amsterdam. This causes jealousy and frustration, which is translated into a negative perception of the city. This argument however, is not confirmed by theory.

On the other hand, being part of the Metropolitan Region Amsterdam also offers Almere opportunities to develop and distinguish itself with its urban or suburban character (PBL, 2012). Within the government agreement 2014-2018 (Gemeente Almere, 2014) it is stated that Almere should distinguish itself with its strengths in innovation power, a young population and the space, but it should also use the strengths of the other municipalities. One respondent agrees in this, arguing that Almere can use Amsterdam as a source of inspiration, as long as things are translated into Almere's language. Almere wants to profile its economic industries focusing on Health & Wellness, ICT & Media, Trade & Logistics, Sustainable Area Development and Lelystad Airport (Almere City Marketing, 2011). The respondents agree that Almere should distinguish itself from Amsterdam, but do not necessarily mention these economic industries. They mention that in distinguishing itself, Almere should emphasize the architecture, the nature, the space and the development. One respondents suggests that Almere should focus more on Flevoland instead of Amsterdam, because

Flevoland can benefit more from Almere as a creative city or new cultural magnet. However, in theory and in practice, this suggestion has not been taken as a solution for Almere.

In order to attract creative individuals, Almere City Marketing (2011) is branding the city according to the Place Brand Centre Approach (Braun & Zenker, 2010), using its unique values in terms of innovativeness, colourfulness, youth and self-consciousness, the size and its location. The space and possibilities that Almere offers are the most important value that is being branded, and this largely relates to the value of freedom as mentioned by the respondents. The values that are branded in the category 'visiting Almere' (modern architecture, shopping centre, nature experience, top sport hall etc.) and 'building a house in Almere' (freedom, affordability etc.) also meet the perceptions of the respondents in terms of what is experienced as good factors in Almere. The location factors that scored highest in Almere by the respondents lie in the governmental and oikos logic, and these are indeed factors that Almere City Marketing is using in its branding strategies. However, the values that are mentioned in the category 'working in Almere' (accessibility, room to grow, large labour market potential, large sales market, excellent hospitality etc.), 'living in Almere' (houses with gardens, friends and families, sports and culture, traffic city etc.) and 'studying in Almere' (education, youth culture etc.) are only partly accepted by the respondents. Education receives a low score in Almere by the respondents, as well as the culture of the city and the market potential. It can be interpreted that in certain ways, Almere City Marketing is not branding the city according to reality as perceived by the creatives.

3. What are the difficulties in attracting creative individuals to Almere?

From the results, it can be noticed that there are certain location factors that are considered to be very important for a location, but that are experienced as being not very good in Almere, which might cause difficulties in attracting creative individuals to Almere. The following 9 factors have a difference of at least two points between the average score of importance of the factor in general and the average score of the experience of the factor in Almere, ranked from highest difference to lowest: culture and arts in general (1), ambiance (2), talented population (3), developed creative industries (4), professional networks (5), leisure and cultural facilities and level of tolerance (6 and 7, same score of difference), education (8), and reputation and tradition (9). Moreover, the result show that a lot of location factors, especially those in the cultural logic, the market logic and the social logic, are experienced to be better in Amsterdam than in Almere, which makes it more difficult for Almere to attract creatives. Especially because, based on a large part of the literature, these

factors are important in attracting creative individuals to a city (Bennett, 2010; Comunian, 2011; Drake, 2003; Florida, 2002; Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Hospers & Penn, 2008; Jacobs, 1992; Landry, 2000; Markusen, 2006; Miguelez and Moreno, 2014; Scott, 2014; Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010; Storper & Venables, 2003).

It was expected that the negative reputation would especially be a factor that is holding back or influencing creative individuals. However, it can be noted that the reputation of Almere hasn't played a role in the decision making process of the creatives working (and living) in Almere. As shown, three respondents explain that the bad reputation of Almere causes people to react negatively when they say that they live and work in Almere, but 6 out of 9 respondents say that the reputation of Almere has no influence or even has a positive influence on their own status. Nevertheless, it can be noted that the cultural sector in Almere, including its cultural products and the creative producers, are in a way negatively influenced by their place. As one respondent explains, even if the same performances are playing in Almere as in Amsterdam, people still tend to go to Amsterdam to see the performance, which has to do with the ambiance, but also with the reputation of the city. This is in line with Scott's argument that place and culture are intertwined, therefore cultural products and the reputation and authenticity of these products produced in a certain place are also completely associated with that place (Scott, 1997). Although reputation is not considered to be a decisive factor in choosing a location by the respondents, it does affect the majority of the respondents, either in a positive or negative way, and it is recognized to be an important location factor (Braun, 2008; Drake, 2003; Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010; Van den Berg et al., 2007). That explains why Almere City Marketing is very much occupied with branding of Almere, in order to change the negative reputation to a positive one.

Other difficulties for creative individuals that are mentioned by the respondents are a) the fact that there is too little money, b) the municipality doesn't stimulate entrepreneurs in a good way, c) working together with established organizations is hard, d) there are few information sources for creatives and f) the city is too young to really function as a creative city. These are logical difficulties for a New Town. Because these towns are designed and built in a short period of time and the structure of the town is still under development, certain amenities aren't available yet and the city still has to figure out what works best.

4. How do creative individuals working in Almere perceive and evaluate their location?

From the results of the research, it can be concluded that in choosing and evaluating a location, all location factors that are shown in appendix 1 are considered to be important by

the majority of the respondents. Culture and arts in general, leisure and cultural facilities, work spaces and level of tolerance are valued as being important for a location by every respondent, of which culture and arts in general and level of tolerance receive the highest score. This is in line with Berg (1999), Bennett (2010), Drake (2003), Sinkien & Kromalcas (2010), and Van den Berg et al. (2007), who say that cultural amenities are an important location factor for an attractive city, and with Florida (2002) who argues that tolerance is one of the three main aspects that attracts a creative class. Of the other two T's that Florida mentions as indicators for attracting a creative class, talent is valued as important by the majority of the respondents as well, and is also an important subject for the municipality and government of Almere. However, the third T, technology, is only valued as important by 5 of the 9 respondents and receives an average score of 7.1, which means it is still valued as an important factor, but not as highly as argued by Florida (2002). Moreover, technology is not used by the government and Almere City Marketing as an attractive factor of the city to use in order to attract more people and businesses. Although the three T's are considered important to the creative individuals, it cannot be argued that it also attracts them to a certain location. Especially talent and technology receive low average scores for the experience in Almere (4.8 for talent and 5.8 for technology). Tolerance scores a bit higher (6.8 points average), but is still not mentioned as a location factors that attracts creatives to Almere.

The respondents value 'reputation and tradition' as least important for a location, together with 'calmness of the city', and did not take this into account when choosing for Almere, which contradicts the argument that reputation does take an important role in the decision of creatives to move to a certain location (Bennett, 2010; Braun, 2008; Drake, 2003; Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010; Van den Berg et al., 2007). Most of the respondents explain that they didn't even take anything into account before migrating to Almere and that it rather happened to be coincidence, which is in line with the finding of Berg (2014) that most creatives discover and chose a location by chance. Most of the respondents that are currently working ánd living in Almere, mention the positive living and working environment in terms of space and costs as an important reason to migrate to Almere, which is in line with the argument of affordable and available living and working space as an important location factor for city attractiveness (Braun, 2008; Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010; Van den Berg et al., 2007). Moreover, an important reason to work (and live) in Almere for the majority respondents are the business opportunities that it offers (Braun, 2008; Miguelez & Moreno, 2014; Murphy & Redmond, 2009; Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010; Van den Berg et al., 2007). However, one of the respondents that works on project base in Almere

but is living in Amsterdam, says he actually left the city because of a lack of business opportunities. For 5 out of 9 respondents, the lack of space, or a lack of business opportunities in their previous place of residence have pushed them to come move to Almere. This is in line with the finding of Bennett (2010) that the reason for migration of creative individuals lies in certain push factors, like having few local opportunities. Of the other 4 respondents, 2 have lived in Almere for almost all their life's, and 2 have left Almere, because of the fact that they missed certain things (cultural activities and amenities, business opportunities, network et cetera).

In contrast to the theories of Drake (2003) and Storper and Venables (2003) who explain that creatives are attracted to locations with a certain ambiance or 'buzz', it seems that ambiance is not considered to be a reason for the creative individuals to live in Almere. Although ambiance is valued as important by all of the respondents and receives an average score of 8.3, the ambiance in Almere isn't considered as good by any of the respondents and receives an average score of 5 points, and still they have chosen to work there.

The majority of the respondents considers social activity (7/9, average score of 8.2) and professional networks (8/9, average score of 8.2) as important. Still, both location factors aren't rated very high in Almere (6.7 for social activity and 5.5 for professional networks). Network therefore cannot be considered as a location factor that attracts creatives to Almere or keeps them in Almere, which contradicts the literature (Bennett, 2010; Drake, 2003; Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Miguelez & Moreno, 2014).

The research shows that the creative individuals that have chosen to work (and some to live as well) in Almere, have a good reason to do so. They see something unique in the city. As explained, these unique values are the living opportunities of the city, the freedom to create, the fact that there isn't much available yet, there is little competition and as a creative individual working in Almere, you can really leave your mark on the city. These values are very much located in the market logic and the cultural logic, because it is about creating work in terms of culture and arts. Even though it didn't form a decisive factor in location choice for the majority of the respondents, opportunities to create and having a certain freedom are valued as highly important for a city. These are values that they can realize in Almere, because the city offers them the space and possibilities to create new, self-thoughtful things. It can be seen that these values of freedom and possibilities to create are also used in the city marketing of Almere and in the cultural policies.

It can be noted in table 3 that the following 7 location factors are considered to be important for a location in general and are also perceived as being good in Almere. These

following location factors only have a difference between the score of importance in general and the score of experience in Almere below 1, from lowest difference to highest difference: 'good infrastructure' (1), 'clean city' (2), 'healthcare services' (3), 'good geographic location' (4), 'affordable housing' (5), 'costs of living' (6), and 'quality of homes/housing' (7), It can thus be said that these location factors are making the city attractive to creative individuals.

6. CONCLUSION

This study showed that for Almere to grow and develop into a strong, cultural, attractive and creative city, it must attract more creative individuals, but looking at the theoretical concepts of the creative city and city attractiveness for creative individuals, this seemed to be a hopeless case. Yet, there are creatives living and working in Almere and the cultural infrastructure is slowly developing. To create an understanding of what attracts creative individuals to Almere, this study aimed to answer the following research question:

To what extent is Almere, a New Town in the shadows of the cultural magnet Amsterdam, an attractive place for creative individuals and why do creative individuals choose to work in Almere?

In order to answer this question, chapter 2 displayed an extensive literature on concepts of creative and attractive cities for creative individuals. Chapter 3 showed the problems and chances in terms of culture and creativity of New Towns and more specifically of Almere. The previous chapter showed and interpreted the perceptions of location by creative individuals that are operating in Almere. This last chapter will answers and discusses the research question, and gives implications for further research.

6.1 The Unique Value of Almere for creative individuals

When comparing the literature research of this study with the empirical context, it is highly expected that creative individuals would not be attracted to Almere. Indeed, when looking at the results of the empirical research, it can be seen that there are quite some location factors that are perceived to be important for a city in general by the respondents, but that receive low scores in Almere. These factors mainly lie in the cultural logic and the social logic. This while, according to the literature, the factors within these logics are most likely to attract creative individuals. Moreover, factors in the cultural-, market- and social logic are experienced to be better in Amsterdam than in Almere, which was indeed expected from the observation that New Towns might be negatively influenced by the big cultural magnet city close to them (PBL, 2012). The contrast between Amsterdam and Almere might enlarge the negative image that exists of Almere. This expectation, as derived from the study, makes room for future extended research to the relation between Amsterdam and Almere, or more generally, the relation between big cultural magnets and the close by located New Towns. To what extent are New Towns influenced by the cultural magnet?

Nevertheless, despite the negative perception of these factors in Almere and the fact that Almere scores relatively low on its level of being a creative city, the creative individuals still choose to work in Almere. The theories of the creative city and city attractiveness for creative individuals, as discussed in the literature review, can thus to reasonable extent not be used to explain the attractiveness of Almere for creative individuals on the base of this study. So, what then attracts the creative individuals to Almere? Although all different location factors that are derived from the literature are valued as important for a location by the majority of the respondents, only few location factors are actually considered in the decision making process of moving to Almere. The creative individuals in Almere made their location choices mainly on the basis of the positive living and working environment in terms of space and costs that the city offers (Braun, 2008; Heebels and Van Aalst, 2010; Sinkien and Kromalcas, 2010; Van den Berg et al., 2007). The other factors that are important for creative individuals in choosing a location as argued by the literature are not determinative in their location choice. It can be concluded that Almere is attractive for creative individuals mainly through factors in the oikos logic and the governmental logic, as the factors in these logics are perceived both as being important for a city in general and as being good in Almere. This can be explained by a large part of the literature (Van den Berg et al., 1999, 2007; Braun, 2008; Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Lingo & Tepper, 2013; Miguelez & Moreno, 2014; Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010). However, what is striking is that the most unique and highest valued factor of Almere for creative individuals is something that does not come forth out of the literature. This is the degree of *freedom* that the city offers. Freedom that lies in the fact that there is just not much offered in Almere yet, in being able to create, and in the opportunities that you have in Almere to contribute to the character of the city. The creative individuals explain that Almere is a perfect place for creatives who are searching for space to realize their innovative ideas, although you do have to want to work hard, because it is still difficult in Almere. Freedom is a transcendental value, that could best be valorized in the cultural logic (Klamer, 2016).

The study shows that the importance of the value of freedom is recognized by the city. In its city branding, Almere mentions the unique space and possibilities to create as most important value, positioning the city as a pioneer town using the slogan 'It can be done in Almere'. Moreover, the city emphasizes its unique greenery and young population (RRAAM, 2012) and it uses its urban design, structure and architecture as unique values to attract creative individuals (Heebels & Van Aalst, 2010; Marlet & Woerkens, 2005; Smit, 2011). It is suggested that future research could focus on the influence of the marketing of a city on the

location choices of creative individuals. Almere aims to develop its cultural infrastructure according to the unique values as mentioned in the city marketing. Almere may not be considered to be a creative city according to the literature. However, in recognizing and identifying its unique character and identity, and in planning to use the unique values in order to distinguish itself from other cities, the city does meet the characteristics of the creative city (Hospers & Pen, 2008; Landry, 2000). The respondents encourage the city to use its distinctiveness and uniqueness in becoming an attractive creative city as well.

The findings of this study showed that, despite the expectations coming from the literature that creative individuals are rather attracted to a place that shows characteristics of the creative city instead of a New Town that lacks these characteristics, there is actually something that is stronger than these creative city features, that attracts creatives to Almere instead of Amsterdam. Almere offers freedom. Obviously, practice shows that creative cities have a much higher chance on attracting creative individuals, and the group of creatives that is attracted to Almere can be considered as relatively small and much smaller than in Amsterdam. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that creatives do not just go to creative cities and that New Towns like Almere do have a chance. With this notion, this study contributes to the theoretical concepts of the literature discussed in chapter 2 by arguing that the location behaviour of creative individuals and the city attractiveness for these creatives cannot simply be explained by external factors from the cultural-, market-, oikos-, governmental- and social logic, as displayed in appendix 1, but is mainly dependent of the personal and transcendental values of the individuals. From the empirical research it can be argued that relationship between city attractiveness based on the discussed location factors and the location behaviour of the creative individuals appears to be more complicated than the theoretical framework of this study implied. It is therefore suggested that, in studying the city attractiveness for creative individuals, a more personal approach, focusing on these internal location factors and transcendental values, should be used, because it allows for deeper insights into the location behaviour of creative individuals, especially when focusing on non creative cities.

Moreover, the findings of this study contribute to the development of the position of Almere, forming a fundament for local governments, policymakers, cultural organizations and creative professionals, to extent the focus in attracting creative individuals to the personal values of the creatives, and to search for shared values between the city and the creatives. Here, it must be noted that, although Almere does indeed attract creative individuals with its positive living and working environment, its good location, the infrastructure, the strong

public services and the freedom it offers, this is not enough if the city wants to enlarge its population with more creative individuals. As the empirical research has shown, especially culture and arts, but also the ambiance, the talented population, the level of developed creative industries, professional networks, cultural activities, the level of tolerance, the level of education and the reputation of the city, all factors considered important in a city, aren't scoring high in Almere. A lack of cultural activities, but most of all a lack of social activity and talent, even thrives the creative individuals away from the city. Further research could focus more on the push factors that thrive creative individuals away from certain locations. Almere must develop these factors if it wants to grow successfully. Stimulating collaborations between the large cultural organizations and new smaller cultural projects, adding information sources for young entrepreneurs and creatives, and support from the municipality to new cultural initiatives may contribute to this development of Almere into a creative city. It is suggested for future research to focus even more on this development of Almere towards a creative city, to find out to what extent Almere would be able to become a creative city and how the city could develop itself in order to accomplish this goal? Hospers & Pen (2008) give four types of creative cities: the Technological - Innovative city (a); the Cultural - Intellectual city (b); the Cultural - Technological city (c) ; the Technical - Organization city (d). It would be interesting to see to what extent Almere matches these types and in what way it can develop itself into one of these four types of creative cities.

Moreover, it is important for the city to listen to the environment and the people and to understand which target groups need to be reached in order to strengthen the position and to know its unique value, identity and advantages (Sinkien & Kromalcas, 2010; Bennett, 2010; Ratcliffe, 2004). Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that in developing plans and strategies to attract creative individuals, emphasis should be put on the personal values of the creative individuals, like freedom, and how these values can be valorized in Almere. Not only freedom to built houses, but freedom to be who you are, to work the way you work, and to be able to shape Almere. It must be noted that, although the attractiveness for Almere can largely be improved by focusing on certain aspects, as explained above, the realization of the plans to become an creative and attractive city for creative individuals is also depending on time, as Almere is still a very young city with a short history and the creative city concept is for a large part dependent on the perception of people, which is largely influenced by the history of the city (Hospers & Pen, 2008).

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APPENDIX 1. LOCATION FACTORS

Cultural logic

1. Level of culture and arts within the city
    a. High quality city culture
    b. Intensive cultural activity
    c. Diversity of culture
    d. Public support for arts and culture
2. Level of developed creative industries
    a. Communities of creative workers (clusters)
    b. Amount of cultural consumers
3. Leisure and cultural facilities
    a. Cultural facilities like museums, galleries, theatres
    b. Sport facilities
    c. Shopping Facilities
    d. Catering facilities (cafes, pubs, restaurants)
    e. Festivals and cultural activities
    f. Relaxation and entertainment facilities
4. Urban Aesthetics
    a. Urban design
    b. Architecture

Oikos logic

5. Quality of home/housing
6. Costs of living
7. Affordable housing
8. Friends and family

Market logic

9. Business opportunities
    a. Good access to, availability, diversity of employment
    b. Chances on financial success
10. Work space
    a. Available
    b. Affordable
11. Strong and effective economy
    a. Good legal regulations and requirements

12. Market demand
    a. Suppliers and customers
    b. Labour force
13. Professional networks and connections
14. Technologic development

Governmental logic
15. High quality health care services
16. Social security
    a. Public safety
17. High quality educational services
18. Clean city (streets, parks, air)
19. Good geographic location
    a. Connectivity between city and periphery//accessibility
20. Good infrastructure
    a. Availability of bicycle lanes
    b. Transport within the city
    c. Transportation costs

Social logic
21. Intensive social activity
    a. Social networks
    b. Social clusters
22. Reputation and tradition
23. Ambiance/atmosphere
    a. Buzz
    b. Inspiration
    c. Unpredictability
    d. Excitement of a locality
24. Talent
    a. A highly talented/educated/skilled population
25. Tolerance
    a. Attention to different religions
    b. Attention to different cultures
    c. Openness
    d. Freedom of speech
26. Calm city

APPENDIX 2. OVERVIEW OF MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

INTRODUCTION - Where were you born, what are you doing in Almere and why did you choose to live and/or work in Almere?	
Christine van Stralen	Christine has lived in Almere since 2000. Before that time, she lived in Weesp. She came to Almere, because she got the opportunity to buy a house and office building in one. The reasons to move to Almere were thus the live- and workspace opportunities, but also the business opportunities in Almere. It is a pioneer town. However, she explains that you have to work hard in Almere. For a small company, especially in the cultural sector, location doesn't matter much. Christine is the founder of the Bureau voor Kunstprojekten, with which she realized several projects. Recently, she has founded the Museum for Digital Art. Her sales market is rural, but recently she focuses more and more on Almere. The demand for her products she has to create herself. It is important in her job to stay true to yourself and to do a lot of networking. She works alone, which she prefers.
Bastiaan Gietema	Bastiaan has lived in Almere since 7 years. He came to the city, because he wanted to leave his previous place of residence and his partner already lived in Almere. Almere offered living- and business opportunities. With his foundation Stichting Art Culture, he aims to make creative entrepreneurship more visible in the city and to stimulate participation.
Hein Walter	Hein Walter has lived in Almere since 1995. He came to Almere for the space and affordability of the housing. He is a visual artist and has his studio in a care centre, because of the favourable finances. He also works with other artists for whom he applies for subsidies.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	Jan-Melle has lived in Almere since he was 5 years old and has always stayed there, because of the convenience: he had his friends nearby, the city has a good and central location, it offers qualitative housing and affordable prices. Moreover, the city is still manufacturable and there is room for doing things in your own way. In other cities there is more competition. Jan-Melle works on various projects, including projects for Stichting Loods 4 and for his own company Cultural Management Liscaljet. Also, he is the director of Cultuurfonds Almere.
Joanna Braeunlich	Johanna came to Almere after she finished her education in Amsterdam, because of the space she could not find in Amsterdam. At first, she had to get used to the city, but now she knows that the city offers many opportunities because it is so young and new. As a citizen, you can really help to shape the character of the city. It is a nice place and there is a lot of exchange between the artists. She finds it a pity that for projects, often artists from outside of Almere are used. It would be nice if artists from Almere receive more opportunities in Almere and are involved more often. When she moved to Almere she did not make a preliminary investigation. Her partner was enthusiastic about architecture of the city, and a teacher of her said that Almere is a city with many possibilities, so that's why she chose to move here.
Kasper Jongejan	Kasper lived in Almere since he was four years old, grew up there and has lived in Amsterdam for 4 years now. As a teenager, he and his friends noticed that there was not much to do in Almere, and so they organized their own activities to fill in the gaps. In Almere you have to do it yourself. Eventually, he left the city, because he felt that he had already done everything in his march, there were no opportunities (in network, partnerships, etc.), the spaces were expensive and he did not receive the financial support that he needed.

Vere van Hal	Vere was born and raised in Almere and left the city for Amsterdam when she was 18 years old. The reason for leaving, and also for not going back, is that there is ==too little to do, especially in terms of culture==. She finished her education at the Gerrit Rietveld Academy and will soon teach as a visual artist in the KAF. Moreover, she is the artistic manager of her own foundation in Almere, with which she organizes projects with the aim of creating a dialogue between artists, theater makers and residents. The foundation focuses on Almere, because there is so much to do there, and they can really add something to the city with the foundation.
Marcel Kolder	Marcel has lived in Almere for 25 years now. He moved there, because of the ==house and architecture of the house==. His mission is to get Almere to the next level in terms of culture and appreciation. He believes that culture and art enrich your life. In Almere, he is engaged in all kinds of creative projects. He tried to make Almere the cultural capital, which unfortunately did not succeed, because of budget cuts and a lack of support of the municipality. He has organized several festivals, including the cultural writers festival. He is writing a book himself too. He gives lectures and is occupied with more small creative projects in the city. At the moment he is working on City Senses, an art park in Almere that aims to raise awareness of our senses.
Remon Popelier	Remon was born in Tegelen and lives in Almere since 1984. He is actively working in the cultural sector since 2005, occupied with organizing the festival Gestrand. He was the business manager of the first breeding place in Almere, BG22-24, for 5 years. Moreover, he organized multiple events in and outside of Almere. Currently he is also a culture seeker for the Culture Fund Almere.

VALUES - What do you value most in life and how does are these values realized in your work?	
Christine van Stralen	The most important thing in life is ==freedom== and ==doing what you like most==. As an entrepreneur you have a lot of freedom. Especially starting projects is fun.
Bastiaan Gietema	The most important things in life are amongst others to ==do what you like most==, including in your work. Result brings satisfaction. Having a certain ==freedom== is also important, but it is often limited by the municipality (an important partner), through funding and regulations.
Hein Walter	The most important thing in life is ==development: learning, growing and experiencing==. ==Freedom is also nice==. However, money stays an issue, because without money, you cannot live.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	The most important thing in life is ==doing what you like==. That is why I am doing what I'm doing. In addition, ==freedom== is important, that is why I have my own business. I am a bit stubborn, which also suits the city.
Joanna Braeunlich	The important things in life are ==loving each other and loving yourself==, ==enjoying life, doing what makes you happy and following your heart==. Johanna puts her soul in her work and does what she likes most. ==Freedom== is also important and she finds it in her work.
Kasper Jongejan	The important things in life are ==doing what you like to do==, ==freedom== and ==being able to be yourself==.
Vere van Hal	The most important thing in life is to create and fight your ==freedom== to be able to do what you consider important. This is also something that comes back in the foundation, which allows people with different backgrounds to meet and talk to each other.
Marcel Kolder	Important values in life are ==beauty== and ==freedom== on the one hand, and ==taking care of your environment==, ==education and talent development==,

	balance, justice and sincerity on the other hand. This is all reflected in the projects.
Remon Popelier	Freedom is the most important thing in life.

LOCATION FACTORS - What do you think that is important in a city, from your position as a creative individual? (all factors with ranked with a 7 or higher)

Christine van Stralen	1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25
Bastiaan Gietema	all factors except 22
Hein Walter	all factors except 4 and 22
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	all factors except 6,7, 14, 22, 26
Joanna Braeunlich	all factors
Kasper Jongejan	all factors except 2,12,14,17
Vere van Hal	1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25
Marcel Kolder	all factors except 6 and 18
Remon Popelier	all factors except 15, 19, 24, 26

LOCATION FACTORS - What do you experience good in Almere? (all factors with ranked with a 7 or higher)

Christine van Stralen	10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25
Bastiaan Gietema	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25
Hein Walter	3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 26
Joanna Braeunlich	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26
Kasper Jongejan	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 26
Vere van Hal	6, 7, 9, 15, 18, 19, 20, 26
Marcel Kolder	4, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26
Remon Popelier	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26

LOCATION FACTORS - What do you experience better in Almere than in Amsterdam? (all factors with ranked with a 7 or higher)

Christine van Stralen	5, 10, 17, 18, 25
Bastiaan Gietema	4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 18, 19, 20, 25
Hein Walter	3, 4, 6, 18, 20, 13, 19, 25, 26
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	20, 26
Joanna Braeunlich	7, 10, 26
Kasper Jongejan	5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 26
Vere van Hal	6, 7, 18, 22, 26
Marcel Kolder	4, 18, 26
Remon Popelier	7, 8, 10, 26

LOCATION FACTORS - What do you experience bad in Almere? (all factors with ranked with a 4 or lower)

Christine van Stralen	1, 13
Bastiaan Gietema	1, 8, 12, 13, 23, 24
Hein Walter	1, 2
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	3, 4
Kasper Jongejan	1, 10, 12, 13, 17, 22, 23, 24
Vere van Hal	2, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24
Marcel Kolder	1, 2, 13, 14
Remon Popelier	x

LOCATION FACTORS - What do you experience worse in Almere than in Amsterdam? (all factors with ranked with a 4 or lower)

Christine van Stralen	1, 2, 3, 13, 21, 22

Bastiaan Gietema	1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24
Hein Walter	1, 2, 5, 9, 14, 17, 22, 23, 24
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	1, 2, 3, 12, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24
Joanna Braeunlich	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Kasper Jongejan	1, 2, 3, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 22, 23, 24
Vere van Hal	2, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Marcel Kolder	1, 2, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Remon Popelier	1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25

LOCATION FACTORS - CULTURAL LOGIC	
1. Level of culture and arts within the city	
Christine van Stralen	It is important. If it isn't there in a city, it makes you sad, right? In Almere it is very very bad.
Bastiaan Gietema	It's important, but it's not present in Almere.
Hein Walter	It's essential. Amsterdam is overrated.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	It is not bad in Almere, but not great either. I am not convinced anymore of the quality of arts and culture in Amsterdam, but the intensity is high.
Kasper Jongejan	It is very important.
Vere van Hal	I think it is a little improved in Almere. At least they are trying.
Marcel Kolder	It is very important. In Almere it is sad.
Remon Popelier	x
2. Level of developed creative industries	
Christine van Stralen	There should be much more creative clusters and breeding places. In Almere it is very sad.
Bastiaan Gietema	Very important. It is still growing in Almere.
Hein Walter	There are no consumers in Almere. Amsterdam has a lot of breeding places and consumers.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	It is improving in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	Almere is fixating too much on the Floriade. There is little development.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	This city isn't ready for it yet. However, the municipality is now doing a lot of things when it comes to culture.
Remon Popelier	x
3. Leisure and cultural facilities	
Christine van Stralen	Almere does a good job with festivals. But there is no high end culture. However, Vis a Vis and Bontehond are good. But Almere has done a lot of stupid things. Cultural facilities are important, but they have to fit within the structure, culture or identity of the city.
Bastiaan Gietema	That is important.
Hein Walter	Sport and shopping facilities are good in Almere.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	That's very bad in Almere. We don't even have a museum and all shops are big chains.
Kasper Jongejan	In leisure and sport activities, Almere is quite good.

Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	That's very broad…
Remon Popelier	x
4. Urban Aesthetics	
Christine van Stralen	A lot of missed chances. It could have been better.
Bastiaan Gietema	That's fantastic in Almere.
Hein Walter	It is good in Almere.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	I am personally not so convinced of the urban aesthetics of Almere. I like Amsterdam better.
Kasper Jongejan	It is very special in Almere. But you cannot compare it to Amsterdam.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	Almere is more progressive and more talented than Amsterdam when it comes to (modern) architecture.
Remon Popelier	x

LOCATION FACTORS - OIKOS LOGIC	
1. Quality of home/housing	
Christine van Stralen	In Almere, you have a lot of space. You cannot find that in Amsterdam. But the culture around it is often disappointing.
Bastiaan Gietema	It is very good in Almere. The houses are isolated very good.
Hein Walter	Almere wins.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	Almere has a lot of social housing, which is not very pretty, a bit normal and boring.
Kasper Jongejan	That is better in Almere than in Amsterdam
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	Almere only has new houses. But intrinsic quality is more important than extrinsic quality. A house has to be monumental.
Remon Popelier	x
2. Costs of living	
Christine van Stralen	A little cheaper
Bastiaan Gietema	It is cheaper in Almere, because that fits the citizens wishes and needs.
Hein Walter	You cannot live without money.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	It is fine in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	It is cheaper in Almere.
Vere van Hal	It is ideal when it's cheaper, but when it's more expensive, you also get something back for it.
Marcel Kolder	I don't think this is really important.
Remon Popelier	x
3. Affordable housing	
Christine van Stralen	x
Bastiaan Gietema	x
Hein Walter	I believe it is declining in Almere.

Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	There are a lot of affordable houses, because of the social housing.
Kasper Jongejan	Almere scores higher.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	In Almere you have a lot of affordable and spacious houses.
Remon Popelier	x
4. Friends and family	
Christine van Stralen	This is not important at all. You can make friends in every city. And you aren't bound to a city anymore for your social life. However, contact with neighbours is difficult in Almere. But in Amsterdam as well.
Bastiaan Gietema	It is very important. In Almere the people are egocentric.
Hein Walter	Important, but not essential.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	In Amsterdam I had a lot of friends. That is super.
Kasper Jongejan	I miss them here in Amsterdam.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	It's important, but the same in Almere as in Amsterdam.
Remon Popelier	x

LOCATION FACTORS - MARKET LOGIC	
1. Business opportunities	
Christine van Stralen	It is very important, but you have to create it yourself. And for that, I am not bound to a city.
Bastiaan Gietema	Success is important, but it doesn't have to be financial. In Almere it is low.
Hein Walter	You have more chances in other cities.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	You have to create it yourself.
Kasper Jongejan	In Almere, there's a lot of work.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	For an entrepreneur, this is important. In Almere, the market is limited. You have to create your own work and business chances.
Remon Popelier	x
2. Work space	
Christine van Stralen	There are a lot of available and affordable spaces in Almere.
Bastiaan Gietema	It is very important. In Almere it is changing, more breeding places are coming.
Hein Walter	It is improving in Almere. In Amsterdam there are a lot of spaces, but they are taken already.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	A lot of space is empty in Almere, but it isn't affordable at all.
Joanna Braeunlich	A lot of space available in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	Spaces in Amsterdam are expensive. In Almere there isn't a lot of space.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	Almere does have workspaces, but not a lot of studios.
Remon Popelier	x
3. Strong and effective economy	

Christine van Stralen	x
Bastiaan Gietema	In Almere, there is a strong and effective economy.
Hein Walter	x
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	Not very good in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	I think it's good in Almere.
Vere van Hal	I do not really get it...
Marcel Kolder	There is few economy in Almere. But I create my own economy.
Remon Popelier	x

4. Market demand

Christine van Stralen	x
Bastiaan Gietema	The demand is really small in Almere. There are rather big discount shops than small creative shops.
Hein Walter	It is not so important.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	There is more in Amsterdam.
Joanna Braeunlich	You have to organize it yourself in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	You cannot do anything in Almere.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	There is not much in Almere, it is more in the big cities.
Remon Popelier	x

5. Professional networks and connections

Christine van Stralen	I have my professional network more in Amsterdam. The education and business experience level is higher there. In Almere, the education level is quite low.
Bastiaan Gietema	In Almere the professional connections are really bad.
Hein Walter	I know a lot of people here, professional contacts, but it doesn't bring me any work.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	I think it is easier in Amsterdam.
Kasper Jongejan	It sucks in Almere.
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	It's barely possible in Almere to have a professional network.
Remon Popelier	x

6. Technologic development

Christine van Stralen	x
Bastiaan Gietema	I do not notice it in Almere.
Hein Walter	I don't think there is technological development in Almere.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	I have the feeling that a lot is developing in Almere at the moment.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	You only miss it when it's not there.
Marcel Kolder	x
Remon Popelier	x

LOCATION FACTORS - GOVERNMENTAL LOGIC	
1. High quality health care services	
Christine van Stralen	I am happy about it.
Bastiaan Gietema	It is the same in every city.
Hein Walter	I don't know, I am never sick.

Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	It is okay in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	Almere does a good job.
Remon Popelier	x

2. Social security

Christine van Stralen	I feel safe in Almere, same in Amsterdam.
Bastiaan Gietema	I like it in Almere.
Hein Walter	It is good, I'm not afraid.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	It depends on the district. Every district has its own wishes, needs, identity and problems.
Joanna Braeunlich	x
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	x
Remon Popelier	x

3. High quality educational services

Christine van Stralen	I believe that the schools and educational services are excellent in Almere.
Bastiaan Gietema	x
Hein Walter	It would be good for Almere. It isn't there yet.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	Could be better in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	The city doesn't need a university, because universities in other cities are easily reached/close by. Almere should focus on building HBO schools.
Remon Popelier	x

4. Clean city (streets, parks, air)

Christine van Stralen	In Almere, the city is much more structured.
Bastiaan Gietema	Almere is quite clean for a city.
Hein Walter	Almere is good in this.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	It's good. The municipality cleans the city. If they wouldn't do that, it would be a mess.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	Almere is absolutely a clean city.
Remon Popelier	x

5. Good geographic location

Christine van Stralen	The geographic location of Almere is truly ideal.
Bastiaan Gietema	Almere is very central.
Hein Walter	It's quite good, except for the trains, because they don't stop everywhere.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	I don't think it's good. When I'm in Amsterdam at night, it's difficult to come back.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x

Marcel Kolder	I like living in the centre of The Netherlands, so Almere is good.
Remon Popelier	x
6. Good infrastructure	
Christine van Stralen	In Almere it is fine. However, using the car in the centre is quite difficult.
Bastiaan Gietema	Almere is the best city in this.
Hein Walter	It is excellent in Almere.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	It is good in Almere, as well as in Amsterdam.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	Almere and Amsterdam are both good in this.
Remon Popelier	x

LOCATION FACTORS - SOCIAL LOGIC	
1. Intensive social activity	
Christine van Stralen	I believe it is fine here, but my own social activity is rather in Amsterdam.
Bastiaan Gietema	It is important and in Almere is is fine.
Hein Walter	I don't think it is really good in Almere, but neither in other cities.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	In other cities, there is more.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	Amsterdam does a better job.
Remon Popelier	x
2. Reputation and tradition // does the reputation of the city influence your own status?	
Christine van Stralen	There is no history, it has to be created yet. Reputation is important. It is difficult to get the art loving Netherland, or even other countries, to Almere. Then you have to produce something really special. The reputation of the city has a negative influence on the status of Christine. People in the art world, but also people from her old village Weesp, think it's strange that she lives in Almere. She doesn't mind it. She is happy with her place in Almere. And in Almere, people don't pay attention on you that much. It is important that Almere will work on its reputation, by showing people what the opportunities are in the city, and by working on the ambiance.
Bastiaan Gietema	Bastiaan doesn't care about the reputation of a city. But people aren't very enthusiastic when he tells people that he lives in Almere. They say that there isn't anything to do in Almere, while there is actually a lot to do. The reputation of Almere actually has a positive influence on Bastiaan, because when he explains what he does in Almere, people think it is admirable. Almere doesn't really have a tradition, because the city is still too young.
Hein Walter	Reputation isn't very important and doesn't influence the personal status of Hein. He didn't take in mind the reputation when moving to Almere. However, what does bother him is the low level of enthusiasm of the people from Almere.

Jan-Melle Liscaljet	Outside of Flevoland, a negative image of Almere exists, while Almere actually has done a lot of special things. It is compared to Amsterdam a lot. However, there is a change going on in this perception, but it is important to stimulate people in this change of perception. The city is too young to have a tradition.
Joanna Braeunlich	Even though the city is young, it still has an interesting history.
Kasper Jongejan	The reputation of Almere didn't influence the personal status or reputation of Kasper. However, the city and it's reputation did make him to what he is today. He left the city due to career possibilities, but he keeps fighting for the city and hopes to return to Almere soon.
Vere van Hal	Almere's reputation has influenced Vere's personal status, unconsciously, but in a good way. Because Almere didn't have a lot to offer, she had to be creative, so in this way, the city has stimulated creativity. She does not want to go back to Almere, but likes working there, because part of her heart lies in Almere and she has the feeling she can still really contribute to the city. In order to stimulate the development of the city, time is needed, but also investment in and expansion of the cultural offer in the city. And also in other facilities, such as sports clubs, to strengthen the togetherness in the city.
Marcel Kolder	The negative image about Almere in Amsterdam and people from the Gooi is an expression of jealousy and frustration. In other cities there are less attractive neighbourhoods as well, but people attach their identity to a city's centre. Almere's reputation does not affect Marcel's own reputation or status.
Remon Popelier	I'm afraid that the reputation of Almere does affect my own reputation, yes. Almere is a young city and is still in its infancy in terms of the cultural life. From a nationwide perspective, Almere is not the most popular place to go to. People can be prejudice about the fact that you're a cultural entrepreneur in this city, but that the quality of the cultural sector isn't very good yet.
3. Ambiance/atmosphere	
Christine van Stralen	Inspiration is important. The architecture can be a source of inspiration.
Bastiaan Gietema	It isn't very good in Almere.
Hein Walter	I don't consider it important. Otherwise I wouldn't live here.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	In Amsterdam you get a lot of inspiration. In Almere less.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	I love unpredictability. You don't really have that in Almere. Almere is a very neat and structured city.
Remon Popelier	x
4. Talent	
Christine van Stralen	Attracting intellect is very important. When you have a talented, intellectual population, the cultural activities become more important.
Bastiaan Gietema	There is not a lot of talent in Almere.
Hein Walter	They aren't here in Almere. Would be good.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	They are coming. It is changing. But universities and HBO's are needed to keep the students in the city. An art academy would be nice as well, but also weird. There are a lot of good academies nearby in other cities. It would only work if it offers something unique and new, but also accessible and low-threshold.
Joanna Braeunlich	In Amsterdam you have much more talented, interesting people.
Kasper Jongejan	x

Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	I think it's quite the same here compared to other cities.
Remon Popelier	x
5. Tolerance	
Christine van Stralen	That is very good in Almere.
Bastiaan Gietema	In Almere it is fine.
Hein Walter	I think it is good in Almere.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	In Amsterdam it's super and in Almere it's less good. A lot of <mark>PVV'ers.</mark>
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	It is a <mark>PVV city</mark>. I pity that.
Remon Popelier	x
6. Calm environment	
Christine van Stralen	Calmness and bustle are both important and should alternate in a city.
Bastiaan Gietema	x
Hein Walter	Better in Almere than somewhere else.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	x
Joanna Braeunlich	Sometimes it is too calm in Almere.
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	x
Marcel Kolder	It's nice to live in a calm environment
Remon Popelier	x

RELATION AMSTERDAM AND ALMERE - What is the relation between Amsterdam and Almere, is there an influence and how should Almere react on this?	
Christine van Stralen	Almere must <mark>distinguish itself</mark> from Amsterdam, for example with the new wilderness / Oostvaardersplassen.
Bastiaan Gietema	Almere <mark>shouldn't compare itself</mark> with Amsterdam, because it's not possible. Almere is still too young to be a cultural city. Almere could <mark>distinguish itself</mark> by focusing on other things like <mark>architecture</mark>, or the possibilities of <mark>living and creating</mark>.
Hein Walter	Almere could better focus on the rest of Flevoland than on Amsterdam, because there are things in Almere that you can not find in the rest of Flevoland. In Amsterdam there is quite a lot already.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	Almere must <mark>distinguish itself</mark> from Amsterdam by using its unique powers and capabilities. That is: the <mark>space</mark>, the <mark>nature</mark>, the n<mark>ovelty, the eternal development</mark>. Be different and position yourself differently compared to Amsterdam. Don't copy.
Joanna Braeunlich	Almere <mark>shouldn't compare itself</mark> with Amsterdam, but must develop itself differently. For example with the Floriade. It must become a unique city, focusing on the <mark>space</mark> and the <mark>green.</mark>
Kasper Jongejan	x
Vere van Hal	Almere should <mark>not pretend to be able to be like Amsterdam</mark>, because it will only turn out to be a weak copy. Amsterdam can be used as an inspiration source, but the things you want to take over must be translated into Almere's language, otherwise it will not work. In planning the city, <mark>the citizens and the identity of the city must be taken into account</mark>. In terms of culture, there are two extremes in Almere: high art (classical arts) and low art (Frans Bauer), but there is nothing in between. That gap needs to be filled.
Marcel Kolder	Almere must <mark>focus on other things than Amsterdam</mark>, and that's what the

	city already does. Almere tries to do something different from the rest of the Netherlands. As a city, Almere is occupied with the future. In the distribution of Almere in 5 centres, a big mistake has been made. Marcel argues for intermingling, going together. The way it currently is in the city, there are sharp divisions between the different districts. But it is beginning to change, due to a growing focus on the centre of Almere, with the aim of attracting more people towards the city centre, and to stimulate togetherness.
Remon Popelier	x

UNIQUE VALUE - What is the unique value of Almere for creative individuals?	
Christine van Stralen	The unique value of Almere for creative individuals is that there is nothing yet. You are still free and you have the opportunity to make and do everything you want. You can still change the ambiance and affect the city with your businesses.
Bastiaan Gietema	The unique value of Almere for creative individuals is that there is still much to be developed, because there is not much yet. You can still leave your mark on the city. But, there should be more diversity, initiative and cooperation from the people in the city.
Hein Walter	In Almere, you have the space to do and create things, because there is still so little. You just don't have a sales market. A solution to increase this market is to attract more creatives to the city by reducing the rent of working spaces.
Jan-Melle Liscaljet	The unique value of Almere for creative individuals is that everything can be done here. You have the space to create everything yourself and you have little competition from other projects / entrepreneurs. Here it is possible, you just have to do it yourself and you have to work hard.
Joanna Braeunlich	The unique value of Almere for creative individuals is that it's a young city that does not really have its own face yet, so you can cooperate to built this face and manifest yourself as an artist. There is a lot of opportunity and space to create.
Kasper Jongejan	Almere has many unique values: the architecture, the structure, the bus lanes, the whole city is unique actually. And when you take the effort to get to know your environment, you will also appreciate it. The idea of 5 centres, that does not work, but it makes the city special, it is an experiment. If the citizens realize that, and show more love, knowledge and interest in the city, respect and pride for the city will grow as well. It is a special city, but there is more shitty than there is good. There is no unique value for creative individuals. The city misses information sources and resources to work and create culture. The city expects the citizens to built up everything themselves, but they do not provide the right resources. But yes, people must do it yourself, you have to make it yourself. It also takes time. It will take at least 100 years before the city is becomes interesting. But, Almere does offer possibilities. It just doesn't come from the people. The projects that are created are always from the same people.
Vere van Hal	Unique to Almere is the special composition of the population. And the possibilities that exist to contribute to the city.
Marcel Kolder	There are more creative individuals leaving Almere than that come to Almere. It has to do with the climate of the city. But with the new Culture Fund, there is a growing focus on entrepreneurship and a growing desire to build up the cultural sector. But there is little money and too little cultural mass and it does not come true from the city / municipality. Creative entrepreneurs are not properly encouraged by the municipality. The major cultural organizations are also difficult to collaborate with and see new

	entrepreneurs or projects as competition, rather than as a positive addition. The city has not yet learned how it works. However, what is unique, is that ==everything can still be done, because there is not much yet==. ==There are many possibilities==. If you are smart as a cultural entrepreneur, you are looking for things that do not yet exist.
Remon Popelier	In Almere you can still be an active pioneer. In Amsterdam, most things have already been done before. It is difficult to be different in a city like Amsterdam. Almere has a lot ==of space for new initiatives==.