The Creative City Repertoire

How the creative city as a global concept is interpreted in the Dutch cities of Leiden and Amsterdam

Gideon Visser
Master thesis Economic Geography
February 2012
The Creative City Repertoire

How the creative city as a global concept is interpreted in the Dutch cities of Leiden and Amsterdam

Master Thesis Human Geography
Radboud University Nijmegen
February 2012

Gideon Visser
S0504246

Supervisor: Dr. Arnoud Lagendijk
Second reader: Dr. Stefan Dormans

Correspondence address:
Gideon Visser
Schoolstraat 123
6512JD Nijmegen
gideonvisser@hotmail.com
FOREWORD

It took a long time to write this master thesis. Meanwhile I worked as a student-assistant at the university, and this resulted in a very slow process. Moreover, I wanted to do things my way and on my own, which did not made the research easier. As a result I became lost in the world of the creative city which was both interesting and confusing. However, I learned a lot about the creative city and about discursive and narrative approaches. In the end, it worked out fine.

First, I want to thank my supervisor Arnoud Lagendijk for his theoretical insights, talks about concepts, coffee and his patience since it took quite some time. Moreover I want to thank Stefan Dormans, as the second corrector for his reading of the final version, which was not as final as it turned out to be.

Second, I want to thank my parents who supported me during my study. I also want to my sister Anna, for her linguistic advice and the help with the translation of the quotes. Moreover, I want to thank George de Kam, who always provided me with enough other work when I was bored with my thesis but also gave me two weeks off, so I could finally finish my first concept. Last I want to thank Bianca, Maarten and Jona for their reviewing and for listening to my thesis troubles.

I am very happy that I can finally finish this master Economic Geography with this master thesis.

Gideon Visser,

Nijmegen, February 2012
SUMMARY

Thanks to ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’ of Richard Florida the creative city and related concepts such as the creative industries and the creative industries became a hype in urban policy. These global concepts spread all over the western world and were interpreted, rephrased and applied in different countries, different cities and different social contexts. After a visit of Richard Florida to the Netherlands in 2005, municipalities started to develop all kinds of creative city policies, although his theory was still controversial, and largely unproven. At some point, every city wanted to be a creative city: it was a hype.

So why are we, as a society, implementing a concept en masse, while we do not know what it actually means, knowing, or not knowing whether or not the concepts works, how it works and how that concept should be adapted to the place it is introduced? This resulted in the following research question:

How the creative city is interpreted, rephrased and applied in the cities of Amsterdam and Leiden by the academic social context, policy context and local social context, and to what extent is the creative city influenced by the neoliberal discourse or the policy discourse?

The research objective is to reveal how the creative city as a global concept is interpreted, rephrased and applied locally in different social contexts, in order to gain a richer insight into the meaning of the creative city, by investigating the creative city as an interpretative repertoire within different social context (academic, policy and local) in the two Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Leiden and subsequently look how these selections are influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse.

In order to answer the research question the narrative approach was selected with the concepts of narrative, emplotment and the interpretative repertoire. Starting point of this investigation was the creative city approached as an interpretative repertoire. When an agent constructs a narrative he selects elements of an interpretive repertoire. Being a kind of lexicon, the IR both enables and constrains the agent in his talking about the creative city (Austin, 1962 in: Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This selection is made within a social context which influences people and meaning. Within this research four social contexts were defined: the academic context, the national policy context, the urban policy context and the local contexts.

Moreover agents select elements in order to construct and plot narratives that are used to make sense of the world and solve real-world problems. At least these narratives serve the motive of the agent. The motives of the agent are influenced by policy practices and neoliberalism which in turn have a distinct influence on the motives. This resulted in a relational theoretical framework through which the research question was answered.

A multiple case study design formed the basis of this research. An interpretative approach of Van den Brink (2009), combined with doing interviews, coding in Atlas ti and manual textual analysis were selected in order to answer the interpretive research question (Van den Brink, 2009). In order to achieve proper qualitative analysis, the four elements of trustworthiness were introduction together with triangulation. In order to be as open and explicit as possible, all analytical strategies were described in detail.

The first analytical strategy was designed to reconstruct the academic part of what I call the Creative City Repertoire. What are the dominant narratives to be found in the global academic context and national policy contexts about the Creative City Repertoire? In order to answer this question a selection of narratives was made. The selection of academic narratives was based on the amount of quotes on Google Scholar, the number of articles in urban geography readers devoted to the creative city and quotes in Dutch publications about the creative city. These authors and publications were subsequently checked during the interviews. This desk research resulted in thick descriptions of the dominant academic narratives of the creative city and the relation between the academic social context and the national context.
The second analytical strategy was to map the Creative City Repertoire within the urban policy contexts and the local policy contexts of Leiden and Amsterdam. Here the data consisted of interview transcripts, all kinds of policy documents, website texts, newspaper articles that were from those two contexts. With the use of a six step interpretive analysis the data were selected, mapped and coded into narratives and subsequently analysed with the use of the analytical framework. This resulted in chapter 6 were the dominant narratives of the cities were written down.

The third analytical strategy concerned the influence of neoliberalism and the policy practice. To what extent are Creative City Repertoire and narratives in the different social contexts influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse? By systematically following my analytical framework of characteristics of neoliberalism and the policy discourse, I tried to critically evaluate the academic repertoire. In order to answer the fourth sub-question, the two cities were compared, looking for similarities, differences, relations between the social context, cities and narratives. This resulted in the following conclusions:

The creative city is an interpretative repertoire that is applied in many different ways. Agents from different social context plot the elements into narratives as their motives or needs. Narratives when taken over from one context to the other can change in three ways: first of all, new linguistic items can be introduced, like new words, sentences or metaphors. Second, the meaning of a narrative can change through different ways of emplotment. Last, dominance of narratives can change. Since meaning is socially constructed via narratives, meaning is also related to dominance. This process of selection and emplotment resulted in very different creative city narratives that were produced by agents in the following social contexts: Municipality of Leiden, the Municipality of Amsterdam with the spatial planning department and the economics department, Citylab, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, Peen & Ui, The Creative Cities Amsterdam Area and the NDSM wharf. Within a social context people think, write and plot in similar styles. This result in different narratives on the local level all derived from the Creative City Repertoire.

Within these narratives about the creative city, the influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse became visible. In fact neoliberalism has a big influence on the creative city and culture in general. Most narratives about the creative city are actually about creating economic development, competition and rivalry between cities. The dominant narrative is about a city that has to compete with other cities. This can only be done by developing its economic potential. Although Florida, Hall and Jacobs all state that the attractiveness of a city with a particular climate (tolerance), enough amenities and well educated inhabitants (the creative class) are all very important, in the end it all has to do with economic growth and therefore neoliberalism.

Furthermore culture has become more economic, the artist gradually becomes a creative entrepreneur, and entrepreneurial values are appreciated more than artistic values. The creative city as a repertoire in my opinion is part of a neoliberal agenda.

Last, the policy discourse also influences the Creative City Repertoire. Creative narratives are plotted into policy plans. A vocabulary of aims, goals, weaknesses, strengths, opportunities and potential is also added by the policy discourse. The policy discourse with its practices such as development plans, agenda’s or economic visions, plot the creative city according to their motives.

However, through its narratives, elements, agents and plots, the Creative City Repertoire shows strong neoliberal influences. At the same time, the policy discourse with its specific vocabulary has an influence on the appliance of the Creative City Repertoire that is mainly through governments.

In this way, the Creative City Repertoire shapes, and is shaped by agents within social contexts and influences urban policy in different cities. From the academic social context, all the way down to the local contexts, different interpretations are made that in the end lead to different spatial outcomes of the Creative City Repertoire.
# Table of Content

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures and Tables</td>
<td>IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The rise of the creative class</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Social/societal issues</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Scientific relevance</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Research objective</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Research questions</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 The structure of this research</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Interpretative repertoire, a theoretical framework</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Introduction</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Social context and language</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Three different strands in discourse analysis</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Introduction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 Discourse analysis with Marxist roots</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3 Foucauldian discourse analysis</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 The narrative approach</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1 Narratives</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2 Employment</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3 Interpretative repertoires</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.4 Narrative approach in geography</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.5 Characteristics of the narrative approach</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Neoliberalism and policy discourses</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1 Introduction</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2 Neoliberalism versus policy discourse</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.3 The neoliberal discourse</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4 The policy discourse</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 The theoretical framework</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.1 The Interpretative repertoire</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.2 The narratives and employment</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.3 Social contexts</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6.4 Different domains</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.5 Neoliberal discourse and policy discourse</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Methods</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Introduction</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Multiple case study strategy</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 An interpretative method</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Criteria for qualitative research</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Coding in Atlas-ti</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Textual analysis</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Analytical strategies</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................. 37
4.2 The academic context strategy ................................................................................ 37
4.3 The narrative strategy of Amsterdam and Leiden ...................................................... 41
4.4 Comparing the cases and the influence of neoliberalism and the policy discourse ...... 49
4.5 Recapitulation ............................................................................................................ 50

5. Mapping the academic Creative City Repertoire ...................................................... 51
5.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................... 51
5.2 The international level ............................................................................................... 52
  5.2.1 The culture industry, culture industries, creative industries ................................. 52
  5.2.2 Jane Jacobs ............................................................................................................ 53
  5.2.3 The Creative Industries Mapping Document ........................................................ 55
  5.2.4 Peter Hall’s Cities in Civilization ........................................................................... 57
  5.2.5 Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini ................................................................. 58
  5.2.6 Richard Florida: The Rise of the Creative Class .................................................... 60
  5.2.7 Ed Glaeser, Human Capital Theory ................................................................... 62
  5.2.8 Michael Porter’s clusters .................................................................................... 62
  5.3 The national level: The Netherlands ........................................................................ 64
    5.3.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................ 64
    5.3.2 Zef Hemel, creativity before Florida ................................................................. 65
    5.3.3 Conferences Florida in 2003 and 2005 ............................................................ 66
    5.3.4 The TNO paper: creative industries in Amsterdam ........................................... 66
    5.3.5 Creativiteit en de Stad: A literature bundle in Dutch ....................................... 67
    5.3.6 Jeroen Saris: New ideas for old buildings ....................................................... 67
    5.3.7 The attractive city: combining Florida and others .............................................. 68
  5.4 Drawing the first map ............................................................................................... 70
  5.5 The influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse .................... 71
    5.5.1 Introduction ....................................................................................................... 71
    5.5.2 Signs of the neoliberal discourse ..................................................................... 72
    5.5.3 Signs of the policy discourse .......................................................................... 73
  5.6 Conclusion ................................................................................................................. 75

6. Leiden and Amsterdam ............................................................................................... 79
6.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................... 79
6.2 Leiden, key to discovery ............................................................................................ 79
  6.2.1 Introduction ......................................................................................................... 79
  6.2.2 City narratives .................................................................................................... 79
  6.2.3 Citylab ................................................................................................................ 80
  6.2.4 The Municipality of Leiden ................................................................................. 81
  6.2.5 It is a small town ............................................................................................... 82
  6.2.6 Neoliberalism and the policy discourse ............................................................. 83
  6.3 Amsterdam, a creative metropolis ......................................................................... 84
    6.3.1 Introduction ....................................................................................................... 84
    6.3.2 Something needs to be done! .......................................................................... 84
    6.3.3 The narrow creative narratives ....................................................................... 85
    6.3.4 The comprehensive creative narratives ......................................................... 86
    6.3.5 The Art Factories Programme ....................................................................... 87
    6.3.6 An alternative narrative ................................................................................ 87
    6.3.7 Influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse .................... 87
  6.4 Leiden and Amsterdam compared .......................................................................... 87
  6.5 How concepts are spread among the cities ............................................................ 88
  6.6 Different context, different translations ................................................................... 88
FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 2-1 interpretative repertoire ................................................................. 22
Figure 2-2 narrative ......................................................................................... 23
Figure 2-3 theoretical framework ................................................................. 25
Figure 3-1 Research Model ............................................................................. 27
Figure 3-2 different domains .......................................................................... 35
Figure 4-1 exampe of in vivo coding ............................................................... 45
Figure 4-2 coding Network ............................................................................. 46
Figure 4-3 example code Leiden ..................................................................... 46
Figure 4-4 narrative network .......................................................................... 47
Figure 4-5 related narratives .......................................................................... 47
Figure 5-1 creative Milieus ............................................................................. 68
Figure 5-2 the venetian bridge ....................................................................... 68
Figure 5-3 First map of the creative city repertoire ........................................... 70
Figure 7-1 analytical framework ..................................................................... 98

Table 2-1 characteristics of neoliberal discourse ............................................. 19
Table 2-2 characteristics of policy discourse .................................................. 20
Table 2-3 neoliberal framework ..................................................................... 26
Table 3-1 interpretative moments ................................................................... 29
Table 4-1 quotes in Google Scholar, November 2010 .................................... 38
Table 4-2 creative city in readers, November 2010 ......................................... 38
Table 4-3 references from the interviewees ....................................................... 39
Table 4-4 international literature used in national literature ......................... 39
Table 4-5 analytical strategy academic context ............................................. 40
Table 4-6 interpretative moments ................................................................... 41
Tabel 4-7 data selection ................................................................................... 42
Table 5-1 analytical strategy academic context ............................................. 52
Table 5-2 neoliberal Framework ..................................................................... 71
Table 7-1 interpretive strategy ........................................................................ 99
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE RISE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS

In the globalising world concepts are on the move: the creative city is used all over the (western) world. Thanks to processes of internationalisation, transnationalisation and
globalisation, concepts developed in one country, are transferred to and subsequently used
in other countries. The concept of the creative class was introduced in 2002 by Richard
Florida. He wrote a very influential book titled: ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’. Being both an
academic and a consultant, Florida gave lectures and presentations about the creative class
all around the world. His book soon became well-known among politicians, scientist and
policy-makers. It was glorified and disgraced, detested and preached. It was a hype.

The hype of the creative class was part of a broader academic context of the creative cities
or creative industries in which people like Charles Landry, Peter Hall, Ed Glaeser and many
others participated. In fact these concepts are closely related and overlaying, but at the
same time also different. A defusing field is emerging around the creative city (Peck, 2004 in:
Gibson & Klocker, 2004, p. 94). The bottom-line of these concepts is that they all state that
the presence of the creative industry or creative class has a positive impact on the economy
of a city. The creative industry is a form of business with products or services based on
creativity and entrepreneurship. In this respect, the creative class are the people that actually
use their creativity for a living, like artist, designers, advertisement agencies or couturiers.

The claim that the creative industry or the creative class gives a boost to the local economy
made it very interesting for city councils, mayors, consultancies and politicians. There
seemed to be a new kind of economy and it therefore got a lot of attention all over the
world. Subsequently the creative city is used in different parts of the world in urban policy
(Wang, 2004; Cunningham, 2007; Prince, 2010a).

In September 2003, Richard Florida spoke at a conference ‘Creativity and the City’ at in the
‘Westergasfabriek’ Amsterdam. Afterwards this was often mentioned as the start of the
creative city in the Netherlands. Of course, scientist already knew about it, but here it
came known to the politicians, spatial planners and policymakers. In this way, the creative
city entered the Netherlands.

Why the creative city is moving is highly disputed. Some argue it is just a result of the
globalizing economy, being part of the on-going restructuring of the economy(Prince,
2010a). Others like Jamie Peck (2001) state that the creative class of Florida perfectly fits the
neoliberal development agenda that is based on: competition, gentrification, middle-class
consumption and place marketing (Peck, 2005). “The banal nature of urban creativity
strategy in practice” is covert up with Florida’s sales pitch “in which the arrival of the Creative
Age takes the form of an unstoppable social revolution” (Peck, 2005, pp. 740-741). The
creative city is part of the commodification of culture, and part of the next stage of capitalism
or neoliberalism (O’Connor, 2007; Prince, 2010a).

Moreover the spread of the creative city can be seen as a result of policy transfers. Policy
transfers refer to “the manner in which policy programmes developed in a particular time
and place come to influence the development of a similar programme in another time and

Meanwhile, in the Netherlands, the first creative city policies were developed. The city
industries of Amsterdam were investigated by TNO (2004) and the national government
started an investigation (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004; Rutten, Ijdens,
Jacobs, & Koch, 2005). Based on this research, new policies were developed. In
retrospective, it is about six years after the hype. From the big city councils to the smallest
municipalities, everybody knows something about the creative city and its related concepts.
What comes to mind is that the creative city is interpreted and applied differently.
Indeed, from a sociological perspective one could state that meaning depends on social contexts which are plural. The story of the creative city was interpreted by different people, in different social contexts and in different places. This leads to different meanings of the creative city, although initially influenced by the same concepts: the creative city, the creative industries, and the creative class. How did this happen? What happened after the publication of Richard Florida's book? Was this just a policy transfer or is it more than that? In my perspective it is more than just policy; it is a new way of thinking about the city and therefore more comprehensive than policy alone.

Therefore, this research aims at the investigation of different interpretations, adaptations and appliances of the creative city within different social context in different places. Following this, my research is not about what is the 'right' or 'true' description or use of the creative city. Instead I wonder how the creative city related concepts have come to be understood and applied in specific ways. How are these concepts created and how do they travel from one setting to another, and how do both these global concepts change on the way? That is the starting point of this thesis (Lagendijk & Cornford, 2000).

### 1.2 Social/Societal Issues

Societal relevance is one of the criteria academic research has to meet. Despite being hype, it is not clear what the creative city actually means for society since there are many different meanings, interpretations and appliances of the creative city in the Netherlands. This did not withhold academics, politicians and policymakers from applying the creative city. The creative city is used in urban policy, both in the big cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague as well as in the medium-sized cities of Eindhoven, Nijmegen and Arnhem. It is clear that the concept of the creative city is used by many cities, companies and individuals. It has become a powerful tool and rhetoric, used by policy makers, not only across the whole western world, but also in the Dutch context (Prince, 2010a).

However the creative city is not the only global concept in urban policy out there. From time to time, new concepts appear in urban policy, some of them become of global importance. In the past the concepts of waterfront development, economic clusters, bioscience parks, campus development and city marketing were introduced. Many of them are still applied today and influence urban policy and urban space. These concepts seem be used over and over again.

Returning the hype, the rhetoric and narratives of the creative city were and still are very dominant in urban policy debates, notwithstanding the critique of many social scientists (Franke & Verhagen, 2005). Hospers (2005) and Atzema (2007) state that the definition of the creative class is too broad and vague (Hospers, 2005; Atzema, 2007). Moreover, Pratt (2008) doubts whether the creative class exists at all (Pratt, 2008). Glaeser (2004) argues that not the amount of creative people but the amount of high educated people is the main cause for economic growth in cities. He came to this conclusion by using Florida’s dataset (Glaeser, 2005). Some critiques are even warning against the creative city ‘rhetoric’. In the words of Oakley (2004): “Above all, we face a widening gap between the rhetoric which continues to grow, and the evidence basis that supports these policies, which is small to non-existent” (Oakley, 2004, p. 68). And more points of critique are yet to come.

Nevertheless, city councils like concepts which promise economic growth. And that is exactly the case here. “There is now evidence from around the world that the industries of creativity are amongst the fastest growing of all….creativity needs to be applied, and new goods and

---

1. As described by Potter and Wetherell, 1987
2. [http://www.strijp-s.nl](http://www.strijp-s.nl)
services must emerge if new episodes of wealth creation are to occur” (Montgomery, 2007, pp. 43-56).

City councils like these kind of ideas because it gives them concrete tools to solve economic or social problems. Big promises, made by Florida, Montgomery and many others were picked up by consultancies, policymakers and so on. As a city council, you are likely to want this also in your own city as well. So, notwithstanding the critique, city councils are (very) willing to use it. Peck (2005) also detects this trend:

> Reflecting on the way in which Florida’s work is being read by city leaders, it would seem that there is a predisposition to accept the most controversial steps in his thesis — that creativity is the root cause of growth, and this is born by a mobile class of elite workers — in order to jump to the chase on the question of how to lure the creative’s to town. (Peck, 2005, p. 765)

According to Peck it seems as if policymakers just accept the assumption that creativity is the basis for economic growth without suspicion (Peck, 2005). This highly questioned assumption of the creative city is exactly what makes this research relevant and is the starting point of this thesis:

**Why are we, as a society, implementing a concept en masse, while knowing, or not knowing what these concepts actually mean, whether or not these concepts works, how they work and how these concepts should be adapted to the place where they are introduced?**

By investigating the creative city, we can gain a much deeper and richer insight into the concept of the creative city in the Netherlands, what it means, how it is used in different cities and thought of by different groups (Politicians, policymakers, creative entrepreneurs and journalists). In other words, how is the repertoire of the creative city used in different social contexts? The concept, which is an international idea, is indeed implemented locally, but in a slightly different guise, which does not necessarily concur with the original idea and thus differs from the original, but is still related.

Following Oakley (2004), I recognize the gap between the rhetoric and reality (Oakley, 2004). It seems that the creative city concepts and rhetoric are used for different purposes. This research focuses on the meaning of the creative city in the real world, which is very important in order to solve real-world problems. In the end, this knowledge and understanding is very useful in order to improve the policy of the creative city in general.

Apart from the academics and urban planners, the concept spread among artists, and other parts of creative class, as they were declared by Florida. Some of them felt stigmatized by Florida, or were suspicious about the sudden attention to their work and workspace by politicians, policymakers and academics. Very often, these artists worked there for a long time, and suddenly they were labelled in a different way. Sweet talk about the creative class, but still these people had a hard time make ends meet. This was pointed out by Atzema, Ruyters and Markussen (Ruyters, 2005 in: Franke & Verhagen, 2005; Markussen, 2006; Atzema, 2007). Apart from that, people did not feel part of the creative class, nor the creative industry. Instead, they considered themselves being a designer, photographer or an artist.

Moreover municipalities apply the concept in an incorrect manner. According to Dany Jacobs (2009) the cities behaviours are similar, as he stated on a conference about the creative city that every city wants to be creative, but in an uncreative manner. They are just copying each other (Jacobs, 2009). This can be very disappointing, because the success of a concept is often dependent on the context. In this research we can check whether this is actually the case. It should be clarified that cities just cannot copy each other because the contexts differ. Behind the ‘rhetoric’ different stakeholders are playing an important role. It is very important to reveal how a concept is used by different actors with different stakes.

Besides social and societal, this issue is also economical. Whose interests are actually served by these concepts and to what extent do they serve a neo-liberal economic agenda? Many
artists are weary of the creative city policies. Although called creative, it is often an economic policy. Creativity seems to be the same as economic entrepreneurship. Political choices are covert up by creativity while the spatial economic outcomes remain unclear (Peck, 2005). Therefore this research tries to reveal the different interpretations. Subsequently it looks for the underlying agenda of the people who use the concept. It wants to show how the creative city is used in politics and policies in two different cities.

Last, what is the use of the concept for the city? In the aftermath of the credit crisis, the Dutch government has to cut its spending because of the major public debts which were made in order to prevent the economy from collapsing. A big part of this retrenchment will be passed through to the municipalities. The city councils and the municipalities often have policies to develop creative industries. Therefore more information about how these concepts are interpret and applied is very useful. If these policies turn out to be interpreted in simplified or very constrained way, it is in general interest to stop this waste of money. Through this hype, the creative city policy might become a goal in itself, just like earlier global concepts as Lagendijk and Cornford (2000) wrote about trends in regional development. Regions used the narrative of uniqueness and variety in order to put themselves on the map (Lagendijk & Cornford, 2000, p. 217).

The same is true for the city. The competition between cities is fierce and cities want to be unique in order to attract business, the creative class or tourists in order to grow and maintain its position as a world city. This often is achieved via city marketing. In this research the unique policies of the creative city per city will be investigated.

1.3 Scientific relevance

In academia, geographers and economist already wrote a lot about this topic, so what makes this research relevant? Scientists took a more critical stance, because the idea of the creative class was not new for them. They already knew more about the creative industry, creative economy, innovation, and other related topics.

On the international level, numerous scientists investigated the creative city, creative class and creative industries: (Department for Culture, 1998; Florida, 2002; Wang, 2004; Peck, 2005; Markussen, 2006; Cunningham, 2007; Montgomery, 2007; Pratt, 2008; Prince, 2010a).

On the national level Dutch scientists like Hospers (2003), Marlet and Van Woerkens (2004), Stelling and Metz (2004), Rutten (2005), Atzema (2007), Boschma (2007), Jacobs (2007) investigated the creative city, creative class and creative industries (Hospers, 2003; Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2004; Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004; Stelling & Metz, 2004; Jacobs, 2006; Atzema, 2007; Boschma, 2007). The Dutch government also started to get engaged with the creative class. Both the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Economic Affairs did investigations and published papers about this topic (Rutten, Ijdens, Jacobs, & Koch, 2005). In short, much research is already done, so what can this thesis add to that?

First, instead of describing the creative industries as a result of the rising global knowledge economy or only as a new form of cultural commodification done by neoliberal governance regimes, this research investigates the creative city as an interpretative repertoire (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Potter, Wetherell, Gill, & Edwards, 1990). The creative city is seen as a discursive phenomenon with different concepts, metaphors, theories that is created and applied in different social context. How are new concepts, new ways of thinking about the city interpreted, adapted and applied in different social contexts in different places?

Second, this research focuses on process of interpretation by which a global concept is transferred from one place to the other. Prince (2010) calls this a ‘policy transfer’ while Lagendijk and Cornford (2000) speak of ‘travelling concepts’ (Lagendijk & Cornford, 2000; Prince, 2010b). What makes this research relevant is that it focuses on how these concepts change and how global concepts are applied locally: “it captures an aspect of the
internationalisation, transnationalisation, or globalisation of policy regimes, but emphasises the people, places, and moments through which this situation eventuates” (Prince, 2010b, p. 169). Following this, the spatial relevance of this research becomes clear. According to Jamie Peck (2001):

The appeal of policy transfer studies lies in its implicit appreciation for the spatiality of processes of political and economic change, offering powerful insights into how particular policy regimes spatialise and providing a fresh geographical perspective on uneven processes of restructuring in the global political economy. (Peck, 2001 in: Prince, 2010b, p. 169)

This research will reveal how the creative city as a global form is interpreted, adapted and applied in different places and different social context. These different selections out of the creative city, these interpretations, adaptations and the appliance lead to different spatial (uneven) outcomes. These outcomes in turn are analysed. In order to investigate these processes an approach sensitive to both language and social contexts is needed.

Discourse theory is an appropriate theory, to analyse the creative city as a concept. Jamie Peck (2005) noticed in his article ‘Struggling with the Creative Class’ a creativity discourse (Peck, 2005). According to Peck (2005) the field of urban policy had lacked new innovative ideas for a long-time and therefore the creativity strategies have become popular very quickly because they deliver “both a discursively distinctive and an ostensibly deliverable development agenda” (Peck, 2005, p. 740). Peck argues that, although Florida’s book ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’ makes use of already established ideas, it also introduces ‘distinctive new’ ideas which gives a new discursive look on the topic:

While the new business knowledge’s of the 1990s helped make new kinds of managers, establishing novel ways of ordering, reading and acting in the world, and establishing a ‘kind of grammar of business imperatives’ (Thrift, 2001, p. 416), the creative-cities script has found, constituted and enrolled a widened civic audience for projects of new age urban revitalization, anointing favoured strategies and privileged actors, determining what must be done, with whom, how and where. (Thrift 2001 in: Peck, 2005, p. 742)

In this way, the creative city approached as a discourse. Besides Peck, Andy Pratt (2008) also wrote about the influences of specific discourses on the notion of culture within the relation of governance and the cultural industries in the United Kingdom. He differentiates between an economic, ideological/political and a social discourse (Pratt, 2008). Wang (2004) tries to find out how far the creative industries discourse can travel along the globe, and examines its relevance to mainland China (Wang, 2004).

Next O’Connor (2007) sees the creative discourse as an assemblage different discourses who already exists (O’Connor, 2007). So, the discursive approach makes this research different and thereby relevant. The creative city is seen as a discursive phenomenon. In short, the creative city has not been investigated as a discourse or interpretative repertoire very often.

Out of the different discursive approaches, I decided to choose the narrative approach. The choice for a narrative approach makes it different from a Foucauldian discourse analysis as used by the scientist quoted above which has become a common practice among geographers. Apart from that, the narrative approach is chosen for the following reasons.

First of all, because the narrative approach is suited to investigate the local interpretations of global concepts. It assumes that local interpretations of the global concepts will always differ, because meaning is context and place specific (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). These assumptions match with the attributes of the creative city. It is assumed that the creative class differs per city (Jacobs, 1961; Florida, 2002; Hospers, 2003). It also argued that the context is very important for understanding the creative class (Pratt, 2008).
Moreover the narrative analysis is more analytical focused and thus better in case of interpretative research. It enables the researcher to be more sensitive to the data, pays more attention to the narrator and leads to better interpretations (Dormans, 2008). Being more analytically focused, also means being more concerned with the local social context (Taylor, 2003).

Besides, the approach is more concerned with agency instead of power, and the creative city seems a concept that is relatively freely available (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Peck, 2005). Therefore a focus on agency is necessary which is provided with this approach.

Last, it assumes that people tell the same event in different ways because they interpret it in different ways. Instead of reducing the data to one dominant voice, it is the aim of this research to let the different voices 'speak' (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). The narrative approach is a relatively young approach in geography, and therefore less explored (Vandsemb, 1995; Dormans, 2008). In this way the narrative approach offers a proper interpretative analysis of the creative city, and different from “other” discursive approaches.

Summarizing, the creative city is a global concept that is interpreted, and applied locally in different social context. These social contexts are the academic context, policy context and other local context. In order to get a better look on this process, a narrative approach which focuses on interpretation and translation of concepts is needed. The creative city is seen as a discursive phenomenon as described by Cunningham and Peck (Peck, 2005; Cunningham, 2007). The narrative approach makes it different from other forms of discourse theories since it is more analytical focused, assumes that interpretations differ per social context, is more concerned with agency than power and let the different voices in the field speak (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). This argument will be extended in chapter 2 were a theoretical framework is presented. All these considerations lead to the following research objective, presented below.

1.4 Research Objective

To reveal how the creative city as a global concept is interpreted, rephrased and applied locally in different social contexts, in order to gain a richer insight into the meaning of the creative city, by investigating the creative city as an interpretative repertoire within different social context (academic, policy and local) in the two Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Leiden and subsequently look how these selections are influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse.

This general research objective can be divided in a theoretical, empirical and practical research objective. These will be set forth in the following part.

The theoretical research objective is to analyse the creative city as an interpretative repertoire within different social contexts and subsequently look how these selections are influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse. In short, it is assumed that agents select elements from the interpretative repertoire in order to plot narratives. The original elements are selected, adapted and applied in different social contexts. These contexts use the narratives to makes sense of the world, that is to give meaning to it. However by constructing narratives, new elements and meaning are added to the interpretative repertoire of the creative city. It is a relational theoretical framework.

Second, the different narratives are investigated on the influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse, because concepts like the creative industries are used for a reason. In this way motives of agents are analysed. The theoretical framework is described in chapter 2.
The empirical research objective is to map the creative city interpretative repertoire and its dominant narratives in the different social contexts. The academic and national social contexts do not have a particular place, but the other social contexts are within the cases of Leiden and Amsterdam.

Subsequently the relations between the different repertoires and narratives are analysed. Therefore, all kinds of data have to be collected out of which different interpretations and meanings can be extracted. The aim is to select and collect data for this research in Amsterdam and Leiden. A good selection is therefore very important. In this thesis the narrative approach is used to analyse the different interpretations, shaped into narratives, given to the Creative City Repertoire. The practical objective is to reveal what the creative city means in different social context and how concepts out of the Creative City Repertoire can be used in different ways in urban policy.

Last, the practical objective is to compare the local interpretations of the creative cities and their spatial and economic outcomes. A deeper understanding of the creative city can be useful for the debate about the creative city, the evaluation of current creative city policies and the development of new creative city policies.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research object leads to a central research question and sub questions:

*How is the creative city interpreted, rephrased and applied in the cities of Amsterdam and Leiden by the academic social context, policy context and local social context, and to what extent is the creative city influenced by the neoliberal discourse or the policy discourse?*

This central question is divided in sub-questions in order to structure this investigation:

1. What are the dominant narratives and interpretative repertoires to be found in the global academic context and national policy contexts about the creative city?
2. How are the elements of the Creative City Repertoire selected and plotted in the policy social contexts and the local social contexts of Leiden and Amsterdam?
3. How are the narratives of the academic context and, policy and local social contexts of Amsterdam and Leiden related to each other?
4. To what extent are Creative City Repertoire and narratives in the different social contexts influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse?

1.6 THE STRUCTURE OF THIS RESEARCH

After the research objective and research questions are defined, the second chapter is devoted to the theoretical framework. The third chapter is about the methodology, while the fourth chapter describes the qualitative analytical strategies of this research. The outcomes of these strategies are presented in chapter 5 and chapter 6. Chapter 5 is about the academic social context, while chapter 6 is about Leiden and Amsterdam. In this chapter the findings are presented and compared followed by a conclusion in chapter 7.
2. INTERPRETATIVE REPERTOIRE, A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Both the research question and research objective are interpretative and therefore an interpretative approach is needed which is sensitive to language and the social contexts, in order to answer the research question. In this research it is assumed that the creative city concepts are freely available. The creative city can be used for different interests (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Peck, 2005). In the previous chapter it already became evident that numerous cities do use the creative city as a concept, and the concepts can be acquired relatively easy.

Moreover the approach should be analytically focussed since I want to reveal how a global concept is interpreted and applied locally. The approach should bring together both global and local, policy and academia. Considering these conditions, a proper theoretical approach is selected in this chapter. First an overview is given, than comparison takes place. This, in end leads towards an informed choice for a narrative approach as the sufficient approach for this thesis.

2.2 SOCIAL CONTEXT AND LANGUAGE

If one wants to find out how a concept is interpreted in different places and by different people, two theoretical notions are very important: language and social context. Language is essential in communications among human beings. The social context is the world of our everyday life. In their book ‘Discourse and social psychology’, Potter and Wetherell (1987) start with the academic review of language. In short, they noticed that until the 1950’s language was often seen by psychologists as an abstract phenomenon just like mathematics or logic. Language was seen as an abstract system and its main function was to describe states of affairs (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Then, something changed, what we nowadays call the ‘linguistic turn’. The linguistic turn in Western philosophy has been very important for social sciences. Central in the linguistic turn was the idea that language ‘constitutes’ reality, instead of the idea that language is attached to a concept, as a label (Hall, 1997).

According to ‘founding father’ Ferdinand de Saussure, the relationship between signifier and signified is a social construct and the meaning of an object is based on the historical and cultural contexts. In other words, meaning depends on the social context, in which it is used. “The assumption is that meanings are not the stable properties of objects in the world but are constructed, carried and modified in talk and interaction” (Taylor & Littleton, 2006, p. 24). In this way, meaning is unfixed.

Ergo, if meaning changes, it is due to the social context (Hall, 1997). This change occurred around 1900. But as often happens in science, it took some time before this idea became accepted. Currently the science of meaning and thereby language has become part of the interpretative side of Human Geography and the social sciences in general (Hall, 1997; Grimshaw, 2001). Consequently, and that is the starting point of this theoretical framework, they state that: "Language is not an abstract realm. It is out there in the real world it is made up from particular utterances performed in particular context" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 14). Following J.L. Austin (1962), they recognize language as a social practice which is performed in a particular social context (Austin, 1962 in: Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Austin’s theory represented a radical departure from much of the previous philosophical work on language because instead of viewing it as an essentially abstract corpus which can be dealt with in the same way as logic and mathematics, he recognized that language is a human practice (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In this way, the social context cannot be separated from the text or conversation because meaning as a part of social practices is always constructed and situated in specific contexts (Potter, Wetherell, Gill, & Edwards, 1990). These social contexts can be defined at different levels:
These include the immediate interactive context, such as an interview, and the larger context invoked in rhetorical work, including what (Mishler & Elliot, 1999, p. 18) calls the ‘social and cultural frameworks of interpretation’, that is, the prevailing meanings and assumptions given by the speaker’s society and cultures. (Taylor & Littleton, 2006, p. 26)

A social context then is the social group and its environment. It consists of the culture a person was educated and/or lives in, and the people and institutions this person interacts with. Social contexts differ per place and per social group and as a result language also differs in the same way.

In short, both language and social context are constructed socially. Words and sentences are the building blocks of society in general and social context in special. Without language there are no complex social contexts as we know them today. This makes language social, or in other words: “The production of texts is now seen as an irredeemably practical activity that literally takes place within and intervenes within specific contexts” (Johnston, Grogy, Pratt, & Watts, 2000, p. 111). So the starting points in theory are social contexts and language. There are different ways of investigations social contexts and their specific language. In the following section, three different theories are introduced and compared.

2.3 THREE DIFFERENT STRANDS IN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

If one is looking for an interpretative approach which focuses on the relation between language and social context, some sort of discourse analysis is the obvious choice, but can be very difficult to use. Within the social sciences there are different strands in discourse analysis. The field of discourse analysis is not convenient. I agree with Loretta Lees (2004), that as a novice, it is very difficult to apply discourse analysis because in discourse analysis, methods are not always described in a proper way (Lees, 2004). Discourse analysis has a lot of variants and is used in different ways by different disciplines. The roots of so-called theories of discourse date back from the 1970’s and the early 1980’s:

The emergence, development and spread of new accounts of society and social change were driven by empirical and theoretical developments. These developments were complex and connected, and included the problematisation of mainstream political theory in the wake of the student revolt of May 1968 in Paris, the critique of structuralist theories to language, culture and society, and the crisis of Marxism in the face of an emerging neoliberal and neoconservative hegemony. (Torfing, 2005 in: Van den Brink, 2009, p. 22)

From there, different theories of discourse and discourse analyses were developed by different disciplines (Dormans, 2008). Michel Foucault has a background as philosopher while other discourse theories have linguistic roots, like discourse analysis of James Paul Gee (Gee, 2005). The narrative approach as developed by Potter and Wetherell (1987) originates in the discipline of social psychology (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). As a result, discourse analysis is used in various disciplines such as political science, spatial planning, sociology and also human geography.

Despite the different strands, there also is a common ground. All discursive approaches link language and social context. A discourse is “specific series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimized” (Johnston, Grogy, Pratt, & Watts, 2000, p. 180). A discourse is articulated in

---

3 Margot van den Brink (2008) gives an overview in the book: Rijkswaterstaat, on the horns of a dilemma
many forms and for the sake of comparison; discourse is approached in a very open sense as described by Potter (1987):

Unlike many others writers we, following DA (Discourse Analysis), include in ‘discourse’ all kinds of language use (speech acts) in oral and written social connections, that is, utterances and written documents. A discourse is a social text. The focus on discourse thus means a concept with ‘talk and texts as parts of social practices. (Potter, 1987 in: Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000, p. 231)

The general claim of the aforementioned discursive approaches is that people are constrained by the structure, a so-called discourse: “people are constrained by the limited repertories of available and sanctioned stories that they can use to interpret their experience” (Ezzy, 1998, pp. 247-248).

In order to create some clarity, Lees (2004) identifies two main strands of discourse analysis which are most often used in human geography (Lees, 2004). As a third one, I present the narrative approach. Of course this partition is arbitrary, but it clarifies as lot, and makes a reasoned choice for a specific approach possible.

2.3.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS WITH MARXIST ROOTS

The first strand of discourse analyses has Marxist roots. It comes from the Marxist tradition of political economy and ideology critique. “Here discourse analysis is a tool for uncovering certain hegemonic ways of thinking and talking about how things should be done that serve certain vested interests” (Lees, 2004, p. 3). In the Gramscian understanding of discourse, discourse is seen as an instrument used to accomplish hegemony over people. For example, the hegemony of capitalism limits the working class’ view. Within this strand, Critical Discourse Analysis is one of the types. According to Van Dijk (2003): “Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 352). In short this strand is concerned with power relations between different classes.

Notwithstanding the results achieved with this theory, the theory and method is mainly concerned with power relations and power abuse, and that is not the subject of this investigation. Although Critical Discourse Analysis can provide a proper analytical focus, it focuses on power, and not on language.

2.3.3 FOUCAULDIAN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The second strand in discourse analysis draws on post-structural theory and in particular on the work of Michel Foucault, a French philosopher, historian and sociologist. According to Foucault: “Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But… since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do –our conduct- all practices have a discursive aspect” (Foucault, 1977 in: Hall, 1997, p. 44).

This notion of discourse has the following consequences: “Discourse constructs the topic. It defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about…. Thereby meaning and meaningful practices are constructed within the discourse” (Hall, 1997, p. 44). In this way, a discourse defines what is allowed and not allowed, what is truth and non-truth; it defines the social context of people. As a result a discourse is not purely a linguistic concept, but it is about both language and practice:

In Foucauldian terms, discourses are not simply reflections or (mis)representations of ‘reality’; rather they create their own ‘regimes of truth’ – the acceptable formulation of problems and solutions to those problems’ (Foucault, 1980 in: Lees, 2004). As a consequence: ‘every social configuration is meaningful because it is constructed by discourse…..nothing has any meaning outside of discourse. (Foucault, 1972 in: Hall, 1997, p. 45)
Discourse analysis then tries to describe how certain behaviours, practices, attitudes and beliefs are laid down, and subject people, and how these processes reproduce themselves by repetition (Wylie, 2006, p. 304). Moreover this analysis focusses on these power structures or so-called ‘regimes of truth’ that create discourses and shows how meaning is constructed. It tries to reveal how power structures subject people to their will and how discourses shape the taken-for-granted world of people (Johnston, Grogy, Pratt, & Watts, 2000, p. 181). This constructionist perspective, which was based on Foucault’s notion of discourse, as described above, became the dominant strand of discourse analysis in human geography. The geographers applied this analysis in the fields of cultural studies, feminism and post-colonialism (Lees, 2004).

So, whereas the first strand focusses on cultural hegemony which influenced social classes; the second strand focuses on regimes of truth. In practice these two previous strands of discourse analysis have become more and more blurred, mixed and new strands are under construction (Lees, 2004).

Again, the focus on power is problematic for this research. Since the creative repertoire seems freely available, the focus on power is not necessary (Peck, 2005). Moreover, Foucauldian analysis seems to focus on the structure, while this research is interested in the local arrangements and selections of the narrators: agency. Moreover this approach, which assumes the existence of only one dominant discourse, neglects other narratives and voices in the field which, in case of the creative city, are clearly there (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). Last, according to Ezzy (1998), discourse analysis is less specific and less analytically focused (Ezzy, 1998, pp. 198-199). Therefore, a third approach, namely the narrative approach, might be better suited for this research.

### 2.4 The Narrative Approach

#### 2.4.1 Narratives

Narrative comes from the Latin verb narrare which means story telling. The starting point of this approach is storytelling. The narrative approach actually is a discursive approach, though a specific one. The three main concepts are narratives, emplotment and interpretative repertoires.

The narrative has been one of the major themes in humanistic and social scientific though since the mid-twentieth century. The essence of humanness, long characterized by the tendency to make sense of the world through rationality, has come increasingly to be described as the tendency to tell stories, to make sense of the world through narrative (Johnston, 2001, p. 635).

The narrative is “the primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful” (Polkinghorne, 1988 in: Cortazzi, 1994, p. 1). While logical-scientific thinking deals with observation, analysis and proof, narratives are used to handle issues of belief, doubt, emotions, and intentions that accommodate ambiguity and dilemma. “When people tell stories, anecdotes and other kinds of narratives, they organise data into special patterns which represent and explain experience” (Hymes, 1982; Gee, 1985; Mishler, 1986; Branigan 1992 in: Cortazzi, 1994, p. 3). By telling stories of personal experience, people create their identity, coherence, and endow their lives with meaning over time (Linde, 1993; Gergen&Gergen, 1993 in: Cortazzi, 1994). Following Potter and Wetherell (1987) and Ezzy (1998), this means that narratives are essential in creating social contexts with their own unique language (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Ezzy, 1998). With these narratives people make sense of this world.

In narrative studies, narratives are not seen as unproblematic (naïve) representations of reality. Narratives can represent, reflect, distort, invent or evade reality. In this way narratives are reconstructions of reality made by a narrator, not reality itself (Vandsemb, 1995; Dormans,
Taking into account that meaning is never fixed but always constructed this approach assumes that every event has multiple narratives (Taylor & Littleton, 2006). Also the narrative is influenced by the ideological thoughts of the author (Vandsemb, 1995; Dormans, 2008). This does not make narratives fiction: they should be seen as reflections of reality; reflections made by certain people.

Events are then structured into a narrative by the conventional means of time, place, actors and context.... No phenomena can have only one narrative or a single genealogy.... Narratives not only give meaning to our past experiences, they also help us vision alternative future. (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 8)

The bottom-line is that a narrative is constructed. It is a representation of reality, and not reality or truth itself.

2.4.2 EMPLOYMENT

A narrative always contains a plot with particular selections and arrangements. 'The king died and then the queen died' and 'The king died and then the queen died of grief' are both meaningful sentences. However, the first sentence is a list or chronology, the second is a narrative. Why? Stories are constructed by a narrator. He or she chooses what to tell and what not to tell. The narrator decides which events and which persons are part of the story as well as the chronology (Dormans, 2008). “This selection and arrangement of events is called emplotment” (Dormans, 2008, p. 18). In the words of Polkinghorne: “A plot is the basic means by which specific events, otherwise represented as lists or chronologies, are brought into a meaningful whole” (Czarniawska, 2004 in: Jensen, 2007). This is called relational emplotment.

These definitions show the difference between a narrative and chronicles or annals. The first sentence about the king and the queen is the chronological description of the event. The arrangements and selections are made for a reason and not ad random (Somers, 1992 in: Dormans, 2008). So the queen died of grief, and not because of a heart attack. The narrator made this selection. It follows that a story is a selective description of reality (Whitebrook, 2001 in: Dormans, 2008). The way the selections and the arrangements are made tells the reader what is important and what is not. It prefers certain things above others; it chooses one interpretation above the other. In this research narratives have plots per se. Therefore narratives have plots, in order to be meaningful.

2.4.3 INTERPRETATIVE REPERTOIRES

The interpretative repertoire provides the linguistic resources for narratives and thereby (partly) defines how one can talk about a subject. The interpretative repertoire has a lot of similarities with a discourse (Ezzy, 1998). Interpretative repertoire is defined as: “a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterise actions or events” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 138). An interpretative repertoire is an analytical concept used to explore the social or cultural understandings and connections that shape and enable talk and are assumed to be common to different speakers (Taylor, 2003). In other words:

They are relatively coherent ways of talking about subjects and events in the world: "They are the building blocks of conversation", a range of linguistic resources that can be drawn upon and utilized in the course of everyday social interaction. (Edley, 2001, p. 198)

In this way an interpretative repertoire reveals how people are constrained in their talking about a topic. However, since the interpretative repertoire is connected to the social context, the repertoire is also influenced via narratives by the social context. Thanks to new selections and arrangements, the introduction of new terms, metaphors and concepts, the repertoire
can change. The social context, as a social and cultural framework of interpretation, has a
direct connection with the repertoire.

In this way the interpretative repertoire can reveal how people are enticed or enculturated into
particular ways of understanding the world (Edley, 2001). This makes it a very suitable tool
for analysing social contexts and their languages, because such an analytical tool assumes
the relation between language and social context. Important here is that a repertoire does
not have a one-to-one relationship with a social group. Repertoires are available to members
of many different groups (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The narrative gets its meaning in a social
context through language. Examples of a social context are family, home or the community
(Cortazzi, 1994; Wiles, Rosenberg, & Kearns, 2005). Narratives, plots and interpretative
repertoires are used to analyse the relation between language and the social context.

Recapitulating, narratives are essential for making sense of the world, and therefore very
important for the social sciences. The concept of emplotment can reveal how specific
selections and arrangement are made in order to represent reality in specific ways.
Interpretative repertoires are the lexicon and the syntax available for narratives about topics.
In becoming a native speaker of the repertoire, the speaker is enticed and enculturated into
partial ways of understanding the world. In other words, people start to think and to talk in
specific ways about their world. From here it follows that language differs per context, and
per place. The combination of a specific language and a specific group of people is what

2.4.4 NARRATIVE APPROACH IN GEOGRAPHY

Although the quote from the ‘Dictionary of Human Geography’ (Johnson, 2001) suggests
that narrative approaches are used on a regular basis in the social sciences, this is not the
case with human geography. As we will see, human geography did not get engaged with
narratives until the mid-nineties. The roots of all these approaches lie in various disciplines
(Dormans, 2008). Flick (2006) notes that the narrative approach as it is used in this thesis is
rooted in ethnography, which is concerned “with how people produce social reality in
and through interactive processes” (Flick, 2006, p. 60). Harald Garfinkel (1967) is seen as the
founder of this school (Flick, 2006).

In the social sciences, the narrative approach was used from the early 1970’s, mainly by
literary critics and historians based on the linguistic turn in philosophy (Rorty, 1992). The work
Vernacular’ and Hayden White’s 1973’s book: ‘Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in
Nineteenth-century Europe’ are seen as early influences on human geography (Grimshaw,
2001; Dormans, 2008).

In general, narratives were seen as the ‘epistemological other’ in social and human sciences
(Somers & Gibson, 1994 in: Dormans, 2008). Moreover: “Narrative was described as being
idiographic (instead of nomothetic), particularistic (instead of generalizable) and descriptive
(instead of theoretical). Narrative was often regarded as being ‘artistic’ rather than
‘academic’” (Finnegan, 1998, pp. 4-5). The narrative approach was a reaction on business as
usual in the social and human sciences, which remained mainly quantitative until the mid-
nineties. However, the approach started to spread to the fields of psychoanalysis,
psychology and philosophy. The focus was still on personal (life) stories (Dormans, 2008).
According to Dormans (2008) narrative approaches were not used much in geography until
the mid-nineties, while they were used regularly in the human and social sciences (Dormans,
2008). Meanwhile, empirical data and evidence were collected in the field. The collection of
personal stories started in the mid-1980s (Lucius-Hoene, 2000). The narrative approach
started to become ‘mainstream’, more and more disciplines started to become involved, and
the study of narratives has become more interdisciplinary.

Finally things started to change when Yi-Fu Tuan (1991) wrote an article about the
importance of language in place making and when Beret Helene Vandsemb wrote an article
(1995) about the use of the narrative approach in migration research (Tuan, 1991; Vandsemb,
1995). Vandsemb stated that the individuals and the specifics of their lives disappeared in the quantitative analysis done by her colleagues. And therefore she presented the narrative approach: “Narratives give the numbers a human face” (Vandsemb, 1995, p. 412). Specific information about migrants revealed a lot of new information about migrants. Nowadays the approach is used more often to investigate geographic topics, for example the work of (Vandsemb, 1995; Finnegan, 1998; Wiles, Rosenberg, & Kearns, 2005; Dormans, 2008). It is a very useful and analytically focussed approach, which fits geographic topics very well. In the next section the main characteristics of the narrative approach are described.

2.4.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NARRATIVE APPROACH

The narrative approach has six important characteristics, which will be described below: First, the narrative approaches focus on human agency and contingency instead of power structures. Originally, the approach was opposed to discourse theories that preferred structure above agency (Dormans, 2008). While Foucauldian and Marxist discourse analyses do focus on power and structure, the narrative approach focuses on agency, although people are constrained by their social context. The narrative approach has a stronger focus on the arrangements and selections made of the discursive elements. It analyses the agency side of the discourse, because this discourse (which they call interpretative repertoire) is also (re)constructed by people. The discursive elements are plotted locally by agents who produce narratives as their interpretation of reality. Thanks to emplotment, the narratives can differ from the original repertoire and also add to the repertoire. This process is analysed by the narrative approach.

Second, probably influenced by de Certeau’s ‘Practice of Everyday Life’, narrative studies have a great interest in everyday life and everydayness (De Certeau, 1984). The narrative is reconstructed by the researcher and the interviewee. Subsequently this narrative is used as an argument in which we learn something essential by understanding a life as it is lived by the person (Vandsemb, 1995). Therefore many narrative studies emphasize this aspect and subsequently choose to focus on the dynamics of everyday life (Wiles, Rosenberg, & Kearns, 2005). “As a consequence, narrative scholars often assume that it is valuable to look not just at the products of professionals and specialists but also at the practices of ordinary people in their everyday lives” (Finnegan, 1998 in: Dormans, 2008, p. 15). Also, as stated by Wiles, Rosenberg and Kearns, (2005):

it can provide a richly textured and sensitive approach to the interpretation of interview talk…. What most forms of narrative analysis have in common, and what we see as most useful to geographers doing qualitative research is that these approaches encourage and enable the interpreter to be more attentive to the context of the study participants. (Wiles, Rosenberg, & Kearns, 2005, p. 98)

In this way, the approach makes the researcher aware of the social contexts which are essential for producing meaning. People do not create narratives in a ‘cultural vacuum’ (Finnegan, 1998).

Third, the possibility to study multiplicity is an important characteristic of the narrative approach. Narrative studies always look for plurality in narratives about certain events. Instead of looking for one dominant narrative, narrative studies try to show several stories about reality, as lived by the narrators (Dormans, 2008). It assumes that people tell the same event in different ways because they interpret it in different ways. Instead of reducing the data to one dominant voice, it is the aim of this research to let the different voices ‘speak’ (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). Furthermore the narrative approach also pays attention to the author of the narrative (Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997 in: Dormans, 2008).

Fourth, as already became clear in the introduction of this section, narratives are not seen as unproblematic (naïve) representations of reality. Narratives are reconstructions of reality made by a narrator, and not reality itself (Vandsemb, 1995; Dormans, 2008). Taking into
account that meaning is never fixed but always constructed, it assumes that every event has multiple narratives (Taylor & Littleton, 2006). This does not make narratives fiction: they should be seen as reflections of reality and reflections made by certain people. These four characteristics combined lead to the fifth and sixth characteristics.

Fifth, the narrative approach is a bottom up approach since focuses on agency and contingency, multiplicity and everyday life. While Foucauldian and Marxist discourse analysis focus on power structures and the dominant discourse as a grand dominant narrative, which defines the taken for granted world with its business-as-usual, the narrative approach focuses on the multiple narratives shaped by agents with their own agenda’s, but still constrained because they are native speakers of an interpretative repertoire.

Sixth, all these characteristics make the approach more analytically focused, because it focuses on the lower level, and not on the dominant structures (Dormans, 2008). These characteristics position the narrative approach in the field of discursive approaches. In short, both agency and structure are investigated, but agency is not eliminated by the dominant discourse. The general claim of these discursive approaches as presented above is that people are constrained by a structure, a so-called discourse. Both discourse analysis and narrative analysis are about the claim that: “people are constrained by the limited repertoires of available and sanctioned stories that they can use to interpret their experience” (Ezzy, 1998, pp. 247-248).

The narrative approach will form the basis of the theoretical framework of this master thesis. However the neoliberal discourse and policy discourse were also added to this framework and therefore these are explained first.

2.5 NEOLIBERALISM AND POLICY DISCOURSES

2.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Why do policymakers, politicians, entrepreneurs, and artists use the Creative City Repertoire? What are the motives, forces, structures, that move the agents? Although social-linguistic factors like making sense of the world, and meaning are important, other factors are important too. For example, if you ask a policymaker why he or she developed a creative city policy, he or she would not answer: ’in order to make sense of the world’ or ’it is my reconstruction of reality’. That would be ridiculous. However these are the kind of answers the narrative approach provides.

Two important structures that seem to influence the creative city are the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse. Is the creative city just a new form of neoliberalism or is the creative city also formed by urban policy, local initiatives and principles not directly based on neoliberalism? In other words: are all creative city concepts part of neoliberalism or based on neoliberal ideology? Some critics of Richard Florida’s work, say that the only function of his work is to promote the neoliberal agenda, but is that correct? Jamie Peck (2004) noticed that creative city policies actually co-operate:

work quietly with the grain of extant ‘neoliberal’ development agendas, framed around interurban competition, gentrification, middle-class consumption and place-marketing — quietly, in the sense that the banal nature of urban creativity strategies in practices drowned out by the hyperbolic and overstated character of Florida’s sales pitch, in which the arrival of the Creative Age takes the form of an unstoppable social revolution. (Peck, 2005, p. 741)

Also Barnes, Waitt, Gill & Gibson (2006) state that the work of Richard Florida builds on the neoliberal urban planning discourse, as described by Harvey (1989) as the entrepreneurial city located in global economy with a deregulatory agenda of neoliberal ideology (Harvey,
1989 in: Barnes, Waitt, Gill, & Gibson, 2006). Gibson and Klockner (2005) even state that in regional development ‘creativity’ is fully neoliberalized. They argue that:

in this more recent ‘turn’ in regional economic development discourse, creativity is a key concept appropriated by governments because of its ability to act as a catalyst in the cultural transition of individuals from ‘citizens’ into ‘entrepreneurs’ and ‘consumers’, the ‘idealised companions’ of the neoliberal state: ‘liberated, independent and competitive subjects. (Peck, 2004, p. 395; Gibson & Klocker, 2005)

Others like Andy Pratt (2005) state there is a tension between the cultural industries which work for profit and the cultural sector which is not for profit. Both are under the umbrella of the creative city (Pratt, 2005). Some are obviously commercially orientated, others distance themselves from that. The point is that the creative industries bring in certain market values, while some artists like anarchism, experimentation and independence, which are contrary to the neoliberal agenda. And there are more parts of the Creative City Repertoire that do not fit in neoliberalism. This suggests that the creative city is also about phenomena that are not part of the neoliberal discourse. For example, Charles Landry’s approach of the creative city was a call for open-mindedness and imagination in urban planning (Landry 2005 in: Franke & Verhagen, 2005).

2.5.2 Neoliberalism versus policy discourse

Although it is argued that policy in general and the creative city in specific is a derivative of the neoliberal discourse, or even part of the neoliberal discourse, this is highly disputed. Within geography there clearly is a revival of investigating the deeper political-economic context of the ‘policy-making process’, for example in order to understand the relationship between ‘globalization’, localization and the restructuring of the national state (Peck, 2001). The influence of the neoliberal discourse on urban policy is also subject to debate within economic geography (Peet & Hartwick, 1999; Peck, 2001; Brenner & Theodor, 2002; Peck, 2004; Harvey, 2005; Cerny, 2009). Neoliberalism is the dominant discourse, and Cerny (2009) speaks of a “embedded neoliberal consensus” in governance (Cerny, 2009, p. 25).

However this is highly disputed. The question is whether policy is just derivative of the neoliberal discourse, or whether the government apparatus with its own policy discourse also influences policy. In other words, policy is not just a derivative but a co-constitutive of broader discourses, interpretative repertoires and practices (Lagendijk, Arts, & Van Houtum, 2009). In terms of this investigation, the different social contexts like the local municipality or local citizens can also influence the discourse. For example, in becoming best practices, local practices can eventually be added to the discourse by the municipalities, making policy co-constitutive of broader discourses.

Prior to my analysis, I assume that policy is a co-constitutive of broader discourses, such as the policy discourse and the governmental practices within the municipality.

2.5.3 The neoliberal discourse

But first, what is neoliberalism? “The linchpin of neoliberal ideology is the belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development” (Brenner & Theodor, 2002, p. 350). Rooted in the writings of Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, neoliberalism became popular in the late 1970’s as a response to the then economic recession. While Thatcher and Reagan governments developed rather extreme programmes of neoliberal reconstruction in the 1980’s, more moderate programmes were developed in Canada and European countries like The Netherlands, France, Italy and Sweden (Brenner & Theodor, 2002). Harvey (2005) gives a wide-ranging definition that gives a proper first impression:
Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit. (Harvey, 2005, p. 2)

This results in a government with the following characteristics as described by Peet and Hartwick (1999):

- Fiscal discipline: the effective capping of government budget deficits;
- public expenditure priorities: should focus on supply-side investments not on social; amelioration or progressive redistribution;
- tax reform: rates should be held down and incentives sharpened;
- financial liberalization: interest rates and capital flows should be market determined;
- exchange rates: rates should be sufficiently competitive to induce rapid growth in non-traditional exports;
- trade liberalization: quantitative restrictions on imports should be removed;
- foreign direct investment: barriers to the entry of foreign firms should be abolished;
- privatization: state enterprises should be returned to private ownership;
- deregulation: governments should abolish regulations restricting competition;
- property rights: legal systems should ensure property rights without excessive costs

(Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 52)

Critical geographers stated that the creative industries are in fact the latest step in the commodification of culture, as already described by Adorno and Horkheimer in 1948 (O’Connor, 2007; Prince, 2010a). The creative city and its related concepts is used by a neoliberal state apparatus that is: “intent on creating markets that can govern culture through their particular incentives and constraints, while opening new territories for capitalist exploitation” (Prince, 2010a, p. 120).

In these kinds of accounts, the rapid diffusion of the creative industries policy concept can be put down to their possibilities for forming and exploiting intellectual property, their role in the revaluation of especially urban spaces, and the relatively low cost of implementing the policy in relation to their potential gain. Within the longue durée of capitalist expansion, the diffusion of creative industries policy matches the shift to the consumption of images and spectacles that marks the exhaustion of the present accumulation regime as a productive force. (Ross 2007 in: Prince, 2010a, p. 121)
These considerations led to the following framework for the evaluation, as shown in table 2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neoliberalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>Entrepreneurial values</strong>: entrepreneurial values are part of / essential for a policy/narrative/IR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <strong>Create markets</strong>: the government creates new markets (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <strong>Limited state intervention</strong>: the state should not disturb the market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <strong>Fiscal discipline</strong>: the effective capping of government budget deficits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <strong>Public expenditure priorities</strong>: should focus on supply-side investments not on social amelioration or progressive redistribution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <strong>Tax reform</strong>: rates should be held down and incentives sharpened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <strong>Financial liberalization</strong>: interest rates and capital flows should be market determined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <strong>Exchange rates</strong>: rates should be sufficiently competitive to induce rapid growth in non-traditional exports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <strong>Trade liberalization</strong>: quantitative restrictions on imports should be removed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. <strong>Foreign direct investment</strong>: barriers to the entry of foreign firms should be abolished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. <strong>Privatization</strong>: state enterprises should be returned to private ownership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. <strong>Deregulation</strong>: governments should abolish regulations restricting competition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. <strong>Property rights</strong>: legal systems should ensure property rights without excessive costs (Peet &amp; Hartwick, 1999, p. 52)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE**

Of course neoliberalism is a very complex movement which cannot be reduced to 14 points. However, these characteristics form the starting point for a systematic analysis of the current interpretative repertoire in Leiden and Amsterdam. Furthermore, it has by no means a quantitative value. In this way the influence of the neoliberal discourse is on the social contexts in Amsterdam and Leiden can be analysed.

### 2.5.4 THE POLICY DISCOURSE

The policy discourse is not different from the neoliberal discourse in terms of what it is. A policy discourse consists of: “a specific ensemble of ideas, categorisations and narratives that is being produced, reproduced and/or transformed in policy practices” (Hajer, 1995 in: Arnouts & Arts, 2009, p. 206). A policy discourse also contains practices. This makes a policy discourse an entity of “repeatable linguistic articulations, social-spatial material practice and power rationality configurations” (Richardson & Jensen, 2003, p. 16).

The policy discourse determines how policy is made and indeed affects the content of policy. Therefore, policy is not merely a derivative of the dominant neoliberal discourse, but co-produces this policy with the discourse (Lagendijk, Arts, & Van Houtum, 2009). For example, the general principles of good governance and other moral considerations within the national government, the province and the municipality ensure that the sharp edges of the neoliberal discourse are cut. From the policy discourse one can observe a shift from the manager role/welfare state role towards a more entrepreneurial role of the (municipal) government (Brenner, 2009, p. 44).

The policy transfer approach is in line with the policy discourse. According Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) knowledge, ideas concepts, and policy travel via institutions:

Policy transfer; emulation and lesson drawing all refer to a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place. (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996, p. 344)
Thanks to the increased modes of communication, policy transfers are taking place more than ever, and Prince (2010) state that the creative industries are a good example of this phenomenon:

The rapid diffusion of creative industries policy is the result of so many policymakers, activists, council and government officers, cultural entrepreneurs, researchers, and academics from so many places being able to incorporate the concept into their political, cultural, economic, and social projects. (Prince, 2010a, p. 121)

In short, policy developed in one place is transferred to another place in order to solve problems there. In order to transfer the creative city from one place to another, the creative city should become what the anthropologists Collier & Ong (2006) call a global form (Collier & Ong, 2005).

Global phenomena are not unrelated to social and cultural problems. But they have a distinctive capacity for decontextualization and recontextualization, abstractability and movement, across diverse social and cultural situations and spheres of life. Global forms are able to assimilate themselves to new environments, to code heterogeneous contexts and objects in terms that are amenable to control and valuation. At the same time, the conditions of possibility of this movement are complex. Global forms are limited or delimited by specific technical infrastructures, administrative apparatuses, or value regimes, not by the vagaries of a social or cultural field. (Collier & Ong, 2005, p. 11)

This approach implies that the local government has more ‘agency’ and is not just performing the discourse. Governments can adapt and apply global forms, even when they are not part of the neoliberal discourse. In this thesis global concepts and global forms are seen as the same thing.

The policy discourse determines how policy is made and affects the content of policy by adapting and applying global forms. Therefore, policy is not merely a derivative of the dominant neoliberal discourse, but co-constitutes this policy with the discourse (Lagendijk, Arts, & Van Houtum, 2009). These considerations led to the following framework for the evaluation of the creative city as an interpretative repertoire as presented in table 2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A policy discourse consists of a specific ensemble of a specific ensemble of ideas, categorisations and narratives that is being produced, reproduced and/or transformed in policy practices (Hajer 1995 in: Arnouts &amp; Arts, 2009, p. 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Global forms: Parts of the narrative/IR/ policy are based on a global form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Local initiatives: the initiative is local and not based on a policy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2-2 CHARACTERISTICS OF POLICY DISCOURSE

Of course the policy discourse is a very complex phenomenon which cannot be reduced to five points. However, these points form the starting point for a systematic analysis of the current interpretative repertoire in Leiden and Amsterdam. Furthermore, it has by no means any quantitative value. In this way the influence of the policy discourse is on the social contexts in Amsterdam and Leiden can be analysed.
2.6 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section the theoretical framework is presented that is used to investigate and subsequently analyse the creative city. The theoretical framework is the lens through which the creative city will be seen and should meet the research objective and research questions. It is important to keep in mind that these analytical concepts are relational and not hierarchal.

2.6.1 THE INTERPRETATIVE REPERTOIRE

Firstly an interpretative repertoire (IR) functions as a social linguistic lexicon. It is: “a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterise actions or events” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 138). In the words of Edley (as cited in Dormans, 2009):

They (IRs) are relatively coherent ways of talking about subjects and events in the world ‘They are the building blocks of conversation’, a range of linguistic resources that can be drawn upon and utilized in the course of everyday social interaction. (Edney, 2001 in: Dormans, 2008, pp. 19-20)

When people speak of a particular topic and add meaning to their environment they always make a selection, based on this lexicon. In this way interpretative repertoire is actively formed by agents who make new selections, changing the initial meaning of the terms, metaphors and concepts. At the same time however, the agent is constrained by the content of the lexicon. It results in a relative coherent ways of talking.

This all takes place in a conversation, within a particular social environment, called a social context, for example a family, home or the community (Wylie, 2006). Since Interpretative repertoires are made up in a social context, it is a social construct (Austin, 1962 in: Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Cortazzi, 1994). IR influences the social context, but the IR is also influenced via narratives by the social context. Thanks to new selections and arrangements, the introduction of new terms, metaphors and concepts, the IR can change. The social context, as a social and cultural framework of interpretation has a direct connection with the repertoire. Interpretative repertoires therefore can change.

Important here is that a repertoire does not have a one-to-one relationship with a social group. Repertoires are available to members of many different groups (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In short, an IR constrains, enables, constructs, reconstruct, determines drawn upon and utilized in the course of everyday social interaction to actions or events.
Thanks to this, an IR as in Figure 2-1 can reveal how people are enticed or enculturated in to particular ways of understanding the world and can be used in order to explore the social or cultural understandings and connections that shape and enable talk and are assumed to be common to different speakers (Edley, 2001; Taylor, 2003). The analytical concept helps to reveal the ways in which this relatively coherent ways of talking constrains and enables, constructs, reconstruct, determines reality and how people are constrained in their talking about a topic. It also reveals how IR is drawn upon and utilized in the course of everyday social interaction to actions or events.

Moreover, by analysing the creative city as an IR, this approach reveals how the creative city influences agents, narratives and thereby practices in different places as a discursive phenomenon, (Wang, 2004; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). It is an international repertoire that is applied in different social contexts.

In this way the use of IR make clear how the common understandings of the world are used in different places and social contexts, and thereby shows how narratives about the creative city in different places and different social context still can be related to each other.

**2.6.2 THE NARRATIVES AND EMPLOMENT**

By constructing narratives, people endow their events and lives with meaning. The narrative is selection out of the IR and therefore a reconstruction of reality rather than reality itself. Narratives can represent, reflect, distort, invent or evade reality. Narratives are thus reconstructions of reality, made by a narrator, and not reality itself (Vandsemb, 1995; Dormans, 2008).

The (selective) narrative is written down in terms, metaphors and concepts. These selections and arrangement made by the agent is called emplotment. The agent has a social lexicon (IR) to select his building blocks for the conversation, but the agent makes the selection and arrangement. In doing so he creates a new reconstruction of reality, and adds new meaning to the terms, metaphors and concepts of the social lexicon (IR). Via rephrasement he can add to the lexicon and via contextualisation and adaptation he can change the meaning of the concept. Along these lines, emplotment is the agency site of the production of narratives and thus representation.

However, the selection is made within a social context which influences people and meaning. Language is a social practice and narratives are the product of this social practice (Austin, 1962 in: Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In this way, the social context cannot be separated from
the text or conversation because meaning as a part of social practices is always constructed and situated in specific context (Potter, Wetherell, Gill, & Edwards, 1990).

Because narratives can represent, reflect, distort, invent or evade reality and change meaning, narratives also influence the interpretive repertoire. Via narratives, new items can be added to the social lexicon, the IR. This is the essential link between language and social context, which is captured in IR. This is displayed in figure 2-2.

![Figure 2-2 Narrative](image.png)

**2.6.3 SOCIAL CONTEXTS**

The social context can be defined at different levels:

These include the immediate interactive context, such as an interview, and the larger context invoked in rhetorical work, including what (Mishler & Elliot, 1999, p. 18) calls the ‘social and cultural frameworks of interpretation’, that is, the prevailing meanings and assumptions given by the speaker’s society and cultures. (Taylor & Littleton, 2006, p. 26)

In this research the focus is on the social and cultural frameworks of interpretation. It consists of the culture that he or she was educated and/or lives in, and the people and institutions with whom the person interacts. People within a social context are likely to think, speak and write in quite similar styles and patterns.

Spatially, social contexts are the places where social contexts are located. The academic context for example is located mainly at universities, or private studies at home, congresses, research centres and so on. Academics work at specific places, so this is relatively easy. Other social contexts are harder to demarcate. In fact, the social contexts overlap each other spatially and socially. People are part of different social contexts which are often but not necessary at different locations.

As a result, social contexts differ per place and per social group and as a result language also differs in the same way. In this research the word ‘social’ of social context is often dropped. For analytical purposes, I defined three social contexts for this research:

First, the international **academic context** is the social context of scientists all over the world that investigate and publish about the creative city. Within the academic context, there are
different international authors who wrote about the creative city. In this research, their work, both articles and books, are seen as narratives that all contribute to the creative city interpretative repertoire. Next to the international academic context, there is also a national policy context defined in this research. Here international academic sources are used to develop policy for Dutch cities.

The national policy context is the second social context. According to Prince: “A wider perspective is then adopted to consider the emergence of a variegated policy community of creative industries experts at a transnational level” (Coleman & Perl, 1999; Richardson, 2000; Stone, 2008 in: Prince, 2010a, p. 121). Apart from scientist, policymakers and politicians this group is supported “by an emerging infrastructure of conferences, publications, and organizations that are engaged with the creative industries concept and continue to develop and apply it” (Coleman & Perl, 1999; Richardson, 2000; Stone, 2008 in: Prince, 2010a, p. 121). Together this is called the national policy context. Although both academic and policy oriented, they have a common national focus. Of course these are overlapping, but this is done for analytical reasons.

The urban policy contexts are the policy contexts of the municipalities. These are the context in which politicians, policymakers, aldermen, majors and city servants’ work. They develop all kinds of policies and strategies for the city, and use the creative city as a source.

The local contexts are city based or even neighbourhood based. It consists of the city dwellers and their infrastructure, such as networks, political parties and committees. I decided to distinguish this local context in order to show how city dwellers, independent of the local government use the creative city. The local context is place bound: the people of Leiden who do care about their city and the people of Amsterdam who have their own city.

2.6.4 Different domains

The interpretative repertoire has different spatial domains, just like the social context. In the specific case of a global form, the domain is the whole world. The global forms of the Creative City Repertoire can travel on all spatial levels. The IRs, narratives and social context are all related to each other, but the spatial outcomes differ per place since meaning is always created in a specific social context and therefore a specific place (Austin, 1962 in: Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

The Creative City Repertoire is picked up by different social contexts and serves different interests and leads to different spatial outcomes. The agent makes a selection of the out of the IR, and in this way creates a new representation that orders the world linking different activities, and practices, hiding others, and crafts a lens through which the world can be viewed (Latour, 1993; Gibson-Graham, 1996; Mitchell, 2002; MacKenzie, 2006 in: Prince, 2010a). Subsequently this affects the spatial planning, because the agent’s selections functions as a lens.

As already stated by Peck (2001) the spatial outcomes of such a policy, being neoliberal or not, differ per place and social context. The approach reveals an uneven process of restructuring in what Peck calls the global political economy (Peck, 2001). This approach reveals how the Creative City Repertoire with several ‘global forms’ in it, are used all over the world, but still, thanks to selections made by local actors out of the IR on the one side and the distinctive capacity for decontextualization, recontextualization, abstractability and movement across diverse social context of ‘global forms’ on the other side, leads to new local forms of the creative city.

In order to map the Creative City Repertoire, I assume different spatial domains. At first, an IR or at least parts of it can be global. It is what Collier and Ong call a global form (Collier & Ong, 2005). A global form is based on technical principles, rather than on a subjective context, in fact it claims to be universal. In this thesis global forms and global concepts are the same thing. Furthermore, thanks to its capacity for decontextualisation and recontextualisation, abstractability and movement, across diverse social and cultural situations, a global form spreads (Collier, 2006 in: Prince, 2010a).
Second is the national domain. This is the domain of one country. Within a country interpretative repertoires or concepts can travel as well. The concept of ‘best practice’ is a proper example of this. Municipalities are always looking for best practices as a possible new policy.

Last is the local context. Some concepts are invented on the local scale. Within the local context, a new concept is invented. Subsequently such a concept can become national or global.

By investigating the creative city as an IR, it is investigated what the meaning of the creative city in the academic-, national policy-, urban policy- and local social contexts is, and subsequently how an global IR is interpreted, rephrased and applied in urban domain and local domain. Third, by investigating two cases, possible differences and similarities can be analysed. Interpretative repertoires, narratives, emplotment are used to map and subsequently analyse the creative city. This theoretical framework can be summarized in the following figure 2-3.

![Theoretical Framework](image)

FIGURE 2-3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
2.5.5 **NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE AND POLICY DISCOURSE**

Last, the two frameworks of the Neoliberal discourse and policy discourse are used to critically analyse the current narratives and the Creative City Repertoire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neoliberal discourse</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Entrepreneurial values: entrepreneurial values are part of /essential for a policy/narrative/IR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Limited state intervention: the state should not disturb the the market</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fiscal discipline: the effective capping of government budget deficits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Public expenditure priorities: should focus on supply-side investments not on social amelioration or progressive redistribution.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tax reform: rates should be held down and incentives sharpened.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Financial liberalization: interest rates and capital flows should be market determined.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Exchange rates: rates should be sufficiently competitive to induce rapid growth in non-traditional exports.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Trade liberalization: quantitative restrictions on imports should be removed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Foreign direct investment: barriers to the entry of foreign firms should be abolished.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Privatization: state enterprises should be returned to private ownership.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Deregulation: governments should abolish regulations restricting competition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Property rights: legal systems should ensure property rights without excessive costs (Peet &amp; Hartwick, 1999, p. 52)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2-3 NEOLIBERAL FRAMEWORK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy discourse</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A policy discourse consists of a specific ensemble of a specific ensemble of ideas, categorisations and narratives that is being produced, reproduced and/or transformed in policy practices (Hajer 1995 in: Arnouts &amp; Arts, 2009, p. 206)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Global forms: Parts of the narrative/IR/ policy are based on a global form.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Non-neoliberal principles: principles for a narrative/IR? Policy are derived from other’s than the neoliberalism.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Local initiatives: the initiative is local and not based on a policy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2-1 POLICY DISCOURSE FRAMEWORK**

Both will serve as a tool to search for neoliberal and policy discourse influences in the current Creative City Repertoire, since the two frameworks consists of the characteristics of both discourses. In this way a critical and systematically analysis will take place.

In this chapter a theoretical framework was developed in order to meet the research objective and to provide the theoretical lens through which the creative city can be focussed on in order to answer the research questions. After a discussion of the different theories, the interpretive repertoire, narrative and emplotment as well as the different social contexts were selected as analytical concepts. The theories of neoliberalism and policy discourse were chosen as the basis for a critical evaluation of the Creative City Repertoire. The Creative City Repertoire was mapped, and analysed with the use of different methods and strategies that will be presented in the chapters 3 and 4.
3. METHODS

3.1 INTRODUCTION
In this chapter, it is explained how the narrative approach is applied. In general, the potential vagueness in qualitative research is great. Baxter and Eyles (1997) argue that qualitative geographers should be more explicit about their research methods and their research process. They made a review of 31 empirical and 18 substantive papers by geographers who used qualitative methods, mainly interviews and found little evidence of principles used in doing in-dept interviews. It seems that ‘qualitative geographers’ were more focussed on what principles not to use (quantitative methods) instead of looking for qualitative criteria for doing research (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). Lees (2003) adds that it is very important to make methodology in qualitative research explicit she advocates a debate about qualitative methods (Lees, 2003).

Second, she also wants to open qualitative research to ‘outside scrutiny’ so that a formal discussion is possible (Lees, 2003). In general, qualitative geographers should be more open and less opaque about the methods in their research. Therefore, this chapter is devoted to methods and methodology. In chapter 4, my actual research strategies are described. I have tried to create transparency in methodology, strategies and assumptions. I will explain the following research model.

3.2 MULTIPLE CASE STUDY STRATEGY
In order to analyse how the creative city is interpreted in different places, I decided to follow a qualitative and interpretative multiple case study design. In this design, the focus is on how meaning is given to the creative city through narratives and consequently how a Creative City Repertoire is formed and maintained. This leads to a interpretative investigation (Van den Brink, 2009).
An interpretative approach means going back and forth through data, theory and method, making it a difficult and iterative process. A case study design fits this approach best, since it primarily is a flexible and cyclic process that can also be characterized as ‘progressive focussing’ (Van den Brink, 2009, p. 49). Its primary focus on interpretation makes it a proper method for this research, fitting both the research question and the theoretical approach. Furthermore the advantage of a case study design is the degree of freedom that makes it possible to adapt the investigation during the research. If, for example bottom up information gives reason for a change in the design, than this is possible (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

Apart from being flexible and iterative, a multiple case study is a strategy where a case is investigated in a very holistic manner. A case study should maximize what can be learned about a case (Stake, 1995). The design can provide a rich, deep insight into the Creative City Repertoire, and that is needful if one wants investigate the interpretation of the creative city (Van den Brink, 2009). In this way, it studies the phenomenon in depth. (Yin, 2003; Flick, 2006; Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2008). Moreover, to understand the repertoire of the creative city a qualitative design is necessary. The aim of this investigation is not to look for causal relations but to map and to understand the creative city as an interpretative repertoire. With a case study we can really ‘dive’ into the subject of investigation and its context in order to understand it (Yin, 2003).

Next, this will be a multiple case study design, since the research question is about the creative city concepts in two Dutch cities. I am looking for differences in the use of the Creative City Repertoire and differences within the repertoire itself. The assumption is that repertoires, narratives and meaning differ per place. Yin (2003) advocates multiple case studies because it makes comparison between the different cases possible, and sometimes even generalisation (Yin, 2003).

Although Robert Stake (1995) argues that the real business of the case study is particularisation and not generalisation, comparison between different cases can be very valuable at the same time (Stake, 1995). This is the so-called paradox of the case study design (Dormans, 2008). In this research I might generalise the Creative City Repertoire, but comparing the different repertoires can also provide new insides. At the same time I want to study the different cases in depth.

Unfortunately, generalization is a problematic concept, because of its multiple meanings and its positivistic roots (Dormans, 2008). Following this, Yin (2003) distinguishes between statistical and analytical generalization. Of course, generalization of one case study is not equal to statistical generalisation because cases are not ‘sampling units’. Therefore statistical generalisation should not be chosen (Yin, 2003). Analytical generalization means generalize a set of results to a broader theory (Yin, 2003 in: Dormans, 2008). Although generalisation thus is not the aim of this research, comparison between the different cities is. Last, every place has its own unique context. It follows that multiple cases are needed in order to answer the question because this allows comparison (Yin, 2003).

Selection of cases
The strength of a case study design depends on the selected cases (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Consequently, the quality of the investigation depends on the selection of appropriate cases (Flick, 2006). Flyvbjerg (2001) speaks of extreme or atypical cases. This means that an extreme example is chosen in order to collect more relevant data. The approach of selecting extreme cases assumes that an extreme case will reveal more information because they activate more actors and underlying mechanisms (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Therefore extreme cases will be selected. The selection is made in the next chapter following this principle.

3.3 AN INTERPRETATIVE METHOD
3.3.1 Four interpretative moments

With the multiple case study design selected, a proper interpretative analysis has to be developed for this research. Yanow (2006) states that there are four ‘interpretative moments’ in a research project (Yanow, 2006b). Margot van den Brink (2009) summarizes this as follows:

First, interpretation operates at the level of the situational actor and/or the researcher experiencing an event or setting, for example through participatory observations. These first hand experiences enable initial and provisional sense-making, which is followed by the interpretation of material that is secondary to these experiences, such as reports, newspaper articles and interview transcripts. During this second interpretive moment, the researcher aims to corroborate, refute or revise the first-hand interpretations. The third interpretive moment consists of the analysis and writing down of the accessed and generated data. Instead of being merely a limited part of the research process, the written down of results itself is seen as a way of ‘world making’ and as a method for extending and further developing the interpretations. Finally, the fourth interpretive moment takes place during the reading or hearing of the research report. ‘Member checks’ involve presenting draft texts to actor for further confirmation and further illumination (see also Stake, 1995).

This is summarized in table 3-1, presented below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 interpretative moments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 levels of interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Situational actor/researcher experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Interpretation of secondary material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Analysis and writing down results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Reading and hearing of the research report</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3-1 INTERPRETATIVE MOMENTS

Despite this interpretive methods, interpretive scholars and interpretive methods in general are often accused of being nor rigorous, nor objective (Van den Brink, 2009). Interpretative research is often held accountable to criteria from positivist presuppositions. Positivism has rejected interpretive philosophies as applicable to human sciences long ago (Yanow, 2006a). Therefore it does not come as a surprise that interpretive approaches do not meet positivist criteria like internal validity, external validity, generalizability, reliability and objectivity.

Apart from that interpretive methods: “are not aimed at discovering the truth, at testing hypothesis, at identifying depend and independent variables, at defining causal relations between these variable, or at indicating how they can be measured” (Van den Brink, 2009, p. 50). Ergo, different aims need different criteria.

In this research I use qualitative criteria which are in fact more sufficient to judge qualitative research since qualitative research in many ways differs from quantitative research. One of
the first attempts to create qualitative/interpretative criteria was made by Guba and Lincoln (1985), who disagreed with the possibility of universal (positivist) criteria. They developed four evaluative criteria in order to judge the ‘trustworthiness’ of research. (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). These will be introduced in the following section.

3.4 CRITERIA FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

3.4.1 Trustworthiness

In order to make rules explicit and to judge this research I used the criterion of trustworthiness of Guba and Lincoln (1985):

The basis issue in relation to trustworthiness is simple: How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the finds of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of? What arguments can be mounted, what criteria invoked, what questions asked, that would be persuasive on this issue? Conventionally, inquirers have found it useful to pose four questions to themselves? (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 290)

The trustworthiness of Lincoln and Guba has four elements: creditability, transferability, dependable and conformability (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). “To realise this, the researcher have to be as open and transparent as possible about the steps they take throughout the research process” (Van den Brink, 2009, p. 51). So following the critique of Baxter and Eyles (1997) and Lees (2003), I will try to make rules, criteria and techniques explicit. First of all, this is done in chapter 4, called Analytical Strategies.

3.4.2 Credibility

Credibility is the benchmark of authentic representations of experience (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). “This may be defined as the degree to which a description of human experience is such that those having the experience would recognize it immediately and those outside the experience can understand it” (Baxter & Eyles, 1997, p. 512).

If we apply credibility to the creative city, it is questioned whether this research reflects the Creative City Repertoire as it really is experienced by the people involved in the creative city. The goal of this research is to represent the realities of people attached to the creative city in an adequate way. Therefore not only academic but also ordinary people who construct and use the Creative City Repertoire in the first place should understand the (reconstruction) of reality (Baxter & Eyles, 1997).

In order to achieve credibility, the whole coding is done bottom up because I wanted to let the data speak of itself. An important technique is in vivo coding in Atlas-ti where the name of the code is actually derived from the text. So for example there is a code called: ‘culture should embrace the economy’, this was actually stated by one of the interviewees. In this way, credibility is achieved.

3.4.3 Transferability

Transferability is about the question whether what is found fits within contexts outside the study situation (Baxter & Eyles, 1997, p. 515). If one wants to reconstruct the Creative City Repertoire in different cities, transferability is important. To what extent is the repertoire of Amsterdam, also the repertoire of Leiden, or can the results of this investigation be used for Rotterdam, The Hague, Hamburg or New York? Although there is a case study paradox, I at least compare the different cities to each other in order to achieve some transferability.

A second technique is so-called ‘thick’ descriptions. “This term, which was popularized by Clifford Geertz in 1973, refers to providing descriptive data that are so sufficient that users of
you research report can judge whether the findings are applicable to their own settings” (Dormans, 2008, p. 39). Therefore, I will provide thick descriptions of the different cases, illustrating them with quotes. Also think description is used in the writing up of the dominant academic repertoires. Besides that, chapter 5 will provide information about the data collection and the research process.

3.4.4 Dependability
Dependability refers to the repeatability of research findings and their accessibility to other researchers (Dormans, 2008). It thus is about the minimization of idiosyncrasies in interpretation and means that variability should be tracked to identifiable sources (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). In order to achieve dependability I use a bottom up approach. I have tried to stay close to the text, and let the data ‘speak for itself’.

3.4.5 Confirmability
Confirmability is about the question to what extent biases, motivations, interest or perspectives of the investigator influence the interpretations of the findings (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). During this research I wrote memos and kept a research diary. From these files I composed chapter 5 which describes the different stages of this research very clearly. Also the qualitative database will be provided on CD-ROM. In this way colleagues can have a look at the raw data material (Yin, 2003). Atlas-ti helps because it is possible to write extensive memos. It does encourage reflection and writing on your method. Besides achieving trustworthiness, triangulation also helps to improve the research.

3.4.6 Method triangulation
Triangulation is related to credibility, but it is not exactly the same. First, there is the triangulation of methods. “Triangulation means combining several qualitative methods, but it also means combining qualitative and quantitative methods” (Flick, 2006, p. 36). By using different methods, the investigator tries to get deeper insights into the object of investigation. In this way it can be confirmed whether the interpretation is really correct. The methods and or complement each other, filling in each other’s blind spots. In case study research, triangulation also gives a better holistic view on the topic and is therefore essential in case study design. (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007; Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2008).
In this research different methods were used: semi-structured interviews, coding, and desk research. The desk research of the academic publications was a top down strategy while the coding and interviews were more bottom-up. In this way, the cases were investigated from different angles and with different techniques.

3.4.7 Data triangulation
Triangulation can also be achieved in the data. The different data sources complement each other, filling in each other’s blind spots and thereby give a better holistic view (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). By using different ways of collecting data, and using different sources of data, the internal validity is improved. For this research I used: policy documents, interview transcripts, newspaper articles, websites and academic publications. In this way I tried to achieve conformability.

Apart from data triangulation and method triangulation Denzin (1989) distinguishes also investigator triangulation and theory triangulation (Denzin, 1989 in: Flick, 2006). These are not used for practical reasons. A master thesis is an individual project per definition and theory triangulation takes too much time.

Last the use of triangulation should not be overrated. The problem defines the method, and using different methods per se, leads to a kind of eclecticism which has nothing to do with
doing proper research. A new method should only be introduced if it has a function within the research (Flick, Von Kardorff, & Steinke, 2008). The aim in this research thus is to use different data-sources and methods in such a way that different voices and techniques are used.

3.5 CODING IN ATLAS-TI

3.5.1 Introduction

Atlas-ti is a qualitative computer program that is used for coding documents. It provides a systematic and extended ways of coding texts. In short, Atlas-ti helps to meet the criteria of trustworthiness, dependability, conformability, transferability and credibility. Atlas –ti is no panacea, it provides a systematic way of coding and thereby makes it easier to meet the qualitative criteria. In this section Atlas-ti is explained. After that, it is discussed in terms of criteria for qualitative research.

3.5.2 Representation

According to Flick (2006) texts serve three purposes in qualitative research. First texts are the essential data on which findings are based. Second they are also the basis of interpretations. Third, texts are the central medium for presenting and communicating findings (Flick, 2006). The texts are used as a substitute for reality and this is problematic, because it is difficult to determine how they are used, read and though off. Flick (2006) speaks in this case of the crisis of representation:

In terms of the crisis of representation, and as a consequence of the linguistic turn in the social sciences, it is doubted that social researchers can "directly capture lived experience". Such experience, it is now argued, is created in the social text written by the researcher. This is the crisis of representation………..makes the direct link between experience and texts problematic. (Flick, 2006, p. 76)

However, texts are often the only source available for academics and Atlas-ti can help to overcome most of these difficulties. The advantages of using computer programs like Atlas-ti are increasingly recognized because they meet the criteria of trustworthy interpretations (Van den Brink, 2009). Although many programs are around I chose Atlas-ti, version 5.5 because this program is the only program available at the university.

All these programs support different kinds of qualitative textual analysis, in general known as ‘coding’. Glaser and Strauss, who developed ‘grounded theory’, laid the foundations of this method (Van den Brink, 2009). Grounded theory starts from empirical data to create theoretical categories or concepts. Coding involves the disaggregation of data into text units that can be categorized within a classification system (Wickham & Woods, 2005). This makes coding a bottom up approach. As a result, many computer programs are based on grounded theory and are able to conduct this kind of research. As with every program, Atlas-ti has both advantages and disadvantages. The main advantages of Atlas-ti are the speed and the search function, and a proper way of storing data in one file.

3.5.3 Introduction to Atlas-ti 5.5

In this section it is explained how the tools of this computer programme are used in order to analyse the creative city and how it supported my analysis. “n general data-analysis software provides tools to search texts, empirical data, to create various types of codes, to retrieve the code sections from the text, and to search for relationships between the codes” (Gibbs, Lewins & Silver, 2005 in: Van den Brink, 2009, p. 58). Following this, Atlas-ti is used in order to analyse interview transcripts and different sorts of documents, like policy plans, websites
texts, newspaper articles and magazine articles. I found it a helpful instrument for searching these data sources, and it also helped to operationalize the conceptual framework, that was developed in the previous chapters.

The hermeneutic unit
The hermeneutic unit (HU) also known as idea container’ is the basis for a project. It is what Yin (2003) calls a case study database (Yin, 2003). Everything that is relevant for this project is attached to the HU. The HU is one electronic data file which contains all the documents and interview transcripts, codes, and memos. Everything what you do in the programme is stored in the hermeneutic unit. In this way, the HU is the database of this research and an important technique to meet the criteria of conformability and dependability. Atlas-ti has two basic operational modes: the textual-level mode and the conceptual-level mode (Van den Brink, 2009, p. 59).

Textual level
The textual level is about the linguistic aspects of text. In this research I focus on this aspect because I use interpretative repertoires which are the connection between language and social context:

Textual level research activities include segmenting the documents and interview transcripts (the ‘primary documents’) into quotations, adding comments or memos to passages, and in the end coding the selected passages to facilitate the analysis. The coding phase is the most important phase of the textual-level work. Codes capture the meaning in the data and they can be used as classification devices at different levels of abstraction to create related information units for comparison. (Van den Brink, 2009, p. 59)

Atlas-ti supports two types of coding. The first one is ‘in vivo coding’. These codes apply to the material itself. The second type is constructed by the researcher from the material. This is a higher level of coding. Another important tool at the textual level is the family tool. The family tool is used to classify the large numbers into subsets. Families can cluster documents, memos and codes (Van den Brink, 2009).

Conceptual level
On the conceptual level, higher level interpretation work can be done. With the use of the Network Editor, the complex relations between quotations, codes, memos and documents can be analysed. These networks can be both about the language (semantic) or about the content (meaning) of the concepts you want to code (Van den Brink, 2009).

A network here is defined as a set of nodes (i.e. objects such as codes) and links (i.e. interrelations) Through virtual mind mapping and networking, it is then possible to visually connect selected and coded passages, memos and codes into diagrams that graphically outline the complex relations between these objects. Relations in the data might be uncovered that were not obvious before. The result of the conceptual-level work is often a written report based on the created semantic networks and the memos written during the various phases of the research project. (Van den Brink, 2009, p. 59)

3.5.4 Pitfalls and difficulties.
As with every computer programme, Atlas-ti also has its pitfalls and difficulties. The risk of failing to understand the assumptions of the programme and using the program in an unreflective manner is the first difficulty Atlas-ti should not be used in a naive way (Yanow, 2006b).
Second, coding is very time consuming and labour-intensive. In the beginning it is hard to start because you have a lot of data. You have to start somewhere, in order to get an overview but very difficult to start from scratch because you do not know where to look at or look for. Therefore it takes a lot of time to develop a consistent coding system.

Third, coping with different languages is not easy. If you are coding in Dutch and write your thesis in English, there is a potential language problem. Translating is also labour intensive and difficult I solved this problem by letting a student of English literature take a look at my translations in their contexts in order to meet the criterion of credibility.

Last the network editor tool provides powerful overviews. However because it is an automatic tool, these networks are not the objective truth (Van den Brink, 2009).

3.6 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

This part of the research is a kind of desk research (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). The research goal is to map the academic part of the creative city interpretative repertoire. Mapping means, to select and to describe the conflicting and overlapping narratives which use and contribute to the Creative City Repertoire. Some authors and publications are more dominant than others, although there is one dominant narrative. This analysis aims at selecting the academic publications on which Creative City Repertoire is based.

It is assumed that the creative city consists of different global forms, but is adapted differently in different places (Prince, 2010a). Therefore I made the distinction between the international academic Creative City Repertoire and the national academic repertoire. This national repertoire in turn influences the urban policy narratives and local narratives about the city. Of course this is done for analytical purposes. In reality some authors are both national and international or both policymaker and scientist at the same time.

Scientists all over the world are part of an academic social context. Based on numerous university campuses and research institutes these people are organised along disciplines and subjects. The creative city as an interpretative repertoire thus is investigated by social scientist from many different places. However their social context, academia is global. The creative city is investigated, criticized and constructed by them.

The academic part of the Creative City Repertoire consists of words, sentences, metaphors, ideas, concepts, thoughts, theories, discussions and debates. It is written down in all kind of academic publications like, books, dissertations, articles, reviews, by social scientists. So in order to describe the creative city as an interpretative repertoire the academic part of it is mapped. Moreover, the narratives made up in the national academic and policy contexts are based on the international academic Creative City Repertoire, but also influence the international academic context with for example best practices. This division is summarized in Figure 3-2, and is similar to the different spatial domains as explained in section 2.6.4.
The links between the national level and the international level are traced and the differences between the international academic repertoire and national narratives are revealed in order to show how the meaning of Interpretative repertoires elements, via emplotment is changed. In chapter 4, the selection process of the academic repertoire will be described. In this section the methods and criteria were written down. In the next chapter I will set forth how I applied these methods.
4. ANALYTICAL STRATEGIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION
In this chapter the three main strategies of this research are described: first, the strategy to investigate and analyse the academic and national policy contexts. Second, the strategy to investigate the cases of Amsterdam and Leiden with the municipal and local social contexts. Last, a comparison of the different cases is described. The aim of this chapter is to make my research process transparent and to provide an insight into possible biases, motivations or interest on my role as a researcher in order to meet the criteria of trustworthiness as described in chapter 3. Also more information on the choices I made during this research with regard to the collection, selection, writing and analysis of the Creative City Repertoire is provided.

Following the extreme cases argument of Flyvbjerg (2001), I selected two completely different cases to acquire relevant and interesting data (Flyvbjerg, 2001). This selection was based on a quick scan on the internet. I used Google, in order to get an overview of possible interesting cases. I read some policy papers, newspaper articles and from there two different cities were selected: Amsterdam and Leiden. The third case is the academic social context, which has a global domain and is analysed without Atlas-ti. First the analytical strategies of the academic context are described, followed by Leiden and Amsterdam.

4.2 THE ACADEMIC CONTEXT STRATEGY
The first case is about the academic context that is the context of scientists all over the world that write about the creative city. The academic context is the first of the four social contexts I distinguish and already was described in section 2.6.3. Besides Florida many other scientists are also involved in this debate. In this research, their work, both articles and books, are seen as narratives that all contribute to the creative city interpretative repertoire. The creative city in particular is an western concept, although some scholars ask whether it also can be applied in East Asia (Wang, 2004). Gradually, the creative city has become a global concept that is applied locally in different ways in order to give a city some uniqueness (Lagendijk & Cornford, 2000; Prince, 2010a). Or in the words of Prince: “globalized through complex processes of engagement in political and technical spheres as various policy actors and networks have sought to enrol the concept in their own political projects” (Prince, 2010a: 119).

The aim is to show how a global concept has become an interpretative repertoire through the contributions of academic scholars, and how the initial concept became a repertoire of different terms, metaphors and concepts and different meanings, constructed through narratives. It follows that the academic part of the Creative City Repertoire should be mapped as described in section 3.6. Subsequently, it should be revealed how the building blocks of the Creative City Repertoire are selected and arranged by national and local agents into new narratives of the creative city. In order to achieve this, a top down strategy is needed. Therefore this strategy towards the academic context differs from the bottom-up strategy of the two cities. Although Atlas-ti is not used in this strategy, the narrative approach still is applied here.

For the sake of the criteria of dependability and confirmability, the selection process is made transparent in this section. The selection of narratives is made as follows by following the four stages of interpretation, as explained in section 3.3 (Van den Brink, 2009, p. 207).

First, I collected the most important academic publications. In the first phase of this master thesis I already did desk research and explorations in order to decide what I wanted to research. This was a good starting point. Besides my own judgment, I looked at the amount
of times the article or book was quoted on Google scholar and looked whether it was used in readers about the urban geography or economic geography, such as for example the Blackwell city reader. I also visited a congress about the creative city and interviewed a publisher who published the first Dutch bundle about the creative city. Subsequently in the other interviews I asked the interviewees about from whom or what they learned from the creative city for the first time. This resulted in the table 4-1 and 4-2 that show how many citations in Google the authors and their publications had in Google scholar and the amount of articles in academic readers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Book/article</th>
<th>Year of publication</th>
<th>Citations in Google</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Florida</td>
<td>The Rise of the Creative Class</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Flight of the Creative Class</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cities and the Creative Class</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Porter</td>
<td>Competitive Advantage of Nations</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>10056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Landry</td>
<td>The Creative City: A toolkit for urban innovators</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Landry and Bianchini</td>
<td>The Creative City</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Hall</td>
<td>Cities in Civilization</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Jacobs</td>
<td>The death and life of Great American Cities</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>5359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The economy of Cities</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>2606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Koestler</td>
<td>The art of Creation</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Czikzentmihalyi</td>
<td>Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>2166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.J. Scott</td>
<td>The Cultural economy of Cities</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Hesmondhalgh, AC Pratt</td>
<td>Cultural Industries and Cultural policy</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4-1 QUOTES IN GOOGLE SCHOLAR, NOVEMBER 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reader</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Blackwell city Reader (Bridge and Watson, 1nd edition, 2002),</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Blackwell city Reader (Bridge and Watson, 2nd edition, 2010),</td>
<td>The Death and Life of Great American cities, Jane Jacobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The City Cultures Reader (Routledge, M Miles, I Borden, T Hall, 2000)</td>
<td>The Death and Life of Great American cities, Jane Jacobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readings in Economic Geography, (Barnes et al, 2004, Blackwell)</td>
<td>None, none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Economy Reader( Amin and Thrift, 2004, Blackwell)</td>
<td>None, None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The urban Sociology Reader( Jan Lin, Christopher Mele, 2005,Routledge)</td>
<td>The Creative Class, Richard Florida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4-2 CREATIVE CITY IN READERS, NOVEMBER 2010**

Second, I checked these selections in the interviews, as presented in table 4-3 at the next page.
Interviewee | City | References to people and books | locations |
---|---|---|---|
1 Robert Marijnissen | Amsterdam | Richard Florida, creative industries policy UK (Charles Leadbeater), Charles Landry, TNO research (Rutten), Pieken in de Delta | Conference at Westergasfabriek, meetings at VROM, discussions about Amsterdam Metropolitan Area |
2 Edwin Oskam | Amsterdam | Richard Florida, Zef Hemel |
3 Zef Hemel | Amsterdam | Richard Florida, Peter Hall, Jonathan Israel, Charles Landry, |
4 Jann de Waal | Amsterdam | Richard Florida |
5 Jeroen Maters | Leiden | Richard Florida, Jeroen Saris, Fleur Gieben, Evert Verhagen, Marlet | Sessions in Meeflabriek with Jeroen Saris 2005, |
6 Jan-Jaap de Haan | Leiden | Richard Florida, Jeroen Maters | Sessions in Meeflabriek with Jeroen Saris 2005 |
7 John Moerland | Leiden | Richard Florida, Jeroen Maters, Jo Coenen, Ab van der Wiel, Lofts from New York, Peter Zumthor | Sessions in Meeflabriek with Jeroen Saris 2005 |
8 Jeannot Waisvisz | Leiden | Richard Florida, Jeroen Saris, Fleur Gieben, Jeroen Maters | Sessions in Meeflabriek with Jeroen Saris 2005 |
10 Esther Ruiten | Arnhem | Richard Florida, Dany Jacobs | Conferences Rotterdam, Arnhem Eindhoven Florida 2005 |

**TABLE 4-3 REFERENCES FROM THE INTERVIEWEES**

Thirdly, within the national academic literature and policy documents, I looked for references to the academic part of the Creative City Repertoire. This is presented in table 4-4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adorno’s culture economy</th>
<th>CI mapping document UK</th>
<th>Jane Jacobs</th>
<th>Peter Hall</th>
<th>Charles Landry &amp; Franco Blanchini</th>
<th>Richard Florida</th>
<th>Ed Glaeser’s human capital</th>
<th>Michel Porter’s clusters</th>
<th>Allan Scott</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TNO</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The City Ltd.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerard Marlet</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franke &amp; Verhagen</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zef Hemel</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 4-4 INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE USED IN NATIONAL LITERATURE**

Fourth, the selected publications were investigated with the analytical framework. This interpretative analysis of the academic context is shown table 4-5 in a summarized form.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research (sub)questions</th>
<th>Analytical tool</th>
<th>operationalization</th>
<th>To be found in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>What is part of the IR, according to the Academic context?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. What are the origins of the creative city?</td>
<td>Interpretative Repertoire</td>
<td>Lexicon, terms, metaphors, concepts, theories, ideas</td>
<td>Academic publications and interview transcripts, debates, discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What are the dominant publications within the IR?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What is stressed on and what is neglected?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What narratives are created on the national policy level, made by national policy context?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. What elements are selected out of the IR?</td>
<td>Interpretative Repertoire</td>
<td>Lexicon, terms, metaphors, concepts, theories, ideas</td>
<td>National academic publications and policies, interview transcripts, debates, discussions, newspaper articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How are the elements plotted by the agent?</td>
<td>Narrative/employment</td>
<td>Rephrasing, adaptation, recontextualisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. In what way differs the narrative from the IR?</td>
<td>Social context</td>
<td>Reflect, distort, invent, evade reality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. In what way represents the narrative reality?</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Role of the agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How is the narrative adapted to the social context</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>To what extent is the current IR influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse?</strong></td>
<td>The role of the agent, why specific choices are made?</td>
<td>Characteristics of neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second social context in this strategy is the national academic and policy context. First I selected the most influential publications and persons of the national Dutch context. This selection again was based on quotes in Google and desk research. I checked this selection during my interviews.

Moreover the national narratives were related to the international academic context, using the analytical concepts of IR, social context, agent and narrative. I systematically described how in the national documents, elements of the international academic context were rephrased and adapted in how this reflected, distorted, invented, or evaded the reality as described in the initial text of the academic context.
The results were written down in chapter 5, which is my attempt to map the dominant repertoires and narratives. The dominant repertoires are the basic ideas of the academics, concerning the creative city and debated in international literature, and were the basis of the national policy repertoires. This is done with the use of thick descriptions, as explained in section 3.4.3. This results in a scheme of the academic context with its relations to the policy and local context which was presented in section 3.5. In this way the criteria of trustworthiness were met.

4.3 The narrative strategy of Amsterdam and Leiden

4.3.1 Introduction

In this strategy, the interpretive scheme of Van den Brink is followed (Van den Brink, 2009). In practice, the selection and reading of the texts goes hand in hand. The different steps are described in this section 4.2. I actually specified the scheme and which results in more steps as is shown in table 4-6. Although the scheme suggests that this research linear which is not the case, because interpretation and ‘progressive focussing’ are pre-eminently iterative (Van den Brink, 2009).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Conceptual framework</th>
<th>Analytical strategies</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Situational actor/researcher experiences</td>
<td>Selection of cases, expert interviews, transcription, writing memos</td>
<td>interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Selection of data per social context and per city</td>
<td>Creating a Hermeneutic Unit in Atlas-ti. Making document families</td>
<td>Coding</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reading text, transcripts and memos</td>
<td>Reading data, writing first thoughts in memos Testing phase coding</td>
<td></td>
<td>Atlas-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Language coding of relevant parts</td>
<td>Coding in vivo, reducing amount of codes by grouping codes into in vitro codes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Reconstructing the narratives per social context</td>
<td>Coding in vitru in Atlas-ti and family tool network manager, Making outputs, Writing up in thick descriptions</td>
<td>thick descriptions</td>
<td>6 and findings report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Analyses of narratives</td>
<td>List neoliberal discourse List policy discourse</td>
<td>Textual analysis</td>
<td>6 and 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Comparing per social context and per city</td>
<td>Atlas Network Manager, manual analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-6 Interpretative Moments

4.3.2 The selection of the cases
In these two cases of Amsterdam and Leiden the narrative approach is used. Amsterdam is often seen as a creative capital in Europe. Besides, Amsterdam is the creative capital of the Netherlands and traditionally known for its tolerance and open atmosphere. According to Florida this is very important for the creative class (Florida, 2002). Amsterdam has by far the biggest creative industry of all Dutch cities (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004). It is a creative hotspot. The selection of Amsterdam as a case is simple: it is the biggest and probably the best organized city in terms of policy for the creative class in the Netherlands.

Leiden is a student city with around 117,000 inhabitants. It is located in the west of the Netherlands, just between Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. In numbers, it is has the second highest numbers of the creative class living there. However, the Creative class often only lives here, and goes to work in Amsterdam, Utrecht or Rotterdam. According to the Municipality of Leiden, most creative people use Leiden as their bedroom and not as their working area. This makes Leiden completely different from Amsterdam, where lots of people work and live in the same place. Leiden has Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht as rivals. As a creative company in Leiden becomes successful it often moves to one of the cities mentioned above, because they offer better or cheaper office space or special buildings for creative entrepreneurs. Currently Leiden is losing this battle: the creative class lives in Leiden, but works somewhere else. This makes Leiden different from Amsterdam, and therefore a very interesting case.

4.3.3 Selection of data for Leiden and Amsterdam

The next step is the selection of proper data for this research. Since the Creative City Repertoire is used in different social contexts within Amsterdam and Leiden, two social contexts were defined: the municipal context and the local context.

The policy context was chosen because, obviously the policy of the municipality affects the city and the municipality also stimulates the creative city in many ways. The creative city is often used in urban policy. This policy context consists of: municipalities, officials, politicians, aldermen, majors, regional partnerships, bureaus, entrepreneurs, and academics. The criterion is that they are involved in making policy in which the creative city is used. The policy social context is investigated by collecting texts, doing interviews and coding in Atlas-ti.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy/government</th>
<th>Local/creative context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interview transcripts</td>
<td>Interview transcripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memos of the interview</td>
<td>Memos of the interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy papers, website text,</td>
<td>Policy papers, website text, newspaper articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newspaper articles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data for the policy and local context was loaded into Atlas-ti for coding

TABEL 4-7 DATA SELECTION

The local context was chosen as opposite to the policy context. These are narratives from the people or groups within the city that have to do with the creative city. Both social contexts participate in the Creative City Repertoire. The local social context consists of people who have something to do with the creative city within their city. This includes artists, entrepreneurs, but also initiatives to improve the city in a creative manner. Again, the criterion is: do they write and speak about the creative city. The local context is investigated by collecting texts, doing interviews and coding in Atlas-ti.
Data triangulation is achieved by selecting different types of data. Because this investigation is a snapshot, I decided to select recent data from 2006-2011. The criterion is does it speak about the creative city? Table 4-7 gives an overview of the data.

4.3.3 Conducting and transcription of interviews

Besides documents, interview transcripts are also part of the data. All interviews are semi structured. The interviewing was done in the period November 2010 –February 2011 for the cases of Amsterdam and Leiden. Apart from that three interviews were done for the academic context. I made an interview guide in advance and collected background information about the person, his or her project and the social context, he or she lives in. A list of interviewees is to be found in the appendix. The interviews were recorded with and MP3 player and transcripted afterwards. After the interview, very often in the train back home, I wrote a memo of the interview on my notebook. In a memo the interview was summarized and the interview was evaluated.

It took a lot of time to make a good transcription since one hour of interviewing time is equal to four hours of transcription. The transcripts were loaded into Atlas-ti and first analysed and coded in vivo. I wanted to code the interview itself, not in relation with other interviews. In this research, interview transcripts were coded as well. The quotes were translated into English; the original Dutch quotes with the line number from Atlas-ti are added as endnotes, see Original Dutch Quotes. When the interviewee is paraphrased, a reference was added: (Marijnissen, interview, 2010). An example of the interview transcripts is added as appendix 1. All transcripts are part of the database of this research.

4.3.4 reading text, and writing the first memos

The second step was to start collecting and reading the texts. Interpretation is a process in which the investigator plays an important role. From a methodological perspective this can be difficult. I am aware of the fact that my own biases, motivations and interest have a possible big influence on this research. Therefore confirmability, as explained in section 3.4.5 is one of the criteria of this research. I started the search for proper data on municipal websites, newspapers, Google and started to read as well. I started to write memos about how to code the material for the sake of transparency. In practice, the coding phase partly was parallel to reading, writing and collecting.

4.3.5 Language coding

When I started to use Atlas-ti, I did not know what coding system I had to develop in order to reconstruct the creative city interpretative repertoire. My first aim was, to let the data speak for itself, because a bottom up approach is used in this thesis. Leiden serves as the example here, but the same analysis was done in Amsterdam.

By coding I wanted to map the lexicon of the Creative City Repertoire. In practice I started to code both conceptual and textual. I discovered that letting the data speak for themselves was not easy. Besides it is hard to focus on language alone and as a result conceptual things were also coded in the beginning. Qualitative research is an iterative process so different steps were taken back and forth. Transcripting, coding, searching for data often do interchange. This is normal, although it can be confusing sometimes. Therefore I describe the steps in the ideal chronological order.

First I created a Hermeneutic Unit or ‘idea container’ in Atlas-ti. The data was loaded into Atlas-ti as a rich text format (rtf file). I started with some policy texts that were obviously relevant, like the creative industries programme. I started coding in vivo, so within the text, to get feeling with the material. It was hard to make a difference between language and concept coding. After that I decided to code an interview from Amsterdam. I started without
a proper plan, which resulted in too many codes and no focus. Things started to become messy and therefore I developed a systematic way of coding.

In this systematic coding strategy, the coding was done per case and per social context. With the ‘family manager’ I made ‘document families’ and later on ‘code families’ per city. I also differentiated between the social contexts.

From a bottom up approach a started to code the elements, that is -- the lexicon of the creative city. This was done with ‘in vivo’ coding. I used the notion of the creative city which I derived from the academic repertoire and the national repertoire as a guideline for the coding. On the other hand, from a bottom up strategy the local interpretations were also coded. With the use of the following example this coding process is explained and illustrate. The example in vivo code can be roughly translated as: Florida is a hype and therefore we should use it.

The example code of Figure 4-1 on the next page consists of 6 quotes out of two documents which are two interview transcripts. In this way the local interpretations and narratives were coded. This resulted in more or less 200 in vivo quotes about Leiden.

4.3.6 Coding in vitro and higher level interpretation

From the coded elements, I reconstructed the different creative city narratives, with the use of the ‘network manager’ in Atlas ti. A higher narrative code was developed using ‘in vitro’ coding as presented in figure 4-2. These codes were developed during the research. In this way, the different narratives were put together in the Network Editor of Atlas ti. Subsequently I made outputs of these networks, like the one below about the narrow view of the creative industries in Amsterdam. The narrow view of the creative industries then is the higher in vitro code, while the other codes are in vivo.

This network shows how different quotes together form the narrative of the narrow view of the creative cities. Thereafter, code outputs were made similar to figure 4.2 which formed the basis of the writing up, as done in chapter 5. In practice the writing-up and the work with the network manager ran parallel.
Florida sloeg aan, dus overnemen <is> Root

P 4: Leiden Interview Jeroen Maters - 4:43 [n toen ik eenmaal in de gaten ..] (63:63) (Super)
Codes: [Florida sloeg aan, dus overnemen]
No memos

toen ik eenmaal in de gaten kreeg van dat Richard Florida verhaal slaat aan, dacht ik, nou dan gaan we daar gewoon gezellig op verder want dit is kennelijk de juiste taal en toen heb ik gekeken naar: laten we die factoren van Florida er eens bij pakken en kijken wat de atlas van Nederlandse gemeenten zegt over Leiden.

P 4: Leiden Interview Jeroen Maters - 4:81 [En het verhaal van Richard Flo..] (95:95) (Super)
Codes: [Florida sloeg aan, dus overnemen]
No memos

En het verhaal van Richard Florida was handig, even als opstapje in 2006 om de Meelfabriek discussie.

P21: Interview met John Moerland projectleider de Meelfabriek transcript.rtf - 21:4 [aar ook dat we openstonden voo..] (362:362) (Super)
Codes: [Florida sloeg aan, dus overnemen]
No memos

maar ook dat we openstonden voor wellicht versterkende elementen, daaruit

P21: Interview met John Moerland projectleider de Meelfabriek transcript.rtf - 21:23 [het was meer een bevestiging v..] (292:292) (Super)
Codes: [Florida sloeg aan, dus overnemen]
No memos

het was meer een bevestiging van ideeën die we hier ook al hadden, of misschien in het Leidse leefden. Maar natuurlijk is het waardevol om daar hier en daar een bevestiging van te krijgen. Van he, dat doen ze daar ook, dus ben je niet helemaal als een wilde beer bezig met rare ideeën. Maar het is niet zo dat je kan zeggen, waar we nu mee bezig zijn, dat is voor dit of dat deel gevoed vanuit de bijeenkomsten die door de Stad BV zijn georganiseerd.

P21: Interview met John Moerland projectleider de Meelfabriek transcript.rtf - 21:26 [We werden ermee geconfronteerd..] (353:353) (Super)
Codes: [Florida sloeg aan, dus overnemen]
No memos

We werden ermee geconfronteerd... eeh, A omdat in die periode jaan en alleman ermee bezig was. Graag als
Apart from the formation of narratives, the relations between the different quotations and codes were also partly done in Atlas ti. With the use of the Network Editor, the different relations between narratives, codes and quotations could be visualized. Below, an example of a quote is shown, which was coded in Leiden. It starts with an in vivo code and ends with a narrative and its relations with other narratives. The narrative is called: Leiden as a University city.

**The University is accompanied by cities like Cambridge and Oxford when it comes to scientific research ranging from physics to sinology, the life sciences and culture.** However, one quote is often not enough to speak of a code or a narrative.

15 quotation(s) for code: UNIVERSITEITSSTAD

Quotation-Filter: All

2:15 De oudste universiteit van het.. (83:83)
3:2 Leiden is een historische univ.. (54:54)
3:6 Oude Hollandse universiteit.. (15:15)
3:20 Leiden heeft een universiteit.. (208:208)
4:91 Ja, dus in ieder geval staat h.. (185:185)
5:23 de oudste universiteit van Ned.. (58:58)
These quotations are coded from 8 documents and together form the narrative Leiden university city (universiteitsstad). In this way every narrative is based on different quotations, based in different documents. For example the narrative Leiden as an old university city is based on 15 quotations out of 8 documents. The narrative is related with narratives’ Leiden, city with an old authentic inner-city’, ‘Leiden, city of Knowledge’ and ‘Leiden city of bioscience’, as can be seen in figure 4-4. Besides, it is also related to the code ‘well educated city’ as is depicted in figure 4-5. The difference between code and narrative is that I selected out of the codes, the main narratives. These narratives are based on a higher number of quotes than the normal codes. This leads to the following Figures in Atlas–ti:

**FIGURE 4-4 NARRATIVE NETWORK**

After that I tried to find out how narratives are related to each other. These relations are interpretation based on the text; it is not a direct product of Atlas ti.

**FIGURE 4-5 RELATED NARRATIVES**

After the bottom up coding was done, the different narratives were collected in networks and subsequently in the schemes like the one presented below. The elements or key words of the narrative were collected in table 4-1, presented below.
Narratives of Leiden | elements
---|---
Leiden old university city | Oldest university, like Oxford and Cambridge, traditions, rituals, students, highly educated workforce
Leiden, city with an old authentic inner-city | Old traditional inner-city, Canals, brick houses, bridges, heritage, quality, high potential, unique selling point, tourist attraction, city of keys, history, two strategies: preservation and innovation
Leiden city of culture | 7 national museums, high culture, classical music, poetry, literature, cabaret/comedy and art, oldest theatre, part of our identity, culture is not cut, cultural festivals
Leiden, city of Knowledge, | Knowledge economy, spin-offs, innovations, university, transforming knowledge into economic activity, proper research and education, good facilities, good living climate.
Leiden, city of the creative class | 2nd highest percentage creative class, living in Leiden but not working, 57% has higher education, Leiden ranks 24th on the creative jobs, but a large potential.
Leiden, old industrial town | Dumbest city of the Netherlands, low education level, old industrial town, cotton industries, poverty, blue-collar, Meelfabriek, industrial heritage, divided city, beautiful industrial buildings rebuild into offices, apartments and services.
Leiden, city of bioscience | third biggest bioscience cluster in Europe, high-quality knowledge-intensive companies, a magnet for other knowledge-intensive firms', very successful, local political showpiece, but future cotton industry?
Leiden, city of communication | after bioscience it is the second big and possible strong economic sector, not very visible, high potential, house of communication, Nieuwe Energie, Jeroen Maters, opportunity for Leiden. Stronger links between university, vocational education and the communications sector.
Leiden, a boring town, where nothing happens | Nothing happens here, quiet, peaceful, conservative and boring. A lack of good restaurants, special shops etc. Nothing exciting to offer for the creative class.

| TABLE 4-1 DIFFERENT NARRATIVES OF LEIDEN |

4.3.7 The writing up

The last step was the writing up of the different narratives. The outputs of Atlas ti and the scheme above were the fundament on which the thick descriptions are based. The analytical framework as presented in chapter 2 was used to systematically analyse the different narratives and provided the framework to write them down in two findings reports. I used the same scheme for the analyses, as with the academic context in order to achieve a proper focus. The outcomes of the analyses are presented in chapter 6 while the findings reports are in the appendix. Quotes were added to the writing up in order to achieve credibility and dependability.
4.4 Comparing the Cases and the Influence of Neoliberalism and the Policy Discourse

In chapter 6, Amsterdam, Leiden and the academic and national contexts are systematically compared. The differences between the narratives, emplotment and possible differences in the repertoire are analysed. This is done in terms of language, content, and dominance.

**Neoliberalism**

| 1. | Entrepreneurial values: entrepreneurial values are part of/essential for a policy/narrative/IR |
| 3. | Limited state intervention: the state should not disturb the market |
| 4. | Fiscal discipline: the effective capping of government budget deficits |
| 5. | Public expenditure priorities: should focus on supply-side investments not on social amelioration or progressive redistribution. |
| 6. | Tax reform: rates should be held down and incentives sharpened. |
| 7. | Financial liberalization: interest rates and capital flows should be market determined. |
| 8. | Exchange rates: rates should be sufficiently competitive to induce rapid growth in non-traditional exports. |
| 10. | Trade liberalization: quantitative restrictions on imports should be removed. |
| 11. | Foreign direct investment: barriers to the entry of foreign firms should be abolished. |
| 12. | Privatization: state enterprises should be returned to private ownership. |
| 13. | Deregulation: governments should abolish regulations restricting competition. |
| 14. | Property rights: legal systems should ensure property rights without excessive costs (Peet & Hartwick, 1999, p. 52) |

**Policy discourse**

| 1. | A policy discourse consists of a specific ensemble of ideas, categorizations and narratives that is being produced, reproduced and/or transformed in policy practices (Hajer 1995 in: Arnouts & Arts, 2009, p. 206) |
| 2. | Global forms: Parts of the narrative/IR/policy are based on a global form. |
| 3. | Non-neoliberal principles: principles for a narrative/IR? Policy are derived from others than the neoliberalism. |
| 4. | Local initiatives: the initiative is local and not based on a policy. |

Language shows how the different elements of the Creative City Repertoire are used locally. In this master thesis, it is assumed to differ between the social contexts, but is this really the case? The different language coding of the social context are compared.

Apart from linguistic differences, the content can also differ per place. Thanks to emplotment, the content can change. Here local interpretations are compared with the original global concepts from the academic and national policy contexts.

Dominance then is concerned with what narratives are the most used, or referred to in debates about the city. Dominant narratives represent the truth for most people within a city. Although a relative concept, it shows which narrative has the biggest influence on the social, economic or spatial development of the city.

The last step was a critical evaluation of the selection with the use of two frameworks I systematically analysed the current selection of the academic repertoire and answered the
question: Is the Creative City just a new form of neoliberalism or is it also formed by urban policy, local initiatives and principles not directly based on neoliberalism? By systematically following my analytical framework of neoliberalism and the policy discourse I tried to critically evaluate the academic repertoire. First I looked for neoliberal characteristics in the narratives and subsequently for policy characteristics. These are written down in a reflection. In Chapter 6 the two cities are compared on these characteristics as well.

4.5 Recapitulation

In order to answer the research question and meet the research goals, as posed in chapter 1, the narrative approach was selected with the concepts of narrative, emplotment and the interpretative repertoire in chapter 2. In chapter 3 the necessary methods were explained together with criteria for proper qualitative research. An interpretative approach of Van den Brink (2009), combined with doing interviews, coding in Atlas ti and manual textual analysis were selected. In order to achieve proper qualitative analysis, the four elements of trustworthiness were introduced together with triangulation.

This resulted in this chapter where I described how I mapped, analysed and compared the creative city as an interpretative repertoire in the academic-, national policy-, urban- and local social context with the use of three research strategies: the academic context strategy, the narrative strategy and a strategy to compare the different cases and to analyse the influence of neoliberalism and the policy discourse. I tried to be as clear as possible in order to achieve trustworthiness. In the next chapters, the writing up of the results is done, followed by a conclusion and a reflection.
5. MAPPING THE ACADEMIC CREATIVE CITY REPERTOIRE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The creative city has become an interpretative repertoire, called the Creative City Repertoire (CCR). The initial concept became a global form and was selected and arranged numerous times in narratives on the national and local level (Cunningham, 2007; Prince, 2010a). In this process, new terms, metaphors and concepts and thereby new meaning was added to the concept. Gradually the concept became less coherent, new narratives were formed, made of different concepts, authors and ideas. The creative city has “globalized through complex processes of engagement in political and technical spheres as various policy actors and networks have sought to enrol the concept in their own political projects” (Prince, 2010a, p. 119). In this way, the concept grew into something bigger, called an interpretative repertoire. The academic part of this process is described in this chapter. Various authors and their narratives became part of the Creative City Repertoires. Some authors became very dominant and their narratives became a repertoire of its own. These repertoires also contributed to the Creative City Repertoire.

As already stated in chapter 4, I distinguish four levels within the creative city. In this chapter, the international level and the national level of the academic and policy context are mapped. The first quotes from the coding strategy are also used in this chapter. With the use of endnotes, the original Dutch quote can be found.

This chapter is my attempt to map the Creative City Repertoire and its national appliance. Subsequently, this selection is my reading of the Creative City Repertoire. The selection, as was already explained in the previous chapter is based on the degree of dominance in the debate. This is estimated by the number of quotes on Google, being part of academic readers about the city, and my own judgement. Besides I checked during the interviews whether this publications or authors were important. Last the book of Franke and Verhagen (2005) was a proper starting point for this selection (Franke & Verhagen, 2005).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research (sub)questions</th>
<th>Analytical tool</th>
<th>operationalization</th>
<th>To be found in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is part of the IR, according to the Academic context?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. What are the origins of the creative city?</td>
<td>Interpretative Repertoire</td>
<td>Lexicon, terms, metaphors, concepts, theories, ideas</td>
<td>Academic publications and interview transcripts, debates, discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What are the dominant publications within the IR?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. What is stressed on and what is neglected?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What narratives are created on the national policy level, made by national policy context?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. What elements are selected out of the IR?</td>
<td>Interpretative Repertoire</td>
<td>Lexicon, terms, metaphors, concepts, theories,</td>
<td>National academic publications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. How are the elements plotted by the agent?
8. In what way differs the narrative from the IR?
9. In what way represents the narrative reality?
10. How is the narrative adapted to the social context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To what extent is the current IR influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The role of the agent, why specific choices are made?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative/emplotment ideas and policies, interview transcripts, debates discussions, newspaper articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social context Rephrasing, adaptation, recontextualisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent Reflect, distort, invent, evade reality Role of the agent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5-1 Analytical Strategy Academic Context

By following table 5-1 as it was already presented in section 4.2 about this academic case, I mapped the academic part of the Creative City Repertoire one by one, using thick descriptions. After that, the first map about the Creative City Repertoire is drawn and the narratives are related to each other. Furthermore the current narratives are analysed on the influence of neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse. Last, as a conclusion, the academic part of the Creative City Repertoire is summarized.

**5.2 The International Level**

5.2.1 The Culture Industry, Culture Industries, Creative Industries

The roots of the Creative City Repertoire are fragmented but started at the end of WOII. Though a western concept, creativity as a topic has a long history in various fields. Justin O’Connor (2007) wrote an extensive overview and his sixty year trip leads us through ‘The Culture Industry’, ‘cultural industries, and ends with the ’creative industries’ (O’Connor, 2007).

O’Connor (2007), Montgomery (2007) and also Landry (2005) start with Theodor Adorno, who together with Max Horkheimer (1947) first used the term in the essay ‘The Culture industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception’ (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1979 in: Landry, 2005; Montgomery, 2007; O’Connor, 2007). In short the rationale (or plot, speaking in narrative terms) of their argument is as follows: in becoming a culture industry, culture was industrialized by Fordist Capitalism:

The new Culture Industry sought the surface effects associated with both popular culture and ‘high art’ - means of attraction and seduction, of stimulating desire without reflection, providing distraction at the expense of thought. Glittering novelty masked endless repetition and endless disappointment. As such the Culture Industry was a direct extension of the new industries of mass reproduction and distribution which had begun at the turn of the 19th century – film, sound recording, mass circulation dailies, popular prints and later, radio broadcasting. But it also grew out of the art tradition on whose surface techniques it also drew but whose intrinsic meaning it abandoned (Adorno, 1981, 1992). It was in this context that avant-garde modernism began its great aesthetic renunciations, its retreat into...
difficult and occult formal procedures. (Adorno & Horkheimer in: O’Connor, 2007, pp. 9-10)

Moreover: “The Culture Industry found its full purpose when it became integrated into the new system of monopoly capitalism, which was predicated on total control of the masses. In this way the cultural industry became a powerful ideological tool” (O’Connor, 2007). The culture industry was seen as a threat by Adorno (Landry, 2005). Culture was incorporated into capitalism. Therefore, in order to protect culture, after the WO2, many countries founded national arts and cultural ministries. This was the emergence of a distinct discourse of cultural policy per se (O’Connor, 2007). So here culture and industry are connected as culture industry as a product of capitalism.

After May ’68, with the (evident) success of capitalism, Adorno’s theory was more and more questioned. Academics from the field of cultural studies and political economy discussed Adorno and stated that his theory was lacking. These discussions added new concepts to rising repertoire. Besides the cultural industry, the cultural industries as a concept arose. New meaning was added to what would become the Creative City Repertoire.

The conceptual change was very fundamental because it opened the total Marxist view on culture. It gave rise to a more empirical based understanding of the production of culture. It opened up the total system of Adorno:

   It allowed an understanding of the connections between technologies of production and distribution, changing business models, the emergent connections between symbolic and informational goods, and between culture and communications systems. It made more clear the connections and contradictions between the production and circulation of culture and the wider ideological needs of the State; and it focused attention on the ambiguous status of creative labour within the whole system. (O’Connor, 2007, p. 22)

In other words, it opened a new way of thinking about cultural production. A more relaxed stance of culture against the market was taken. In this new narrative, culture could be spread with the use of a market, without being completely sucked into capitalism, without being completely industrialized and without being totally destroyed. The cultural industry was interpreted and spoken of in more neutral sociologic and economic terms (O’Connor, 2007).

Gradually, the cultural industry became more and more an economic concept in the UK. The initial concept of the autonomous artist changed in to an artist that was less dependent on cultural policy and grants. New entrepreneurial qualities were added to the meaning of the artist. The artist became an entrepreneur. In this way, new concepts, terms and metaphors and thus meaning was added to the interpretative repertoire.

Moreover, culture was used in the process of urban renewal. O’Connor speaks of a change in the discourse: “After museums became the cultural quarters and with that, a discourse of culture-led urban renaissance still with us” (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Bell & Jayne, 2004; Evans & Ford, 2005 in: O’Connor, 2007). Old city neighbourhoods were rebuilt into cultural quarters. In the end these ideas formed the concept of the creative industries, as created by New Labour. As will become clear further down, this new politics had a great impact on Dutch urban policy.

5.2.2 JANÉ JACOBTS

The book was an attack on the then modernist planning policies that, according to Jacobs destroyed old inner-city communities (Jacobs, 1961, p. 5). In an era of modernism and suburbanisation, Jane Jacobs advocated the old neighbourhoods. Jacobs loved the city and wrote of it as an biological organism: “The city is like a living being that is born, grows, matures, decays and can revive” (Hospers, 2006, p. 726).

Jacobs stated that, by not allowing communities that are complex and chaotic at first stance, the modernist urban planning rejected the city. The modernist planners used top down theories based on deductive reasoning as a basis to plan the city. Apart from the suburbs this was most fiercely done in places of urban renewal where separation of uses and replacement of old buildings by big apartment buildings were most apparent. Jacobs argues that these policies destroyed communities and innovative economies (Jacobs, 1961). Instead of this modernist approach Jacobs brought about her plea for diversity as a new narrative or theory about the city.

There are four generators of diversity: mixed uses, short blocks, buildings of various ages and states of repair and a high density of people. These conditions, create diversity which is essential for economic development in the city (Jacobs, 1961, p. 151). The diversity leads to an area with different kind of suppliers and buyers, different businesses, entrepreneurs can share facilities, like office buildings and print shops. All profit from a shared supply of knowledge, skills and expertise. This cross-fertilization that takes place in such neighbourhoods works as a magnet for new businesses. Furthermore, the mixed buildings give different entrepreneurs a chance. Jane Jacobs motto “new ideas often need old buildings” means that an old neighbourhood can become a breeding ground of entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation (Hospers, 2006).

The by-product of this economic development is what later on was called ‘gentrification’. First old districts will run down, but at a certain moment if the diversity is still there, such a district will provide opportunities. New people will move to this area thanks to low rents and housing prices, proximity to the inner-city and often an open and tolerant climate. It becomes this hotspot of creativity and an upward spiral is started. Prosperity rises and people start to renovate their houses. Subsequently, the district becomes even more attractive, so more people come. The old district gets a better image and is again popular with the residents, but also the inhabitants of the city (Jacobs, 1961).

In her book, The Economy of the Cities (1969), Jacobs argued that the agricultural era did not precede the period in which cities flourished (Jacobs, 1969). Indeed, cities made a more intensive agriculture possible, because the cities demanded food, and ‘farmers’ responded by selling their surpluses. The farmers were stimulated to crop more and more. In the end, Jacobs claimed that every form of economic development actually is city-based (Hospers, 2006). Out of some examples like the Japanese bicycle industry she concludes that cities grow by:

Treating, renewing and exporting imported goods and services, which results in income that can be used to import new items. The activities of the city offer the best setting for this innovation and “import replacement”, said Jacobs, because entrepreneurs will continuously try to be ahead of the local competition. Jacobs transferred this regularity into the formula: D +A → nD in which D is division of labour in a given economic system, A the new activities of entrepreneurs and nD resulting in new forms of labour division. This comparison simply shows the way in which new activities develop from existing ones—and thus how the economy of cities grows. (Hospers, 2006, p. 727)

In her third book, Cities and the Wealth of Nations (1984) Jacobs even argues that not the country but the city is the actual basis of economic growth (Hospers, 2006). The city and its region is the basis for economic growth:
According to her, economists—whether they are liberal or Marxist—wrongly assumed that countries form the relevant economic units. Influenced by Adam Smith’s classic The Wealth of Nations Jacobs argued however, that national prosperity is nothing more than the sum of the economic performance of individual cities in a country. Ultimately, trade and commercial activities always play at the level of a city and the region on which it has an influence. (Hospers, 2006, p. 728)

Following this, national numbers give a biased view. According to Jacobs, those numbers are just an average, but on the local or regional level, the differences in unemployment of economic growth can be significant (Jacobs, 1984).

She said that national policy is moreover an improper instrument to solve regional inequalities in a country. The national government had better leave the economic politics to the cities, not just because it is there that prosperity is created, but also because local politicians know better which measures are needed in a city because of their knowledge of the local situation. (Hospers, 2006, p. 728)

Jacobs stressed on the importance of cities, and became very influential in the debate about cities. Her aim was simple: “leave cities alone and let them develop by themselves” (Hospers, 2006, p. 723). In this way, Jacobs developed new thoughts, theories, ideas and concepts. Still there is a degree of coherence in her work, but because she still is quoted so many times, Jacob’s might have an interpretative repertoire of her own.

Both Richard Florida and Peter Hall were inspired by Jane Jacobs (Florida, 2002, p. 5; Fainstein, 2005). Indeed all conditions for the success of the creative city, stated by Florida, can be traced back to Jacobs, as her four principles of diversity (Franke & Hospers, 2009). While Jacobs has more philosophical arguments, Peter Hall’s is more empirical and focussed on the city as a whole. However Hall also acknowledges the city as the basis of the economy. Last, Porter (1998) also reasons in a similar way when speaking of clusters (Porter, 1998).

### 5.2.3 The Creative Industries Mapping Document

In 1998 the then British Department of Culture, Media and Sport presented ‘the Creative Industries Mapping Document’. Many authors consider this documents as the actual start of the creative industries as a concept (Department for Culture, 1998; Cunningham, 2002; Prince, 2010a). Until that time, the creative industries were called cultural industries or the cultural economy (O’Connor, 2007). Initially, the term creative industries was a political concept launched by ‘New Labour’ of Tony Blair and had to do with the hype about ‘Cool Britannia’ at the time. The old term, ‘cultural industries was’ also associated with that. In short, the Department of Heritage was renamed Department of Culture, Media and Sport, and after some more politically initiated linguistic acrobatics, the creative industries appeared (Pratt, 2005; O’Connor, 2007).

Just like the politics of New Labour, the creative industries had to do with the neoliberal thoughts about the economy. Knowledge and technology were considered very important. Besides that, it was a pragmatic choice in order to get more money for culture without simple be put aside as the “arts lobby” (O’Connor, 2007).

The creative industries are defined like: “activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (Department for Culture, 1998, p. 5). In this narrative the artist also gradually becomes an entrepreneur. The mapping document mapped and thus defined the creative industries sector as follows:

- Advertising
- Architecture
- Arts and Antique Markets
- Crafts
- Design
- Designer
- Fashion
- Film
- Interactive Leisure Software
- Music
- Television and Radio
- Performing Arts
- Publishing and Software.

This eclectic list includes the
resolvedly analogue (arts, crafts, antiques, architecture), established commercial business sectors (TV, radio, film) as well as all-digital new economy sectors (software, interactive leisure software). (Department for Culture, 1998; Cunningham, 2007)

The department also measured the economic value of the new sector. According to the second measurement of 2001:

The creative industries in the UK generate revenues of around £112.5 billion and employ some 1.3 million people. Exports contribute around £10.3 billion to the balance of trade, and the industries account for over 5% of GDP. In 1997-98, output grew by 16%, compared to under 6% for the economy as a whole. (Department for Culture, 2001, p. 10)

This demonstrated that the creative industries were a growing and promising sector and it gave municipalities' new ways to improve their local economies.

Although controversial, see for example ‘Not so cool Britannia’ by Kate Oakley (2004), the creative industries document had a big influence on economic policies worldwide (Oakley, 2004). According to Wang (2004), O’Connor (2007), and Prince (2010) the mapping document became an export product for Europe, Latin America and the Far East (Wang, 2004; O’Connor, 2007; Prince, 2010a). In 2001, Chris Smith, the then Secretary of State, updated the Creative Cities Mapping Document and the taskforce creative industries. According to Cunningham (2007):

A few years on, the significance of the creative industries to the knowledge economy and national wealth has been widely appreciated. Regions and cities, as well as venture capital, are providing, he reported, more focused support measures. (Cunningham, 2007, p. 2)

In this way, the creative industries became accepted and influenced policies all over the world, including the Netherlands. It became a dominant narrative in the (urban) policy discourse.

On the national level, the definition was rephrased and applied to the Dutch context by TNO and applied by the Municipality of Amsterdam, as can be seen in this quote:

The creative industry is a specific form of business which produces products or services, which are the result of individual or collective creative work and entrepreneurship.¹

It should be noticed that creative industries became creative industry. This might indicate that the UK’s creative industries are meant to be more diverse than the Dutch creative industry (In the Netherlands we prefer to use the singular instead of the plural). In the Netherlands, a creative industry is a business while in the UK it should have the potential to become a business. So a selection toward a more entrepreneurial mode is already made in the report of TNO (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004).

Further on, a typology is made which is based on three subsectors: the arts, media and entertainment and creative (business) services. A second criterion is based on what function they have in culture value chain. This chain has six stages: creation, production, publishing and exploitation, distribution, consumption. According to the report, the first three stages are part of the creative industries (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004). Moreover the TNO report of Rutten stated:

Within Amsterdam, the creative industry is a medium-sized sector with 32.500 jobs in 2002. This amounts to roughly 6.9% of all jobs in Amsterdam, a total of nearly 8300 firms with an average size of 3.9 employees.²
However the Dutch report does not provide statistics about the amount of culture, symbolic value or creativity that is produced. Hence, the creative industry has become a real business and the repertoire is less concerned with the value of culture. Furthermore, at the Amsterdam Department of Culture, Robert Marijnissen made a new culture policy paper, which was named: The Creative Industries (Marijnissen, 2010). The mapping point was also used as a starting point to categorise the creative industries in Amsterdam, this report will be described in detail in section 5.3.4 (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004).

5.2.4 Peter Hall’s Cities in Civilization

‘Cities in Civilization: Culture, Technology and Urban Order’ appeared in 1998 and has become a classic in urban geography. In this book, Peter Hall states: “that the biggest and most cosmopolitan cities, for all their evident disadvantages and obvious problems, have throughout history been the places that ignited the sacred flame of the human intelligence and the human imagination” (Hall, 1998, p. 388).

‘Stadluft macht frei’, Hall mentions this old German saying in his book. Within the city people were not under the rule of the feudal landlord. It clears people’s mind, to come up with creative ideas.

In order to underpin his ideas of the city, Peter Hall presents an immense historical survey, using cities as examples. He divides the cities in four categories. In the first book, he presents the cultural city with Athens (500-400 BC), Florence (1400-1500), London (1570-1620), Vienna (1780-1910), Paris (Vienna (1780-1910), Paris (1870-1910), Berlin (1918-1933) (Hall, 1997). These cities all had an era of cultural glory, a bell époque (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1998). With this masterpiece he also added to the Creative City Repertoire.

In the second book ‘The City as Innovative Milieu’, he explains that the city can be a sanctuary for creative minds. The city is important for innovation and economic growth. Hall shows that the following cities all had an economic boom, due to a certain innovation. Manchester (1760-1830) was the centre of the cotton industry, Detroit (1890-1925) car manufacturing, San Francisco/Palo Alto/Berkeley (1950-1990), information technology, Tokyo- Kanagowa (1850-1950) heavy engineering, industry (Hall, 1998, p. 302).

In this book, Peter Hall argues that rise of the cotton industry in Manchester or information technology in Silicon Valley is not a coincidence. Ever since the capitalist production came in to full mode, all major industry or knowledge clusters have been ‘innovative milieux’. Thus, the establishment of innovative places is certainly not accidental.

The following explanation is an essential element for the Creative City Repertoire: The starting point is always innovation. There is, according to Hall, a battle between Neo-Schumpeterians’ and ‘Neo-Marxists’ about the real reasons or motives for innovation. The more liberal view of Schumpeter is that man is always looking for “Neue kombinationen”. Creativity was often a necessity for survival. Innovation is basic human activity. The Neo-Marxists such as set true that falling profits from old industries to encourage capitalists to start new risky projects to increase profits (Hall, 1998). Both parties agreed, however, that innovation is the starting point of such clusters.

Subsequently Hall presents ‘four conditions’ for innovative milieu, and at the time gives a clear warning: “Building innovative milieux is not something That Can Be Done Easily Either or to order” (Hall, 1998, p. 498). Keep in mind that these conditions are pretty similar to Jacobs’ diversity, Florida’s 3 Ts and Porter’s clusters, while Glaeser focuses more on the level of education.

Let’s follow Hall’s argument: innovation takes place in regions were both entrepreneurs and scientist are located. According to Hall, these regions are characterized by the absence of establish raw materials and a specific set of social and cultural structures that are open to conceptual changes and benefits. Very often these are old cities with liberal institutions. Besides that, the new cities have their place between the so-called old and new world. These cities have a large (in)formal structure open to new knowledge, innovation and new ideas. In short, they are open to change (Hall, 1998).
Second, the presence of knowledge is very important. It creates both a climate of competition, but also the sharing of knowledge. Spin offs, from universities are a good example of the use of knowledge in a city.

The third condition is freedom. As already was stated in the beginning of this section: Stadluft macht frei. A certain atmosphere, a feeling that everything is possible, stimulates the people to be creative. There should not be a fixed economic discourse. A specialization on one sector, like shipbuilding can suffocate.

Fourth there should be a society with equal opportunities. The presence of talent is very important. Talent should be given a change. Indeed, new businesses often deliver to the already established businesses because the entrepreneurs know the local market. If society is not open, talent is suffocated (Hall, 1998). For the creative industries, this is the most important part of the book.

In the third book, the marriage of art and technology is celebrated, with Los Angeles (1910-1945) and Memphis (1948-1956) as examples as the homes of the film and music industry. According to Weidenfeld and Nicholson, this might be the weakest link in the argument, because there was not much cultural diversity in this cities, although they had a period of fame (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1998). Reading Leo Blokhuis’ 'City to City, with a chapter about the music and recording scene in Memphis, it becomes clear that Memphis certainly is a smaller city, but a revolution did take place over there. Black or roots music was connected to white (country) music and became mainstream thanks to what happened in Memphis (Basiliades, 2005; Blokhuis, 2009).


With his contributions to fundamental discussions about the city in general and especially the creative city, Peter Hall influenced many urban planners all over the world. He showed that creativity and innovation to take place in the city. He also gave city planners concrete cranks to improve their city although he also warns that not every city can create an innovative milieu.

5.2.5 CHARLES LANDRY AND FRANCO BIANCHINI

Landry and Bianchini differ from Hall, Jacobs, Porters and Florida by a more applied and policy focused approach. It actually comes with an approach that policymakers can use in order to tackle difficult problems. Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini were the first to use the creative city as a term. In 1995 they wrote an article called the Creative City (Landry, 2000). Landry was one of the founders of Comedia, a publishing, research and consultancy agency and rooted in activism and alternative movements. It was one of the key developers of the creative city as a concept (Landry, 2011).

In 1985 they published ‘What a Way to Run a Railroad’, a critique on alternative community businesses. “What was often dressed up as romantic bohemian idealism was in fact incompetence. There was no reason, they argued, that arts and community businesses should not be run professionally and with an understanding of the market” (O’Connor, 2007, p. 28). From this, they started to investigate the city. In 1988 Comedia undertook the first analysis of the creative industries, done in Birmingham as described on Landry’s personal website:

This showed how when you look at the different sectors like music, film, the visual arts, design and performance you can see the interconnections and how this fit into a creative system. Through this we developed the ‘value chain’
analysis, which assessed where a city was strong or weak in the creative ideas generation, production, distribution and marketing system. In addition by putting the figures together you could understand their economic power and impact. Subsequently Comedia undertook a wide-range of these urban creative industries audits in places as diverse as Manchester and Coventry. (Landry, 2011, p. 1)

For the first time the value of creativity for the city was written down in a structured way and thereby put the creative city on the map as a concept.

Shortly after that the revival of the city began. One started to think about the art of city making. Comedia started to develop a cultural industries policy discourse, and most consultants became concerned with this new art (O’Connor, 2007).

City making was involved in projects around cultural venues and quarters, street markets, alternative retail, new forms of public art and signage, urban landscaping, architectural and larger scale regeneration projects, and campaigns such as the ‘24 hour city’. This represented a coalition for urban transformation that drew on a European tradition rather than the real-estate driven model coming from the US. (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993 in: O’Connor, 2007, p. 34)

The article of 1995 was made into a book in by Landry (2000) titled ‘The Creative city: a toolkit for urban innovators’ (Landry, 2000). From 1997 Landry held summer workshops and lectures on the creative city of Amsterdam. The purpose of the book was to provide planners and managers practical methods and techniques for the creative city. According to Charles Landry:

It should inspire people to think, plan and act creatively in the city and to get an ideas factory going that turns urban innovations into reality. Its aim is to make readers feel: ‘I can do that too’ and to spread confidence that creative and innovative solutions to urban problems are feasible however bad they may seem at first sight (Landry, 2008, p. xvi).

Being a ‘Toolbox’ shows the more practical and policy approach of Landry. However, the original idea was a call for open-mindedness and imagination. This seems somewhat idealistic, but from the perspective of the 1980s this was not unusual. The idea is that each place always holds more than one thinks at first sight, every city has hidden treasures. There are a few real creative cities such as Amsterdam, London and New York, but that does not mean that other cities could not become more creative. This approach is not just for artists but also for planners, policy makers and entrepreneurs. Landry describes a number of creative elements that the city must meet to be successful: “They would have created conditions in which people are able to think imaginatively, and action plans to exploit opportunities or seemingly intractable urban problems” (Landry 2005 in: Franke & Verhagen, 2005, pp. 44-45). Landry cites a number of creative elements that the city must meet to be successful:

• Highly educated and flexible workforce: dynamic thinkers, creators and performers.
• Large formal and informal intellectual infrastructure
• Strong communication channels
• Good business climate (Landry, 2000).

“This leads to a creative friction in an imaginative city on the tip of a dynamic, exciting balance” (Landry, 2005 in: Franke & Verhagen, 2005, p. 45). Talent and knowledge should be central in the city. Last, a strong leadership will ensure that the right course dangers without being rigid.
For many cities, the creative people will remain a utopia, yet creativity is necessary. In the 80s many countries had to switch from an industrial economy to a more services and knowledge-based economy. The cities were physically trapped in their past, so new solutions had to be developed. In other words, the city needed a new story (narrative) a vision to build from and because the economy was slacking, and cities were lacking money, creative solutions had to be found (Franke & Verhagen, 2005).

Landry presented this new story in the form of a clear toolkit, a toolkit of methods and techniques. He proposes a planning process with four different levels. The first is the so-called policy cycle. This is a normal process for policy. First, the agenda is set, then plans of a project are made, together with a SWOT analysis. Within the analysis the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) are described. Then, based on the SWOT and the plan, the implementation takes place. Meanwhile the project is monitored. Last the plan is evaluated.

The second level is ‘the cycle of urban creativity’. Here Landry’s ideas about creative planning kick in. It investigates where the creativity in the city comes from. The third level consists of indicators that measure how the creative city or the project actually is. The fourth level consists of a number of techniques to stimulate creative thinking and planning. This is done under certain conditions:

- Acceptance that each individual approach has its limitations;
- Creative planning must be taken seriously;
- The courage to look from a different discipline is necessary;
- The sources from which planners can draw are much larger than traditional sources.

In this way, it is tried to get a creative process going, with the aim to explore new combinations and original solutions (Landry, 2000). In short, Landry and Bianchini were at the basis of the creative city as an interpretative repertoire. They first coined the term the creative city and he connected the power of creativity to the city, and made it into a strategy for the city. Landry differs from Hall, Jacobs and Florida by a more applied approach.

5.2.6 RICHARD FLORIDA: THE RISE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS

In 2002 Richard Florida’s book, ‘The rise of the Creative Class’ was published which became a hype. It added a lot to the Creative City Repertoire, and spread the discussion to non-academic social contexts. At the time it was published, technology, knowledge and competition were generally seen as the main source of economic growth (Hospers, 2005). Florida however stated that instead of these factors, creativity was the only real source of economic growth in the 21st century. Florida considers creativity to be plural. It appears in different forms and it is multifaceted and multidimensional (Florida, 2002, p. 22). Florida devoted a whole chapter to creativity, called ‘the Creative epos’. Surely, creativity is not new, it is a human quality. It partly makes us what we really are: “The essence of creativity is the capacity to think up original solutions to day-to-day problems and challenges. The creative mind sees what others see but thinks and does something different” (Koester, 1975 in: Hospers, 2003, p. 360). Florida stated:

> I define the core of the Creative Class to include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content. Around the core, the Creative Class also includes a broader group of creative professionals in business and finance, law, health care and related fields. (Florida, 2002, p. 8)

In the Netherlands is limited to the what Florida calls the super creative core: “It is made up of people who work in science, and engineering, computers and mathematics, education, and the arts, design and entertainment, people who work in directly creative activity” (Florida, 2002, p. 74).
Florida’s sees creativity in a Schumpeterian way. Creativity is about ‘neue kombinationen’ and about the creative destruction process which leads to innovation and new economic growth (Hospers & Pen, 2008). According to Florida, human creativity is the core economic growth driver of today’s cities. Following Jacobs (1961), creativity flourishes best in a diverse urban environment, so the city is the place for future economic growth (Jacobs, 1961; Florida, 2002; Hospers, 2005). “Creativity is essential to the way we live and work today, and in many senses always has been” (Florida, 2002, p. 21). This is parallel to Peter Hall’s ideas about the city and similar to Porter’s clusters.

Florida noticed that cities like Austin, Amsterdam and New York, with a great amount of creative people have a higher level of economic development. These cities, all have a proper mix of Technology, Talent and Tolerance (Florida, 2002, p. 249). He recapitulates his argument as follows:

Regional economic growth is powered by creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. Diversity increases the odds that a place will attract different types of creative people with different skill sets and ideas. Places with diverse mixes of creative people are more likely to generate new combinations. Furthermore, diversity and concentration work together to speed the flow of knowledge. Greater and more diverse concentrations of creative capital in turn lead to higher rates of innovation, high-technology business formation, job generation and economic growth. (Florida, 2002, p. 249)

Following this, the 3Ts are the determinants of ‘urban competitiveness in the Creative Age’ (Hospers, 2005, p. 323). In the words of Florida: “To attract creative people, generate innovation and stimulate economic growth, a place must have all three” (Florida, 2002, p. 249).

The narrative or theory presented above was picked up by politicians, academics, policymakers city planners and entrepreneurs. It had a great impact on the debate. However, from the policymaker’s or politician’s point of view, it was often reframed like this: ‘if we want to become a creative city, successful, with economic growth and growing welfare, we should improve the city following the 3Ts of Richard Florida’. In this way, Richard Florida had a great impact on urban policy: “For policy makers this argument may imply a complete turn of thought: urban competitiveness is served by a liberal cultural policy rather than a conventional policy of subsidizing business R&D and supporting local spin-offs” (Hospers, 2005, p. 323). And although Florida warned against this idea that you can create a creative city with policy, or the idea that every city can become a creative city, this is how many policymakers interpreted his work (Florida, 2002).

City councils like these kind of ideas because it gives them concrete tools to solve economic or social problems. Big promises, only partly made by Florida, were picked up by politicians, consultancies, and policymakers. As a city council, you are likely to want this also in your own city. So, notwithstanding the critique, city councils are (very) willing to use it. Peck (2004) also detects this trend:

Reflecting on the way in which Florida’s work is being read by city leaders, it would seem that there is a predisposition to accept the most controversial steps in his thesis — that creativity is the root cause of growth, and this is born by a mobile class of elite workers — in order to jump to the chase on the question of how to lure the creative’s to town. (Peck, 2005, p. 765)

Many policymakers just accepted the assumption that creativity is the only basis for economic growth. During the so called hype in the Netherlands as mentioned by Franke en Verhagen (2005), all policymakers, officials of city councils were interested, notwithstanding the critique. Richard Florida, depicted as creativity guru fuelled the debates about the
creative city and started a true hype (Franke & Verhagen, 2005; Hospers & Pen, 2008). The initial theory of Florida however, was interpreted in a very narrow way.

5.2.7 Ed Glaeser, Human Capital Theory

Edward L. Glaeser is a professor of economics at Harvard University. His most recent book is: ‘Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier’ published in 2011. He has written a lot about the city, the knowledge economy, human capital theory, clusters etc. Glaeser has been a severe criticaster of Richard Florida. Glaeser (2004) argues that the main cause for cities to growth economically is that there are a lot of high educated people. Creativity is important, but education is the main cause. He came to this conclusion by using Florida’s dataset (Glaeser, 2005).

Glaeser (2005) shows that places with a higher level of human capital have attracted more skilled people of the last three decades (Glaeser & Berry, 2005). Based on his quantitative model, Glaeser gives the following explanation for this:

One potential explanation for this phenomenon is that labour demand is often created by local entrepreneurs who start firms in their own city. If skilled people are increasingly likely to start firms that hire other skilled people, then this could readily explain why an initially high level of skills would lead to a growth in the skill composition of a city over time. The initial population starts new firms and hires new skilled people. According to this view, the key change over the last 30 years is that high skill entrepreneurs increasingly innovate in ways that lead to more employment for other skilled people. (Glaeser & Berry, 2005, p. 436)

Glaeser advocates a better policy for cities: create a level playing field for cities: “Cities can compete on a level playing field, but over the past sixty years America’s policies have slanted the field steeply against them” (Glaeser, 2011 in: Hemel, 2011). The situation in the Netherlands is not different. Although cities are very important for the economy, they are constrained in many ways (Hemel, 2011). According to Glaeser we should develop our cities and not constrain them: “Taxing cities to build up rural America is a foolish policy that hurts our urban engines of prosperity” (Glaeser, 2011 in: Hemel, 2011).

In short, Glaeser, just like Hall argues that knowledge, talent and thus skills are the most important for economic growth in a city but disagrees with Florida that creativity is the most important factor. He also, like Jacobs advocates a liberal policy for the cities, and claims that education and skills are the key to economic growth in cities instead of creativity. In this way he also added to the Creative City Repertoire.

5.2.8 Michael Porter’s Clusters

Within the discussions about the creative city, the term clusters is sometimes mentioned. Although, not very dominant anymore in the theoretical debates about the creative city, clusters were mentioned during the interviews. It is also an older global form. The term cluster is used to address several things, and therefore can be confusing. In my research the interviewees referred mainly to Michael Porter. For the sake of clarity I also include other authors in this section. The difference with Jacobs, Hall, Glaeser and Florida is that Porter approaches the subject form a business perspective, instead of an urban perspective. Clusters are the central concept in his narrative.

First of all, the underlying principles of clusters date back to 1890 with the work of Alfred Marshall. Marshall explains why certain companies stick together in what he calls an industrial district. According to Marshall, an industry is a group (or cluster) of companies that produce for the same market, and use the same factors of production. Their common goal is to make profit, that is, the return exceeds the production costs (Atzema & Boschma, 2005).
Production cost can be split into internal economies and external economies. Internal economies are the production efficiency each company of its own. External economies are the efficiency of the mutual division of labour within the industrial district. External economies can be achieved by concentration of small companies within an industrial district (Atzema, Lambooy, Van Rietbergen, & Wever, 2002, p. 159). The point is that many companies would not be profitable if they were not established in the industrial district. In this way the specific location of a company comes with advantages like, sharing a pool of skilled workers, and a more efficient use of the factors of production. External economies of scale reduces marginal cost, while labour and capital can be attracted from outside the district (Atzema, Lambooy, Van Rietbergen, & Wever, 2002). This way of thinking is also related to Jacobs economic pools of use (Jacobs, 1969). Thanks to diversity small companies share all kinds of services, and thus a diverse location (or cluster) brings big advantages. Peter Hall explains the existence of creative milieu in similar way.

The ideas of Marshall experienced a second revival thanks to the work of Michael Porter. The idea of a cluster or industrial district depends on the competitiveness of this cluster of companies. On the regional or city level, Porter (1998) defines a cluster as:

Clusters are geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field. Clusters encompass an array of linked industries and other entities important to competition. They include, for example, suppliers of specialized inputs such as components, machinery, and services, and providers of specialized infrastructure. Clusters also often extend downstream to channels and customers and laterally to manufactures of complementary products and to companies in industries related by skills, technologies, or common inputs. Finally, many clusters include governmental and other institutions—such as universities, standards-setting agencies, think tanks, vocational training providers, and trade associations—that provide specialized training, education and technical support. (Porter, 1998, p. 78)

Although based on Marshall, Porters approach differs since it focuses less on cost benefits and more on yield advantages and the strengthening the innovativeness of companies (Atzema & Boschma, 2005). Porter (1998) describes clusters as follows:

First of all: “Modern competition depends on productivity, not on access to inputs or the scale of individual enterprises. Productivity rests on how companies compete, not on the particular fields they compete in” (Porter, 1998, p. 80).

Second, competition is influence by the local business environment. So competition depends on the so-called extern economies to speak in Marshallian terms. Potter argues that, in order to compete, the local business environment, (industrial district), and thus location is very important. It follows that in advanced economies the extent to which companies can compete, depends more and more on the content and the quality of the cluster (Porter, 1998). Jacobs and Hall both state that the content and the quality (diversity) of the neighbourhood/innovative milieu are very important. Their benchmarks are the four conditions of diversity or the four conditions of innovative milieux (Jacobs, 1961; Hall, 1998).

Clusters affect competition in three broad ways: first, by increasing the productivity of companies based in the area; second, by driving the direction and pace of innovation, which underpins future productivity growth; and third, by stimulating the formation of new businesses, which expands and strengthens the cluster itself. A cluster allows each member to benefit as if it had greater scale or as if it had joined with others formally- without requiring it to sacrifice its flexibility. (Porter, 1998, p. 80)

---

1 The first revival took place in the 1950’s by Jean Chardonnet, François Perroux and Gunnar Myrdall

63
Third, a cluster also makes it possible for companies to be more productive in sourcing inputs (labour, capital etc.), accessing information, technology and needed institutions, coordination with related companies, and measuring and motivation improvement (Porter, 1998).

Fourth, clusters are very important for innovation: “In addition to enhancing productivity, clusters play a vital role in a company’s on-going ability to innovate. Some of the same characteristics that enhance current productivity have an even more dramatic effect on innovation and productivity growth” (Porter, 1998, p. 83). Being in a cluster often means that a company has a better window on the market than isolated producers. Companies in their contacts within the cluster learn from each other. In other words, clusters make opportunities for innovations more visible. Also because of the external economies of scale, experimentation within a cluster is possible at lower cost. In short, a cluster is a very good place to innovate (Porter, 1998). In other words, people within a cluster are more creative. Florida also acknowledges this, just like Hall and Jacobs.

Fifth, new companies are often founded within a cluster:

It is not surprising then, that many new companies grow up within an existing cluster rather than at isolated location. New suppliers, for example, proliferate within a cluster because a concentrated customer base lowers their risks and makes it easier for them to spot market opportunities. Moreover, because developed clusters comprise related industries that normally draw on common or very similar inputs, suppliers enjoy expanded opportunities. (Porter, 1998, p. 84)

In this way, Porter’s work about clusters both influenced and added to the Creative City Repertoire. One could even argue that the clusters can be seen as a repertoire of its own. On the national level, clusters used to be more important than they are. Amsterdam has a ICT cluster while Leiden’s bioscience cluster is the third biggest in Europe. It is now one of the biggest bioscience clusters of Europe (De Haan, interview, 2010). However, being strongly linked with Jacobs, Florida and Hall, it is not a coincidence that the cluster repertoire is partly part of the creative city. Indeed, the repertoire has big similarities, but the approach is different. The creative city is an urban approach while the cluster approach primarily focuses on businesses and regions. Recapitulating, creativity and innovations are likely to take place in clusters, and in a way Porter added also to the Creative City Repertoire.

5.3 The national level: The Netherlands

5.3.1 Introduction

In the Netherlands, lots of people contributed to the debate about the creative city. The international repertoires are discussed on congresses, researched by Dutch scientists, discussed in creative city bundles, magazines and newspapers, practised or applied by policymakers and consultancy companies.

Moreover the fact that also Dutch authors contributed to the Creative City Repertoire with their own work, they also selected parts of the international academic repertoire. Actually the national academics and policymakers are somewhere in the middle: they both apply and add to the repertoire. Here, global forms are rephrased, adapted and used on the national level, but also future global forms are invented. Therefore they are somewhere in the middle between, the urban policy context and the international academic contexts. Seen from the urban policy contexts, these ‘national publications’ are often used to develop creative city policies.
In this section the shift from the international level to the national level is made with the use of the strategy presented in section 4.2. Of course, the international and national academic contexts overlap, but the authors presented below are more national orientated. In this section the national selections and arrangements made on the basis of the international IR are analysed. The outcome is variable: from slightly different to a new meaning attached to the global concepts.

5.3.2 Zef Hemel, creativity before Florida

From 1985 onwards, the cities revived and started to grow again. In the 1990’s the cities started to grow economically as well. From the 1980’s onwards a shift from an industrial, manufacturing base, towards services, knowledge, innovation based economy, took place. Concepts like life sciences or campus development, all contributed in in different ways. Moreover there were discussions about economic clusters, corridors, networks, hubs and spokes. All concepts had specific ways of developing the economy. It focussed on logistics, ICT, financial services, Transnational Corporations etc. etc. One increasingly became aware of the competition with, Eastern Europe, New Industrialising Countries and South East Asia, especially the emergence of China. A global shift took place (Dicken, 2007, p. 34).

The city made a true comeback, but the national politics and policies did not have a proper answer yet. After the Second World War, suburbanisation was the keyword but from the late 1970’s urban revitalisation started. However the population in the old cities declined until 1986. Moreover the political climate in the Netherlands was against the city. The focus remained on the suburbs. Welfare should be shared equally, so the cities should grow gradually and the idea of one dominant metropolis, like London for example, was out of the question (De Boer, 1996).

In the Randstad Area, the concept of the Deltametropolis was spoken of. The western part of the Netherlands should become one metropolitan area. The four biggest cities, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag and Utrecht should work together. In practice, this discussion faded away, because the cities saw each other as competitors (De Boer, 1996). Clusters and corridors for instance were much more dominant. The Deltametropolis was split up into a southern wing and a north wing. Meanwhile the future of the city was not discussed by politician and policymakers while cities started to grow again both economically, culturally and demographically. The revival of the city took place. There were discussions about urban regeneration, gentrification, which were clearly based on the work of Jane Jacobs and Peter Hall (Hemel, interview, 2011).

This is a proper link with Jane Jacobs tales about the old neighbourhoods and about the city being the most important unit for the economy. The city became a popular place to be. Old neighbourhoods in Amsterdam like, ‘De Jordaan’ and ‘De Pijp’ became the new hotspots. Furthermore, artists started to work and live in old abandoned factories, mills and shipyards. These places at the fringe of the city were rough but avant-garde, and gave freedom to the people to do whatever they wanted. In 2002 the internet bubble collapsed and the sustainability debate was negative. One needed a new story about the city, a positive one. Zef Hemel was looking for that story. Florida played a minor role here, because his book was not published yet, when they started working on it.

In the late nineties, the discussion about the city, the metropolis, was not very dominant. In geography, academics preferred concepts like, the network, corridors and clusters. According to Zef Hemel, the discussion about the city was dead. At the time, Zef Hemel was working as an official at the national spatial planning department (VROM), together with then minister of spatial planning and the environment Jan Pronk. The former minister wanted to kick-start the discussion about the future of cities called the city of the 21th century (Hemel, interview, 2011). There was growing evidence that the city still was the centre of economic growth. Therefore, stated Zef Hemel, the national government should encourage the cities to develop their economies, and not redistributing taxes, in order to improve the economy of the periphery. Since the city is the heart of economic growth, stimulating otherwise is
useless: “Let the cities grown instead of constraining them” (Hemel, interview, 2011). Here, Jacob's and Hall's influences again are very clear, see for example the quote: “leave cities alone and let them develop by themselves” (Hospers, 2006, p. 723).

At the same time, the book ‘Cities in Civilization appeared as the masterwork of the British geographer, Peter Hall. Zef Hemel, being a spatial planner, was influenced by this book about creative milieus and cities, as well as by Jane Jacobs. The starting point for this book was Peter Hall's “masterpiece”. He wrote a paper, together with Jan Pronk, which eventually lead to the book called 'Creatieve Steden!'. This book was published in February 2002. Together with the outcome of this book, a conference was organised in Amsterdam. At this conference, Peter Hall and Jonathan Israel both presented their view on creativity and the city of Amsterdam. This was one of the starting points of the creative city discussion on national policy level in the Netherlands.

5.3.3 Conferences Florida in 2003 and 2005

In September 2003, a conference was held in the ‘Westergasfabriek’ in Amsterdam. The gasworks were renovated and opened its doors as a new factory for culture, art and creativity. Evert Verhagen of the Municipality of Amsterdam was the official of the ‘Westergasfabriek’. He had spent nearly a decade on this project. A grand opening was planned. Besides Charles Landry, Richard Florida was invited and spoke at this conference for a public of city planners, city officials and aldermen. The crowd was stunned. A new story about a better city in terms of economics, culture and creativity that can be achieved through talent, tolerance and technics. Florida's story was simple and clear. For the listeners it became obvious that creativity was extremely important for their cities. His performance invoked great enthusiasm among the public. That day, Florida inspired a lot of people; it was an eye-opener for many.

However, the press was not impressed and only two journalists turned up. It was hard to place Florida in a specific box. Being both economic and urban, as well as cultural, this was not the usual story about the knowledge economy or clusters. Only a handful of articles were written about Richard Florida.

The Westergasfabriek became a success story and still is. But even more than that; this congress was the starting point of hype about the creative city in the Netherlands, thanks to the speech of one man, Richard Florida. Hardly a year later, everybody of talking and publishing about the creative city and the creative class. It was even called a hype (Franke & Verhagen, 2005). The creative class started to be used in urban policy and Dutch academics, journalists and politicians discussed the topic. Maybe this story is too good to be true, but it underlines the value of a good story. Fact is that many people were inspired by this conference or other conferences, seminars, articles and books, published afterwards.

In 2005 Florida was invited to the Netherlands again. He visited Rotterdam, Eindhoven and Arnhem. This time, the press followed Florida everywhere. Politicians, professionals, policymakers were all willing to listen to him. Again Florida inspired lots of people.

5.3.4 The TNO Paper: Creative Industries in Amsterdam

In 2003 the Municipality of Amsterdam asked the Dutch research organisation TNO to investigate the creative industries of Amsterdam region. The report set the scene for the creative industries in the Netherlands. It showed the potential of the creative industries in the Netherlands, and at the same time adapted Florida's work to the Dutch context. The research focussed on the nature, size and development of the creative industries. It gave both quantitative and qualitative insights into the creative industries (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004). The following definition forms the basis of this research:

They are purchased by consumers and business customers because they have a specific meaning. This meaning evokes a reaction and thereby an experience. Therefor the creative industries play a major role in development and the maintenance of lifestyles and cultural identities in society.
Further on, a typology is made which is based on three subsectors: the arts, media and entertainment and creative (business) services. A second criterion is based on what function they have in culture value chain. This chain has six stages: creation, production, publishing and exploitation, distribution, consumption. According to the report, the first three stages are part of the creative industries. In the second part of the report, a quantitative analysis of the creative industries is performed. This was one of the first attempts to measure the creative industry in the Netherlands. They concluded that:

Within Amsterdam, the creative industry is a medium-sized sector with 32,500 jobs in the year 2002. This amounts to roughly 6.9% of all jobs in Amsterdam, a total of nearly 8300 firms with an average size of 3.9 employees. The creative industry achieves 4.5% of added ‘urban’ value. In terms of employment, the sector is comparable to the hospitality, transport, communication and education sectors.

These results triggered other municipalities, because for the first time, quantitative results showed that the creative industries are important for the urban economy. Florida told the success story; TNO provided the evidence for the Dutch context. In 2005, TNO did the same kind of research of the municipality of Rotterdam. Also The Hague started to develop policy for the creative industry.

5.3.5 CREATIVITEIT EN DE STAD: A LITERATURE BUNDLE IN DUTCH

Meanwhile the first Dutch bundle about the creative class was compiled by Simon Franke and Evert Verhagen (From the Westergasfabriek). It included contributions of Richard Florida, Charles Landry, John Thackara, Robert Kloosterman, Paul Rutten (of TNO) and Jeroen Saris (see next section). Besides Richard Florida, Peter Hall, Jane Jacobs, Cziksentmihalyi were mentioned as sources of inspiration. Starting point was the hype of Richard Florida which came about in 2004/2005. Important to note is that this is the first Dutch bundle about the topic. It is easy to read, and accessible for a wide audience varying from academics, journalist, politicians and policy makers. It gives a good first impression of the creative city. According to Simon Franke, 2000 books were sold within a year, with is quite a lot according to Dutch standards.

5.3.6 JEROEN SARIS: NEW IDEAS FOR OLD BUILDINGS

Jeroen Saris is a former alderman of the Municipality of Amsterdam and founded his own consultancy agency called: The City Ltd. (de Stad BV). This agency has been very important and used Florida’s ideas in its consultancy. Over the years The City Ltd. worked on creative projects in Amsterdam, Leiden, Arnhem, Groningen, Rotterdam, Amersfoort, Heerlen and Hengelo, all Dutch cities. They are an important distributor of the creative class repertoire. In 2008 they published a book titled: ‘Nieuwe deeën voor oude gebouwen’ The title, New Ideas for Old Buildings is derived from Jane Jacobs (1969) who stated that new ideas required old buildings (Jacobs, 1969). In the introduction of the book, Florida, Peter Hall, Zef Hemel, Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini are mentioned, together with ‘Atlas voor Gemeenten’ (Atlas of Dutch Municipalities) , The Westergasfabriek, Jane Jacobs and the report of TNO.

The book describes the different ways by which the creative city can be used to improve the city. According The City Ltd., the creative city hype is over and it is time for real strategies for the city. Governmental organisations, companies, NGOs and creative entrepreneurs all have a different background. Developing plans together is not easy and although the creative hype provided a starting-point, it was definitely not enough. Consultancy bureaus have to achieve these projects in the real world. Therefore they have been very important in many projects. The City Ltd., is only one of them, but an authority in the creative city and serves as an example of the role constancy bureaus play.
Saris developed a model that is based on the processes of inspiration, interaction and transaction. In urban strategies, a translation is needed from the demand site with creative transactions and interaction, to the supply site with an urban environment and old buildings (Saris, van Dommelen, & Metze, 2008, p. 37). Second, there are 4 types of creative milieus. This is the starting point for research.

**FIGURE 5-1 CREATIVE MILIEUS**

Third, Saris developed an urban strategy which he called the Venetian Bridge. From investigating the conditions, to revaluation, creating new perspectives, towards a vision, a programme, financial resources and ultimately the realisation of the plan. This process takes of course lots of time. First the actors diverge, until a joint vision is presented. (Saris, van Dommelen, & Metze, 2008, p. 40). In this way, consultancy companies spread the Creative City Repertoire in the Netherlands.

**FIGURE 5-2 THE VENETIAN BRIDGE**

5.3.7 *The attractive city: combining Florida and others*
Gerard Marlet is a Dutch economic geographer and he wrote a book titled ‘De Aantrekkelijke Stad’ (The Attractive City) which was published in 2009. Since 2003, he worked for ‘The (Dutch) Atlas for Municipalities’, which he co-founded. His study about attractiveness of cities combines concepts from the field of urban economics with views from the area of economic geography and is based on the following question:

Cities in the core area of the Netherlands perform better than those in the periphery. The northern region of the Randstad is significantly more successful than the southern part. In addition, within the periphery some cities are achieving considerably better than others. The question is why this is the case. (Marlet, 2009, p. 413)

Using empirical material from the Dutch Atlas for Municipalities, Marlet tries to answer this question. His book might have the same effect as the bundle of Franke and Verhagen (2005) and the report of TNO: it applies (international) theories to a Dutch context. The fact that it is also written in Dutch made it more accessible for policymakers, politicians, journalist etc. The why question, posted above is answered as follows with evidence from the Dutch context:

Attractive cities are cities which offer a broad range of amenities in the city, nature situated close-by, and work at a convenient distance. Not (only) the location of work, but (especially) the quality of the living environment is crucial in the choice for people where they want to live. (Marlet, 2009, p. 413)

Cities that offer an attractive living environment will attract more people with favourable prospect and will keep them as well (Marlet, 2009):

These attractive cities also perform better economically. This is because people do not only follow jobs, but jobs also follow people. In cities with a large number of highly educated and creative people the volume of human capital is bigger. This situation, in turn attracts businesses because they can find more productive workers. In addition, these highly educated and creative people spend more money in the local economy and more inclined to start their own businesses. These are all reasons why in attractive cities there is not only a change in the composition of the population, but also an increase in employment. (Marlet, 2009, p. 413)

Cities with the highest attraction value in The Netherlands are Amsterdam, Haarlem, Utrecht and Maastricht. This really made it interesting for municipalities. A ranking makes curious, certainly when you are an alderman. Marlet (2009) end with some tips: you cannot change the location of a city, but you can influence the attractiveness of a city. “Cities can invest, for example, in the quality of houses, a safe living environment, cultural facilities, architecture, restaurants and other urban amenities” (Marlet, 2009, p. 414). And that is within reach of many cities.
5.4 DRAWING THE FIRST MAP

This chapter showed that the creative city is discussed all over the world. This makes it a true global form (Collier & Ong, 2005; Prince, 2010a). Second, since this is my reading of the academic repertoire, it is not complete. All these narratives lead to the following figure, which is the first schematic map of the repertoire. The different narratives are related to each other, and together form the Creative City Repertoire. In the next section the influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse is analysed and described.

FIGURE 5-3 FIRST MAP OF THE CREATIVE CITY REPERTOIRE
5.5 THE INFLUENCE OF THE NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE AND THE POLICY DISCOURSE

5.5.1 INTRODUCTION

The last step of this chapter is a critical evaluation of the academic repertoire with the use of two frameworks. I systematically analysed the current selection of the academic repertoire and answered the following question: Is the CCI just a new form of neoliberalism or is it also formed by urban policy, local initiatives and principles not directly based on neoliberalism? By systematically following the analytical framework of neoliberalism and the policy discourse as presented in table 5-2 and 5-3, I tried to critically evaluate the academic repertoire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neoliberal discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Entrepreneurial values: entrepreneurial values are part of /essential for a policy/narrative/IR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Limited state intervention: the state should not disturb the market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fiscal discipline: the effective capping of government budget deficits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Public expenditure priorities: should focus on supply-side investments not on social amelioration or progressive redistribution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tax reform: rates should be held down and incentives sharpened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Financial liberalization: interest rates and capital flows should be market determined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Exchange rates: rates should be sufficiently competitive to induce rapid growth in non-traditional exports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Trade liberalization: quantitative restrictions on imports should be removed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Foreign direct investment: barriers to the entry of foreign firms should be abolished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Privatization: state enterprises should be returned to private ownership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Deregulation: governments should abolish regulations restricting competition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Property rights: legal systems should ensure property rights without excessive costs (Peet &amp; Hartwick, 1999, p. 52)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5-2 NEOLIBERAL FRAMEWORK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A policy discourse consists of a specific ensemble of a specific ensemble of ideas, categorisations and narratives that is being produced, reproduced and/or transformed in policy practices (Hajer 1995 in:Arnouts &amp; Arts, 2009, p. 206)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Global forms: Parts of the narrative/IR/ policy are based on a global form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Non-neoliberal principles: principles for a narrative/IR? Policy are derived from other’s than the neoliberalism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Local initiatives: the initiative is local and not based on a policy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5-1 POLICY DISCOURSE FRAMEWORK
5.5.2 Signs of the Neoliberal Discourse

To begin with, the creative city has become more entrepreneurial both on the international academic repertoire and the national policy repertoire. This is particularly true for the meaning and narrative of the artist. The artist, who used to produce art and thus culture, was more and more depicted as an entrepreneur. As stated by O’Connor (2007) in section 5.2.1, culture became the culture industries and subsequently creative industries. In this way the artist became a creative entrepreneur. Through The Creative Cities Mapping Document, a new ‘industry’ with its own interpretative repertoire was created in the United Kingdom, by the Department for Culture, Media and Sports (Department for Culture, 1998; Cunningham, 2007). By delivering statistics and narratives, the creative industries were constructed as part of the Creative City Repertoire. On the national level this was done by TNO with its paper about the creative industries in Amsterdam. The artist, once an independent artist gradually became a creative entrepreneur.

Moreover, culture, that according to Horkheimer and Adorno had to be protected against the market, was overtime increasingly seen as part of the capitalist market (Adorno & Horkheimer in: O’Connor, 2007). From a policy perspective this meant a move from culture policy per se towards culture as a product of a culture market consisting of creative entrepreneurs. Although many artists do not want to be an entrepreneur, they are moved (or forced) towards the creative industries by cutbacks on culture and new policies. In this way deregulation is advocated by the government. Artist which do not want to be part of this entrepreneurial movement, are depicted as troublesome, old-fashioned, lazy, or useless for society. In this way, entrepreneurial values, as an important characteristic of neoliberalism became more and more important. Entrepreneurial values are welcomed by all authors and narratives, in particular as means to improve the city. Therefore it is undisputed that entrepreneurs are essential for economic development in the city.

As a professor at Harvard Business School, Michael Porter is one of the most cited authors in business and economics. He influenced the debate in many ways. His work on competition and company strategy made him famous, but he also wrote a lot about regions, clusters, and the nations. He is a leading authority on competitive strategy, the competitiveness and economic development of nations-states and regions, and the application of competitive principles to social problems such as health care, the environment, and corporate responsibility. This makes him an international respected academic, in particular within neoliberal thinking.

Furthermore, the spatial units of the theories of Jacobs, Hall, Porter and Florida namely, the diverse neighbourhood, the innovative milieu, the cluster or the attractive city for the Creative class, are all places where entrepreneurs can flourish. This might be the ultimate evidence of the influence of capitalism or neoliberalism: a good place is a place where entrepreneurs can do their job. The government in turn by stimulating the creative industries as a new market, helped to create a new market which is also a characteristic of neoliberalism.

The deregulation principle is also visible in the current culture policy. For instance, Florida’s way of thinking is used as an argument for neoliberal cultural policy. “For policy makers this argument may imply a complete turn of thought: urban competitiveness is served by a liberal cultural policy rather than a conventional policy of subsidizing business R&D and supporting local spin-offs” (Hospers, 2005, p. 323). In the current debate, culture is also cut for the reason of fiscal discipline and tax reform.

In line is city marketing which was also influenced by Florida. City compete which each other and city marketing is a tool to attract more visitors, businesses, residents to the city. In order to achieve this, a city has to become an attractive city as described by Marlet (Marlet, 2009).

---

Returning to creating new markets as third feature, a new market called the creative industries was created by the UK government and was subsequently taken over by the Municipality of Amsterdam and the Dutch government as well. Thanks to the statistics and narratives provided by i.e. TNO (2004), a new market was developed as well. Of course, those businesses were already out there, but now different meaning was given to them, as a new promising economic sector, which not all artists liked. Add to that, that this new sector could apply for grants from the EU and the national government, which eventually led to a growing, flourishing economic sector.

Next, gentrification can be a form of limited state intervention. While in the past entire neighbourhoods were renovated as part of municipal urban renewal projects, gentrification is seen as an individual and autonomous process without government intervention. For this reason it is appreciated by most municipalities, since the government does not have to pay for the renovations. This makes gentrification a cost-efficient tool for urban renewal.

However gentrification can also be seen as a form of competition. New often richer inhabitants of the neighbourhood will purchase houses, apartments, the rents will rise and the original inhabitants have to move since they cannot afford the high rents and housing prices. From a neoliberal perspective this is not problematic: no regulation, no social amelioration or progressive redistribution. Though often linked to alternative movements and creativity, gentrification can be very neoliberal as well, as described by Markus Hesselmann in the Guardian of the 7th of February (Hesselmann, 2011).

To what extent, is the Creative City Repertoire a pure derivate of the neoliberal discourse? In order to answer this question, one should take a look at the framework again. Advocating entrepreneurial values, creating markets, limited state intervention, deregulation, no social amelioration and no progressive redistribution and fiscal discipline are all parts of the creative city interpretative repertoire. At least we can say that the neoliberal discourse had a remarkable influence on the Creative City. However other principles, not directly derived from neoliberalism are also part of the creative city.

5.5.3 Signs of the policy discourse

A policy discourse consists of: “a specific ensemble of ideas, categorisations and narratives that is being produced, reproduced and/or transformed in policy practices” (Hajer 1995 in: Arnouts & Arts, 2009, p. 206). So what categorisations and narratives are part of the policy discourse in the Netherlands?

Jacobs, Hall and Florida advocate the city as the place for creativity, for innovation, for freedom, for civilization. This makes the city the ideal place for social, cultural, political and economic development. All three advocate the economic development of the city, but that is not necessary a neoliberal characteristic. Neoliberalism is about the way this should be achieved.

Jacobs specifically argues for the importance of the neighbourhood. According to Jacobs the city is a living organism. Her plea for diversity is famous in urban planning and consists of the four generators of diversity: mixed use, small blocks, buildings of various ages and states of repair and a high density of people (Jacobs, 1961). Diversity is the principle on which neighbourhoods should be based.

On the national level, diversity is advocated in urban renewal which has no neoliberal goals. In fact it is a state intervention both spatially and socially: it is a form of social amelioration and it is a state intervention of the local municipality. Therefore this part of the Creative City Repertoire is based on the policy discourse which clearly has elements of Jacobs in it.

Second, Peter Hall’s work on innovative milieux clearly has entrepreneurial values in it, and just as with Jacobs, economic development is seen as a good thing, because it brings prosperity and welfare. In Amsterdam, the work of Peter Hall influenced the founding of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area.
On the national level both Hall’s and Jacob’s ideas were used for a new policy for the cities. This resulted in a shift from a distributive system for the whole Randstad Area towards the focus on the development of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area and the development of the South wing of the Randstad. Here, Jacob’s and Hall’s influences again are very clear, see for example the quote: “leave cities alone and let them develop by themselves” (Hospers, 2006, p. 723). Although this can be seen as a form of deregulation it is more than that. It is a philosophy about the city.

Thirdly Landry and Bianchini started to investigate the creative industries and defined it. In this way they put the creative cities on the map just like the Creative Industries Mapping Document and the TNO paper on the national level. Next, creativity is a source and a principle for urban planning, urban development and an idea factory for entrepreneurs, city planners and politicians. They provided concrete tools to get the creative process going. Creativity was seen as a source out there, which had to be used in city planning as well in order to achieve a better urban policy. The creative city of Landry and Bianchini became for example part of the Creative City Repertoire thanks to annual workshops and summer schools held in Amsterdam for policymakers and consultants.

Last, all these books in the first place influenced urban planners in the Netherlands, not ideological thinkers, or politicians. Therefore Peter Hall, Jane Jacobs and Landry and Bianchini influenced the policy discourse of the Netherlands in the first place. Florida and Porter on the other hand are more mainstream and therefore also more neoliberal.

The second aspect of table 5-2 is about global forms and policy transfer. “Global phenomena are not unrelated to social and cultural problems. But they have a distinctive capacity for decontextualization and recontextualization, abstractability and movement, across diverse social and cultural situations and spheres of life” (Collier & Ong, 2005, p. 11). The creative industries are certainly a good example of policy transfer. The national government and the Municipality of Amsterdam took this concept from the UK government. The UK mapping document for the creative industries served as an example, but was adapted to the Dutch context by TNO and subsequently the Municipality of Amsterdam. The same is true for the creative class of Richard Florida, and Michael Porter’s clusters. These turned out to be global forms and travelled the world (Wang, 2004; Cunningham, 2007). The Dutch definition of the Creative class differs from the American definition, and the creative industries in the Netherlands are less coherent than in the UK. These global forms entered the Netherlands via the academic social context and the national policy context, making the influence of the policy discourse on the Creative City Repertoire eminent.

Last, Consultant agency like the City Ltd. developed all kind of creative city approaches to solve urban problems. In their approach they combine the different sources in order to solve problems. Since, this chapter is about the international academic context and the national policy context, the local context is not described here, but these consultant agencies also actively spread creative city narratives within a large number of municipalities.

Although the neoliberal influence is quite big, the creative city was also influenced by and spread through the government. This so-called policy discourse therefore also had a remarkable influence on the Creative City Repertoire.
5.6 CONCLUSION

Now in order to take stock, what can be said about the narratives of the academic context and the national policy context that are part of the Creative City Repertoire in terms of language, meaning and dominance? First the dominant narratives and their national variants are described, followed by three general statements about emplotment and the conclusions about the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse.

The conditions that make economic growth possible are to be found in cities with the following conditions: mixed uses, short blocks, buildings of various ages and states of repair and density of people (Jacobs); freedom, large (in) formal structure, open to change (liberal institution), innovation and new ideas, the presence of knowledge, a society with equal changes (Hall); Technology, Talent and Tolerance (Florida). These conditions affect competition and thus innovation and creativity in three ways: “Clusters affect competition in three broad ways: first, by increasing the productivity of companies based in the area; second, by driving the direction and pace of innovation, which underpins future productivity growth” (Porter, 1998, p. 80). This results in a cluster (Porter), an innovative milieu (Hall), an attractive city (Florida) or an economically diverse neighbourhood (Jacobs). Landry (2005) describes similar elements of his creative city (Landry, 2000).

Moreover the narrative of the creative class of Richard Florida is dominant:

I define the core of the Creative Class to include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content. Around the core, the Creative Class also includes a boarder group of creative professionals in business and finance, law, health care and related fields. (Florida, 2002, p. 8)

Glaeser, just like Hall states that knowledge, talent and thus skills are the most important for economic growth in a city (Glaeser, 2005). In order to attract the creative class, a city should be attractive for the creative class. Attractive cities literally attract more creative people and will be successful in an economic way (Florida, 2002).

In short this is the dominant neoliberal story of a city that as to grow economically in order to compete with other cities. The only way to maintain prosperity is economic growth: the city as an entrepreneur. Within the academic context I found three different ways to plot this academic narrative on the national level.

First of all, all major cities in the Netherlands are aware of this competition or rivalry between cities. It is one of the reasons why the Deltametropool, the partnership between the 4th biggest Dutch city did not work out (De Boer, 1996; Hemel, 2011). Cities have their own agendas because they know that they are rivals.

Second, this narrative is used on the national level as an argument for a more liberal policy for the cities: “leave cities alone and let them develop by themselves” (Hospers, 2006, p. 723). Also Glaeser advocates a more liberal policy for cities (Glaeser, 2011 in: Hemel, 2011). Cities want to grow economically and this underpins their development agendas.

Combining both, the narrative of the metropolis was introduced by Zef Hemel to give meaning to the revival of the cities is the third way to plot the academic narrative. The city used to be outdated, dirty, rundown, and the suburb and the new districts were the place to be, both economically and socially. This narrative advocates for a dominant role of the city since it is the main driver of economic growth, innovation and the centre of civilization. This free interpretation of Hall gave the city a new, positive story, but also advocated its dominance and its independence. According to this narrative, the cities got the power and freedom that they deserve.
Amsterdam should be seen as a Metropolis, instead of a national policy which redistributes wealth and the state should stimulate Amsterdam to develop itself as a true metropolis.\textsuperscript{5}

In this way, it is used as an argument to give the cities more freedom, in regard to the national government.

The creative academic narrative is also quite dominant in the Netherlands. Surely, creativity is not new, it is an essential human quality. “The essence of creativity is the capacity to think up original solutions to day-to-day problems and challenges. The creative mind sees what others see but thinks and does something different” (Koester, 1975 in: Hospers, 2003, p. 360). However creativity is often seen in a Schumpeterian way. Creativity leads to ‘neue kombinationen’ and via a creative destruction process which in the end leads to innovation and new economic growth (Hospers & Pen, 2008). Creativity is limited to a core driver of economic growth. On the national level, this has led to a focus on innovation.

Narratives about culture are also important within the academic repertoire. Culture becomes more entrepreneurial while entrepreneurship becomes more cultural. Culture is more and more commoditized and this so-called culture industry was seen as a threat by Adorno because culture was incorporated into capitalism. In order to protect culture many countries founded national arts and cultural ministries. This was the emergence of a distinct discourse of cultural policy per se (O’Connor, 2007). Culture and industry were connected as the cultural industries which became the creative industries and were defined as: “activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (Department for Culture, 1998). This eclectic definition includes the resolutely analogue (arts, crafts, antiques, architecture), established commercial business sectors (TV, radio, film) as well as all-digital new economy sectors (software, interactive leisure software) (Department for Culture, 1998; Cunningham, 2007). Although it is recognizes that many new products have a cultural value, the focus is on business and entrepreneurship. Adorno might be right.

Last, what started out as a call for creativity and imagination in the 1980’s turned into a toolkit for urban planners. In order to act creative as a city four elements are essential: first, highly educated and flexible workforce: dynamic thinkers, creators and performers, second a large formal and informal intellectual infrastructure, third, strong communication channels, fourth a good business climate. “This leads to a creative friction in an imaginative city on the tip of a dynamic, exciting balance” (Landry, 2005 in: Franke & Verhagen, 2005, p. 45). These elements are parallel to the work of Peter Hall. Talent and knowledge should be central in the city. Creativity is seen as a source that should be used in policy and business in order to improve the city. Landry provides a toolkit that can be used to apply creativity.

Besides these narratives, three more general statements can be made about the interpretations and emplotment of the narratives: First of all, the different narratives are adapted to the Dutch context by both scientists and policymakers. In this way the creative class and the creative industries are adapted in order to meet the Dutch circumstances:

The creative industry is a specific form of business which produces products or services, which are the result of individual or collective creative work and entrepreneurship.\textsuperscript{5}

It should be noticed that creative industries became creative industry. This might indicate that the UK’s creative industries are meant to be more diverse than the Dutch creative...
industry. Besides in the Netherlands, a creative industry is a business while in the UK it should have the potential to become a business. So a selection toward a more entrepreneurial mode is already made in the report of TNO. The influence of the neoliberal discourse is visible here. The Dutch definition of the creative class is adapted in a similar way by Marlet who decided to only define what Florida calls the super creative core: “It is made up of people who work in science, and engineering, computers and mathematics, education, and the arts, design and entertainment, people who work in directly creative activity” (Florida, 2002, p. 74; Marlet, 2009).

Secondly, the narratives are used in a simplified form. City councils like these kind of ideas because it gives them concrete tools to solve economic or social problems. Big promises, only partly made by Florida, were thus picked up by consultancies, policymakers and so on. As a city council, you are likely to want this also in your own city. So, notwithstanding the critique, city councils are (very) willing to use it. And although Florida warned against this idea that you can create a creative city with policy, or the idea that every city can become a creative city, this is how many policymakers interpreted his work (Florida, 2002).

Thirdly, the notion of the creative city has led to the favoured process of gentrification. In every discussion about the neighbourhood economy, urban regeneration, urban developed, at some point, Jacobs and gentrification are mentioned. However, as stated by Gert-Jan Hospers, many other topics like security on the streets, are not spoken of. Jane-Jacobs, is often spoken of, but is far less read (Hospers, 2006). In the Netherlands, gentrification is advocated by The City Ltd and many cities. Every neighbourhood has specific strengths and opportunities (the DNA) which are the start for the neighbourhood development (Saris, van Dommelen, & Metze, 2008). Although, gentrification was mentioned in every interview, it did not make sense all the time. I think it was often mentioned because questions were asked about Jane Jacobs.

As the last part of this conclusion, the influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse became already visible the narratives described above. Neoliberalism sure has influence on the Creative City Repertoire. Economic development is generally seen as a good thing, and entrepreneurial values are appreciated. However the current Creative City Repertoire, as far it concerns the academic and national policy contexts is by no means purely neoliberal. In fact both in the international academic context and the national policy context the Creative City Repertoire are based on other principles, theories and narratives than neoliberalism. The narratives of diversity, social justice, creativity as a planning principle and urban renewal are all important influences from the policy discourse. Moreover the creative city is a global form that via policy transfer entered the national government and municipalities in the Netherlands. On many occasions the Creative City Repertoire was introduced by the government. The influence of the policy discourse is therefore also eminent.

This is further elaborated on in the chapter 6 about Leiden and Amsterdam. This discourse is based on a broader set of values than neoliberalism. This supports the assumption of chapter 2, namely that the Creative City Repertoire is not simply a derivate of neoliberalism. In fact creative city policy is not merely a derivative of the dominant neoliberal discourse, but co-produces this policy with the discourse.
6. LEIDEN AND AMSTERDAM

6.1 INTRODUCTION
This chapter presents the empirical results. The empirical findings that form the basis of this chapter are to be found in appendices 1 and 2 as findings reports of Leiden and Amsterdam. First, the performance of the interpretative repertoire in Leiden and Amsterdam is presented, and then the influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse are discussed. Last, the two cities and the academic context are compared.
For each city a relational piece was compiled to show how different narratives influence each other. I analysed the narratives in terms of language, meaning and dominance. The most important questions of this chapter are how the interpretative repertoires and narratives are plotted in particular ways, what their similarities and differences are, how these are related to the Creative City Repertoire, and the influence of neoliberal discourse and policy discourse on the Creative City Repertoire.

6.2 LEIDEN, KEY TO DISCOVERY

6.2.1 INTRODUCTION
Leiden is one of the oldest cities in the Netherlands. It is a typical Dutch city with an old city centre composed of canals, bridges, brick buildings and bicycles. The Dutch painter Rembrandt van Rijn was born here. Leiden is a student city with around 117,000 inhabitants. Together with the surrounding municipalities it forms an agglomeration of over half a million. It is located in the west of the Netherlands, just between Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. It is has the second highest percentage of inhabitants belonging to the creative class. Within Leiden two social contexts that use the Creative City Repertoire stand out:
  * Citylab, and Peen & Ui as representatives of the local context
  * The Municipality of Leiden

These two social contexts, although related, translate the global concepts of the creative city into local narratives. An examination of these context resulted in a findings report, to be found in appendix 1. With over 60 quotes it provides a detailed description of the different narratives. Of course there are more social contexts in Leiden, however I think these are the dominant ones in which the creative city as a concept is used. Although there are similarities, both social contexts created distinctive terms, narratives, plots and metaphors which became part of the interpretative repertoire. This lexicon shapes the ways people talk about the city. Apart from these context specific narratives, there are also overarching narratives about the city, used by all social contexts.

6.2.2 CITY NARRATIVES
The first remarkable set of narratives is about Leiden as a city. Leiden is many cities. Within the different social contexts, different narratives are used to describe what kind of city Leiden is:
Leiden as old university city, city with an old authentic inner-city, city of culture, city of knowledge, city of the creative class, an old industrial city, city of bioscience, city of communication and last a boring city where nothing happens. A complete description of the narratives to be found in the findings report, appendix 1. Of course all these narratives refer to the identity of Leiden as a city, but what is striking is that some of them are based on the Creative City Repertoire.

Thus, the city of creative class uses the academic narrative of Richard Florida (2002), the city of bioscience and the city of knowledge use elements of the cluster narrative of Porter (1998) and Hall’s (1998) innovative milieux, while the city of culture uses Florida (2002) as an argument for more culture since it attracts the creative class (Hall, 1998; Porter, 1998; Florida,
However these narratives are used in all social contexts in Leiden, but are adapted to the local context, plotted in different ways.

The city of the creative class for instance, states that there are a lot of creative class people living in Leiden. According to Florida this would be a good thing. However, the creative class often only lives in Leiden and goes to work in Amsterdam, Utrecht or Rotterdam. According to the Municipality of Leiden, too many people use Leiden as their bedroom and not as their working area. Leiden has Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht as its rivals. Currently Leiden is losing this battle: the creative class lives in Leiden, but works somewhere else. In this way a positive story of Florida is plotted into a negative narrative on the local level, by Citylab and the Municipality of Leiden. Citylab a voluntary organisation that wants to make Leiden more fun:

Citylab Leiden will develop projects and implement those which make Leiden even more creative, more innovative, more cultural, and more exciting.\(^7\)

Citylab gave Florida's narrative a different plot and used it as a way to achieve their goals, but also because they represent the well-educated middle-class of Leiden who states that their city is provincial and boring. In short, these city narratives are intersubjective. They are part of the interpretative repertoire of the city of Leiden, but agents plot the elements of the narrative in particular ways for their own purposes.

6.2.3 Citylab

In 2008, Stadslab (Citylab) was established in Leiden. Citylab is a group of volunteers. Their main goal is to improve the city in many ways:

We do this because we'd like to create a good city for ourselves, and to leave our children with a good city too.\(^8\)

Most volunteers have a professional background that is useful to develop urban plans. This group consists of: journalist, academics, architects, lawyers, urban planners and managers, but also ordinary citizens that are just concerned with their city. The local social context of this group of people can be characterized as: higher educated, local, middle class and progressive:

It will be a laboratory, a studio, a workshop, a breeding ground for innovation in Leiden. People make a city. They do this in this order: meet, collaborate, and create. We want to strengthen this chain of creativity.\(^9\)

Citylab, which is rooted in the communications sector, is very aware of the power of language and actively created its own local rephrased and adapted version of the creative city. Over time, they developed and are still developing their own ways to talk, write, work and develop the city of Leiden. According to Citylab, its members have one thing in common and that is their love for the city. Within Leiden, they are very important for the debate about the city and the development of all kinds of plans, varying from planning new cultural events to establishing a city beach at one of the canals. This organisation, as I argue, has created its own narratives and thereby actively shapes the Creative City Repertoire in Leiden.

Citylab has created a highly positive set of narratives that can be summarised as follows: Leiden should be more fun, a vibrant city. You as a city-dweller can help us to improve the city by participating in different projects. If you have a clever idea for the city, come and join us. If the government does not do anything, we should do it ourselves. We are a workplace for innovation; we deliver a realistic plan with a partner who is able to develop the (spatial) plan. We are professional volunteers with no serious stakes in the city. The love for the city binds us together. Creativity should be the supercharger for the economy of this city. Instead
of losing the battle, Leiden should become a city with the vibe! A more creative, attractive, entrepreneurial and developer orientated city.

The whole idea of Leiden as a vibrant city can be traced back to Richard Florida. In short some cities have the vibe, others have not. Thanks to the 3Ts cities with the right vibe are doing well. On the national level, Citylab was influenced by The City Ltd. who wrote a report for the city of Leiden called: ‘Talent makes Leiden more Creative’ (De Stad BV, 2006). In this report, Florida’s theory is adapted and used for Leiden. Moreover people of Citylab read the Book of Marlet (2009), ‘The Attractive City’ (Marlet, 2009). The idea that you cannot change the location of a city, but you can influence the attractiveness of a city, is a narrative derived directly from Marlet.

But why did they create such narratives? With their positive narrative they want to replace the underdog feelings lots of people in Leiden have about their city. After all, Leiden used to be an industrial city with lots of poorly educated people, high poverty levels and high unemployment rates:

But we also noticed that a lot of organizations appreciate that there is a ‘club’ that is not only complaining about the city, instead of about being the underdog, and the total lack of faith in the city. We were thinking: we will not complain, it costs too much energy and we do not have time for it, because we are all busy professionals.

Citylab wants a better city for all, but mainly consists of well-educated people who thought the range of restaurants, shops, cafes and services was not good enough, because entrepreneurs still catered for a poor city:

Seriously, why cannot I eat really good, decent, haut-cuisine food anywhere in Leiden, to show off the Leiden’s potential?

Florida’s narrative of the creative class perfectly fits the call for an upgrade of the city centre that fits the needs of the new urban elite. Last Citylab present themselves as an independent organisation with no stakes in the city. With this narrative, negative connotations with the municipality or real-estate developers are avoided.

Still, I think the intentions of Citylab are mostly noble. They want to improve the city for all, and ask volunteers with a professional background to do something for their city. They see it as their duty. Citylab echoes Landry and Bianchini, who stated that the city should use all its creativity. Just like them, Citylab tries to develop positive plans with imagination. In this way, they live up to the positive narrative. The result of these narratives is that Leiden is a better and more fun place to live.

6.2.4 The Municipality of Leiden

The Municipality of Leiden has two important principles: the use of the city’s potential and the facilitating role of the municipality. It developed its own narratives that can be summarized as follows: culture, knowledge and an authentic old town. The combination of cultural history and the potential opportunities for the Knowledge Society (Arts and Science) make the city unique. The municipality speaks in terms of unique selling points and potential. Leiden should use its potential in order to become an even more attractive city. Linkages should be made between economy, culture and knowledge. Culture should embrace the economy; economy should connect to knowledge and education. A strong second cluster, should be created in order to make the economy of Leiden less dependent on the bioscience cluster. Bioscience is a highly successful part of the economy of Leiden.

Thinking in terms of potential was brought in by The City Ltd. and Gerard Marlet’s (2009) book about the attractive city but also by Citylab (Marlet, 2009). Of course thinking in terms of potential already is an entrepreneurial mode of thinking, and this results in different local narratives about the city. But why did the city decide to use it? In order to compete, a city has to focus on its potential. In case of Leiden, with its knowledge and culture based
economy, the competition with nearby Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht and Rotterdam is fierce, so from a neoliberal perspective Leiden has no choice but to compete.

The bioscience cluster for instance is already a great success. Narratives based on Porter’s clusters are therefore dominant, because it is a success story as the third biggest bioscience cluster in Europe. Despite this success, Citylab warned that it could be the next textile industry. Leiden once had a flourishing textile industry, but due to deindustrialisation, all factories disappeared in the 1970s and 1980s leaving many of its workers jobless. So generally speaking, a city with a one-sided economy is always very vulnerable, as stated by Jacobs, Hall and Porter in chapter 5 (Jacobs, 1961; Hall, 1998; Porter, 1998).

In order to make the economy more varied, Leiden should develop more of its economic potential. It is not surprizing then that Citylab advocated the communication sector (with 500 companies) as a strong second sector with a lot of potential. Moreover The City Ltd. mentioned Leiden for the first time as a creative city, in which knowledge, culture and the economy should be combined. The Municipality of Leiden now shares City Ltd.’s point of view. Thanks to the municipality and projects like House of the Communication and the Flour Factory, (Meelfabriek), the economy of Leiden is broadened.

Furthermore, the ‘potential narrative’ of combining culture, knowledge and the economy is also plotted in a different way:

That is so, because I think culture, when she embraces the economy, will realize she can do more and go further, than if she were to have only a caring or educational role.12

Culture then is seen as important for the economy of the city:

Culture is fun...culture is part of our identity as a city and culture is what we do for a living.13

In this plot the city is built on two pillars: knowledge and culture:

The combination of cultural history and the potential of the arts and sciences here make the city unique. It makes Leiden a highly knowledge-based city with many businesses of all kinds that make money solely from education and research.14

This narrative connects culture to the economy and moves the artist in the direction of the creative entrepreneur. This is one of the goals of the municipality. Here the ‘potential narrative’ is used to make culture more entrepreneurial.

Last, the inner-city should become more attractive for visitors. Public space is upgraded in order to become a more attractive city. For example the ‘Beestenmarkt’, one of Leiden’s biggest squares, has been renovated. ‘Not only is this a good example of Leiden using its potential, but also an example of Leiden using city marketing theories derived from Gerard Marlet’s book ‘The attractive City’ (2009).’

This ‘potential thinking’ is combined with a facilitating role. The municipality is aware of the fact that it cannot create a creative city by itself. Leiden is not a very big and certainly not a very rich city. Its role is limited to providing the right conditions and the right climate for economic growth and employment. In this way the Municipality of Leiden uses the Creative City Repertoires.

6.2.5 IT IS A SMALL TOWN

Leiden is not a very big city. Although two social contexts can be distinguished, they are in close contact with each other. Citylab has influenced the municipality with its new and fresh projects. As became clear earlier in this section, Citylab consciously tries to influence the municipality with its positive narratives about the city. This is for instance the case with the communications sector as a strong second sector, which was advocated by Citylab, and with
the connection of knowledge, economy and culture. Seen from an academic perspective, both the municipality and Citylab were inspired by Florida and Marlet. They both state that they adopted and adapted Florida’s theory mainly through the Dutch publications of Marlet that advocate ‘the attractive city’ (Marlet, 2009).

Citylab has a huge impact on the narratives of Leiden because it translates Florida’s ideas, together with the attractive city of Marlet and The City Ltd. into local narratives. Led by people from the communication sector, Citylab is aware of the power of language, messages, and images. In a relatively small city, like Leiden, people know each other and therefore the narratives intertwine, overlap and are partly the same. According to Citylab, this is not a problem. It is actually one of their targets.

In fact the municipality which started to use the terms and metaphors of Citylab started to think more positive, and more like Citylab. Seen from the aforementioned theoretical framework, the municipality, in becoming a speaker of these local narratives, is enticed and encultured into particular and even partial understanding of Leiden (Edley, 2001). For the municipality making the city a better place cannot be done without the creative class and Citylab.

The Municipality of Leiden and Citylab as the two important agents in their social contexts showed that there are different ways of plotting the Creative City Repertoire into narratives such as thinking in terms of potential and Leiden as a city with a vibe. Ultimately these narratives often come from academic narratives such those of Florida, Marlet and Porter.

6.2.6 NEOLIBERALISM AND THE POLICY DISCOURSE

Both the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse have an impact on the city of Leiden. The city has a high potential, and in order to compete with neighbouring rival cities, this potential should be developed. The idea of competition is essential for capitalism and therefore a neoliberal value. Subsequently, economic growth serves as the neoliberal benchmark. A ‘perfect’ city is attractive for its visitors, residents, new businesses, and has a booming economy. Moreover an entrepreneurial mode in order to get things done quickly is advocated by Citylab.

Signs of neoliberalism can be found in the narrative about connecting economy and culture (6.2.4). The extent to which cultural institutions collaborate and connect themselves to other sectors is seen as an important criterion of success. Here the switch from the artist to the creative entrepreneur is clearly advocated by the municipality. Because of this entrepreneurial values become more and more important.

The connection between science and culture can be used to improve the economic situation of Leiden. Culture is vested in museums, archives and the old town. In order to become more attractive, these should be improved. Again a ‘perfect’ city is a city with a proper economy.

Moreover more economic variety is part of this policy. The economy of Leiden is one-sided. Bioscience is the dominant sector and also a dominant narrative about the city. This is a possible weakness. Therefore the government decided to stimulate the diversification of the economy. The creative industry in general and the communication sector specifically are seen as possibilities to broaden the economy of Leiden.

Furthermore, Leiden advocates the preservation and innovation of the old inner city and the creation of diversity. Preservation and diversity, however, are clearly not part of the neoliberal discourse. Instead preservation and diversity are part of cultural policies and therefore part of the policy discourse. Taking over global forms is also a characteristic of the policy discourse. In case of the creative city in Leiden, the following global forms are used: the creative industries, the creative class and clusters. The creative class is used as an argument to make the city more attractive.
On the local level, neoliberalism does not seem that dominant. Competition between cities is very manifest, but many other elements of neoliberalism remain hidden. Consequently, the influence of the neoliberal discourse is very hard to estimate.

6.3 Amsterdam, a Creative Metropolis

6.3.1 Introduction

Amsterdam is famous for its canals, architecture, cultural heritage, museums, red-light district, cannabis for being an open and tolerant city. The Municipality of Amsterdam has 780,150 inhabitants. The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, including Haarlem, Almere, ‘t Gooi, Zaandam and Purmerend has 2,3 million inhabitants. Perhaps Amsterdam is the smallest metropolis in the world.

According to Dutch standards, Amsterdam is a big city. The municipality, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, The Creative Cities Amsterdam Area, some personal narratives and the NDSM wharf were investigated as social contexts in Amsterdam. This resulted in a findings report with over 60 quotes to be found in the appendix 2. It provides a detailed description of the different narratives. Before the narratives are discussed, two observations will be presented in advance in order to understand the situation in Amsterdam:

First the creative class of Florida was generally not a hype in Amsterdam. Unlike on the international and national level, the hype did not affect Amsterdam that much. The creative class was not politically accepted by PvdA (Labour), the biggest party in Amsterdam, because it was considered elitist and part of a neoliberal agenda. Until recently the creative city was not institutionalized. Moreover:

_It was not really an issue, I mean, so much is going on here, all the time. In order to create a hype you really have to try hard._

Therefore the creative class was not a very dominant narrative.

Second, the narratives of the creative industries, creative city or creative class were not uniform in Amsterdam. In other words, agents plotted the same elements of the Creative City Repertoire differently and they did so in the municipal organisation too. Thanks to different departments within the municipality there is a narrow and a broad narrative or policy on the creative city. The narrow view sees the creative industries basically as an economic sector, based on the definition from the TNO report that was presented in 5.3.4. The economic department sees the creative industry as a special sector within the urban economy.

The broad or comprehensive view on the other hand has become the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area and was developed by the spatial planning department (DRO). The spatial planning department stated:

_So, the creative city, which was a big idea at the outset, has been pared down, narrowed down and impoverished, that is what I just said._

Therefore, the department developed the concept of the Metropolis as a place where innovation, creativity and economic growth take place, is used as a model for future development. This narrative is based on Zef Hemel’s narrative about the Metropolis as presented in 5.3.2. The municipal master plan is also based on this idea.

6.3.2 Something Needs to Be Done!

Within the Municipality of Amsterdam, the awareness grew that ‘something had to be done’ in order to secure the position of Amsterdam in a globalizing world:

_Furthermore, I think knowledge, innovation; creativity and distinctiveness became the new keywords. It became more and more clear that competition_
with Asian and Eastern European countries was increasingly difficult. It became trickier: competition on costs alone is an utter illusion. Competing on the costs is an absolute illusion. On the basis of knowledge we can to some extent, but if you look at how many people are on Eastern European, Chinese and Indian universities graduate then you are not going to make it on the basis of knowledge alone.17

In short this narrative states that something needs to be done. The creative industry provides opportunities because this fits the worldwide trend. The development of the city is again plotted (or framed) as a competition. This in turn leads to thinking in terms of potential, opportunities, strengths and weaknesses or entrepreneurial thinking. In order to win the competition, different policies or narratives were used.

6.3.3 The Narrow Creative Narratives

Starting point of this narrative is the definition of TNO: “The creative industry is a specific form of business which produces products or services, which are the result of individual or collective, creative work and entrepreneurship” (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens, & Koops, 2004, p. 20). The paper of TNO is part of the national policy level and derived from the British definition, as described in the sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.4. On the urban level, the creative industry was rephrased as an extraordinary sector with specific needs. The economics department developed a creative policy based on six program lines: first, the creative industries should be connected to education and regular industries in order to use their creativity to solve all kinds of problems. It primarily aims at improving creative education and the competitiveness of regular industries with the creativity and innovation of the creative industry. Innovation in general is stimulated via a platform called the Amsterdam Innovation Motor. The creative industry is an enabling technology, and therefore should be used to improve regular sectors. This in turn indirectly refers to Landry (2000) who stated that all urban creativity should be used to improve the city (Landry, 2000). Furthermore the elements of Porter, Hall and Florida, who state that innovation is important because innovation enables economic growth, are also plotted in this narrow narrative about the creative city.

Second, cultural diversity should be used since it is a strength and therefore an opportunity. The focus is on talented people. Diversity will lead to cross-fertilization, which in turn leads to economic growth. In a diverse place with a talented population, innovation and thus economic growth is more likely to take place, as already narrated by Jacobs, Porter and Hall. Third, in order to foster talent, creative entrepreneurship is stimulated. Talent is also one of Florida’s 3Ts.

Fourth, the different subsectors of New Media, culture and ICT should be connected. Again cross-fertilization is the used as an underlying argument. The fifth line is space for allowing growth of the creative industries. Last, the promotion of Amsterdam as a creative ‘top city’ is part of city marketing. Both the economic importance of the city, clusters, the UK creative industries and the 3Ts are used in this narrative about the city.

Moreover, a more practical approach, in which creativity is used to solve socio-economic problems, is applied by the municipality. The Creative Cities Amsterdam Area (CCAA) is related to this policy. Although not very dominant on the national level, elements of the cluster narrative and innovative milieu of Porter and Hall are visible within the policy of the CCAA: cross-fertilization, innovation, connecting knowledge to the economy, creativity as an enabling technology are all promoted. On the street level The CCAA helps the creative entrepreneur. It aims at making the creative sector the linchpin of the economy in Amsterdam. It has a facilitating, stimulating and kick-starting function for creative entrepreneurs.

---

17 http://www.aimsterdam.nl/about-aim/amsterdam-innovation-motor/2
In short, this narrow narrative of the creative industries was based on both the British creative industries and the dominant story of competition between cities, as well as the improvement of the city with the use of creativity.

6.3.4 THE COMPREHENSIVE CREATIVE NARRATIVES

The spatial planning department (DRO) started to use narratives as a strategy for policy in 2004. Zef Hemel, deputy director of the department, started focussing on storytelling as a soft planning tool and developed the Metropolitan narrative as the new creative approach and spread the word via a blog and various presentations within the municipality:

So I used the lightest possible way to distribute it, just through a blog. And I underestimated how incredibly powerful it is.18

In this way Hemel became aware of the power a narrative can have. In this new narrative, Amsterdam is discussed, ruled and developed as a Metropolis. The national government should stimulate Amsterdam to grow into a real Metropolis. In the Netherlands, we tend to speak about the city in terms of the municipality borders. However, from an economic point of view this is incorrect, because the economic activity and the influence of Amsterdam go far beyond the city limits. If Amsterdam wants to be successful in an economic way, it has to compete with other global cities, and that is only possible on the Metropolitan scale or the city region. On the global city level, Amsterdam is small city but this is primarily the result of the small size of municipalities in the Netherlands. However the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area has over 2 million inhabitants consists of ten municipalities and lots of economic activity. Worldwide Metropoles are the centres of creativity, innovation and economic growth, and if the Netherlands want to remain a strong economy, it should allow Amsterdam to develop its Metropolitan potential. Here Jacobs, who stated that the state should leave the cities alone and let them develop themselves, is clearly rephrased. Moreover it echoes Hall, who described the city as the centre of civilisation, and the centre of social, cultural and economic development.

In order to cope with competition with other world cities, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area presented its own development agenda that sees knowledge and innovation as the main economic engines. These are developed by an active selection process on the labour market, strengthening promotion of the city, acquisition and export promotion, and ensuring adequate space and good accessibility. Last, good governance is achieved through effectiveness and efficiency in directing and implementing policy. This was done in eight clusters of which the creative industry is one. Again the neoliberal narrative of economic competition is practised here.

Within the Metropolitan approach, the dominant urban economic narrative is as follows: Amsterdam has a diverse economy, with good housing and services, a green scenery and a diverse and young population. This makes it the ideal diverse city and thus a good place for innovation, creativity and economic growth. Again the characteristics that make an urban economy grow are rephrased. The city should take the lead in the regional and national economic development. The strength of the Amsterdam economy is its diversity and this needs to be nurtured.

This is the starting point of the economic master plan. In order to keep the diversity, Amsterdam should remain an attractive city for its inhabitants. Here the work of Florida and his Dutch counterpart Marlet is plotted again. It is all about the 3Ts and about being an attractive city. This is achieved by intensification of land-use, additional support for facilities and services, additional investments in public space, improving the residential climate and efficient use of energy and transport. All these investments have an indirect influence on the human capital, because it attracts people to the city. Human capital is essentially Glaeser's narrative about economic growth and education as explained in section 5.2.7. In order to
remain an attractive and economically healthy city, the amenities of the city have to be maintained and improved.

In this way the comprehensive creative city narrative plots the neoliberal narrative of the competition between cities and combines it with the characteristics of a city which are needed to achieve this.

### 6.3.5 The Art Factories Programme

The aim of the Art Factories Programme is to provide enough suitable, affordable living and working accommodation for the creative industry. However their notion of the creative industry is wider because less entrepreneurial activities can also apply for accommodation. It wants to create creative hotspots, and that is a different story. The programme was developed for the intrinsic value of art, reinforcing urban regeneration and neighbourhood development. Also these art factories should join smart-coalitions in order to use creativity and innovation to solve social and economic problems. This can be seen as an artificial form of cross-fertilization. However this programme is more focussed on the non-entrepreneurial side of culture, and therefore deviates from the dominant neoliberal narrative.

### 6.3.6 An Alternative Narrative

On the NDSM wharf a clash between the alternative artists and the more entrepreneurial creative industry takes place. The wharf used to be home to squatters, but the buildings are now owned by housing associations. Subsequently MTV networks, and other commercial but creative companies came to the wharf. The old foundation Kinetic North wanted to develop a multidisciplinary cultural wharf. Right now the NDSM wharf is the biggest cultural site of Amsterdam. However the new Mediawharf plan is much more entrepreneurial. Here the regular vision of the Municipality of Amsterdam is deployed. Over the last years the wharf has become more regulated. There is a tension between the old artistic and anarchistic foundation and the new companies that came to the wharf.

### 6.3.7 Influence of the Neoliberal Discourse and the Policy Discourse

The city is aware of the fact that diversity, talent, innovation and cross-overs are very important. These factors will result in economic growth which is the main goal of capitalism and thus neoliberalism. It improves the vitality and competitiveness of the city. This makes the creative industry an important new sector, which is different from regular sectors. Therefore the city provides special places for the creative industry.

Concerning the policy discourse, the active municipal involvement in the urban economy is a clear sign of the policy discourse. It is indeed a form of regulation.

Second, the aim of the Art Factories Programme as part of the spatial planning department is: “to provide enough suitable, affordable living and working accommodation” (Art Factories Programme, 2008, p. 34). Instead of creating a market, the government developed these accommodations. This is certainly not neoliberal, but a policy intervention. Moreover this diversity and attractiveness is not solely advocated for economic reasons, but it also improves the lives of the inhabitants. Although neoliberal principles are advocated, the Municipality of Amsterdam clearly likes to intervene, stimulate and regulate. The city wants to compete, and the different municipal departments all have their own struggles. The general goal is to make Amsterdam a strong, global city. In short neoliberal principles are combined with government intervention.

### 6.4 Leiden and Amsterdam Compared

Both cities have their own local and urban policy narratives. In this research it is assumed that the meaning of the creative city differs per social context and per place. In this section the narratives of Amsterdam and Leiden are compared. As became evident in the previous chapters, all international academic repertoires have influenced the policies in Leiden and
Amsterdam. Also, on the national policy level, both cities use the same narratives. Thanks to emplotment, neoliberal- and policy- discourse influences and the local contexts, this results in both similarities and differences. Therefore, in this section Leiden and Amsterdam and all social contexts are compared. However, in order to understand that, first some words on how concepts actually spread among cities.

6.5 HOW CONCEPTS ARE SPREAD AMONG THE CITIES

The international academic narratives are picked up by national scientists and policymakers. Their selection is very important for the national policy for the cities. This selection is influenced by conferences, workshops, scientific articles and popular publications. In the Netherlands, a conference for example Richard Florida has a bigger impact than his book. Policymakers often do not read books, and books in English are even less appreciated (Franke, interview, 2010). A congress brings policymakers, scientists and journalists together. This is what happened in the ‘Westergasfabriek’ in 2003. A conference is a place where people are inspired.

Furthermore, policymakers and politicians prefer publications in Dutch. A book like the Attractive City of Gerard Marlet (2009) is much more appreciated than the original work of Florida, also because it is about the actual Dutch situation. This became evident during the interviews. ‘Translators’ of the international repertoire are thus very important. Via these people or publications, which I called the national policy social context, new concepts arrive in The Netherlands.

However, some people read the original books. These people, like Jeroen Maters, Simon Franke or Zef Hemel often have a profession in academia or journalism. The difference is that these people like books and are very curious while others, such as policymakers, just need solutions for their problems. Within this national policy context, different entities are active. Sometimes a Dutch report with proper definitions functions as a foundation for policy. This is the case with TNO’s on Amsterdam. It certainly is quoted in many policy papers.

Besides the publications, individuals are very important. Jeroen Saris and his consultancy company The City Ltd. played an important role. With their reports, advice, and guidance, they brought in new ideas about the creative city. They taught local actors what the creative city is all about. Also journalists and academics like Roy van Dalm, Gert-Jan Hospers or Dany Jacobs are important. With their articles in the national newspapers, the concept was spread. In this way the initial international academic concept was broad in.

Last, different actors on the city level pick up the idea. In Leiden Citylab, an initiative of city-dwellers, picked up the idea. They translated the concept into their local terms and metaphors. A new language is developed by these people. The municipality, coming from a city marketing approach, also used the creative city to make Leiden a more attractive city. On the street level, creativity was promoted by projects of Peen & Ui, a foundation for creativity in neighbourhoods.

Through all these people the concepts are interpreted, rephrased, translated and applied in their own contexts. In this process different translations have taken place which lead to differences between the academic context, policy context, local context and between the cities.

6.6 DIFFERENT CONTEXT, DIFFERENT TRANSLATIONS

6.6.1 THE CITY IS THE BASIS FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

The first dominant academic narrative is the neoliberal narrative about the city as the basis for economic growth. Cities with the following characteristics or conditions (as described by Jacobs, Hall, Florida and Porter) are more successful than others: diverse neighbourhoods
(Jacobs); freedom, large (in)formal structure, open to change (liberal institution), innovation and new ideas, the presence of knowledge, a society with equal changes (Hall); Technology, Talent and Tolerance (Florida). These characteristics lead to more innovations, creativity and therefore more economic growth. Together with other elements they form the Creative City Repertoire and its elements are plotted in narratives like the creative city, creative milieux, creative industries and clusters. Together these elements are an important academic narrative. However on the local level, these elements are plotted differently.

In Leiden this narrative was interpreted as follows: We have a one-sided economy for that reason, the city’s economy is very vulnerable. So if we (as a city) want to stimulate the economy, we have to focus on the creative city, bioscience, clusters, and a combination of culture, knowledge and the economy. The bioscience clusters is the success story of Leiden. Moreover the communications sector is stimulated as the second strong sector in order to make the economy more diverse. Our strengths are bioscience, communication sector and the combination of knowledge, culture into a knowledge culture economy. This narrative is advocated by Citylab and the municipality. They both stress on the fact that, research and development, culture and knowledge, innovation, creativity, spin-offs and economic growth are the potential of Leiden and therefore should be developed in Leiden as described above.

Amsterdam on the contrary already meets most of the conditions, but wants to sustain its position as a global city. This results in a different narrative that focuses on the sustaining, upgrading and vitalizing of the economic infrastructure by connecting the creative subsectors, regular industries and education to each other in order to improve Amsterdam as a creative milieux or cluster. The performance of Amsterdam is improved in order to secure its position. This was done with the use of the Metropolitan approach that was developed by the spatial planning department. So while Amsterdam speaks of itself as a diverse city while Leiden depicts itself as a one-sided economy that needs a strong second economic sector. Still, both advocate an economically diverse city.

6.6.2 Competition between cities

One of the outcomes of the economic growth narrative, as described above is a neoliberal narrative of competition of (global) cities that is dominant in both cities as well. According to this narrative, cities have to compete against each other for visitors, businesses, residents, conferences or festivals to maintain their position as a (global) city. The city is a kind of entrepreneur. In order to win the competition, cities focus on their opportunities and strengths.

In Leiden, Citylab speaks in terms of a battle between the cities. Leiden is currently losing this battle with The Hague, Haarlem, Dordrecht and Utrecht. Instead of losing the battle, Leiden should become a city with the vibe (Maters, interview, 2010). To win this battle, Leiden should for fill its potential by using its strengths, opportunities and unique characteristics. In case of Leiden, the city should become an attractive city (see the narrative below) in order to improve its position. The Municipality of Leiden stated:

But we do have a university, we are a university town! And if you for example compare us with Haarlem and Dordrecht, we are a much more attractive location for residents and businesses, because the presentence of the university makes our town a direct source of high education people.19

If Amsterdam wants to be successful in an economic way, it also has to compete with other cities but on a global level instead of Leiden’s national level, since it is a global city. Moreover, Amsterdam already has a comfortable position in the rankings as a small metropolis. Therefore it focuses on connecting creativity to the regular industries (cross-fertilization) in order to improve the vitality of the urban economy, and in order to solve social problems as well.
Both the Metropolitan Area and the Municipality of Amsterdam want Amsterdam to be a ‘global’ city, or a ‘global business gateway’ as described by Cramers, Van Dommelen en Drogendijk (2009):

The region is looking for ways to further strengthen the creative sector and to make it grow into one of the ‘supports’ of the development of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area.\(^20\)

So while Leiden wants to create a more diverse economy in order to use its potential, Amsterdam that already has its diverse economy, focusses on the economic infrastructure, the vitality of its creative milieux. In this way Amsterdam improves and sustains its diverse economy instead of expanding the diversity itself as Leiden does. Another important difference here is that Leiden focuses on aspects, Amsterdam already has, like a more diverse economy, a more vibrant city: in short a city with a vibe. In short, to win the competition, narratives are plotted according to the city’s potential. However, different goals lead to different narratives. This will be shown in the next sections.

### 6.6.3 The Attractive City

A third narrative is that of the attractive city as presented by Florida. Citylab was influenced by both the work of Gerard Marlet (2009) and Richard Florida (2002):

Attractive cities are cities which offer a broad range of amenities in the city, nature situated close-by, and work at a convenient distance. Not (only) the location of work, but (especially) the quality of the living environment is crucial in the choice for people where they want to live. (Florida, 2002; Marlet, 2009, p. 413)

Cities that offer an attractive living environment will attract more people with favourable prospect and will keep them as well (Marlet, 2009). “These attractive cities also perform better economically” (Marlet, 2009, p. 413).

In Leiden, Citylab states that Leiden should be an attractive city: a city with a vibe. However in order to achieve this, Citylab starts projects with its volunteers in order to make the city more fun. So the attractive city is translated as follows:

Citylab Leiden will develop projects and implement those which make Leiden even more creative, more innovative, more cultural, and more exciting.\(^27\)

Instead of asking the municipality to develop more amenities, the question is raised: what can you do for your city? Here the 3Ts of Florida are put into practice, but with a local twist.

On the other hand, Amsterdam is aware of the fact that already is an attractive city with diversity at the heart of this attractiveness. This is sustained by the intensification of land-use, additional support for facilities, additional investments in public space, improving the residential climate, and efficient use of energy and transport.

In short, in order to remain attractive, the amenities of the city have to be maintained and improved. Leiden is focussed developing its potential and becoming an attractive city while Amsterdam is trying to sustain its position as an attractive city. However in the narratives about Leiden, its attractiveness mainly lies in its historic inner-city and the university. Attractiveness is thus plotted differently according to the characteristics, or potential of the city.

### 6.6.4 The Creative Class

According Florida, an attractive city that has all the 3Ts attracts the creative class as described in 5.2.6 (Florida, 2002). Leiden has a very big creative class, but these people often work in the surrounding cities. Being part of the creative class, Citylab has created a highly positive repertoire that is characterized as follows: Leiden should be more fun, a vibrant city. You, as a city-dweller can help to improve the city by participating in different projects. If you
have a clever idea for the city, come and join us. If the government does not do anything, we should do it ourselves. We are a workplace for innovation; we deliver a realistic plan with a partner who is able to develop the plan. We are professional volunteers with no serious stakes in the city. The love for the city bounds us together. Creativity can be the supercharger for the economy of this city. Instead of losing the battle, Leiden should become a city with the vibe! A more creative, attractive, entrepreneurial and developer orientated city. In this way the creative class was given meaning by Citylab.

In Amsterdam the creative class was not an issue. The creative class was not politically accepted by PvdA (Dutch Labour), the biggest party in Amsterdam because it was considered elitist and part of a neoliberal agenda. In Leiden the dissatisfaction with local politics led to Citylab. Politics can therefore play and important role in the choice for narratives. If they do not appreciate the concept, it is often put aside.

### 6.6.5 The Role of Culture

Within the academic narratives of culture, culture becomes more entrepreneurial while entrepreneurship becomes more cultural. Culture is more and more commoditized and this so-called culture industry was seen as a threat by Adorno because culture was incorporated into capitalism. In order to protect culture many countries founded national arts and cultural ministries. This was the emergence of a distinct discourse of cultural policy per se (O’Connor, 2007).

Culture and industry were connected as the cultural industries which became the creative industries and were defined as: “activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (Department for Culture, 1998, p. 5). This eclectic definition includes the resolutely analogue (arts, crafts, antiques, architecture), established commercial business sectors (TV, radio, film) as well as all-digital new economy sectors (software, interactive leisure software) (Department for Culture, 1998; Cunningham, 2007).

Leiden is proud to be a city of culture. Culture is part of the potential of and therefore linkages should be made between economy, culture and knowledge. Culture should embrace the economy; economy should be connected to knowledge and education. Culture is one of the strengths of Leiden and therefore gets extra attention from the municipality. Being a city of culture with museums is surely part of the attractiveness of Leiden, while in Amsterdam the presence of many cultures is seen as attractive as well. For Amsterdam, culture is part of its diversity and is highly appreciated but also seen as given. Of course they are proud of it, but their focus is more on business in general since there economy is very diverse. In this way, culture is appreciated in different ways.

### 6.6.6 The Creative Industries

In 1998 the then British cultural industries were renamed the creative industries. Subsequently the British creative industries were redefined by TNO for the Dutch context. The British definition is like: “activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (Department for Culture, 1998, p. 5). The Dutch definition, according to TNO (2004) is:

> The creative industry is a specific form of business which produces products or services, which are the result of individual or collective creative work and entrepreneurship.22

While the British creative industries should have the potential to become a successful business, the Dutch creative industry is already a business. Meaning thus has changed slightly.

The narrow view sees the creative industries basically as an economic sector, based on the definition from the TNO report. The economic department of Amsterdam sees the creative
industry as a special sector within the economy which resulted in a creative policy based on six program lines: first, the creative industries should be connected to education and regular industries in order to use their creativity to solve all kinds of problems. It aims at improving creative education and the competitiveness of regular industries with the creativity and innovation of the creative industry. Innovation in general is stimulated via the Amsterdam innovation engine. The creative industry is an enabling technology, and therefore should be used to improve other sectors. Here Porter and Hall resound.

In Leiden the creative industry was interpreted as a way to improve the attractiveness of the city:

We want to reinforce the competitive position of Leiden as a creative, innovative, entrepreneurial, exciting, bustling city of knowledge and culture. We want the creative talents present in our knowledge and creative industries to commit themselves to our institutions and university. We also want to attract talent and visitors from outside Leiden, and, we want to make the city more attractive for all residents of city and the region of Leiden.\(^\text{23}\)

Although both cities ‘speak’ of the same phenomenon the main differences lies in the fact that Amsterdam already is a bustling city and Leiden is not. The narrative of Amsterdam assumes that its position is good but can be improved. In Leiden this creative industries should be developed first. Again the local context with the characteristics of the city leads to different interpretations. Second, the economy was linked to culture:

Describe how art, science and markets could be made to connect with each other. Select some scientific topics from Leiden that are suitable for a connection with art. These would be allowed in the annual conferences at the national level.\(^\text{24}\)

And (of course) motto was developed:

Surprise, connect, seduce.\(^\text{25}\)

The creative industry was seen as a proper way to achieve this. Last, the creative industry in general and the communication sector specifically is seen as one of the possibilities to broaden the economy of Leiden.

In Amsterdam, one stresses more on the creative industry as a special economic sector while in Leiden, the discussion focussed on the creative industries as a way to connect culture, knowledge and the economy.

6.6.7 THE CREATIVITY EPOS

Creativity is not new; it is an essential human quality: “The essence of creativity is the capacity to think up original solutions to day-to-day problems and challenges. The creative mind sees what others see but thinks and does something different” (Koestler, 1975 in: Hospers, 2003, p. 360). However creativity is often seen in a Schumpeterian way. Creativity leads to ‘neue kombinationen’ and via a creative destruction process which in the end leads to innovation and new economic growth (Hospers & Pen, 2008). Creativity is limited to a core driver of economic growth.

Following the narratives of Amsterdam, the city is the base of economic growth. Being a very diverse city, it is the bases of innovation, creativity and therefore economic growth. It aims at improving creative education and the competitiveness of regular industries with the creativity and innovation of the creative industry. Innovation in general is stimulated via the Amsterdam Innovation Motor.\(^\text{7}\) The creative industry is used an enabling technology to solve

\(^7\) http://www.aimsterdam.nl/about-aim/amsterdam-innovation-motor-2
societal and economic difficulties. Creativity is used in order to develop new commodities. Creativity is as a human factor, part of the means of production.

Citylab states that it is:

A laboratory, a workplace for innovation in Leiden. Citylab Leiden. It will be a laboratory, a studio, a workshop, a breeding ground for innovation in Leiden. People make a city. They do this in this order: meet, collaborate, and create. We want to strengthen this chain of creativity.\(^{26}\)

They are actually part of the creativity chain. Second:

The connection between culture and science promises to be an area in which Leiden could excel. The contact between art and science should intensify. There is a large group of students who are good at both. We have a bachelor Media Technology where creativity and science go hand in hand.\(^{27}\)

In Leiden creativity can be the supercharger for the economy of this city. The municipality is aware of the fact that creativity cannot be planned by the local municipality, as stated by Jeanot Waisvisz:

We asked them to map the potential of the creative class and the creative economy, whatever you choose to call it, in Leiden. For this: an interactive approach, as seems appropriate for this area, was developed and implemented.\(^{28}\)

Waisvisz underlines that the creative city should have an interactive approach and cannot simply be planned by the municipality. In this way, facilitating is part of the repertoire. In both cities creativity is seen as the core driver of economic development. It is an enabling technology that should be used to solve problems or to improve the regular industries of the city.

6.6.8 APPLIED CREATIVITY

What started out as a call for creativity and imagination in the 1980’s turned into a toolkit for urban planners. In order to act creative as a city four elements are essential: first, highly educated and flexible workforce: dynamic thinkers, creators and performers, second a large formal and informal intellectual infrastructure, third, strong communication channels, fourth a good business climate. “This leads to a creative friction in an imaginative city on the tip of a dynamic, exciting balance” (Landry, 2005 in: Franke & Verhagen, 2005, p. 45). These elements are parallel to the work of Peter Hall. Talent and knowledge should be central in the city. Creativity is seen as a source that should be used in policy and business in order to improve the city. Landry provides a toolkit that can be used to apply creativity.

Citylab is an initiative of city- dwellers, to improve their city. Both Citylab and the municipality used Florida and the concept of the attractive city of Gerard Marlet. Leiden, as a city has great potential, but it is not used to the full extent. Creativity should be used to use the potential of the city of Leiden. Leiden should be more fun, that is, a more attractive city. In Amsterdam, the idea of using the creativity of the creative industries to solve problems in the regular industries and in order to solve problems might be Landry inspired.

Recapitulating, narratives change thanks to emplotment that in turn depends on the agent motives and the local social context. In this way the neoliberal narratives of competition leads to different local narratives that serve the goal of economic development. Moreover politicians can sometimes put aside narratives that they do not like, or used them in a different manner.

6.6.9 NEOLIBERAL INFLUENCES

The influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse became already visible the narratives described above. Neoliberalism sure has its influence on the Creative City
Repettoire. Economic development is generally seen as a good thing, and entrepreneurial values are appreciated. However the current Creative City Repertoire, as far it concerns the academic and national policy contexts is by no means purely neoliberal. In fact both in the international academic context and the national policy context the Creative City Repertoire is based on other principles, theories and narratives than neoliberalism. The narratives of diversity, social justice, creativity as a planning principle and urban renewal are all important influences from the policy discourse.

Notwithstanding that, neoliberal narrative is very important for the cities. In this research the neoliberalism was more evident on the municipal level were cities have to compete with their neighbours, than initially thought.

In Leiden, The city has a high potential, and in order to compete with neighbouring rival cities, this potential should be developed. Leiden should become an attractive city: a city with a vibe. In order fulfil its potential; Leiden has developed a strategy called: Leiden Key to Discovery. The idea of competition is essential for capitalism and subsequently is a neoliberal value. Subsequently economic growth serves as the neoliberal benchmark. A ‘perfect ‘city is attractive for its visitors, residents, and new business, and has a booming economy. Moreover, an entrepreneurial mode in order to get things done quickly is advocated by Citylab.

Signs of neoliberalism can also be found in the narrative about connecting economy and culture (6.5.3). The extent to which cultural institutions collaborate and connect themselves to other sectors is seen as a criterion of success. Here the switch from the artist to the creative entrepreneur is clearly advocated by the municipality. Entrepreneurial values become more and more important. The connection between science and culture can be used to improve the economic situation of Leiden. Culture, with its museums, archives and old town should be improved in order to become more attractive. Again a ‘perfect ‘city is the city with a proper economy.

Furthermore more economic variety is part of the policy. The economy of Leiden is one-sided. Bioscience is the dominant sector and also a dominant narrative about the city and this is a potential weakness. Therefore the government decided to stimulate the diversification of the economy. The creative industry in general and the communication sector specifically is seen as one of the possibilities to broaden the economy of Leiden.

In Amsterdam city is aware of the fact that diversity, talent, innovation and cross-overs are very important. These factors will result in economic growth which is the main goal of capitalism and thus neoliberalism. It improves the vitality and competitiveness of the city. This makes creative industry an important new sector, which is different from regular sectors. Therefore the city provides special places for the creative industry. In this way the neoliberal narrative is not different from Leiden. This makes the influence of neoliberalism quite big in creative city related narratives within Leiden and Amsterdam. The creative city therefore is not a story about human creativity but about economic development. This section has shown that neoliberalism is very important in creative city related narratives.

6.6.10 POLICY INFLUENCES

The policy discourse comes through in many ways. All economic agenda’s development plans or vision documents are written in a policy style with policy goals and criteria. Policy is notorious for its woolliness or even vagueness, but since narratives were coded, a lots of these vagueness is left behind.

In Leiden, the strategy for the old-inner-city consists of preservation and innovation is the first policy influence. Advocating diversity is a principle clearly not derived from neoliberalism. Taking over global forms is also a characteristic of the policy discourse. In case of the creative city in Leiden, the following global forms are used: the creative industries, the creative class and clusters. The creative class is used as an argument to make the city more attractive. On the local level, neoliberalism is quite dominant. Competition between cities is very manifest, even though many other elements of neoliberalism remain hidden.
Concerning the policy discourse, the active municipal involvement in the urban economy is a clear sign of the policy discourse in Amsterdam. Indeed it is a form of regulation. Also the aim of the Art Factories Programme as part of the spatial planning department is to provide: “enough suitable, affordable living and working accommodation” (Art Factories Programme, 2008: p. 34). Instead of creating a market, the government developed these accommodations by itself. This is certainly not neoliberal, but a true policy intervention.

Although neoliberal principles are advocated, the Municipality of Amsterdam clearly likes to intervene, stimulate and regulate. The city wants to compete, and the different municipal departments all have their own struggles. The general goal is to make Amsterdam a strong, global city. In short neoliberal principles are combined with government intervention. This diversity and attractiveness is not solely advocated for economic reasons, it improves the lives of the inhabitants.

This supports again the assumption of chapter 2, namely that the Creative City Repertoire is not simply a derivative of neoliberalism. In fact creative city policy is not merely a derivative of the dominant neoliberal discourse, but co-produces this policy with the discourse.

6.5 THE CREATIVE CITY SO FAR

The Netherlands is not a very big country. Leiden and Amsterdam are only 50 kilometres apart from each other. Abroad, they would be part of the same metropolis but not in the Dutch context, where cities are seen on the municipal level. And although the cities are only 50 kilometres apart, there are important differences. Elements from the Creative City Repertoire are selected and plotted in different ways according to the motives of agents and due to differences in place and social contexts. These results match the assumption of this research: interpretative repertoires differ per place and per social context. In short, the interpretative repertoire in Amsterdam is more internationally orientated than the repertoire of Leiden. Leiden wants to connect knowledge and culture with the economy, and want to become a more attractive city. Amsterdam wants to remain a creative global city.
7. CONCLUSION

7.1 RESEARCH IN SHORT

One of our thoughts was, we must develop our own terminology with our own theories and our own framework of references for which we used Florida as a source of inspiration, but you do not see too many of Florida’s terms anymore in our language.29

This quote illustrates what this thesis is all about: how global concepts of the Creative City Repertoire, in this case the narrative of Richard Florida were interpreted rephrased and applied locally. At the same time it detects a problem: after rephrasing, ‘you do not see too many anymore in the language’. It certainly is hard to trace and map such a metamorphosis. The research question was defined as followed:

How is the creative city interpreted, rephrased and applied in the cities of Leiden and Amsterdam by the academic social context, policy context and local social context, and to what extent is the creative city influenced by the neoliberal discourse or the policy discourse?

In order to answer the research question and meet the research goals, as posed in chapter 1, the narrative approach was selected with the concepts of narrative, emplotment and the interpretative repertoire in chapter 2. Starting point of this investigation was that the creative city is an interpretative repertoire. When an agent constructs a narrative, he or she selects elements of an interpretive repertoire. Being a kind of lexicon, the IR both enables and constrains the agent in his talking about the creative city (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This selection is made within a social context which influences people and meaning. Within this research four social contexts were defined: the academic context, the national policy context, the urban policy context and the local context.

Moreover agents select elements in order to construct and plot narratives that are used to make sense of the world and solve real-world problems. At least these narratives serve the motive of the agent. The motives of the agent are influenced by policy practices and neoliberalism which in turn have a distinct influence on the motives. This resulted in the following relational theoretical framework:
In chapter 3, the necessary methods were explained together with criteria for proper qualitative research. A multiple case study design formed the basis of this research. An interpretative approach of Van den Brink (2009), combined with doing interviews, coding in Atlas ti and manual textual analysis were selected in order to answer the interpretive research question. In order to achieve proper qualitative analysis, the four elements of trustworthiness were introduced together with triangulation. In order to be as open and explicit as possible, all analytical strategies were described in chapter 4. I described how I mapped, analysed and compared the creative city as an interpretative repertoire in the academic-, national policy-, urban- and local social context with the use of three research strategies: the academic context strategy, the narrative strategy and a strategy to compare the different cases and to analyse the influence of neoliberalism and the policy discourse. I tried to be as clear as possible in order to achieve trustworthiness.

The first analytical strategy was designed to reconstruct the academic part of the Creative City Repertoire. What are the dominant narratives to be found in the global academic context and national policy contexts about the Creative City Repertoire? In order to answer this question a selection of narratives had to be made. The selection of academic narratives was based on the amount of quotes on Google Scholar, the number of articles in urban geography readers devoted to the creative city and quotes in Dutch publications about the creative city. These authors and publications were subsequently checked during the interviews. This desk research resulted in chapter 5, which consisted of thick descriptions of the dominant academic narratives of the creative city and the relation between the academic social context and the national context.

The second analytical strategy was to map the Creative City Repertoire within the urban policy contexts and the local policy contexts of Leiden and Amsterdam. Here the data consisted of interview transcripts, all kinds of policy documents, website texts, newspaper articles that were from those two contexts. With the use of a six step interpretive analysis the data were selected, mapped and coded into narratives and subsequently analysed with the use of the analytical framework, as summarized in figure 7.2. This resulted in chapter 6 were the dominant narratives of the cities were written down.
The third analytical strategy concerned the influence of neoliberalism and the policy practice. To what extent are Creative City Repertoire and narratives in the different social contexts influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse? By systematically following my analytical framework of characteristics of neoliberalism and the policy discourse, I tried to critically evaluate the academic repertoire. This was written down in chapter 5 and 6. In order to answer the fourth sub question, the two cities were compared, looking for similarities, differences, relations between the social context, cities and narratives. The results were written down in chapter 6.

In short, the creative city is an interpretative repertoire that is applied in many different ways. Agents from different social context plot the elements into narratives as their motives or needs. Narratives when taken over from one context to the other can change in three ways: First, new linguistic items can be introduced, like new words, sentences or metaphors. Second, the meaning of a narrative can change via a different ways of emplotment. Last, dominance of narratives can change. Since meaning is socially constructed via narratives, meaning is also related to dominance. This process of selection and emplotment resulted in very different creative city narratives that were produced in by the following social contexts: the Municipality of Leiden, the Municipality of Amsterdam with the spatial planning department (DRO) the economics department (EZ), Citylab, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, Peen & Ui, The Creative Cities Amsterdam Area, the NDSM wharf were investigated as social contexts in Amsterdam. Within a social context people think, write and plot in similar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Conceptual framework</th>
<th>Analytical strategies</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>Situational actor/researcher experiences</td>
<td>Selection of cases, expert Interview, transcription, writing memos</td>
<td>interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>selecting data per social context and per city</td>
<td>Creating a Hermeneutic Unit in Atlas-ti. Making document families</td>
<td>Coding</td>
<td>ch3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3</td>
<td>Reading text, transcripts and memos</td>
<td>Reading data, writing first toughs in memos Test coding</td>
<td>Atlas-ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 4</td>
<td>Language coding of relevant parts</td>
<td>Coding in vivo, Reducing amount of codes by grouping codes into in vitro codes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 5</td>
<td>Reconstructing the narratives per social context</td>
<td>Coding in vitru in Atlas-ti and family tool network manager, Making outputs, Writing up in thick descriptions thick descriptions</td>
<td>ch 6 and findings report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 5</td>
<td>Analyses of Narratives</td>
<td>list neoliberal discourse list policy discourse</td>
<td>Textual analysis</td>
<td>ch 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 6</td>
<td>Comparing and per city</td>
<td>Atlas Network manager, manual analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TABLE 7-1 INTERPRETIVE STRATEGY |
styles. This result in different narratives on the local level all derived from the Creative City Repertoire.

In general the neoliberal narrative of competition and rivalry between cities is very dominant within the Creative City Repertoire, both on the academic, national and local level. Cities should develop their full economic potential in order to become a better city. Stagnation means decline. Within the different social context, these neoliberal narratives are rephrased and applied in slightly different, but always presented as a competition, economic development or rivalry between cities.

The policy discourse with its different stimulation practices and policies plays an active role in thus narratives. Most creative city narrative such as the attractive city, the creative city, clusters, creative milieux, creative industries, creative city are all plotted to achieve economic development in the city. Therefore, neoliberalism has a great impact on the Creative City Repertoire. Right now, by answering the sub questions, the full research question is answered.

### 7.2 The Research Questions

#### 7.2.1 Dominant Academic and National Policy Narratives

What are the dominant narratives and interpretative repertoires to be found in the global academic context and national policy contexts about the creative city?

The most dominant narrative is the neoliberal narrative about the city that should develop itself economically in order to compete with other cities; in order to stay on top, a city should develop its potential. Cities with the following characteristics or conditions (as described by Jacobs, Hall, Florida and Porter) are more successful than others: diverse neighbourhoods (Jacobs); freedom, large (in)formal structure, open to change (liberal institution), innovation and new ideas, the presence of knowledge, a society with equal changes (Hall); Technology, Talent and Tolerance (Florida). These characteristics lead to more innovations, creativity and economic growth. Together with other elements they form the Creative City Repertoire and its elements are plotted in narratives like the creative city, creative milieux, creative industries and clusters.

On the national level, this dominant narrative is used in three different ways: first, it is used as a reason and argument for the rivalry between the 4 biggest cities in the Netherlands. Second, it is plotted as an argument for a liberal policy for these cities. Cities should gain more power and freedom in order to develop themselves economically. Third, a combination of the two has led to a new Metropolitan narrative to give meaning to the revival of the cities. The city should restore its dominant position since it is the main driver of economic growth, innovation and the centre of civilization.

Moreover the creativity narrative is also quite dominant, although creativity is reduced to Schumpeter’s ‘neue Kombinationen’ or limited to the core driver of economic growth. On the national level this has led to a focus on innovation.

Furthermore, the culture narrative has changed over time. Culture should become more entrepreneurial while entrepreneurship has become more cultural. Culture should embrace the economy. In becoming the creative industries, culture is sucked into capitalism, but within the Creative City Repertoire, this is seen as a good thing.

Last three general statements can be made about the narratives. First of all, the different narratives are adapted to the Dutch context by both scientists and policymakers, second the academic narratives are often used in a simplified form and third, when speaking about the creative city the process of gentrification is mentioned in and out of season. These are the dominant narratives to be found in the academic part of the Creative City Repertoire.

#### 7.2.2 The Creative City in Leiden and Amsterdam
How are the elements of the Creative City Repertoire selected and plotted in the policy social contexts and the local social contexts of Leiden and Amsterdam?

In order to answer this question four analytical elements are central: narrative, social context, agent and interpretative repertoire. Narratives about the creative city are constructed by agents, who select elements from the Creative City Repertoire and subsequently plot them in particular ways according to their motives. In Leiden and Amsterdam, many different narratives were constructed about the creative city and its related concepts. All narratives were described in the findings reports of Leiden and Amsterdam (see Appendices 1 and 2). In order to answer the sub question I will show how this is done by using proper examples.

Elements from the Creative City Repertoire can be selected and plotted in different ways. In Leiden, different narratives of the city were used to describe what kind of city Leiden is: Leiden old university city, city with an old authentic inner-city, city of culture, city of knowledge, city of the creative class, old industrial city, city of bioscience, city of communication and last a boring city where nothing happens.

However these narratives with elements from the Creative City Repertoire were plotted in different ways according to people’s motives. In fact they give a confined meaning to the city. In this way, the city of creative class uses the academic narrative of Richard Florida (2002), the city of bioscience and the city of knowledge uses elements of the cluster narrative of Porter (1998) and Hall (1998)’s innovative milieux, while the city of culture uses Florida (2002) as an argument for more culture since it attracts the creative class (Hall, 1998; Porter, 1998; Florida, 2002). However these narratives are used in all social contexts in Leiden, but are also adapted to the local context, plotted in different ways, for the different motives of the agent. This happens on the level of language, meaning and dominance.

First, new linguistic items can be introduced: words, sentences or metaphors. In this way Citylab developed its own language, based on the narrative of Florida, as described in 6.2.3. An attractive city becomes a city with a vibe and subsequently; Leiden should be more fun. In Amsterdam a particular new word was added to the creative city debate: the Metropolis, which in turn had major implications for the debate and in the end resulted in a new narrative called the metropolitan approach in which Amsterdam and its surrounding municipalities work together and created the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area. Moreover the creative class for example entered Leiden and as a result, the municipality and Citylab found out that many of this new class were actually living there. It opened the way for a new positive narrative about the city, plotted by Citylab. Again new linguistic elements can be very important when introduced to debate or narrative.

Second, the meaning of a narrative can change. In Leiden, the narrative of Leiden as a creative city went from positive to negative when it became clear that the creative class mostly work outside the city. Next, the attractiveness of Amsterdam for instance differs from the definition of attractiveness of Leiden. While the attractiveness of Leiden is especially based its historic inner city, the attractiveness of Amsterdam is among other things based on its cultural diversity. However both are based on Florida’s and Marlet’s academic narratives of attractive cities. In a similar way culture became the culture industries and subsequently the meaning of an artist was changed to a creative entrepreneur as was advocated in Leiden. Agents in their social context can thus plot the same narrative in different ways through which meaning changes.

Last, dominance of narratives can change. Since meaning is socially constructed via narratives, meaning is also related to dominance. Over time, the creative entrepreneur became more dominant than the independent artists. Agents can reject or introduce narratives. In Amsterdam was the creative class considered as elitist by politicians which resulted in a poor institutionalization. The dominance of neoliberal narrative of competition and economic growth lead to less appreciation for social or cultural related narratives.

This process of selection and emplotment resulted in very different creative city narratives that were produced in by the following social contexts: Municipality of Leiden, the Municipality of Amsterdam with the spatial planning department and the economic
department, Citylab, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, Peen & Ui, The Creative Cities Amsterdam Area, the NDSM wharf were investigated as social contexts in Amsterdam. Within a social context people think, write and plot in similar styles. This result in different narratives on the local level, all derived from the Creative City Repertoire.

7.2.3 LEIDEN AND AMSTERDAM COMPARED

How are the narratives of the academic context and, policy and local social contexts of Amsterdam and Leiden related to each other?

Most narratives are based on the academic narratives as presented in chapter 5, but when plotted on the local level, differences appear. Per narrative the differences and similarities can be traced back to motives of the agent and its social context.

The academic narrative of economic growth is city based, is plotted in both cities by their municipalities. In Leiden they want to develop a more diverse economy. Leiden should develop its economic potential with a combination of culture and knowledge related economic development.

Amsterdam on the contrary already meets most of the conditions, but wants to sustain its position as a global city. This results in a different narrative that focusses on the sustaining, upgrading and vitalizing of the economic infrastructure by connecting the creative subsectors, regular industries and education to each other in order to improve Amsterdam as a creative milieux or cluster. So while Leiden focuses on new developing its economic potential, Amsterdam is sustaining, upgrading and vitalizing its economic infrastructure.

Following city-based economic growth, a neoliberal narrative of competition of (global) cities is dominant in both cities. In Leiden, Citylab states that the city is currently losing this battle with cities on the national level, such as The Hague, Utrecht or Haarlem. If Amsterdam wants to be successful in an economic way, it also has to compete with other cities but on a global level instead of Leiden’s national level, since it is a global city. Moreover Amsterdam already has a comfortable position in the rankings as a small metropolis. In this research it became clear that in order to win the competition, narratives are plotted according to the city’s needs, that is to develop their potential. Agents within the social contexts have different goals and this leads to different narratives. In general Amsterdam has plenty while Leiden only has a view strength that it can use for its development. These differences per place thus lead to different emplotment and thereby different narratives: Leiden is focussed developing its potential and becoming an attractive city while Amsterdam is trying to sustain its position as an attractive city. Leiden wants to create a second strong economic sector while Amsterdam sustains and improves its economic diversity.

Moreover, politics play and important role in the choice for particular narratives. In Amsterdam for instance the creative class was not an issue since it was not politically accepted by Labour, the biggest party in Amsterdam because it was considered elitist and part of a neoliberal agenda. In Leiden the dissatisfaction of the local politics led to the founding of Citylab but the Christian Democrats also used the creative industries in order to create creative entrepreneurship.

But there are also similarities. Culture is important for both cities. Both cities have lots of culture, however for Amsterdam, culture is part of diversity and is highly appreciated but also seen as a given while for Leiden it is a big part of their economic potential. Both cities also see culture as an amenity that makes the city more attractive.

In both cities creativity is seen as the core driver of economic development. It is an enabling technology that should be used to solve problems or improve the regular industries. Citylab is an initiative of city- dwellers, to improve their city. Both Citylab and the municipality used Florida and the concept of the attractive city of Gerard Marlet. Leiden, as a city has great potential, but it is not used to the full extent. Creativity should be used to use the potential of the city of Leiden. Leiden should be more fun, that is, a more attractive city. In
Amsterdam, the idea of using the creativity of the creative industries to solve problems in the regular industries and in order to solve problems might be Landry inspired. In this way the different narratives of the cases are related to each other.

7.2.4 THE NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE AND THE POLICY DISCOURSE

To what extent are Creative City Repertoire and narratives in the different social contexts influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse?

As the last part of this conclusion, the influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse became already visible the narratives described above. Neoliberalism has a big influence on the creative city. In fact most narratives about the creative city are actually about creating economic growth. The dominant narrative is about a city that has to compete with other cities. This can only be done by developing its economic potential.

Although Florida, Hall and Jacobs all state that the attractiveness of a city with a particular climate (tolerance and freedom), enough amenities and well educated inhabitants (the creative class) are all very important, in the end it all has to do with economic growth and neoliberalism. Furthermore culture has become more economic, the artist gradually becomes a creative entrepreneur, and entrepreneurial values are appreciated more than artistic values. The creative city as a repertoire in my opinion is part of the neoliberal agenda.

Apart from the neoliberal discourse, a policy discourse is also out there. Creative narratives are plotted into policy plans. A vocabulary of aims, goals, weaknesses, strengths, opportunities and potential is also added by the policy discourse. The policy discourse with its practices such as development plans, agenda’s or economic visions, plot the creative city according to their motives.

Moreover, lot of the Creative City Repertoire actually entered the cities via the government. Via policy transfer, new (global) concepts are added to the policy discourse. In this way, the Creative City Repertoire also became part of the policy discourse and vice versa. Therefore, the creative city is not merely a derivative of the dominant neoliberal discourse, but co-produces this policy with the discourse (Lagendijk, Arts, & Van Houtum, 2009). Both the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse influenced the Creative City Repertoire.

7.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

To reveal how the creative city as a global concept is interpreted, rephrased and applied locally in different social contexts, in order to gain a richer insight into the meaning of the creative city, by investigating the creative city as an interpretative repertoire within different social context (academic, policy and local) in the two Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Leiden and subsequently look how these selections are influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse.

The theoretical research objective was to analyse the creative city as an interpretative repertoire within different social contexts and subsequently look how these selections are influenced by the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse. In short, it is assumed that agents select elements from the interpretative repertoire in order to plot narratives. The original elements are selected, adapted and applied in different social contexts. These contexts use the narratives to makes sense of the world, that is to give meaning to it. However by constructing narratives, new elements and meaning can be added to the interpretative repertoire of the creative city. It is a relational theoretical framework.

The different narratives are investigated on the influence of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse, because concepts like the creative industries are used for a reason. In this
way motives of agents are analysed. I think the theoretical framework provided the focus for this research. It focused on the language (what elements), meaning, emplotment and dominance and it resulted in analyses of emplotment of the creative city and the reconstruction of the dominant narratives of the different social context.

During the research the role of power, neoliberalism and influences from the policy discourse became more and more evident. The narrative approach is analytically focussed but less concerned with power structures. Although I was interested in the dynamics of narratives, theories and concepts, it became clear for me that all these narratives were less artistic or creative than I thought they would be. Therefore I added the analytical framework of the neoliberal discourse and the policy discourse. So in order to meet the theoretical research goal, new theory was added. In this way the theoretical research goal was finally met.

The empirical research objective is to map the creative city interpretative repertoire and its dominant narratives in the different social contexts and subsequently the process of selection and emplotment that results in different narratives. The academic and national social contexts do not have one particular place, but the other social contexts are within the cases of Leiden and Amsterdam. Subsequently the relations between the different repertoires and narratives were analysed. Therefore, all kinds of data have to be collected out of which different interpretations and meanings can be extracted. With a selection strategy the right data for Leiden and Amsterdam was selected. The mapping, coding and analysing resulted in a reconstruction of the dominant narratives within different social context and cities, a comparison of between the social context, also concerning the influence of the neoliberal discourse and policy discourse, and finally a description of how a plotting process of the creative city looks like. In this way the empirical research goal was met.

Last, the practical objective was to compare the local interpretations of the creative cities and their spatial and economic outcomes. However since this research was more concerned with the spatial and economic narratives that eventually lead to this outcomes, not that much can be said about the practical outcomes. Both in Leiden and Amsterdam, individuals made the differences. They showed that new, positive narratives are vital if one wants to improve the city. A positive narrative makes people enthusiastic about projects, about their work and about themselves. However I think it is shown now that narratives are important for spatial planning or economic development.

7.4 REFLECTION

7.4.1 CONTENT

When I started this investigation, the hype of the creative city was fading. It was not that dominant anymore. Some scientist even suggested that we later on would look back in shame at this hype within geography. However on the municipal level the creative city is still relevant. Besides Leiden and Amsterdam many other cities currently develop and apply creative city policies. So although the hype is over for the academic, it is not for the policymakers and politicians in the real word. The cluster concept of Porter also showed the same process in this research: not that dominant in academic geographic debate, but still dominant at the municipal and local level. This makes this subject still very relevant.

The creative city is a very comprehensive phenomenon and consists of very different elements. Therefore the multiple case study design was chosen. This made this research challenging, because it makes the research very comprehensive and therefore very hard to draw a line. What has to be included and what has not? In order to overcome this, I made a proper selection as presented in chapter 4. This is very important because there is always another theory or article which is in some ways relevant for the creative city.

However the most challenging part of this research was to develop a proper analysis. I was unfamiliar with this approach and it took a lot of time to get the feeling with the analytical framework. For me as a geographer, it was a complete new way of looking at language,
meaning and social contexts. Although I had some experience with discursive theories, it was difficult to develop a proper analytical framework, and subsequently use it in a proper way.

The influence of neoliberalism was something I truly underestimated in the beginning. I had a more romantic (and naïve) view of the creative city. The creative city first of all is an economic strategy to improve the city economically and not a more artistic general narrative. I think this master thesis showed, thanks to its rather unusual method and theory how a hype in geography and urban planning is plotted differently per social context and per city. This is the contribution of this research. While all policymakers think they interpret the concept the right ways, it turned out that there are many different ways a concept can be plotted.

7.4.2 The Method

Qualitative research does not have the strict guidelines of quantitative research. This makes it difficult to apply the narrative approach and coding in a proper way. Looking back, I would work in an even more structured way, thinking over the research in a more detailed way, before actually staring to code.

Coding from a bottom up perspective can lead to temporary doubts and getting lost. From an empirical point of view, I found it very hard to determine what was still relevant to code or to describe and what not. Making thick descriptions meant cutting out all redundant information. Only the essential narratives were allowed on paper. This makes writing thick descriptions hard work as well. This in combination with lots of data made it very hard to comprehend this investigation for me as a researcher. This progressive focussing took a very long time and the method did not give that much support. This is clearly a downside of the method.

However, I think it provide a rich view of the interpretation, rephrasement and appliance of the creative city in Leiden and Amsterdam. This investigation shows how language, meaning and dominance changes on the way. Last, trustworthiness was mainly achieved by the transparency of the research strategies and the analysis. It provided an insight into interpretive research.

Credibility as the benchmark of authentic representations of experience was achieved through the use of a bottom up approach in the coding process. It consisted of in vivo coding, were I tried to stay as close as possible to the text (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). Although this resulted in many codes, in the end the dominant narratives were constructed from that code. In this way, credibility was achieved.

Transferability is about the question whether what is found fits within contexts outside the study situation (Baxter & Eyles, 1997, p. 515). The results from the academic and national context are relevant outside the two case studies anyway. Moreover the processes of emplotment and selection as described in the two cases are taking place in every city. The process is probably the same, but thanks to a different place, context and agent it results in different narratives.

Dependability refers to the repeatability of research findings and their accessibility to other researchers (Dormans, 2008). Dependability remains rather problematic. Although I tried to be as transparent as possible, interpretation remains something personal. I think this thesis provides a proper guideline, but a precise repetition remains difficult. Last, Confirmability is about the question to what extent biases, motivations, interest or perspectives of the investigator influence the interpretations of the findings (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). I am aware of the fact that in an interpretative process your own interests, motives or perspectives have an influence on the research. However my perspective on the topic changed during the research. This made me aware of my own perspective, and I tried to be as open and critical as possible.

7.4.3 Societal

The hype of the creative city seems over, but still many municipalities are working with these concepts. Therefore this research is still relevant because it made very clear that selection
and emplotment do take place within policy making. It is important to know that theories are not just copied, but used for particular interest or to solve problems. Theories or concepts are by no means neutral or objective and this is especially true for the creative city. It thus provides important insight into the process of policy making.

Moreover this research revealed what different uses of the creative city are possible, by showing the different interpretations. This can be very useful for policymakers as well. However the societal relevance of this thesis is limited to the analysis of the creative city as an interpretative repertoire, and was not focussed on the practicality of the concepts.

7.4.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

Of course this research had its restrictions. First of all, I think the social relevance is limited. The creative city might be investigated more on the street level. Moreover as the hype is ending, the actual effect of creative city policy would be a good subject of investigation. My thesis showed how hype is spread, but the actual effects are still to be measured.

A second restriction was the narrative approach and its relation with power and subsequently neoliberalism. For further research I would argue for a more power concerned approach since neoliberalism is very dominant in this topic. I underestimated the power of neoliberalism in the beginning of this research. A discourse analysis based on Foucault or critical discourse analyses might be a good idea to get a better insight into the neoliberal discourse.

One of the findings of this research is the importance of narratives in policymaking. Zef Hemel of the spatial planning department in Amsterdam, uses his blog as a soft planning tool. He stated that his blog had a big impact both within the municipal organisation and in the city. From a societal perspective, the use of soft planning tools is very interesting to investigate, because it is new in many ways. I think the power of language has been underestimated for a long time in spatial planning and geography. This would be my third suggestion for further research.

Furthermore, research of associations as Citylab would be very useful. The exact impact on the city of such an organisation has not been researched yet. Citylab could be investigated as a new kind of institution, a new way of participation of citizens. Personally, I think that a platform like Citylab is very valuable for every city because it fuels the debate about spatial, cultural and economic policies in the city. Moreover, Citylab stimulates the people to become active citizens; to take positive stand for their city, instead of a negative passive stand against the municipality.

Last, what has Citylab already achieved for the city of Leiden? What is the effect of such a new positive narrative on the city? In what ways does Citylab influenced the public debate, do they have a lot of power in the city? Citylab as a new phenomenon should really be investigated in a more detailed way.
References


Dormans, S. E. M. (2008). *Narrating the City: urban tales from Tilburg and Almere.* Nijmegen


Peter Hall Bookreview. Urban Design Quarterly 73.
Wickham, M., & Woods, M. (2005). Reflecting on the strategic use of CAQDAS to mange and
report on the qualitative research process. The Qualitative Report, 10(4), 687-702.
understanding interview talk in geographic research. Area, 37(1), 89-99.
Aitken & G. Valentine (Eds.), Approaches to Human Geography. London: SAGE.
claims in interpretive science. In D. Yanow & P. Schwartz-Shea (Eds.), Interpretation
and method: Empirical research methods and the interpretive turn (pp. 67-88). New
York: M.E. Sharpe.
sciences. In D. Yanow & P. Schwartz-Shea (Eds.), Interpretation and method: empirical
research methods and the interpretive turn (pp. 5-26).
APPENDIX 1 EXAMPLE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

G: Dus aan die rand willen jullie dat realiseren?

J: Ja,

G: Dat is onder andere de Meelfabriek, geloof ik.

J: Klopt

G: En Nieuwe Energie

J: Ik heb er wel plaatjes van.

G: De meelfabriek heb ik al naast gestaan.

J: Ja maar ik wil eigenlijk het grotere plaatje laten zien. Het plan bestaat uit de Noordoostelijke singelrand plus het stationsgebied, tot en met de Meelfabriek.

G: Ja

J: Dus op die manier hebben we eigenlijk het hele gedachtengoed, van waar ontwikkeld je creatieve economie, of waar kan je als gemeente faciliterend, randvoorwaarde scheppend te werk gaan, dat is met name in deze rand. Als je nou naar de definities gaat kijken dan ben ik heel benieuwd hoe kenniseconomie zich verhoudt tot creatieve economie, tot de professionals daarin. Is de universiteit met zn switch naar de faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen, behoort dat dan niet tot de creatieve economie? Ik zou het niet weten. Ik ben niet zo’n theoreticus op dat gebied.

G: Nou, kijk, creativiteit is een ander verhaal, maar als je het verbindt met economie dan moet je dus op een een of andere manier geld verdienen met creativiteit. En ja het lastig hoor, je hebt tig verschillende definities en een deel..
Je zou bijvoorbeeld, een journalist, die allerlei ideeën ontwikkeld of concepten uitwerkt, zou je, ook onder de kenniseconomie kunnen stellen, maar bijvoorbeeld een meubelmaker, is wel creatieve economie dat is heel duidelijk, maar of hij ook onder het begrip kenniseconomie valt, ik denk het niet.

J: Precies,

G: Waarschijnlijk niet dus. Dat is het verschil.

J: Je ziet dat de universiteit zijn aanwezigheid heeft in dat deel van de stad, daar waar heel duidelijk de conserverende strategie van toepassing is, en dat zie je in het straatbeeld, dat zie je in de huisvesting, dat zie je in de architectuur en de functies. Maar de universiteit heeft zelf ideeën over bijvoorbeeld de faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen.
APPENDIX 2 LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

- Roy van Dalm, journalist and senior lecturer Smart Cities at HAN University of Applied Science in Arnhem
- Simon Franke, publisher and expert on urban development, former director NAI
- Jan-Jaap de Haan, Alderman of culture in Leiden.
- Zef Hemel, deputy director of the spatial planning department (DRO) Amsterdam
- Robert Marijnissen, PhD candidate at AMIDst, former project manager at Creative Cities Amsterdam Area.
- Jeroen Maters founder of Stadslab Leiden and director at Maters & Hermsen corporate journalism
- John Moerland, Project Manager at ’de Meelfabriek’ (the Flour Mill), Leiden
- Edwin Oskam, senior policy advisor, Economics Department, Amsterdam
- Esther Ruiten, senior advisor economic development, City of Arnhem
- Jann de Waall, CEO and owner of Info.nl
- Jeannot Waisvisz Programmanager at City of Leiden
1 Introduction
This report contains all empirical findings of the Leiden case. It should be seen as the result of the coding process: the writing up, as described in the narrative strategy of Amsterdam and Leiden. This results in thick descriptions of the narratives in Leiden. These reports formed the basis of the analyses, comparison and critical evaluation of the cases of Amsterdam and Leiden. The nature of this report therefore is descriptive. The analytical work is done in chapter 6. The outcome of the coding process; the narratives and interpretative repertoires of the different social contexts are written down in this report and related to each other. The results were presented in chapter 6. All narratives have in common that they have something to do with the creative city.

Within Leiden, I mapped narratives and repertoires of the following social contexts: first the policy context of the Municipality of Leiden; second the local ‘creative’ social context of Citylab; third, Peen en UI (Carrot and Onion), a foundation for creativity on street level.

In Leiden I interviewed four people. The alderman of culture, the official of the inner-city programme, the project manager of De Meelfabriek (the Flour factory) an old factory that will be rebuild into a creative cluster and one of the founders of CityLab (stadslab), a group of citizens which tries to improve Leiden, making it better city. Apart from that I collected newspaper articles, policy papers, and website text, all with the topic: the creative city. These were analysed in Atlas-ti, following the strategies as described in chapter 3 and 4.

2 Different narratives about Leiden as a city

2.1 Introduction
In coding process, I discovered that there are different narratives of Leiden as a city. These narratives were used in different social context. In practise they were often mixed. As you will see, some narratives complement each other, whereas others contradict. These narratives are the building blocks of what Leiden is. Of course Leiden is many different cities, meaning different things to different people, but Leiden also means the same thing too groups within the city. In other words, Leiden has intersubjective meaning as well.

In the following section I have written down the different narratives of the city, in very direct en open way. I tried to capture the essence of these stories, using thick descriptions. This is illustrated by quotes. An overview of the coding system can be found in chapters 3 and 4. The original Dutch quotes are attached as endnotes.

2.2 Leiden old university city
The University of Leiden, founded in 1575, is the oldest university of the Netherlands and is among the best and oldest universities of Europe. In the southern part of the inner-city the rhythm of the university is visible on the streets:

In the south inner-city the density of the university buildings and student houses is so high that the rhythm of the university with its own customs and traditions is visible on the streets. Given the scale of the city, the university community is much more visible than in the larger university towns. Academic life is part of the charm of the city. ^{30} 

The Municipality of Leiden is very proud of its university:
The University is accompanied by cities like Cambridge and Oxford when it comes to scientific research ranging from physics to Sinology, the life sciences and culture.\textsuperscript{37}

The fact that Leiden is a university city is seen as both a unique selling point and strength compared to with other Dutch cities in the region:

But we do have a university, we are a university town! And if you for example compare us with Haarlem and Dordrecht, we are a much more attractive location for residents and businesses, because the presence of the university makes our town a direct source of high education people.\textsuperscript{32}

In short, Leiden is has the oldest university of the Netherlands and this fills them with pride.

2.3 Leiden, city with an old authentic inner-city

Second, Leiden is a typical Dutch city with canals, bridges and old brick houses. The old inner-city is something to be proud of, but it is also seen as an opportunity to attract more visitors to the city. Until recently, the potential of the inner-city was not used to a full extent. Right now, the inner-city is seen as a unique selling point. It is seen as a great opportunity to attract more tourists, new inhabitants and visitors. However not until this was advised by a consultancy:

Perhaps the greatest opportunity for Leiden is the quality of its historic inner-city. The old town is a highly distinctive quality of Leiden compared to other municipalities.\textsuperscript{33}

And was reflected in the local newspaper:

The old town really is the unique selling point.\textsuperscript{34}

This recommendation was translated locally by the municipality in many policy papers:

Leiden's historic inner-city should be put insistent on the map as an urban area of very high quality and as a tourist attraction.\textsuperscript{35}

The historic inner-city as unique selling point was also connected to a strategy calling: preserve and innovate, which was developed by the municipality in their Inner-city program:

Modern, successful urban renewal involves two tracks: preservation and innovation. On the one hand they improve the old 'historic' town; on the other they add new creative districts. The historic town has many qualities which we want to preserve and strengthen where necessary.\textsuperscript{36}

These two strategies are both used in Leiden. Together they will provide a beautiful, balanced city:

The convergence of these strategies offers the prospect of a stunning end result: This creates a nice balance between the old town and the innovative opportunities on the north-east edge.\textsuperscript{37}

In this way, the potential of the old town should be developed and preserved. Related to the old town is, Leiden as a city of culture.

2.4 Leiden city of culture

Culture is very important in Leiden. Besides the old town, the city has seven big museums and also the oldest theatre of the Netherlands:
Leiden is a city of museums. With Naturalis, the National Museum of Antiquities, the National Museum of Ethnology, Lakenhal, Siebold House, Pilgrim Museum, the Museum Boerhaave and the botanical gardens, just to mention the most striking ones, the city has some excellent and well attended museum collections. Together with a good archive, this also provide an important base for scientific research.\textsuperscript{38}

According to the municipality ‘high culture’ like classical music, poetry, literature and cabaret (stand-up comedy), are very important for the identity of Leiden. Many people organize or participate in cultural events and the municipality does not make cuts on the cultural budget. This can be seen in the following quotes:

Leiden is perhaps the only major city where culture is not cut. And that says something about the city and the city council at this time. It is considered important. And it also gives priority because we see that a part of our identity.\textsuperscript{39}

The enhanced cultural profile of Leiden will certainly contribute to the increased amenity of the (inner) city. The approach of the city marketing partners with the city will certainly bear fruit.\textsuperscript{40}

In this way Leiden is written about and spoken of as a city of culture. Culture, the old town and the university are all amenities, to speak in the repertoires of Florida (5.2.6) and Marlet (5.3.7) as became clear in the previous chapter. These amenities make Leiden an attractive place to live for the creative class. In order to retain the creative class, Leiden should become a city of Knowledge or a city of the creative class.

2.5 Leiden, city of Knowledge

Being a university city, being a city of knowledge is the next step:

An economy of a knowledge city is focused on transforming knowledge into economic activity. An economy that runs on knowledge, grow through innovation. For innovation knowledge is needed. This can be acquired by proper education and research. In a narrow sense it refers to research and development, but there is a broader context that goes beyond education or suppliers. It is about a promising and stimulating environment with good facilities, culture and work. In short, it is a good place to live and investigate.\textsuperscript{41}

The city of knowledge focuses on the knowledge economy, spin-offs of the university and innovation. It is about a city economy based on knowledge, research and development and knowledge economy. Besides that the city of Leiden should be a place where higher educated people like to live and work. Second, knowledge can be used to improve the city as a whole:

If knowledge is the basis for urban development, then this is the city in all areas a quality boost.\textsuperscript{42}

Here, both Hall and Glaeser, and on the international level, but also Marlet and Florida. Indeed talent, knowledge and education are very important for the economic development of the city in general. The presence of the university is also very important. Notwithstanding the high education level, many well educated employees work outside the city, for example in Amsterdam or The Hague. So how important is knowledge if it does not result in economic development?

2.6 City of the creative class

Following the discussion about where the creative class works, Leiden turned out to be the city with the second highest percentage creative class (Marlet, 2009). 57 percent of the workforce has higher education (university of applied science or university). This percentage
is often used in order to underline the great potential of Leiden as a creative city. It is both stated by the municipality, Citylab and the local newspaper:

The workforce is highly trained in Leiden in comparison to the 20th biggest cities in the Netherlands: 57% have a high education (2006 figures').

According to the local newspaper:

The percentage of highly educated in Leiden is still increasing. Utrecht has only a slightly larger proportion of highly skilled people within their borders. The creative class (art, culture, communication) is increasingly popular. Leiden takes the third place nationwide. The number of so-called nerds (staff in the IT sector) is higher than elsewhere in the country. The population decline of Leiden has stalled and turned into a small growth. Young people flock to the city, but ‘thirtysomethings’ are just pulling away. Leiden is one of the youngest municipalities (ranked 5th). Over one quarter of the population is under 29 years.

However, this is just one site of the story, because on the other hand, most creative people don’t work in Leiden. Leiden ranks 24th on the amount of creative jobs in within the city. This is both stated by The City Ltd. and Citylab:

This picture is incomplete to say the least. Leiden has a large potential, but the creative sector in Leiden is much smaller than the figures about the creative population suggest.

And:

The result was that we had the one highest percentage of the workforce working in the creative class of the Netherlands. We all cheered, until we noticed the actual amount of creative businesses in the city. We are in 24th place.

Here we see that the reasoning about the creative class of Richard Florida really takes place in Leiden. Marlet’s investigation showed that the creative class is huge in Leiden, and this was received with acclaim. However, Florida’s theory is not working for Leiden because Florida’s theory assumes that those creative people will also work here, which they do not: although a large creative class lives in Leiden, this does not imply economic growth, since they do not work in Leiden. However, in the bioscience, a many well educated people are working.

2.7 Leiden, City of bioscience

In the nineties a Bioscience park was developed in Leiden which became the third biggest bioscience cluster in Europe. Bioscience is hot among politicians and the municipality in general because it is a success-story:

The Bio Science Park, a cluster of high-quality knowledge-intensive companies is a magnet for other knowledge-intensive firms.

Therefore it is also used as an economical spearhead. Leiden tries to attract as much bio science companies as possible:

Our economy is actually based on two main areas: bioscience and life science.

However, the danger of this approach is that the economy becomes very one-sided. What if the bioscience sector becomes the new textile industry?
In Leiden, the bioscience sector is the largest economic sector, and a very successful one at that. Half of all bioscience companies in Holland are based in Leiden, and it is an important part of the curriculum at Leiden University and the University of Applied Sciences. Part of this sector’s growth was autonomous part was generated by strategic program which the City of Leiden carried out with various partners: Leiden Life Meets Science. It is something we can be very proud of. But we need a strong second pillar. 49

The Bioscience park is depicted as a cluster, as described by Michael Porter. It is a place where innovation takes place, and new jobs and businesses have been created in the past 20 years. However, being dependent on one sector makes the city vulnerable. This is way some people advocated a strong second sector, in order to make the economy of Leiden more balanced.

2.8 Leiden, city of communication

The communication sector in Leiden has 550 companies and 1000 in the whole region. Most companies are small, but after bioscience it is the second biggest economic sector in Leiden. This was both advocated by The City Ltd. and Citylab, and was adopted by the Municipality of Leiden:

The reason for this cluster to be deployed is not only the favourable position (size, growth potential and acceptance among market participants) of the cluster itself, but it also offers opportunities for the other themes ‘Talent makes Leiden creative’ a boost. It is a good stepping stone for connecting entrepreneurs with creative and Wireless Leiden, Leiden Congress City, and also City marketing, science and culture. Therefore these connections also appear emphatically in the market strategy of Leiden: cooperation, strengthening, "smart links" and creating strong networks. 50 Obviously, the communication sector wants to promote itself more. It wants to be more visible in the city: The communications sector has a clear intention: the city should put more emphasis on the strength of this sector. Jeroen Maters’s proposal to the city to promote "Leiden a communication city "where the entire communication production chain from training to production and from transmitter to receiver is present is very popular. It is based on a much stronger link between the University of Applied Science, the university and vocational education for the industrial sector. 51

Apart from that, there are also spin-offs from the University of Leiden, mainly from the Humanities Faculty. In the past however, the communication sector did not have a strong image, and was not promoted by the local government which focussed on the bioscience park. This changed because of the attempts of Jeroen Maters, owner of Maters & Hermsen journalists and the investigation of consultants of The City Ltd. The government started to work on this topic:

Last year “Leiden communications city” was added as a catalyst, driver, from the idea, thinking something more must be in it, and thinking, as you write yourself, that many creative class people live in Leiden, but they do not work here.... ... The House of Communication is both the icon and the meeting point of the Leyden Communications City. The Municipality of Leiden, the chamber of commerce, communication businesses, the university, colleges and the vocational education institute have joined hands in order to increase and strengthen the communication sector in Leiden and region. Their motto is: communications of knowledge, knowledge of communication. Already, over one thousand companies in Leiden work in the communications industry. 52
The government concluded that the House of communication is an opportunity for Leiden:

The House of Communications (see below for explanation) is the most outspoken opportunity for the city of Leiden.\textsuperscript{53}

Apart from positive narratives, there are also negative narratives about Leiden to be told. These are set forth next.

2.9 Leiden, old industrial town

Until the 1980’s Leiden was also an industrial town. Leiden was the home of the linen and cotton industries in the west of the Netherlands. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, Flemish cotton and linen workers moved too Leiden and the industry flourished. During the industrialisation, big factories were built in Leiden mainly on the old fortifications, surrounding the old town. Leiden became a city of blue-collar workers.

From the 1960 on, all the factories were closed down with high unemployment rates and poverty as a result. Leiden was generally known as both a very poor and stupid city with the lowest average education level, students included:

Contrary to the myth that we are the dumbest city in the Netherlands. ... In fact, because that was also being said, on average the stupidest city in the Netherlands, including the students, so can you imagine how stupid the residents themselves are.\textsuperscript{54}

And:

Leiden also, because Leiden is an industrial town. In that respect we are dealing with same problems as Hengelo, Almelo and Enschede.\textsuperscript{55}

Most of the old factories are now demolished because of the zeitgeist of this modernist area:

Particularly in Leiden there was this atmosphere in which all closing industrial plants should be demolished and rebuild into social housing or a park.\textsuperscript{56}

Some buildings were not demolished because they were still used as a factory. Eventually public opinion changed and the value of such old robust building was acknowledged. Nowadays these buildings are seen as part of the industrial past of Leiden:

The industrial complex is now one of the most important remains of the rich industrial past of Leiden become. It is a historical landmark in the city and is part of the Dutch industrial heritage.\textsuperscript{57}

Therefore some of them are renovated. In Nieuwe Energie (New Energy), communication companies, and a housing association moved in. The old industrial buildings are inspirational and a perfect surrounding for creative companies. The factories are seen as part of the heritage of Leiden:

Nieuwe Energie is located in the historic mill of the former textile factory, Clos & Leembruggen.... Clos & Leembruggen was one of the leading during the time in which Leiden flourished as a centre for textile industries. The family business started in 1766 and had its peak around 1918 ... . New Energy is superimposed on the Papegaaibolwerk, one of the strongholds of the 17th century fortified town of Leiden. This environment is dominated by large factory buildings, including the District heating, the gasworks and the abattoir.\textsuperscript{58}

Last this industrial past also makes Leiden a divided city. Blue collar workers, or even so-called ‘white trash’ combined with students, creative class people, make it a divided city:
Leiden has always been a divided city: on the one hand there are the university and the cultural history and on the other hand is much low-skilled labour.

2.10 Leiden, a boring provincial town, where nothing happens
This is the narrative of the boring city. Although not officially written down in policy-documents, it is acknowledged by many people in the city. This story was rather implicit and it has also something to do with the underdog feeling, being a former industrial town. Indeed you do not want to change the city for no particular reason. However this frustration can be found in different data like a booklet about starting your own business in Leiden:

The words 'hip' and 'trendy' make me think of Amsterdam. Are they true for Leiden too? Leiden is still a medium-sized city, and for most people things are not exactly buzzing in Leiden.

And it gets worse:

Showing up on your job in Amsterdam – looking sharp – and then, after you’ve finished work, going to the Bimhuis to listen to very fine jazz to the wee small hours of the morning. And then, when you come back in Leiden, it is dead quiet. You could shoot off a canon, so to speak.

Seriously, why cannot I eat really good, decent, haut-cuisine food anywhere in Leiden, to show off the Leiden’s potential?

In short, the creative class, or higher education complain that Leiden has not much exciting to offer. Despite the amenities of culture, Leiden also misses amenities of a big city, like haute cuisine and good jazz. It is not a metropolis. Therefore it is also a slightly boring town.

2.11 The narratives of Leiden
These are the narratives concerning the city of Leiden, I found in the social contexts of the municipality and the creative class. I did not focus on the different neighbourhoods or social classes. I am aware of the fact that this investigation is not complete. But from the perspective of polyvocality it is impossible to achieve this.

As already was stated in the theoretical part, narratives are the ingredients for Interpretative repertoires. The narratives about the city have been available for a long time, and are used in different discussions about the city. An overview of the different narratives of Leiden as a city is given in the figure below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratives of Leiden</th>
<th>Keywords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leiden old university city</td>
<td>Oldest university, like Oxford and Cambridge, traditions, rituals, students, highly educated workforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, city with an old authentic inner-city</td>
<td>Old traditional inner-city, Canals, brick houses, bridges, heritage, quality, high potential, unique selling point, tourist attraction, city of keys, history, two strategies: preservation and innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden city of culture</td>
<td>7 national museums, high culture, classical music, poetry, literature, cabaret/comedy and art, oldest theatre, part of our identity, culture is not cut, cultural festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, city of Knowledge,</td>
<td>Knowledge economy, spin-offs, innovations,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, city of the creative class</td>
<td>2nd highest percentage creative class, living in Leiden but not working. 57% has higher education, Leiden ranks 24th on the creative jobs, but a large potential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, old industrial town</td>
<td>Dumbest city of the Netherlands, low education level, old industrial town, cotton industries, poverty, blue-collar, Meelfabriek, industrial heritage, divided city, beautiful industrial buildings rebuild into offices, apartments and services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, city of bioscience</td>
<td>third biggest bioscience cluster in Europe, high-quality knowledge-intensive companies, a magnet for other knowledge-intensive firms', very successful, local political showpiece, but future cotton industry?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, city of communication</td>
<td>after bioscience it is the second big and possible strong economic sector, not very visible, high potential, house of communication, Nieuwe Energie, Jeroen Maters, opportunity for Leiden. Stronger links between university, vocational education and the communications sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leiden, a boring town, where nothing happens</td>
<td>Nothing happens here, quiet, peaceful, conservative and boring. A lack of good restaurants, special shops etc. Nothing exciting to offer for the creative class.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is now evident that there are different narratives about Leiden as a city. It is also obvious that the narratives of the city of Leiden are related to national and international academic repertoires about the creative city. In the following section, the focus is on other repertoires that are related to the creative city.

### 3 Citylab, a creative narrative/repertoire in Leiden

#### 3.1 Shape you own city: Citylab

In 2008 Stadslab (Citylab) was established in Leiden. Citylab is a group of volunteers. Their main goal is improve the city in many ways. Most volunteers have a professional background that is useful in order to make plans. This group consists of: journalist, academics, architects, lawyers, urban planners, managers etc. etc. The social context of this group of people can be characterized as: higher educated, local, middle class, and progressive.

Over time, they developed and are still developing their own ways to talk, write, work and develop the city of Leiden. What they have in common is the fact that they love the city (that’s what they say). Within Leiden, they are very important for the debate about the city and the development of all kinds of plans, varying from planning new cultural events to establishing a city beach at one of the canals. This organisation, as I argue has created its own narratives and thereby actively shapes the Creative City Repertoire in Leiden. In this section these narratives are described and related to other narratives, repertoires and social contexts.

#### 3.2 Leiden should be more fun, a city with the vibe
As became evident in the previous section, Leiden has the second biggest creative class in all cities in the Netherlands. However, Leiden used to be an industrial town until the 1980’s and the whole city, both shops, restaurants, theatres, cinemas, and cultural events, were all adjusted to lower educated, factory workers. Therefore the cities services were not fit for this higher educated people. Apart from that, the people of Leiden felt like being the underdog. Indeed, Leiden was known as the city with the lowest education level of the Netherlands, as was stated in section 5.2.8. This stigma left a scar in Leiden. People are not proud about their city. Citylab wants to change this and therefore developed a positive approach:

Look at your potential: we are the third richest, second highest educated, with a great creative class share, and the seventh youngest city in the Netherlands.

This is appreciated by the city:

But we also noticed that a lot of organizations appreciate that there is a ‘club’ that is not only complaining about the city, instead of about being the underdog, and the total lack of faith in the city. We were thinking: we will not complain, it costs too much energy and we do not have time for it, because we are all busy professionals.

This positive approach might be a local translation of the creative and imaginative repertoire of Landry and Bianchini, as described in chapter 5. Further on it will become evident that, although not actively nominated, the approach of Citylab has similarities with this repertoire.

Second, Citylab speaks for the young well educated people actually want to do cool things in their own city, but that’s not always possible, because Leiden is also a ‘boring provincial town’, as was stated in section 6.2.10:

What’s the problem ... so to speak? The problem is that I think there are a lot of young people of which I am one, who find it more fun to be in their own city. But until now, nothing has been facilitated. So the problem is that we as a creative young educated population of Leiden just wants something different. Something else than the institutions offer us.

This new group of people cannot fulfil their needs in Leiden. For example:

I do not want to take the train to Amsterdam, at least not all the time. I do not want to hurry up, because I have to be back in time for the nanny. I just want be here in Leiden and every day when I do the shopping, I want to have that feeling that you live in a city which suits you, and who you are.

In order to make Leiden a better place to live, Citylab wants to ‘reinforce the competitive position of Leiden’, or in other words, Leiden should be more fun, to liv in, to work, to be in to hang out in:

We want to reinforce the competitive position of Leiden as a creative, innovative, entrepreneurial, exciting, bustling city of knowledge and culture. We want the creative talents present in our knowledge and creative industries to commit themselves to our institutions and university. We also want to attract talent and visitors from outside Leiden, and, we want to make the city more attractive for all residents of city and the region of Leiden.

Here, Citylab decided to make a selection. What started as a group with common interests, decided to go for a bigger target. Therefore it selected the creative city with knowledge, culture, entrepreneurship and innovation. In order to make Leiden more fun:

Citylab Leiden will develop projects and implement those which make Leiden even more creative, more innovative, more cultural, and more exciting.
According to Citylab it is hard to describe this better city and they do not want an academic discussion about what the city is:

So we do not really give a hoot what we call it, as long as the feeling is right. One city has a certain vibe and the other has not. I’m all for going on feeling. I do not care about statistics – I care about what you feel when you’re walking around in a city.69

In short, the creative class has become a very large group in Leiden and they want to live in a city with ‘the vibe’. Leiden should be more attractive for higher educated people. Citylab wants to change this, but how?

3.3 Leiden, if the municipality does not do anything, why not doing it yourself?
This creative class is highly educated and has specific needs. However their confidence in the local government remains low:

One of the ideas was that, if the municipality and all other parties in the last 20 years failed to understand that you need to compete, and failed to understand that you need to do something more, the equivalent to an A+ and not just B’s … If the institutions did not give this to us these past 20 years, then, perhaps we should do it ourselves.70

Therefore they started talking about doing it their own way:

How can we do it ourselves? Hey, we have got the second largest creative class in the Netherlands! We will appeal to these people, to see if they find it interesting to work on a city, which is more exciting than it is today.71

This is exactly what happened, according to Citylab. After a meeting in the summer of 2007, Citylab was founded. People were very enthusiastic about Citylab:

“Finally, finally someone listens to me”. Finally an organization where I can contribute something to, because I do not want to be in the city council, because that is simply not fast enough, people just do not get it there.72

This became part of the narrative of Citylab: enthusiastic people that want to do something for their city. In this way the narrative of Citylab itself was constructed. Many people wanted to join Citylab. Right now, Citylab has 400 members. One hundred of them are working on different projects in the city. So organizing it yourself is part of their repertoire:

Shall we just invoke those people, to see if they find it interesting to work on the town, which is more exciting than it is today.73

Also, officials from the municipality started to join Citylab. Citylab talked to the officials, talked to the aldermen, the major and the political parties. They became enthusiastic about the plans and about the city. The municipality started to become enthusiastic as well.

3.4 Translating the creative city to a local concept: clever ideas for the city
Citylab was founded by people from the communication sector. For sure, they know that language is important. As soon as they noticed that Florida’s theory was hype among policymakers and politicians in Leiden, they adopted the concept (Maters, interview, 2010). They immediately started to develop their own language:

One of our thoughts was, we must develop our own terminology with our own theories and our own framework of references for which we used Florida as a source of inspiration, but you do not see too many of Florida’s terms anymore in our language.74
Although they knew that Florida was important, and Gerard Marlet as well, they wanted to develop a powerful local story were people can relate to as their own. Also Citylab wanted to avoid an academic discussion, because they are endless:

Also within Citylab, I try not to refer to and play with Florida's words within Citylab, because if you do that, it automatically starts endless discussions about the creative class hype being already over, and about Florida's investigations being a mess. You'll get some kind of academic discussion, which we just do not want to have.  

And too complicated:

If you have cleaver ideas to make the city a better place, please join us and help to improve this city in a positive way.

Citylab wants to make the city better in many ways. The city should be more creative, innovative, entrepreneurial, exciting, and roaring of life. This is the local translation of Florida and Marlet, who stated that work follows workers that want to live in attractive cities. The term amenities is often coined, as all kinds of services that makes the city attractive. Actually Citylab wants to make the city more fun by adding or improving the city's amenities:

Citylab Leiden will develop projects and implement them to make Leiden even more creative, more innovative, more cultural, more exciting and more vibrant.

In order to achieve this, Citylab was founded. In their vision about the city, Citylab defined its own way of working. Citylab has become a narrative, but also has created its own repertoire since it consist of many narratives, plots, terms and metaphors. In the end it is a relative coherent way of talking about improving the city of Leiden in a rather coherent manner. Therefore I think it has become an interpretative repertoire on its own.

3.5 The Citylab repertoire
The Citylab repertoire has for main narratives. All are illustrated with a quote:

1 It’s a laboratory, a workplace for innovation in Leiden

Citylab Leiden. It will be a laboratory, a studio, a workshop, a breeding ground for innovation in Leiden. People make a city. They do this in this order: meet, collaborate, and create. We want to strengthen this chain of creativity.

2 We deliver a realistic plan with a partner who is able to develop the plan

We deliver a feasible plan and then we look for an authority which might be invoked. This can be the municipality, but it can also be a different group. The municipality, of course, is involved with the spatial aspects of plans anyway, because of their public role.

3. We are professionals!

Many professional planners, architects, managers, journalist, professors, and lawyers joined Citylab. All on a voluntary basis. Therefore Citylab can handle very serious projects: Creative and open-minded in its designs, but decisive and business-like during their implementation.

Second, it is certainly is not a discussion panel:

It is about getting things done, about the execution of concrete projects, not about spending a nice evening brainstorming about things together.
4. We are independent and have no serious stakes in the city

The people from Citylab are volunteers. They do it because they want to do something for the city and because they love the city. They do not have major stakes in the institutions or real-estate. They do not represent a street, a neighbourhood or a specific group.

‘I have been working on the content: the future functions of the Meelfabriek. My role is entirely informal. I developed the concept on my own initiative and just began talking about it to the owners and to anyone who would hear my story: the architect, politician, civil servants, press, communication companies, the Chamber of Commerce, gastronomy entrepreneurs, education institutions, inhabitants of Leiden, real estate development specialist, creative city advisors, etc.’ (Jeroen Maters, 2009). (quote uit de meelfabriek Engels)

Citylab does this because they love the city and because they want to make the city a better place to live for their children:

If you do it from the heart, it brings out very different things.\(^{62}\)

And:

We do this because we’d like to create a good city for ourselves, and to leave our children with a good city too.\(^{63}\)

Loving the city is clearly part of the repertoire. The ‘love for the city’ brings the members of Citylab together. Last, their vision is voiced by the following slogans:

To the public: ‘Leiden needs more fun’

To their partners: ‘The more difficult, all the better’

3.7 Creativity the supercharger for the economy

Last, Citylab sees creativity as the supercharger for the economy of the city:

If a city succeeds in binding the creative class to the city, then the creative class does not just spend its money, but also creates excitement itself, by setting up businesses, organizing their own festivals and by attracting talent to the city. This creates a flywheel, so to speak, which makes the city increasingly dynamic, and which makes it attractive for all people who already live, work, study and hang out here, and for those who visit the city. Leiden can create this larger dynamic, (a characteristic for creative cities red.).\(^{84}\)

In this way Citylab is creating its own repertoire about the Leiden. Although the academic repertoire of Landry is not spoken of, Citylab tries to plan with creativity and imagination, though in a professional way. This is exactly what Landry and Bianchini advocated. From the national policy and academic context, The City Ltd. and Gerard Marlet (Atlas for Municipalities) are translated into a local narrative how to make the city more fun. Florida also stated that people move to cities with amenities. The attractiveness of the city is very important.

4 Peen en Ui, creativity on the street level

Peen en Ui, (carrot and onion, like in hotchpotch) is an association which want to improve creativity within Leiden on the street level. According to Citylab they are working on a project base. Peen en Ui is a platform for inspirational meetings between different people, talents, and knowledge:
To encourage new creativity in Leiden, Peen en Ui will provide a platform for meetings. Encounters between people with different knowledge and talents will inspire each other to new insights and creative ideas. Several sectors, such as industry, welfare, education and culture are invited to become a part of this special network.

Besides that, P&U wants to connect different forms of creativity in Leiden by imitating projects:

Again and again both residents and visitors of Leiden will enjoy the creative potential that is present in such abundance.

In one project, all kinds of stories about Leiden in the old days where collected. A specially designed carrier tricycle with foldout table and chairs was made, and people collected stories on the streets and squares of Leiden. Artists, photographers and scientists worked together in order to capture the history of Leiden. P&U is very small, its narrative is more focussed on a local and personal level.

5 Leiden, key to discovery! The narrative of the municipality

5.1 a new strategy for the city

The Municipality of Leiden presents itself as follows: ‘Leiden, key to Discovery’. Besides Citylab, the municipality is also an important social context. Although Citylab and the municipality are interconnected, there are of course major differences. The local municipality also developed a new approach to the city, also affected by the creative city as a concept. For years Leiden did not had a proper city marketing strategy, but this changed when the consultancy agency Berenschot developed a citymarketingplan in 2006. In short Leiden is positioned as a city of both a city of knowledge and culture. In the words of Berenschot:

Berenschot recommends that all city marketing activities in the coming years to be focussed on Leiden as knowledge and culture city.

Also The City ltd. acknowledges that the connection between culture and knowledge and science can be used in order to improve the economic status of Leiden:

The connection between culture and science promises to be an area in which Leiden could excel. "The contact between art and science should intensify. There is a large group of students who are good at both. We have an bachelor Media Technology where creativity and science go hand in hand."

In the following years this strategy was deployed in Leiden. Leiden was mentioned as a creative city for the first time by The City ltd. In the long-term vision for the city of Leiden called: ‘Leidse Structuurvisie 2025’, both knowledge and culture are elaborated up on:

The combination of cultural history and the potential of the arts and sciences here make the city unique. It makes Leiden a highly knowledge-based city with many businesses of all kinds that make money solely from education and research.

The aim of the culture plan for Leiden was start using culture as a unique selling point, and linking culture, knowledge and economy. In the program for the inner-city it both culture and knowledge are mentioned. This program focuses on the physical aspects of the inner-city:

Perhaps the greatest opportunity for Leiden is the quality of its historic inner-city. The old town is a highly distinctive quality of Leiden in relation to other
municipalities. This, in combination with a knowledge based economy, offers Leiden many opportunities. \textsuperscript{90}

In this way the distinctive historic inner-city is a unique selling point for the University of Leiden, within its international competitive position. \textsuperscript{91}

Besides knowledge, science, culture and creativity, the historical inner-city is seen as a unique selling point. This was both mentioned by Berenschot and The City Ltd. The municipality recognized this and started to improve the historical inner-city in their inner-city program and their long term vision document on the city.

In this way, knowledge and culture are seen as two inseparable parts of the city of Leiden. They determine the identity of Leiden. As the alderman of culture stated:

And with regards to the city of discovery, which we are trying to develop as city council: it has two pillars, knowledge and culture. They are connected by means of the economy, or rather, they form a kind of Greek temple, which has two pillars, knowledge and culture, and a roof – the economy. Sometimes the pillars carry the economy. \textsuperscript{92}

This approach to the city has led to the development of a creative repertoire, related to Citylab, but clearly from a policy perspective.

\textbf{5.2 Facilitating role of the government}

First of all, the government retrenches from her developing role and focuses on her facilitating role. The municipality will play a facilitating role in realising the creative city:

It is highly facilitative what we do here. Zoning plans and area development, because in science we obviously do not provide grants. \textsuperscript{93}

With the aim:

To create the new conditional framework for economic growth and employment. \textsuperscript{94}

So the repertoire consists of: facilitating the limiting conditions, legislation and regulation. That is the traditional role of the government. The municipality is aware of the fact that creativity cannot be planned by the local municipality:

We asked them to map the potential of the creative class and the creative economy, whatever you choose to call it, in Leiden. For this, an interactive approach, as seems appropriate for this area, was developed and implemented. \textsuperscript{95}

Waisvisz underlines that the creative city should have an interactive approach and cannot be simply planned by the municipality. In this way, facilitating is part of the repertoire.

\textbf{5.3 Connecting economy and culture: the cultural economy/creative industries}

Second, the economy was linked to culture:

Describe how art, science and markets could be made to connect with each other. Select some scientific topics from Leiden that are suitable for a connection with art. These would be allowed in the annual conferences at the national level. \textsuperscript{96} A motto was developed: Surprise, connect, seduce. \textsuperscript{97}

The lack of connections and links between the projects and institutions was seen as a weakness, as was stated By Dirk Houtgraaf of Naturalis:
Leiden has a tremendous amount of cultural and scientific institutions and the inner-city rose up as a result. However, it lacks connections.\textsuperscript{98}

Therefore a policy and thus a repertoire was created about working together, linking, connecting different groups, projects and institutions. People should ‘work together’ on projects, linking different groups, and institutions in the city:

The contact between art and science should be intensified.\textsuperscript{99}

From a news website about Leiden:

The City approved the implementation talent plan Leiden. In the triangle of culture, education and economy the different components should be coordinated in a better way. Three spearheads are appointed: Knowledge Clusters, Talent in Leiden and Culture in a Knowledge City.\textsuperscript{100}

According to Jan-Jaap de Haan, alderman of culture, culture should enter the economic domain:

That is so, because I think culture, when she embraces the economy, will realize she can do more and go further, than if she were to have only a caring or educational role.\textsuperscript{101}

Culture is seen as important for the economy of the city:

‘culture is fun’.. ‘culture is part of our identity as a City and ‘culture is what we do for a living’.\textsuperscript{102}

Therefore the city is built on two piles: knowledge and culture:

The combination of cultural history and the potential of the arts and sciences here make the city unique. It makes Leiden a highly knowledge-based city with many businesses of all kinds that make money solely from education and research.\textsuperscript{103}

Also the extent to which cultural institutions collaborate and connect themselves to other sectors is seen as a criterion of success, according to the municipality:

Clearly, Scheltema and Veenfabriek rank highest on most criteria. These initiatives are nationally recognized. They have a cultural production function. Scheltema and Veenfabriek also rank high on the criterion of linking, in particular art, science and knowledge. In fact, all criteria are met: the initiative surprises, seduces and connects simultaneously.\textsuperscript{104}

Therefore:

Scheltema deserves to get support because it both surprised and links culture with science in their programming.\textsuperscript{105}

Through the development of the connection between (creative) talent, culture and business, the amount of new cultural output will grow.\textsuperscript{106}

Apart from linking culture to the economy, there is also a gap between, businesses and science, and science and culture. The different narratives about the cities are should be connected. Once more it started with the words of the consultant:

Berenschot recommends that all city marketing activities in the coming years to be deployed at Leiden knowledge and cultural city. With this bold move in two dimensions, Leiden both honours the ambitions of the opinion leaders in the field of knowledge, life sciences and culture and at the same time Leiden
while be reflecting on her super strong image as a historical city, museum, city and University City.\textsuperscript{107}

In policy:

It’s a good stepping stone for connecting creative entrepreneurs with Wireless Leiden and Leiden Congress City, as well as City marketing, science and culture […] cooperation, reinforcement, (strengthening needs a subject), smart connections and the creation of strong networks.\textsuperscript{108}

In practice:

The Key of Life Festival is a wonderful festival where art and science are interrelated.\textsuperscript{109}

In this way, connecting and linking, culture, economy, knowledge, entrepreneurship and talent has become part of the Creative City Repertoire.

5.4 Diversity

Diversity is generally seen as a good thing. Diversity is one of the qualities of a perfect city. However, diversity means many things: developing interesting mixes, diversity of residential, working, leisure areas within the city. Different architecture, functions, neighbourhoods and so on:

In the Meelfabriek a special mix of housing, employment, education and recreation will be realized, as a beautiful finishing touch. I expect that this concept will have an enormous impact on the surrounding area. It will be a stimulus for art and culture, and it will attract creative businesses and bohemians from outside the town. It will turn into a ‘hotspot’ – the place to be. Just as the ‘Kop van Zuid’ in Rotterdam nowadays is the place to be, or Céramique in Maastricht.\textsuperscript{110}

According to the website of the Meelfabriek:

The master plan provides an attractive mix of living, working, learning, recreation, culture and shopping … … A rich blend of urban environments such as ports, passages, bridges, parks, squares, covered and open areas with shops, cafes, restaurants and local services will create a high level of convenience for the public.\textsuperscript{111}

In the words of the project manager:

Yeah, and we did not call it 'creative city' or 'house of communication' or what have you, and we were all about substance, right from the masterplan on we wanted to fill the place up with great diversity. And a number of elements fitted right in with creative city’s story.\textsuperscript{112}

In case of the Meelfabriek, diversity means a unique mix of functions. It is a rich mix of urban environments like a marina, passages, bridges, parks, squares, open and indoor spaces with shops, cafes, restaurants and services, with all will serve the public. Also entrepreneurs from the communication sector speak about diversity:

I’d love to work from a place which houses other disciplines as well. My present studio is not very dynamic. I’ve also worked on finding an old feed factory – such a place has a certain creative atmosphere and it is multifunctional: you might think of using it as an exhibition space.\textsuperscript{113}
5.5 More economic variety, not one dominant sector

The economy of Leiden is one-sided. Bioscience is the dominant sector and also a dominant narrative about the city. According to the report of the City Ltd., this is a potential weakness:

To make Leiden’s economy and society less vulnerable it needs to diversify, in order to develop more sectors with growth potential. The creative economy provides opportunities, especially for the communications sector. These entrepreneurs prefer locations in the inner-city.\textsuperscript{114}

Therefore the government decided to stimulate the diversification of the economy. The creative industry in general and the communication sector specifically is seen as one of the possibilities to broaden the economy of Leiden. However there are doubts about the creative industries because right now, the economic policy does not focus on the creative economy:

It is important to realise that this approach does not give attention to several important parts of the creative economy, such as cultural art or design. That does not mean that we do not welcome companies from this sector in Leiden – they are simply not addressed actively in our current marketing campaign.\textsuperscript{115}

The political parties want to strengthen the creative and knowledge intensive economy of the city in order to create more jobs in the city:

Also coalition parties of Labour, Liberal Democrats, Christen Democrats and the Green party want to strengthen the creative and knowledge-intensive (biotechnology) sector of the city and at the same time retain the crafts-related companies. According to the Alderman, these business activities are for example necessary to increase the amounts of jobs and to make the assigned job targets.\textsuperscript{116}

In short, one speaks about giving the economy of Leiden a broader base, through which the economy is less dependent on the bioscience sector. This can prevent the city from a breakdown it suffered from in the 70’s and 80’s when all the cotton mills and other major industries closed down. The creative economy can become the second strong sector, Leiden needs.

5.6 The cultural entrepreneur

More and more, the artist is seen as a cultural entrepreneur. According to the municipality all artist are in fact entrepreneurs:

Cultural entrepreneurship is stimulated by stimulating artists to become more entrepreneurial …. This is just one example, but I think it exemplifies the way I look at culture, namely in the sense that artists are also entrepreneurs.\textsuperscript{117}

This is the base of the cultural policy. In order to be considered for an a municipality sponsored atelier of workplace, the artist is tested on its professionalism:

And we have demanded that anyone who rents a studio there, must be registered with the chamber of commerce, and is also tested on his or her professionalism.\textsuperscript{118}

The speaking in terms of professionalism, thinking entrepreneurial is done for several reasons:

That is so, because I think culture, when she embraces the economy, will realize she can do more and go further, than if she were to have only a caring or educational role.\textsuperscript{119}
The local municipality totally agrees that the ‘culture makers’ of the city are important:

The ‘culture makers’ play an important role in Leiden’s cultural policies. Up until now they only played a modest part, but, it is becoming more and more clear that culture makers are important for a city’s attractiveness, for its creative class, for its tourism and for its economy. Therefore, reconsideration of this policy at this point is recommended.\textsuperscript{120}

However the cultural sector self also should explain why they are actually good for the economy:

Because, entrepreneurs do wonder sometimes why it is necessary for this or that event to receive a 20 or 30 thousand euro subsidy. It is up to the cultural sector to show that part of such a subsidy flows directly back into the local economy, that is to say to the printer, who makes the posters and flyers, and to the company which provides the stage, and the local restaurants and bars. And indirectly by all visitors who park their cars, have dinner, walk through the streets and go shopping.\textsuperscript{127}

Last, some artists do not agree with this view on culture. They state that an artist is not the same as an entrepreneur. An artist should be independent and certainly not market-driven. According the alderman, this is only a small group. In short, Leiden is seen and spoken of as a city of culture. According the municipality, culture should embrace the economy of the city, because they strengthen each other.

5.7 Thinking in terms of potential, opportunities, unique selling points.

This thinking in potential instead of problems is relatively new for the municipality. Leiden was spoken of as an industrial town, very poor, and also a boring provincial town. Leiden is the underdog and was suffering from this. However, both Citylab and several consultant agencies tried to achieve a positive attitude by the government. By now, it is clear that Leiden has great potential:

Leiden has a great potential, but the creative sector in Leiden is much smaller than than the population figures suggest.\textsuperscript{122}

Nevertheless:

There is no doubt that such a clustering of teaching, research, collections, institutes, faculties, museums and archives accounts for an enormous potential.\textsuperscript{123}

And:

The combination of cultural history and the potential opportunities for the Knowledge Society (the Arts and Sciences) make the city unique. It makes Leiden a city with a high knowledge economy and companies that run on education and research at all levels.\textsuperscript{124}

Therefore:

Leiden already is a beautiful city, and, it has enormous potential.\textsuperscript{125}

This makes Leiden a potential very strong city:

So you have to look at everything the city has to offer on such a small area. That's where it strength lies. And what Leiden has to offer, and this view is also present in city policies and city marketing, is a great deal of knowledge and quality.\textsuperscript{126}
The ingredients are there, but still a lot has to be developed:

Leiden has lots of potential, but how can we establish new sectors, or make established sectors flourish? 127

Last, within Leiden, key to discovery, the creative economy is seen as a change:

Leiden, as City of Discovery, has a promising creative class / sector. Numerous promising economic initiatives currently exist within the sector: they arose within the sector itself, and now they are supported by different parties within the city. 128

In this way, the different narratives of Leiden were written down. The results and analyses were presented in chapter 6.
1 Introduction

This report contains all empirical findings of Amsterdam case. It should be seen as the result of the coding process: the writing up, as described in the narrative strategy of Amsterdam and Leiden. This results in thick descriptions of the narratives in Leiden. These reports formed the basis of the analyses, comparison and critical evaluation of the cases of Amsterdam and Leiden. The nature of this report therefore is descriptive. The analytical work is done in chapter 6.

In Amsterdam I interviewed four people. Robert Marijnissen, PhD on creative city policy and pioneer on creative city policy. Edwin Oskam, official at the economics department of the City of Amsterdam, currently working on the creative industries. Third, Zef Hemel deputy-director of the spatial planning department and co-author of future policy paper Amsterdam 2040. Fourth, Jann de Waal, part of the board of the Dutch creative industries federation. Apart from that I collected newspaper articles, policy papers, and website text, all with the topic: the creative city. I tried to map narratives, plots and interpretative repertoires.

The outcome of the coding process; the narratives of the different social contexts are written down in this chapter and related to each other. All narratives have in common that they have something to do with the Creative City Repertoire. Within Amsterdam I mapped narratives and repertoires of the following social contexts: first the policy context of the Municipality of Amsterdam; second the regional policy context of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area; third, the Creative Cities Amsterdam Area, a local supporting office for the creative industries, and last a local creative project, located on a former shipyard, the NDSM yard.

Moreover, Amsterdam is a big city. Therefore it was impossible to collect all possible narratives and interpretative repertoires about the city. This research has a strong focus on the urban policy, and less on the personal stories. A member of the board of the creative industries federation was interviewed, but this board was just established one year ago. The creative industry is mainly policy hype. In practice, people are organized in other ways. For example all photographers have their federation, and people do not feel part of the creative industry. This makes personal narratives also less interesting for this investigation. Although this selection of data was not comprehensive, this chapter has shown that the international academic and the national policy contexts via their repertoires have a big influence on the urban policy repertoire.

2 The definition of the creative industries

2.1 Introduction

It all starts from the fact that the definition of the creative industries or creative city is not uniform at all. There are many differences between them. This has to do with the difference between the so-called narrow view of the creative industries and the broader view of the Metropolitan Area. According to Zef Hemel, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is the broader, comprehensive view of the creative city. Robert Marijnissen states that the creative city is used and misused from different perspectives:

And then academics, from their point of view, think ‘what kind of nonsense is this?’ In the Creative City Repertoire then, the term ‘creative industries’ is used with very little consideration – and academics disapprove.129

Besides from an entrepreneurial point of view, there is a discussion:
What we have noticed here in Amsterdam, is a tension between the ICT / new media part on the one hand, and basically all other parts of the creative industry on the other.\textsuperscript{130}

Zef Hemel stated:

So, the creative city, which was a big idea at the outset, has been pared down, narrowed down and impoverished, that is what I just said ...\textsuperscript{131}

That is first through storytelling as a Metropolis ... because the term 'creative city' had lost all significance, seeing that even Doetinchem called itself a Creative City.\textsuperscript{132}

The quotes above are already the first signs of selections, made in Amsterdam, because there is a conceptual discussion about what the creative industries as a term derived from the same repertoire actually means. Apparently divergent interpretations (selections) are made, or one draws from different repertoires. At least, there is a discussion about interpretation.

2.2 Toward a very narrow definition of the (controversial) creative city?

Although often depicted as a hype in both literature and interviews, the creative city as a hype was doubted from the start in Amsterdam. According to Zef Hemel, the creative city was not hype in Amsterdam. Amsterdam is a big and vibrant city, and:

It was not really an issue, I mean, so much is going on her, all the time. In order to create a hype you really have to try hard.\textsuperscript{133}

Robert Marijnissen acknowledges this:

I think the concept of creative industries has never been truly politically accepted in Amsterdam. It is used in all kind of papers, policy documents and the like, and you can find references to the creative city everywhere. It is always stated that creativity is important, and that creativity distinguishes Amsterdam from other cities in the world. But for some reason this motto is almost never translated into any operating organization.\textsuperscript{134}

The creative city was not implied en mass in Amsterdam nor institutionalized, like for example Barcelona or Bilbao were a department of creative industries was founded (R. Marijnissen, interview, 2010).

Although Amsterdam has a creative class and creative industry, there just was not the urgency to stimulate or facilitate the creative industries. Amsterdam attracts lots of creative people no matter what kind of creative policy is developed (monitor creative industry 2010). Besides that, Robert Marijnissen states that the local politicians did not accept the creative class concept of Richard Florida. Traditionally Amsterdam is a stronghold of the Dutch Labour party. Although the concept of the creative class came from within the Labour party, there was also a discussion:

A lot of people thought the idea was so-so, because the story was also fed by people within the Labour Party. Those people were so enthusiastic about the creative class, and they thought that it was a huge opportunity for the city. However, other Labour Party members thought that the whole thing was a highly elitist story.\textsuperscript{135}

So Dutch Labour thought that Florida was elitist, apparently the word class triggered them. As a result the creative industry remained controversial and certainly not a hype.
However, different departments of the city of Amsterdam did discuss the concept. From the cultural department Robert Marijnissen started the discussion. A creative city team was created with servants from the three departments. Overtime, for various reasons the creative industry as it was called hereafter, became part of the economic department. The spatial planning department only focussed on housing of creative people and culture retreated from this field (Robert Marijnissen, interview, 2010). According to Zef Hemel the creative city policy became a very narrow concept, only concerning the creative industries as an economic sector (Zef Hemel, interview, 2010).

Meanwhile the spatial planning department focussed on their own creative city policy. As the vice-director of the department, Zef Hemel developed its own narrative approach. He made his department aware of the power of storytelling and also started his own weblog called Vrijstaat Amsterdam.

According to Zef Hemel the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area and the Amsterdam 2040 paper are in fact the ‘real’ creative city policy (Zef Hemel, interview, 2010). The creative city concept is interpreted in different ways. Again, lots of signs of different narratives and interpretive discussions about the creative city as a concept. In the next sections the different narratives and repertoires are set forth.

3 The creative industry

As already was pointed out in chapter 5 in the Netherlands the creative industries are called creative industry and that the English term might be more diverse and a bit less entrepreneurial. In this section, the so-called narrow view on the creative cities is explained. Starting point of the creative policy is as follows:

These last thirty years the vitality and competitiveness of (urban) western economies have been determined mainly by the presence of knowledge intensive companies, which generate (technological and / or conceptual) products and services that are, to some extent, difficult to imitate by other countries.¹³⁶

Within the Municipality of Amsterdam, the awareness grew that ‘something had to be done’ in order to secure to position of Amsterdam in a globalizing world:

Furthermore, I think knowledge, innovation; creativity and distinctiveness became the new keywords. It became more and more clear that competition with Asian and Eastern European countries was increasingly difficult. It became trickier: competition on costs alone is an utter illusion. Competing on the costs is an absolute illusion. On the basis of knowledge we can to some extent, but if you look at how many people are on Eastern European, Chinese and Indian universities graduate then you are not going to make it on the basis of knowledge alone.¹³⁷

In short, something needs to be done, and the creative industry provide opportunities because it fits in the worldwide trend. Apparently the academic repertoire comes through here, as the interviewee captured four very important keywords in one sentence.

Second, the creative industry is not an ordinary economic sector, like mining or banking:

This sector is not purely economic, like all other sectors, and so it needs a different kind of attention: a comprehensive approach. It [the policy] is not merely an economical affair – it also has social, spatial and promotional characteristics. Therefore one needs to do various things to develop the sector, but without wanting to – and this is where Robert and I sometimes
disagreed – without wanting the sector to be shaped solely by the government.138

In short, the creative industry is not a sector like any other and it has specific needs. The economic department is aware of the worldwide trends in for advanced economies. Therefore a special creative industries program was developed based on six program lines:

1 Connecting creative industries and education

At the moment: Education and the creative industry simply do not match well. The people in this field are not sufficiently educated.139 This was also stated in Amsterdam based newspaper ‘Het Parool’:

‘AMSTERDAM The creative sector in Amsterdam has an urgent need for international advanced training ’. That comes after the summer, with the support of the city. Representatives of the creative sector spoke several times in recent years with the Amsterdam municipality. The question was where the industry, which has become a pillar of the local economy. An advanced creative academy ‘tops the list’ (Couzy, 23 september 2010).

In the general discussion in Amsterdam, connecting seems very important. In this cyber society, everything should be connected to everybody. To connect and making cross-overs are very important in many ways:

For part four of the program (networking) the challenges are to influence the creative industry’s national agenda and to interact with it in the best possible way, and moreover to establish connections between the creative industries and the regular SMEs (to increase the innovativeness of the business sector), and to make use of the creative industries to solve social / nationwide problems.140

The creative industry should be used to improve other sectors and thus the economy, as well as the society. Here the practical approach of Landry and Bianchini is touched. Creativity and imagination should be applied everywhere. Also the importance of innovation is stated. Both Porter, Hall and Florida state that innovation is important because innovation enables economic growth. The city of Amsterdam is aware of that, and in 2004 the Amsterdam innovation engine was founded. This office stimulates innovation in the creative industries, ICT, Life sciences, financial businesses and sustainability (Amsterdam Innovatie Motor, 2011).

2 Use of cultural diversity

Second the cultural diversity of Amsterdam is both strength and thus an opportunity. Therefore Talent development and the international exchange of people are planned. A cultural diverse and talent highly educated population is goal of the municipality. For 2011 the focus will be on talented people (uitvoeringsprogramma creatieve industrie 2009-2010: 38). This is both in line with Jacobs and Florida.

Recapitulating Jacobs (section 5.2.3), diversity will lead to cross-fertilization, which in turn leads to economic growth(Jacobs, 1961). As already stated in section 5.2.6, creative people prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas, as stated by Florida(Florida, 2002, p. 249). Last, talent is one of 3 Ts of Florida: in a diverse place with a diverse and talented population, innovation and thus economic growth is more likely to take place.

3 Stimulating creative entrepreneurs

The municipality wants be stimulate entrepreneurship.
The promotion of entrepreneurship among artists ... the business-like and entrepreneurial way of thinking is very unfamiliar to many artists, but at the same time highly familiar to other artists. I mean, especially the advertising branch – that’s pure business, that’s what I call entrepreneurship. It is mostly in the more artistic circles, that entrepreneurship is a problem. So how do you offer those people tools so they will at least think about being an entrepreneur? There’s a start.141

Florida would not agree with this. He instead argues that the creative class essentially is an economic class, however according to the UK definition; the creative industries are originated in creativity and have the potential for economic growth. Because the definition of the creative industry comes from the TNO report, this truly reflects the UK policy definition and the local situation in Amsterdam.

4 Connecting New Media, culture and ICT

The creative industries should be connected to other branches. Crossover is the buzzword:

The challenges for program line 4 are for example a proper response and adaptation to the national agenda of the creative industries, making connections between the creative industries and the regular SME’s (using the innovative power in order to strengthen the conventional industries) and using the creative industries to solve social problems.142 The creative industries are in fact ‘enabling technologies’, and therefore should be used to improve other sectors. This approach is also applied by other departments and bureaus: CCAA recognizes this and calls the bet on the so-called crossovers one of its duties.143

And according to the CCAA Hall of fame, there are companies that see cross-overs as their speciality. Again cross-fertilization, as discussed by Jacobs, Hall, Porter and Florida plays an important role in the urban policy. However, according to Porter, cross-overs and innovations take place within the cluster. Here the municipality wants it to take place between clusters, from Porter’s business based approach (section 5.2.8), this will be much harder to achieve because innovation is likely to take place within the cluster.

5 Space for allowing growth of the creative industries

Fifth, the municipality wants to offer proper space for the creative industries:

For a strong creative industry enough living and working space at the right location is essential. This industry nests in places where the creative knowledge workers live. These are mostly interesting and vibrant areas with a wide range of urban facilities.144

Here the arguments of Florida and Marlet are followed: companies move to were the creative class lives. Within Amsterdam, new locations are currently developed via program line five of the creative industries program:

Under program line five, space for the growth of the creative industries is sought. This involves issues such as local development, breeding grounds (for creativity) and supplying students and youths with housing and workspaces. Successful projects in this program line are such breeding grounds as Petersburg, the Volkskrant building, the GAK building and Donauweg 10, and enlarging the workspace for students at Blok 51 B, IJburg, and at the Baarsjesweg.145
In short, Amsterdam tries to facilitate the creative industry by offering cheap but attractive locations to them, often located near the inner-city or neighbourhoods were the creative class lives.

6 Promotion of Amsterdam as a creative ‘top city’

Last, Promotion of Amsterdam as a creative ‘top city’. The creative industry is used as a subject for citymarketing:

In city marketing creative festivals receive attention, especially among competing European cities. From the Amsterdam creative industries and from its cultural sector are shown as part of international marketing.146

According to Edwin Oskam (2010) this is about international profiling and city marketing (Oskam, interview, 2010). In this way the creative industry is placed on the international stage:

In this case through the continual showcasing of Amsterdam's successes in the creative industry. The 400th anniversary of Amsterdam-New York relations (NY400) in 2009 will be one of those showcases. In the same vein, Amsterdam will take part in the international digital design tournament “Cut & Paste”. Amsterdam's fashion industry is highly developed and therefore it is a fine showpiece of the city's creativity.147

The fashion industry is highly developed in Amsterdam and a perfect showcase for the creativity of the city.148

In short, the creative industries are using in city marketing and this can be found in the different governmental bodies:

CCAA’s mission was threefold: to counter fragmentation by bringing together business and industries, promoting the region as a brand, and direction of regional policy.149

All this attention might attract even more creative people to the city.

Summing up, this ‘narrow’ view of the creative city, is influenced by Florida, Hall, Landry, Marlet, The UK creative industries policy, TNO and also Porter. Those authors are both implicitly and explicitly used. The city is aware of the fact that diversity, talent, innovation and cross-overs are very important. These factors will result in economic growth. It improves the vitality and competitiveness of the city. This makes creative industry an important new sector, which is different from regular sectors. Therefore the city provides special places for the creative industry. On the other hand the municipality wants to use the creativity of the sector to solve social problems. Second it wants to connect the creative industries to education and other industries. Whether this is feasible, remains subject to debate: indeed innovation and cross-overs are likely to take place within the clusters. This is a challenge for the municipality.

4 The Art Factories Programme / Bureau Broedplaatsen

The Art Factories Programme is part of the spatial planning department. The aim of the Bureau Broedplaatsen, as it is called in Dutch is to provide:

enough suitable, affordable living and working accommodation (Art Factories Programme, 2008: 34).

This is provided for people working in the creative industry, but also less entrepreneurial artists. Their task is:
Ensuring an adequate supply of suitable workplaces and housing for artists stimulates the creative economy, the cultural climate, the social cohesion and the general development of both Amsterdam itself and the wider metropolitan area (Art Factories Programme, 2008: 44).

Following this, Bureau Broedplaatsen wants to create ‘creative hotspots’:

The Art Factories Programme, commissioned by Amsterdam Top City develops Creative Hotspots. A Creative Hotspot is a combination of creative activity, public functions, talent development and high-profile restaurants: a place to be. However creating creative hotspots is not easy. The creative hotspot might be a translation of Peter Hall’s innovative milieux. However Hall also warned that building innovation milieu cannot be easily done (Hall, 1998, p. 498).

However, what are the underlying goals of the programme?

Painters, sculptors, photographer, fashion designers... They’re all dear to my heart. Thanks to the art factories, these creative spirits can bring colour to Amsterdam! (Ans Markus, 2008 in: Art Factories Programme, 2008).

But do they really want to achieve this? The Art Factories Programme does not act on its own. Although it is mainly concerned with providing accommodation, the programme does not act alone:

‘The Art Factories Programme is one of a series of closely related cultural policy initiatives in Amsterdam, alongside the Creative Industries Programme, the Social Structure Plan, the Top City Programme, and Arts and Culture Framework for 2009-2012 and the Arts Plan for 2009-2012’ (Art Factories Programme, 2008: 45).

The programme is not developed just for the intrinsic value of art in the city. The programme contributes to different aims:

Art factories can be a very good way of reinforcing urban regeneration and neighbourhood development (Art Factories Programme, 2008: 34).

So the creative industry is also used for urban regeneration and neighbourhood development, because it is an base within the neighbourhood:

with so many creative people working out of one building, it should be easy to join forces with neighbourhood initiatives and borough activities (Art Factories Programme, 2008: 60).

How this exactly is done, remains unclear, from Jacob’s point of view, neighbourhoods will regenerate it, but that easier said than done.

Second:

of art factories as engines of urban regeneration, sources of employment, springboards for creative talent, providers of affordable living and working space for artists and breeding grounds for so-called “smart coalitions” combining creative experimentation with commercial and community functions’ The results achieved by this particular policy over the past eight years demonstrate the added value (Art Factories Programme, 2008: 45).

In order facilitate the creative industry, the Art Factories Programme has specific strategies:

In the complex process of developing sufficient creative sites Bureau Broedplaatsen is working with the key parties involved. Bureau Broedplaatsen
connects directs and converts stakeholders and projects. It uses grants in order to start developments and triggers other parties to co-finance projects. Bureau Broedplaatsen tries to empower the target as much as possible so that the creative people themselves can take the lead in order to develop their own creative hotspot. This advances the self-organizing capacity of the target group (Art Factories Programme, 2008, 280).

Besides the value of creative industries for the economy, art factories are also seen as: a very good way of reinforcing urban regeneration and neighbourhood development.... Artists, artisans, a flourishing subculture of squatter collectives and “free zones” in the ragged margins of the metropolis... They helped shape Amsterdam's unique reputation as a diverse, tolerant and creative city long before that image was wholeheartedly embraced by the local government in about the year 2000 (Art Factories Programme 2008:34-39).

Particularly in predominantly residential areas of the city, like the western garden suburbs and the Borough of Zuidoost, the establishment of an art factory can bring greater diversity and vitality to the local community. With so many creative people working out of one building, it should be easy to join forces with neighbourhood initiatives and borough activities. The art factory can thus become a binding factor in all kinds of cultural productions and events (Art Factories Programme 2008: 60).

In short Bureau Broedplaatsen tries to provide accommodation for the creative industry. However there notion of the creative industry is wider because also less entrepreneurial activities can apply accommodation. Their aim is to create a creative hotspot, although according to Hall this is easier said than done. Also cross-fertilization is often done within a cluster, while here the government tries to achieve this.

5 The ‘real’ story about the creative city?

Both Zef Hemel and Robert Marijnissen stated that the creative industries are applied in a very confined way. Of course this depends on their notion about the creative class, but according to Zef Hemel, the concept of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is the ‘real’ story about the creative city (Marijnissen, interview, 2010; Hemel, interview, 2011). The old creative industry concept was fading away, due to the limited scope, the wrangling between the departments and lack of political attention.

Besides that, the thoughts about the creative city were different from the policy of the economic department, because they were influenced by Charles Landry’s work on the creative city, Peter Hall’s Cities in Civilization and the creative industries policy of New Labour in the United Kingdom:

What really triggered me, what I found interesting, and personally was one of the causes: and one of the causes for me, personally, was the United Kingdom's policy, 'England for the Creative Industries', which was in 1998.\(^157\)

Where I’m going with this, is 1998: Peter Hall, a master work … Yes, that was the basis.\(^158\)

As became already clear in the chapter about the academic context, both Landry and Hall have a more comprehensive approach to the city. In this section this the lines will be drawn between the two authors and Amsterdam.
Second, the Spatial planning department started to use narratives as a strategy for policy in 2004. Zef Hemel focused more on storytelling as a kind of soft planning tool. In this way the department started to influence the debate about the future of the city:

The idea was that everyone should internalize the story about the Metropolis and that he or she gets the feeling that this story is his or her own. That’s when it becomes truly powerful.\(^{153}\)

So I have used the easiest possible way to spread all this, simply via a blog. I totally underestimated how incredibly powerful it is … how it works. It started out differently … I started that blog roundabout 2008. We started things in Amsterdam in September 2004.\(^{154}\)

In this way the spatial planning department started to promote the story of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, giving lectures and presentations. Meanwhile Zef Hemel was publishing new ideas on his weblog called Vrijstaat Amsterdam. This blog was mentioned by four other interviewees as well. Of course telling stories is not enough. The department used its connections with municipalities and cities around Amsterdam. The old regional cooperation project (Noordvleugel Randstad) was renamed ‘Amsterdam Metropolitan Area’, and the story was put into practise in the master plan called: ‘Amsterdam Metropolitan Area 2040’. In this way, a new story about Amsterdam as a Metropolis was constructed.

Also the new master plan of the municipality was composed out of the Metropolitan story. In the wee hours of the 17\(^{th}\) of February, the policy paper about the future of Amsterdam, was finally approved by the city council. This new approach will be described in the next section.

6 The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area

Although the Municipality of Amsterdam only has 750,000 inhabitants, the whole Amsterdam Metropolitan Area or sometimes called ‘Greater Amsterdam Area’ consists of over 2 million people. In this globalizing world there is a battle between different world cities. If Amsterdam wants to be successful in an economic way, it has to compete with other cities. Both the Metropolitan Area and the Municipality of Amsterdam want Amsterdam to be a ‘global’ city, or a ‘global business gateway’. Amsterdam should not only be the economic heart of the Netherlands, but of Europe (Ontwikkelingsbeeld Noordvleugel, 2010-2014; Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2011). According to Zef Hemel, the debate about cities in the Netherlands however tends to focus on the city, as only consisting of the municipality. The key point is that Amsterdam should be seen and discussed as a Metropolis, in other words, a global city. The economy of Amsterdam does not stop at the municipality border. Instead the city region is the proper scale for the economics of a global city. Therefore the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area was created:

The region is looking for ways to further strengthen the creative sector and to make it grow into one of the ‘supports’ of the development of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area.\(^{155}\)

Moreover, the town council also approved the new master plan for Amsterdam, which also incorporated the metropolitan thought. In this section I focus on the use of the creative city concept within the metropolitan discussion in Amsterdam. Zef Hemel confirms that the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area derived from the creative city (Hemel, interview, 2011). Within this discussion two parties and their documents and papers are very important: The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area as a regional partnership and the Municipality of Amsterdam.

The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area as a regional development strategy/board

First of all, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is a regional development board an strategy. It is a partnership of the municipalities who surround Amsterdam:
The Amsterdam Metropolitan Region stated: we are going to make a kind of regional development strategy and for that reason, an economic development board is established under the leadership of the Mayor of Amsterdam, including regional authorities, business people and people from universities. These are professors. They have to define what this region needs to do in order to become one of the most competitive regions of Europe in 2020. Those people are there to discuss.\textsuperscript{156}

Although the collaboration is not easy, and very complicated, a master plan was presented and accepted in 2008. The Metropolitan scale has the following strengths and opportunities:

1. The diverse economic base with a relatively strong presence of control activities (European headquarters), financial and business services, ICT / new media, tourism and conference business being but also of high quality retail, transport and production (both ornamental / Greenport, knowledge-intensive industrial trade and international distribution. Again a diverse economic base is established.

2. Specialization in different growth clusters such as creative industries, ICT / new media and some powerful elements of life sciences. Next, the term the development of clusters kicks in.

3. The strong international orientation and strength of new businesses in the region in terms of export, appeal of knowledge and successful international trade. The international orientation is very important. It characterizes a metropolis in general.

4. Its important role as a multimodal gateway to Europe through Schiphol as a major hub in a global passenger and air cargo network, the ports (both Amsterdam and the nearby port of world Rotterdam), road and rail links and digital links. Being connected to the world is also very important for a metropolis.

5. Amsterdam has a tradition of openness and a history of valuable design and art. Together with the unique blue green environment, variety of living environments and the differentiated population, this makes the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area a very attractive location; (also coded as a tolerant and open city. This is what Florida calls tolerance, and what Hall calls a city open to change). Second, the different living environment and differentiated population are also implicitly described as amenities.

6. The presence and proximity of several research institutes that provide training and knowledge for major regional business clusters. Knowledge and education and thus human capital are very important for the Metropolis. Here Glaeser, and also Florid and Hall are selected, adapted and rephrased as the presence and proximity of research institutes.

7. ‘The ample, well-educated workforce with relatively good language skills.’(idem).

8. The well-educated workforce, also known as the creative class or human capital.

9. ‘The attractive climate for international knowledge;

10. The significant amount of space available for business properties at a relatively low cost;
11. The diverse environment with complementary facilities such as cultural history and modern urban planning and architecture, a palette of urban and rural leisure opportunities and a variety of residential and working environments; Amsterdam is an internationally renowned brand.\textsuperscript{157}

Following this:

Metropolitan areas generally have a higher gross regional product per capita and a faster economic growth than the national average. This is due to a combination of scale, specialization and innovation.\textsuperscript{158}

This truly reflects the Creative City Repertoire. The Metropolitan area is home to clusters, innovative milieux, and creative hotspots: by all means economic development is always city-based. However Amsterdam is often spoken of as a small metropolis or small world city, although Amsterdam was a world city in the 17th century:

Among the "global cities" considered as a "small one", but one with a great name and reputation.\textsuperscript{159}

Amsterdam is a very ‘compact' metropolis, with no extended suburbs and a ‘comfortable position in the ranking order of cities.\textsuperscript{160}

Being a small metropolis, the competition with other cities, for example in Eastern Europe and Asia is great. According to the municipality, a long term vision is needed. Indeed in this competition, stagnation means decline:

Amsterdam is challenged, like many other cities, to take a new position in the field of metropolitan areas. The economic strength of Amsterdam is not a given but something that be fought for continuously. And the distinction of Amsterdam in relation to other international metropolises needs constant attention and demands a clear long term vision. With all of our creativity and ability to innovate, we are building an Amsterdam which is capable of overcoming the current economic crisis, and which occupies a prime position in the international playground.\textsuperscript{161}

In order to cope with this threats and weaknesses, and in order to stay in front, the Metropolitan Area developed its own agenda, promoting the following five themes:

1. ‘Knowledge and innovation (including sustainability) as an economic engine;

2. Active filter in the labour market of the future;

3. Strengthening promotion, acquisition and export promotion;

4. Ensure adequate space and good accessibility;

5. Good Governance: effectiveness and efficiency in directing and implementing.\textsuperscript{162}

This agenda is realized in eight economic clusters:

Recognizing the strength of the different economic structure of the Metropolitan Area to the region as economic agenda priority to the promotion of eight powerful economic clusters, mainly

1. international competitiveness and identify opportunities for growth:
2. Financial and business services;
3. ICT;
4. creative industries;
5. logistics and trade;
6. Life Sciences;
7. Flowers;
8. Food;
9. International tourism and conferences

Indeed, these are all narratives (with a plot) about the Metropolitan area. The metropolitan area as a subject influences the debate and this interpretative repertoire. The social context might diver from the municipality because also other municipalities, regional authorities, business people and people from universities are involved. This makes the repertoire different. For example, Amsterdam is called, core city of the metropolis instead of The Metropolis itself.

7 The economic master plan of the Municipality of Amsterdam

The second important agent in this field is the Municipality of Amsterdam, who developed an economic master plan. Within this master plan, Amsterdam is also seen as a small world city and the economic heart of the Netherlands (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011: 1226).

Amsterdam has a diverse economy, housing, services, scenery and above all a diverse and relatively young population. Amsterdam thus has the perfect breeding ground for maintaining and attracting the promising economic sectors in order to let local and regional economy flourish.

Here Jacobs is also translated and applied. Being diverse is seen as a good thing:

The spatial task which stands for Amsterdam is directly linked to economic success. That is why it is important to provide enough space for urban economic functions in the city to remain a city of various nature. The strength of the Amsterdam economy lies in its diversity. We should cherish and strengthen this diversity. The Amsterdam economy is characterised by a combination of seven promising economic sectors or clusters.

In this way, the municipality wants to maintain and develop a diverse urban economy.

The municipality is also aware, that Amsterdam is bigger than the municipality. This is way the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area was founded (see previous section). Also in this municipal document, Amsterdam is depicted as a small world city. In order to remain its status as small Metropolis, Amsterdam has to invest in the public space. Also the low-lying city wants to adapt to climate change and wants to promote sustainability (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011). The municipality is aware that Amsterdam should remain an attractive city: The municipality is aware that Amsterdam should remain an attractive city:

Intensification of land use in the city offers numerous people living and working space. It means additional support for facilities, additional investments in public space, efficient use of energy and transport and, the landscape is less affected.
It also means a greater mix of housing and working in which more space is given to promising economic sectors. Space is also provided for the growth of facilities in so-called city streets. Special areas are indicated for certain special facilities, icons, to settle down, and those areas are linked with sufficient public space.

With City Street, an indirect reference is made to Jane Jacob’s side walk ballet. Enough facilities on the street level, make the neighbourhood more diverse and attractive:

The presence of a dense range of different facilities has a great pulling power.\textsuperscript{168}

The municipality wants to improve the quality of public space in general since it has become more and more important as a determinant of the attractiveness of the city. In order to achieve this, the municipality wants to enable multiple used in the land use plan (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011: 585).

Last, because the economy thrives on human capital. Following this the municipality states that:

The residency requirements of these people are increasingly important.\textsuperscript{169}

The attractiveness of the city is determined mainly by the residential climate and the general living climate in a city. If the city want to remain an economic centre based on human capital, it is essential to retain its workers. Here Florida and Marlet are translated again: Knowledge workers or creative class want to live in an attractive city, and will move to these cities with lots of amenities.

The conclusion is evident:

It is of the utmost importance that Amsterdam retains its leading position in the world economy. By all means this requirement needs to be met to best guarantee the future well-being and prosperity of the inhabitants.\textsuperscript{170}

In short, in order to remain an attractive and economic healthy city, the amenities of the city have to be maintained and improved.

8 Creative cities Amsterdam Area

The CCAA is a part of the Municipality of Amsterdam, but they are active on the level of the creative entrepreneur. \textit{The origins of the CCAA lie within the objective to make the creative sector the linchpin of the economy of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area.}\textsuperscript{171} The CCAA was founded in order to achieve this. It also is a linkpin between the local authority and the creative industry (Oskam, interview, 2010). So the aim of this bureau is:

It follows that connecting parties, organising meetings, and mutual awareness are the key challenges.\textsuperscript{172}

They provide support and the creative industry can contact them for all municipality affairs (Oskam, interview, 2010). So in short, according to the website of CCAA:

The program office Creative Cities Amsterdam Area (CCAA) was established to promote and strengthen the creative industries in seven cities. The agency provides support for new, existing and growing businesses.\textsuperscript{173}

The CCAA’s portal for creative industry provides businesses in the region with access to facilities to stimulate their entrepreneurship. Via this portal they receive information on trainings, coaching, finance and establishment possibilities.\textsuperscript{174}
This CCAA supports the creative entrepreneurs in many ways. Besides that, the CCAA is also a network. The website contains a database with all its members (website CCAA, 2011).

We invite all creative entrepreneurs and like-minded people of the creative industry to become a member of our network. As a CCAA member you have the possibility to promote within the CCAA either yourself or your organisation. 

This is called the CCAA hall of Fame. I made a selection from this Hall of fame in order to show what is meant by the creative industry. I present some of the more personal narratives of creative entrepreneurs/artists/designers/couturier/creative entrepreneur:

Irving Vorster makes women's couture under his own fashion IRVINX and has been active since 2004. In that year he also had his first fashion show. Irving designs and creates his pieces in-house and presents his collection at annual showcases in an entirely idiosyncratic way’ (Irving Vorster 2011: website CCAA, 2011).

Find a full service advertising agency or a virtual incubator for creatives alias breedingplace and you come out with counter Creatives. Search ‘flexible’, ‘thinking’ and ‘result oriented’ and you come out with Dennis James. He knows all about new business, marketing strategies, (cross) media, events and publishing. Musically, the Zaankanter a multi-talent: He sings, he (bass) gitaart and key, please do not tell.. pseudonym DJ Rock … The Yak rocks! (Dennis Jak 2010 in: website CCAA, 2011).

An agency for beautiful people was the great idea of Maartje van der Hoeven. Five years ago she founded Models At Work on. MAW specializes in perfect hostesses and performances. The 700 models / performers are arranged for clients such as Amsterdam International Fashion Week, Elle, Quote, G-star, ID & T, Blue Blood, ID & T and Johnnie Walker (Maartje van der Hoeven, 2010 in: website CCAA, 2011).

Ruurd Hallema is one of the biggest independent Dutch sculptors. He’s been active for more than 30 years in the profession and his bronze sculptures are found throughout Europe. His work has been on display in his galleries at the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam and in Borne (Twente). Besides sculpting Ruurd gives lessons at the Saxion University in Industrial Design. Soon the sculptor for the first time in his life will sit on a horse, for the television programme Toppers horseback (Ruurd Hallema 2011 in: website CCAA 2011).


Since 1995, Joke Hoolboom is artistic director and director of fixed Xynix Opera (XX). XX makes new family opera performances for children and young people. Alongside, Hoolboom is a member of the Creative Board of CCAA (Joke Hoolboom, 2011 in: website CCAA, 2011).

The aim of this network is to be a platform of exchange, development and making new ideas and concepts into commodities:

Providing a platform for exchange, development and commercialization of new ideas and concepts. To make networks dynamic in order to strengthen
the market for creative entrepreneurship is, according to the survey the most important tool of CCAA (Van Dommelen en Drogendijk, 2009: 311).

What do these quotes show? First it shows that the creative industry indeed is a very broad concept. There are 122 people connected to the network with very different professions. The whole spectrum from independent artist to advertisement industry can be found at the website. Entrepreneurship seems very important. Creativity is used in order to develop new commodities. Creativity is seen as a human factor, part of the means of production. It is evident that this agency was a result of the narrow definition of the creative industry as developed by the economic department of Amsterdam which in turn is based on interpretations of the TNO report and the UK policy of the creative industries.

9 The NDSM wharf

In order to give a better view another project, another project which is considered part of the creative city but is not initiated by the local municipality is presented. The NDSM (Dutch drydock company) was a former shipyard. After the shipyard was closed down in 1979, squatters moved into the buildings:

In the end of 1999, a group of artists, theatrical producers, architects and skaters under the name Kinetic North presented a plan for the redevelopment of the former shipyard (Website NDSM, 2011: 8).

The plan was developed in together with the municipality.

The NDSM had the following aims:

The NDSM management wants to develop the former shipyard as a workplace for artists into a cultural, progressive creative hotspot on banks of the river IJ, with a focus on an extraordinary program. The aim is to find the common ground of art, new technology and sustainability (Website NDSM, 2011: 20).

Kinetic North wants to transform the former NDSM on the northern riverbank into a multidisciplinary cultural site. It wants to create a place where there is room for cultural experiments, a lab that invites to intensive cooperation between different disciplines (NDSM startersboekje, 2004: 90).

In their plans, an indoor art city was presented:

In NDSM hall an indoor city will rise again; the City of Art, with 7000 m2 of workshops and studios. Kinetic North builds the structures in the hall, up to three storeys high, in which the tenants will build their own place. The Art City will soon host to artists and hobbyists, inventors and designers, technicians and craftsmen, which aims at a mix of individual artists, both known and lesser known and, of independent organizations that work together and inspire each other, so that new ideas and initiatives arise’ (NDSM startersboekje, 2004: 94).

The current situation is that:

The NDSM, a former shipyard, located on the IJ-river in Amsterdam North, is the largest cultural hotbed of Amsterdam. Here, 250 artists in visual arts, design, theatre, film, media and architecture (Website NDSM, 2011: 2).

But, because the municipality and two housing associations do own de buildings, the NDSM foundations are no longer the only actors at the former shipyard. A new plan is currently under development. It is called mediawharf. MTV networks already moved to the wharf, and the municipality wants to develop a media cluster. Their notion of creativity, culture and economics is different from the NDSM foundation.
In the old times the port offered a stable workplace to all kinds of workers, who joined forces to give Amsterdam its place in the world. This identity fits the yard. Reason enough to restore this functionality, so the heyday can return. The shipyard will again provide space to operate from its combined forces, coming from creative users (website Mediawharf, 2011: 2).

So the starting point still is the old wharf with its historical buildings, and it also has to be a diverse and creative place, but the plan stresses more on the entrepreneurial aspects:

‘MediaWharf transforms the industrial heritage while preserving its historical value for inspiring workplace’s (MediaWharf, 2011: 1).

Room for big ambitions. With its 110 meters length, 55 meters wide and 22 meters height and immense blue doors, the hangar is the eye catcher and a significant part of the history of the NDSM. The welding hall is a convenient location on a prominent place - at the entrance of MediaWharf - is an amazing location seen from both the road as from the water (MediaWharf, 2011: 7).

This already is more like a marketing narrative for regular companies. The place is an eye catcher and lies at the right location for your company. Further on the NDSM warf becomes a place for creative businesses:

The complex as a whole provides a unique space for creative businesses who want to stand out. And those who feel attracted to the entourage that strengthen the looks and the identity of the creative businesses (MediaWharf, 2011: 17).

Here the focus is on business. Finally culture becomes involved:

On the NDSM wharf, a multidisciplinary culture shipyard in the northern part of Amsterdam, ten construction projects will be created for and by future users. In the urban design and realization of these projects, private commissions play an important role in self-motivation: the projects are organized in such a way that users at all levels shape their future workshop so that the delivered space is affordable (website VROM, 2011: 7).

This makes the NDSM wharf a mixed place. Both very entrepreneurial and very artistic people work here. Although once occupied by scatters, nowadays the more creative industry has also started to work here. However the old generation of artist does not really like the new commercial activities. So although there is a high level of diversity, this is not appreciated by everyone.
**ORIGINAL DUTCH QUOTES**

1. "De creatieve industrie is een specifieke vorm van bedrijvigheid die producten en diensten voortbrengt die het resultaat zijn van individuele of collectieve, creatieve arbeid én ondernemerschap" (TNO rapport, 2004: 20).

2. "Binnen Amsterdam is de creatieve industrie een middelgrote sector met in 2002 32,5 duizend banen. Dat komt neer op 6,9% van alle banen in Amsterdam. Het gaat in het totaal om bijna 8,3 duizend bedrijven met een gemiddelde bedrijfsgrootte van 3,9 werknemers" (TNO rapport, 2004: 52).


4. "Binnen Amsterdam is de creatieve industrie een middelgrote sector met in 2002 32,5 duizend banen. Dat komt neer op 6,9% van alle banen in Amsterdam. Het gaat in het totaal om bijna 8,3 duizend bedrijven met een gemiddelde bedrijfsgrootte van 3,9 werknemers. Deze creatieve industrie realiseert 4,5% van de stedelijk toegevoegde waarde. Zij is qua werkgelegenheid vergelijkbaar met de horeca, vervoer en communicatie het en onderwijs" (TNO rapport, 2004: 52).

5. "Amsterdam moet een Metropool worden, in plaats van een nationaal beleid dat welvaart verdeeld, moet de staat Amsterdam stimuleren om zich te ontwikkelen tot een echte Metropool" (Zef Hemel, 2011).


7. "We doen dit omdat we denken dat we graag een goede stad willen maken voor onszelf, en een goede stad willen achterlaten voor onze kinderen" (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 507).

8. "Maar wat we ook merken is dat een hele hoop organisaties het ook heel erg fijn vinden, dat er een club is die niet alleen maar loopt te zeiken over de stad, over het totale Calimerogevoel, en totaal het gebrek aan geloof in de stad, en we hebben gedacht: we gaan niet zeiken, dat kost veel te veel energie, daar hebben we de tijd ook niet voor, we zijn allemaal druk bezette professionals" (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 169).


10. "Dat is omdat ik denk dat de cultuur, als ze de economie omarmt inziet dat ze meer kan en verder komt dan wanneer ze alleen een verzorgende of en educatieve functie zou hebben" (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010: 2009).

11. "En wat dat betreft, de stad van ontdekkingen, zoals we die als college vorm proberen te geven, heeft die mix van die twee pijlers: kennis en cultuur. En die wordt verbonden door middel van economie, of liever gezegd, het is een soort Griekse tempel, met twee pijlers, kennis en cultuur en het dak is economie. Samen dragen ze de economie" (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010).

12. "Maar wat we ook merken is dat een hele hoop organisaties het ook heel erg fijn vinden, dat er een club is die niet alleen maar loopt te zeiken over de stad, over het totale Calimerogevoel, en totaal het gebrek aan geloof in de stad, en we hebben gedacht: we gaan niet zeiken, dat kost veel te veel energie, daar hebben we de tijd ook niet voor, we zijn allemaal druk bezette professionals" (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 169).

13. "Het was niet echt een issue, ik bedoel er speelt hier zoveel. En je moet echt enorm je best doen om hier ene hype te maken" (Zef Hemel, 2011).

“Dus ik heb delichts mogelijke manier gebruikt om het te verspreiden, gewoon via een blog. En ik heb mij zelf vergist in hoe ongelofelijk krachtig dat is…” (Zef Hemel, 2010).

Maar we hebben wel een universiteit, wij zijn een universiteitsstad. En als je ons bijvoorbeeld afzet tegen Haarlem en Dordrecht, dan denk ik dat wij vanwege de aanwezigheid van de universiteit een veel interessantere vestigingsplaats voor bewoners als bedrijven zijn omdat je een hoogopgeleide doelgroep rechtstreeks bij de bron kunt aanspreken en omdat het gewoon een ander soort stad is” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010: 225).

“In de kern zoekt de regio naar mogelijkheden om de creatieve sector verder te versterken en deze te laten uitgroeien tot een van de dragers van de ontwikkeling van de metropoolregio Amsterdam” (Cramers, Van Dommelen en Drogendijk, 2009: 66).


“De verbinding tussen cultuur en wetenschap belooft een terrein te zijn waarop Leiden kan excelleren. “Het contact tussen kunst en wetenschap moet intensiveren. Er is een grote groep studenten die goed zijn in allebei. We hebben een opleiding mediatechnologie; creativiteit en wetenschap gaan hier hand in hand.” (Korrie Korevaart, Universiteit Leiden, Faculteit der Kunsten in: Leiden Creatief De Stad BV, 2006: 178).

“Wat wij gewoon hebben bedacht is, we moeten onze eigen terminologie ontwikkelen met onze eigen theorieën en referentiekaders waarbij we Florida wel als een inspiratiebron hebben gebruikt, maar onze taal zie je het niet al te veel meer” (Jeroen Maters, 2010:212).

“Het initiatief verrast, verleidt en verbindt simultaan” (cultuur brief, 2008: 23-26).


“Wat wij gewoon hebben bedacht is, we moeten onze eigen terminologie ontwikkelen met onze eigen theorieën en referentiekaders waarbij we Florida wel als een inspiratiebron hebben gebruikt, maar onze taal zie je het niet al te veel meer” (Jeroen Maters, 2010:212).

“In de zuidelijke Binnenstad is de universiteit door de dichtheid van onderzoeksinstituten en studentenhuisen zo tastbaar, dat het ritme van het universitaire jaar met zijn eigen gewoonten en tradities op straat te volgen is. Door de schaal van de stad is de universitaire gemeenschap ook veel meer zichtbaar dan in de grotere universiteitssteden. Het academische leven maakt deel uit van de charme van de stad” (Structuurvisie Leiden, 2010: 124-138).


bewoners als bedrijven zijn omdat je een hoogopgeleide doelgroep rechtstreeks bij de bron kunt aanspreken en omdat het gewoon een ander soort stad is” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010: 225).

33 “Wellicht de grootste kans voor Leiden is de kwaliteit van haar historische binnenstad. De historische binnenstad is een sterk onderscheidende kwaliteit van Leiden ten opzichte van andere gemeenten” (Leiden creatief, De Stad BV, 2006: 26-28).

34* Dat historische binnenstad ook echt het unique selling point vormt” (Programma binnenstad, 2010: 96).

35 “Leidse historische binnenstad nadrukkelijker als hoogwaardig stedelijk gebied en als toeristische trekpleister op de kaart zet” (Structuurvisie Leiden, 2010:36).


37 “Het samenlopen van deze strategieën biedt het perspectief op een prachtig eindresultaat: er ontstaat een mooi evenwicht tussen de historische binnenstad en de innoverende mogelijkheden aan de noord-oost rand” (Uitvoeringsprogramma binnenstad, 2010: 1383-1385).

38 “Leiden is een museumstad. Met Naturalis, het Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden, het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, de Lakenhal, het Sieboldhuis, het museum Boerhaave en de Hortus Botanicus, om de meest in het oogspringende te noemen, beschikt de stad over een aantal uitstekende en goed bezochte museale collecties. Samen met een goed archief vormen deze ook een belangrijke basis voor wetenschappelijk onderzoek” (Cultuurbrief, 2008:150).

39* Leiden is misschien wel de enige grote stad waar niet op cultuur is bezuinigd. En dat zegt iets over de stad en ook over het stadsbestuur op dit moment. Men vindt het belangrijk. En men geeft er ook prioriteit aan omdat we zien dat het een deel van onze identiteit is” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010:173).

40 “Het versterkte culturele profiel van Leiden zal zeker een bijdrage leveren aan de toegenomen belevingswaarde van de (binnen)stad. De aanpak van de citymarketing met de stadspartners zal zeker zijn vruchten afwerpen” (Cultuurbrief Leiden, 2008:150).

41 “Een economie van een kennisstad is gericht op het omzetten van kennis in economische activiteiten. Een economie die op kennis draait, groeit door innovatie. Voor innovatie is kennis nodig en die krijg je door goed onderwijs en onderzoek. In enge zin gaat het om Research and Development, maar er is een bredere context die verder gaat dan onderwijs of de toeleverende bedrijven. Het gaat dan om een kansrijke stimulerende omgeving met goede voorzieningen, cultuur en werk. Kortom een plek waar het goed toeven en onderzoeken is” (Structuurvisie Leiden, 2010: 73-75).

42 “Wanneer kennis het uitgangspunt wordt voor stedelijke ontwikkeling, dan zal dit de stad op alle gebieden een kwaliteitsimpuls geven” (Structuurvisie Leiden, 2010: 73-75).


44 Het percentage hoogopgeleiden in Leiden neemt nog steeds toe. Alleen Utrecht heeft een net iets groter aandeel hooggeschoolden binnen de grenzen. De creatieve klasse (kunst, cultuur, communicatie) is sterk in opmars. Leiden neemt daarin landelijk de derde plaats in. Ook het aantal zogenoemde nerds (personeel in de it-sector) is hoger dan elders in het land. De krimp van Leiden is tot stilstand gekomen en omgezet in een kleine groei. Jongeren trekken naar de stad, maar dertigers trekken er juist weg. Leiden is dan ook een van de jongste gemeenten (plaats 5). Ruim een kwart van de bevolking is jonger dan 29 jaar” (Leidsch Dagblad, 19 november 2010: 6-7).

45 “Dit beeld is op zijn zachtst gezegd incompleet. Leiden heeft een grote potentie, maar de creatieve sector in Leiden is veel kleiner dan de cijfers over de beroepsvolking doen vermoeden” (Leiden creatief, De Stad BV, 2006:57).

46 “Daar kwam uit dat wij de ene grootste creatieve klasse als percentage van de beroepsvolking van Nederland hebben. Nou wij allemaal juichen, en vervolgens zaten we te kijken hoe veel creatieve bedrijven zitten er nou in de stad. Staan we op de 24e plaats” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 67).

47 “Het Bio Science Park dat een cluster van hoogwaardige kennisintensieve bedrijven vormt en als een magneet werkt op andere hoogwaardige kennisintensieve bedrijven” (Structuurvisie Leiden1, 2010:57).
“Wat we vanuit economie doen, is eigenlijk twee speerpunten: bio science en lifescience” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010: 76).

“In Leiden, the bioscience sector is the largest economic sector, and a very successful one at that. Half of all bioscience companies in Holland are based in Leiden, and it is an important part of the curriculum at Leiden University and the University of Applied Sciences. Part of this sector’s growth was autonomous part was generated by strategic program which the City of Leiden carried out with various partners: Leiden Life Meets Science. It’s something we can be very proud of. But we need a strong second pillar” (De Meelfabriek, 2010: 26).


“Het complex is nu een van de belangrijkste overblijfselen van het rijke industriële verleden van Leiden geworden. Het is een historisch herkenningspunt in de stad en maakt deel uit van het Nederlandse industriële erfgoed” (Meelfabriek, 2010: 8).

“Fris, verschijnen op je werk in Amsterdam om daarna naar het gebouw aan “t IJ te gaan om tot diep in de nacht van jazz te genieten. Dan kom je midden in de nacht terug in Leiden, waar je een kanon kan afschieten” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 129).
“Jongens, waarom kan ik hier nou nergens fatsoenlijk echt goed eten, om bezoekers te laten zien wat Leiden kan?!?” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 394).

“Kijk eens naar je potentieel: we zijn de twee na rijkste, een a hoogst opgeleide, op een grootste creatieve klasse aandeel, en de op zes na jongste stad van Nederland” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 91).

“Maar wat we ook merken is dat een hele hoop organisaties het ook heel erg fijn vinden, dat er een club is die niet alleen maar loopt te zeiken over de stad, over het totale calmergevoel, en totaal het gebrek aan geloof in de stad, en we hebben gedacht: we gaan niet zeiken, dat kost veel te veel energie, daar hebben we de tijd ook niet voor, we zijn allemaal druk bezette professionals” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 169).

“Wat is het probleem,… zou je zeggen? Het probleem is dat volgens mij een hele hoop jonge mensen waarvan ik er een ben, die het gewoon veel leuker vinden om gewoon in de eigen stad te zijn. Maar dat daar tot nu toe niet werd gefaciliteerd. Dus het probleem is dat we als jonge creatieve hoog opgeleide Leidse bevolking gewoon iets anders willen. Iets anders dan de instituties ons aanbieden” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 130).

“Ik wil niet in die trein naar Amsterdam, althans niet de hele tijd, ik wil niet optijd terug zijn bij de oppas. Ik wil gewoon hier in Leiden, elke dag als ik boodschappen doe, dat je in een stad woont die past bij wie jij bent” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 91).

“Wij willen de concurrentiepositie van Leiden als creatieve, innovatieve, ondernemende, spannende, bruisende stad van kennis en cultuur versterken. We willen daarmee creatief talent in onze kennis- en creatieve industrie en onze opleidingsinstituten aan de stad binden, talent en bezoekers van buiten Leiden trekken en de stad aantrekkelijker maken voor de alle inwoners van de stad en de regio Leiden” (visiedocument Stadslab, 2009: 135-138)

“Stadslab Leiden zal projecten opzetten en uitvoeren die Leiden nóg creatiever, innovatiever, cultureel, spannender, bruisender maken” (visiedocument Stadslab, 2009: 46-47)

“Dus het maakt me eigenlijk geen zak uit hoe we het noemen zolang we maar voor je gevoel, de ene stad heeft een vibe de ander niet, en ik ben heel erg van wat je voelt, helemaal niet in cijfertjes, maar wat jij als individu wat voel je als je in een stad loopt” (Jeroen Maters, 2010).

“Een van de ideeën was dat als het de gemeente en alle andere partijen het de afgelopen 20 jaar niet is gelukt, om te snappen dat je moet concurreren, om te snappen dat je iets meer moet doen dan een zeventje, dat je achten en negens wilt halen... Als dat de afgelopen 20 jaar niet bij de instituties vandaan is gekomen, misschien moeten we het dan zelf doen” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 142-143).

“Hoe zouden we het zelf kunnen doen. He, verrek we hebben de op een na grootste creatieve klasse van Nederland. Zullen we gewoon een beroep gaan doen op die mensen, om te kijken of ze het interessant vinden om te werken aan de stad, die wat spannender is dan die nu is” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 147).

“Hehe, eindelijk, eindelijk iemand die mij hoort”. Eindelijk een organisatie waar ik iets in kwijt kan, want ik wil niet in de gemeenteraad zitten, want dat gaat gewoon niet snel genoeg, mensen zien het niet” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 151).

“Zullen we gewoon een beroep gaan doen op die mensen, om te kijken of ze het interessant vinden om te werken aan de stad, die wat spannender is dan die nu is” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 147).

“We zeggen gewoon hebben bedacht is, we moeten onze eigen terminologie ontwikkelen met onze eigen theorieën en referentiekades waarbij we Florida wel als een inspiratiebron hebben gebruikt, maar onze taal zie je het niet al te veel meer” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 212).

“Wat wij gewoon hebben bedacht is, we moeten onze eigen terminologie ontwikkelen met onze eigen theorieën en referentiekades waarbij we Florida wel als een inspiratiebron hebben gebruikt, maar onze taal zie je het niet al te veel meer” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 212).

“We zeggen gewoon, heb je slimme ideeën voor hoe je je eigen stad beter kan, doe met ons mee. En niet, behoor je tot de 56% hoger opgeleide, Creatieve klasse, en geloof je in de filosofie van Florida, doe mee” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 216).


“Creatieve onbevangenheid in het ontwerp, zakelijke slagvaardigheid in de uitvoering” (visiedocument Stadslab, 2009: 181)

“Het gaat echt om aanpakken en concrete projecten en niet laten we nou eens gezellige avond brainstormen over iets” (Jeroen Maters, 2010).

Als je het vanuit je hart doet, dan komen er hele andere dingen naar boven” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 503)

“We doen dit omdat we denken dat we graag een goede stad willen maken voor onszelf, en een goede stad willen achterlaten voor onze kinderen” (Jeroen Maters, 2010: 507).

“Weet een stad de creatieve klasse aan zich te binden als stad, dan besteedt de creatieve klasse hier niet alleen zijn geld, maar zorgt deze ook voor opwinding door zelf bedrijfjes op te zetten, zelf festivals te organiseren, zelf talent naar de stad te trekken. Daarmee ontstaat een vliegwiel waarmee de stad steeds dynamischer, aantrekkelijker wordt voor alle mensen die er al wonen en werken, leren en recreëren en degenen die haar bezoeken. Leiden kan die grotere dynamiek ontwikkelen” (Visiedocument Stadslab, 2010).

Om nieuwe creativiteit binnen Leiden te stimuleren, wil Peen en Ui een platform bieden voor ontmoetingen. Ontmoetingen tussen mensen met verschillende talenten en kennis die elkaar inspireren tot nieuwe inzichten en creatieve ideeën. Diverse sectoren, zoals bedrijfsleven, welzijn, onderwijs en cultuur worden aangesproken om deel uit te gaan maken van dit bijzondere netwerk” (Peen en Ui, 2010).

“Zo zullen inwoners en bezoekers van Leiden keer op keer kunnen genieten van het creatieve potentieel dat in zo grote mate in deze stad aanwezig is” (Peen en Ui, 2010).

“Berenschot adviseert om alle citymarketingactiviteiten de komende jaren in te zetten op Leiden als kennis- en cultuurhistorische stad.” (Berenschot, 2006:5).

“De verbinding tussen cultuur en wetenschap belooft een terrein te zijn waarop Leiden kan excelleren. “Het contact tussen kunst en wetenschap moet intensiveren. Er is een grote groep studenten die goed zijn in allebei. We hebben een opleiding mediatechnologie; creativiteit en wetenschap gaan hier hand in hand.” (Korrie Korevaart, Universiteit Leiden, Faculteit der Kunsten) (Leiden Creatief De Stad BV, 2006: 178).

“De combinatie van de cultuurhistorie en het potentieel aan mogelijkheden voor de kennis- en wetenschap maken de stad uniek. Het maakt van Leiden een kennisstad met een hoogwaardige kennis-economie en ondernemingen die draait op onderwijs en onderzoek op alle niveaus” (Leidse Structuurvisie, 2010: 369).

“Wellicht de grootste kans voor Leiden is de kwaliteit van haar historische binnenstad. De historische binnenstad is een sterk onderscheidende kwaliteit van Leiden ten opzichte van andere gemeenten. De combinatie met kennis-economie biedt Leiden veel kansen” (visienota programma binnenstad, 2009).

“Zo vormt de sterke historische binnenstad voor de kennisinstelling Universiteit van Leiden een unique selling point in haar (internationale) concurrentie positie” (visienota programma binnenstad, 2009).

“En wat dat betreft, de stad van ontdekkingen, zoals we die als college vorm proberen te geven, heeft die mix van die twee pijlers: kennis en cultuur. En die wordt verbonden door middel van economie, of liever gezegd, het is een soort Griekse tempel, met twee pijlers, kennis en cultuur en het dak is economie. Samen dragen ze de economie.” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010).

“Het is in hoge mate faciliterend wat we hier doen. Bestemmingsplannen, gebieds-ontwikkelingen, want ook op het gebied van wetenschap geven wij natuurlijk niet of nauwelijks subsidies” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010: 278).
“...de randvoorwaarden te scheppen voor nieuwe economische groei en werkgelegenheid” (uitvoeringsnotitie creatieve stad, 2008: 270).

“Klopt en die hebben ook een opdracht verleend om eigenlijk de potentie van de creatieve klasse of de creatieve economie, hoe je het maar wilt noemen, in Leiden in beeld te brengen. “Daar heeft hij een interactieve aanpak, zoals dat ook hoort in deze hoek lijkt me, voor ontwikkeld en uitgevoerd” (Jeannot Waisvisz, 2010: 34)


“het initiatief verrast, verleidt en verbindt simultaan” (cultuur brief, 2008: 23-26).


“Het contact tussen kunst en wetenschap moet intensiveren” (Leiden creatief, De stad BV, 2006: 461).


“Dat is omdat ik denk dat de cultuur, als ze de economie omarmt inziet dat ze meer kan en verder komt dan wanneer ze alleen een verzorgende of educatieve functie zou hebben” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010).

“A, het is leuk, b: het hoort bij ons, dat is al wat zwaarder, en dat tweede begint steeds meer post te vatten. En C, wij smeren hier ons brood mee” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2001: 177).

“En wat dat betreft, de stad van ontdekkingen, zoals we die als college vorm proberen te geven, heeft die mix van die twee pijlers: kennis en cultuur. En die wordt verbonden door middel van economie, of liever gezegd, het is een soort Griekse tempel, met twee pijlers, kennis en cultuur en het dak is economie. Samen dragen ze de economie” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010).

“Het is duidelijk dat Scheltema en de Veenfabriek het hoogste scoren op de meeste criteria. Er is nationale erkenning voor dit initiatief. Er is sprake van een culturele productiefunctie. Ook scoren Scheltema Veenfabriek hoog op het criterium verbinden, van met name kunst, kennis en wetenschap. In feite wordt aan alle criteria voldaan: het initiatief verrast, verleidt en verbindt simultaan” (cultuur brief, 2008: 23-26).


“door de ontwikkeling van de verbinding tussen het (creatieve) talent, cultuur en bedrijvigheid zal de nieuwe cultuur groeien” (concept Quartier Leyden) (Programma binnenstad, 2010:1147).

“Berenschot recommends that all city marketing activities in the coming years to be deployed at Leiden knowledge and cultural city. With this bold move in two dimensions, Leiden both honours the ambitions of the opinion leaders in the field of knowledge, life sciences and culture and at the same time Leiden while be reflecting on her super strong image as a historic city, museum, city and University City” (Berenschot, 2006:3).


“Het festival Key of life is een prachtig festival waarbij kunst en wetenschap met elkaar verbonden worden” (Jeroen Maters, 2010:294).

“In de Meelfabriek een bijzondere mix van wonen, werken, leren en recreëren wordt gerealiseerd, vormt dat het prachtige sluitstuk. Ik verwacht dat dit concept een enorme uitstraling gaat hebben op de omgeving. Het zal een stimulans zijn voor kunst en cultuur, en creatieve bedrijven en bohemiens van buiten de stad aantrekken. En dan ontstaat er een “hotspot” waar
iedereen wil zitten. Net zoals de Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam tegenwoordig “the place to be” is, of Céramique in Maastricht” (Ondernemen in Leiden, 2007: 78).

111 “het Masterplan biedt een aantrekkelijke mix van wonen, werken, leren, recreëren, cultuur en winkelen…… Een rijke mix van stedelijke omgeving zoals havens, passages, brugen, parken, pleinen, overdekte en open plekken met winkels, cafés, restaurants en buurtvoorzieningen zullen een grote mate van publiek gemak creëren” (Website Meelfabriek, 2011:22-24).

112 “Ja en wij noemde het dan geen creatieve stad of huis van de communicatie of wat dan ook, maar inhoudelijk waren we al vanuit de periode van het masterplan, al bezig met het invullen met een grote diversiteit. En dat een aantal elementen precies pasten in het verhaal van de creatieve stad” (John Moerland, 2011:358).

113 “Het liefst zou ik in een pand zitten waar andere disciplines in zijn gevestigd. Mijn huidige studio is niet heel dynamisch. Ook ben ik bezig geweest met een oude Veevoederfabriek: Een dergelijk pand is multifunctioneel en heeft een bepaalde creatieve sfeer. Ook zou gedacht kunnen worden aan een expositieruimte” (Ton Magielsen, Parrot Interactive).

114 “Om de Leidse economie én samenleving minder kwetsbaar te maken is een nieuwe verbreding nodig naar een of meer sectoren met groeikansen. De creatieve economie biedt mogelijkheden om de brug te slaan, vooral in de communicatiesector. De wensen van de communicatieondernemers gaan uit naar vestiging in en om de binnenstad” (De Stad BV).

115 “Belangrijk is te beseffen dat met deze benadering een belangrijk deel van de creatieve economie op dit moment niet onze specifieke aandacht krijgt, zoals de cultuur(kunst) of ontwerpsector. Dat betekent niet dat we bedrijven uit deze sector niet in Leiden verwelkomen, we zetten er alleen niet onze actieve marketinginspanning op”(Uitvoeringsnotitie creatieve stad leiden, 2008:211-215).


117 “Cultureel ondernemerschap stimuleer je door kunstenaars te prikkelen op hun ondernemerschap…… Dat is maar een voorbeeld, maar wat mij betreft wel exemplarisch voor de manier waarop ik naar cultuur kijk, namelijk in die zin dat cultuurproducenten hier ook ondernemers” (Jan-Jaap de Haan 2010:185).

118 “En daar hebben we geëist dat iedereen die daar een atelier huurt, ingeschreven is bij de kamer van koophandel, professioneel getoetst kunstenaar is enzovoort” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010:189).

119 “Dat is omdat ik denk dat de cultuur, als ze de economie omarmt inziet dat ze meer kan en verder komt dan wanneer ze alleen een verzorgende of een educatieve functie zou hebben”(Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010).

120 “De cultuurmakers spelen in het Leidse cultuurbeleid een belangrijke rol. In het Leidse cultuurbeleid hebben zij tot op heden een bescheiden plaats gekregen. Steeds duidelijker wordt dat makers belangrijk zijn voor de aantrekkelijkheid van een stad, voor de creatieve bevolking, voor het toerisme en voor de economie. (Her)overweging van het beleid op dit punt verdient aanbeveling” (Evaluatie cultuurnota, 2009).

121 “Omdat ondernemers zich dan wel afvragen waarom er nou weer 20 of 30 duizend euro subsidie naar dezen of genen evenement moet. En daar ligt voor de cultuursector ook wel een taak om te laten zien dat een deel daarvan direct in de economie teruggaat, namelijk naar de drukker die de posters en de flyers maakt, en naar het bedrijf dat het geluid en ligt regelt, en naar de inkoop van de horica. En voor een deel ook indirect door al die bezoekers die daar heen gaan hier ook parkeren, hier eten hier door de straatjes wandelen en dan een cdje komen of een sjaal” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010).

122 “Leiden heeft een grote potentie, maar de creatieve sector in Leiden is veel kleiner dan de cijfers over de beroepsbevolking doen vermoeden” (Leiden creatief, De Stad BV: 58-60).

123 “Het staat buiten kijf dat de potenties van een dergelijke clustering van onderwijs, onderzoek, collecties, instituten, faculteiten, musea en archief enorm zijn” (Leiden creatief, De Stad BV, 180-182).

124 “De combinatie van de cultuurhistorie en het potentiële aan mogelijkheden voor de kennisamengroei (arts and Science) maken de stad uniek. Het maakt van Leiden een kennisstad met een hoogwaardige kennis economie en ondernemingen die draait op onderwijs en onderzoek op alle niveaus” (Structuurvisie Leiden, 2010:369)
“Leiden is al een prachtstad én heeft enorm veel potentie” (Ondernemen in Leiden, 2007:83).

“Dus je moet het zoeken in de combinatie van het totaal op een klein vlak. Daar zit denk ik de kracht in. En wat Leiden kan verbinden, en dat is ook in de hoek van stadsvisies en citymarketing wordt dat beleden, is dat Leiden zich kan meten op het gebied van kennis en kwaliteit” (Jeannot Waisvisz, 2010:260).

“Wat de stad Leiden daarvoor veel in handen heeft ook, maar hoe je nou de potentie van bijvoorbeeld sectoren die er nog niet zijn of al wel zijn maar nog niet echt bloeien” (Jan-Jaap de Haan, 2010:446).

“En daarom krijg je vervolgens vanuit academisch perspectief iets van wat is dit voor rare wereld. Want creatieve stad, creatieve industrie creatieve klasse worden maar te pas en te onpas gebruikt, wat volgens academische dan weer niet klopt” (Marijnissen, 2010: 164).

“Wat wij hier in Amsterdam wel heel erg merken is dat er een spanning zit tussen het ICT/nieuwe media achtige deel van de creatieve industrie en eigenlijk al het overige” (Edwin Oskam, 2010: 257).

“Het was niet echt een issu, ik bedoel er speelt hier zo veel. En je moet echt enorm je best doen om hier ene hype te maken” (Zef Hemel, 2011).

“Want er waren een heleboel mensen van mwaaah, want dit verhaal werd ook wel gevoed door mensen van binnen de PvdA, maar die mensen waren dus enthousiast over de creatieve klasse en dat dat een enorme kans was voor de stad Amsterdam. Maar er waren ook mensen, binnen dezelfde partij van de arbeid, die vonden dit een enorm elitair verhaal” (Edwin Oskam, 2010).

“De vitaliteit en concurrentiekracht van westere (stedelijke) economieën wordt de laatste dertig jaar voor een groot deel bepaald door de aanwezigheid van kennisintensieve bedrijven die (conceptueel en/of technologisch) innovatieve producten en diensten genereren, die tot op zekere hoogte moeilijk kopieerbaar zijn voor andere landen. Het is dan ook van belang dat een stad als Amsterdam bedrijven in bijvoorbeeld de ICT sector, de financiële sector, de juridische dienstverlening, de creatieve industrie en delen van de ambachtsector koestert waar de kans op dergelijke innovatieve en creatieve bedrijvigheid het grootst is” (Monitor creatieve industrie 2010: 228-235).

“Ook denk ik wel doordat kennis, innovatie, creatief, onderscheidend vermogen, steeds meer trefwoorden werden. Het werd steeds duidelijker dat de concurrentieslag met Aziatische landen, Oost Europa steeds moeilijker werd. Dat het steeds lastiger is: concurreren op basis van kosten is natuurlijk volstrekte illusie. Op basis van kennis nog tot op zekere hoogte, maar als je kijkt naar hoeveel mensen er op Oosteuropese, Chinese en Indiaanse universiteiten afstuderen, zeg maar dan red je het ook niet alleen op basis van kennis” (Edwin Oskam, 2011: 29).

“Het is niet een economische sector zoals alle andere sectoren, dus het vereist ook een soort van andere aandacht: integrale aandacht. Het is niet alleen maar economisch het heeft ook iets maatschappelijk het heeft ook iets ruimtelijks, en heeft ook met promotie te maken. Je moet dus verschillende dingen doen om de sector te ontwikkelen, maar zonder dat je nou... en dat is waar Robert en ik het ook weleens niet met elkaar eens geworden zijn... zonder dat je als overheid nou zo’n sector zou willen vormen” (Edwin Oskam, 2011: 41).

“Voor programmalijn 4 (verbindingen leggen) liggen de uitdagingen bijvoorbeeld in het optimaal aanhaken op, c.q. bepalen van de landelijke agenda voor de creatieve industrie, in het leggen van verbindingen tussen de creatieve industrie en het reguliere MKB (om aldus de innovatiekracht van het bedrijfsleven te versterken) en in het benutten van de creatieve industrie om maatschappelijke problemen op te lossen” (uitvoeringsprogramma Creatieve industrie, 2009-2010:42).

“Het bevorderen van ondernemerschap, dat economisch en ondernemerschap denken dat zit natuurlijk bij veel kunstenaars helemaal niet in hun bloed….en voor een deel van de creatieve industrie zit het volstrekt wel in de genen. Ik bedoel als je de reclame hebt, dat is puur zakelijke dienstverlening, dat is ondernemerschap. Met name de meer kunstzinnige aspecten, daar is ondernemerschap een issue. Dus hoe bied je mensen nou instrumenten om daar in ieder geval over na te denken. Dat is een” (Edwin Oskamp, 2010: 63).

“Voor programmalijn 4 (verbindingen leggen) liggen de uitdagingen bijvoorbeeld in het optimaal aanhaken op, c.q. bepalen van de landelijke agenda voor de creatieve industrie, in het leggen van verbindingen tussen de creatieve industrie en het reguliere mkb (om aldus de innovatiekracht van het bedrijfsleven te versterken) en in het benutten van de creatieve industrie om maatschappelijke problemen op te lossen” (uitvoeringsprogramma Creatieve industrie, 2009-2010:42).

“CCAA onderkent dit en noemt het inzetten op zogenaamde cross-overs één van de opgaven” (Van Dommelen en Drogendijk, 2009: 71).

“Voor een sterke creatieve industrie is voldoende won- en werkruimte op de juiste locatie onontbeerlijk. Deze industrie nestelt op plekken waar de creatieve kenniswerker woont. Dat blijken interessante en levendige gebieden met een rijk aanbod van stedelijke voorzieningen” (programma creatieve industrie, 2009-2010: 269).

“programmalijn 5 wordt gewerkt aan ruimte voor de groei van de creatieve industrie. Daarbij gaat het om zaken als gebiedsontwikkeling, om broedplaatsen en om aanbod van woonwerkruimte voor studenten en jongeren. Succesvolle projecten in deze programmalijn zijn de broedplaatsen Petersburg, het Volkskrantgebouw, het GAK-gebouw en Donauweg 10 en de vergroting van woonwerkruimte voor studenten in het Blok 51 B op IJburg en op de Baarsjesweg” (uitvoeringsprogramma creatieve industrie 2009-2010: 29).

“In de citymarketing krijgen de creatieve festivals aandacht onder met name concurrerende Europese steden. Iconen uit de Amsterdamse creatieve industrie en culturele sector krijgen een gezicht in de internationale marketing. In samenwerking met het Platform Onderwijs en Arbeidsmarkt worden twee projecten gestart die gericht zijn op de maakindustrie, waarin de keten van de creatieve industrie in Amsterdam wordt versterkt” (Topstad werkprogramma, 2009: 116).

“De modesector is in Amsterdam sterk ontwikkeld en een prima visitekaartje voor de creativiteit van de stad” (Creatieve Radiaal West, 2010: 223).

“De opdracht van CCAA was drieledig: het tegengaan van versnippering door bundeling van starters en sectoren; promotie van de regio als één merk; en regie op regionaal beleid” (Van Dommelen en Drogendijk, 2009:342).

“Bureau Broedplaatsen ontwikkelt in opdracht van Amsterdam Topstad “Creatieve Hotspots. Een creatieve Hotspot is een combinatie van creatieve bedrijvigheid, publieksfuncties, talentontwikkeling en spraakmakende horeca: "a place to be"” (uitvoeringsprogramma creatieve industrie 2009-2010: 273).

“Het is eigenlijk voor mij, wat ik wel interessant vond, wat voormij een van de veroorzakers is: Het beleid van het Verenigd Koninkrijk, Engeland voor de Creatieve Industrie, dat was in 1998” (Robert Marijnissen, 2010: 37).

“Waar het naartoe gaat. En toen was net in 1998 was Peter Hall verschenen….dat magistrale werk…. Ja, en dat was de basis” (Zef Hemel, 2011: 89).

“De bedoeling was dat iedereen het (the story about the Metropolis) verinnerlijkt en dat hij het gevoel krijgt dat het van hem of haar zelf is. Dan is het echt krachtig” (Zef Hemel, 2011:137).

“Dus ik heb de lichts mogelijke manier om het te verspreiden, gewoon via een Blog. En ik heb mij zelf vergist in hoe ongelofelijk krachtig dat is… hoe dat werkt. Het begon anders… die Blog ben ik ergens in 2008 begonnen. In september 2004 zijn we in Amsterdam begonnen” (Zef Hemel, 2011: 141).
In de kern zoekt de regio naar mogelijkheden om de creatieve sector verder te versterken en deze te laten uitgroeien tot een van de dragers van de ontwikkeling van de metropoolregio Amsterdam” (Cramers Van Dommelen en Drogendijk, 2009: 66).

“Metropoolregio Amsterdam gezegd heeft: we gaan met elkaar een soort regionale ontwikkelingstrategie maken en daartoe is een economic development board opgericht, onder leiding van de Burgemeester van Amsterdam met daarin, behalve bestuurders van gewoon regionale overheden, ook mensen uit het bedrijfsleven, mensen uit kennisinstellingen. Dat zijn hoogleraren. Die moeten dus met elkaar gaan vaststellen van wat is nou nodig om van deze regio in 2020 een van de meest competitieve regio’s van Europa te maken, wat is daarvoor nou nodig. Die mensen moeten daarover discussiëren” (Edwin Oskam, 2011: 99).

“De veelzijdige economische basis met een relatief sterke aanwezigheid van regieactiviteiten (Europese hoofdkantoren), financiële en zakelijke dienstverlening, ICT/nieuwe media, toerisme en congreswezen maar ook van hoogwaardige handels-, transport- en productieactiviteiten (zowel sierteelt/greenport, kennisintensieve industrie, als handel en internationale distributie).

Specialisatie in verscheidene groeiclusters zoals creatieve industrie, ICT/nieuwe media en enkele krachtige onderdelen van lifeciences.

De sterke internationale oriëntatie en kracht van in de regio gevestigde ondernemingen in termen van export, wervingskracht van kenniswerkers en succesvol internationaal zaken doen.

De belangrijke functie als multimodale “gateway to Europe” via Schiphol als belangrijke hub in een wereldwijd passagiers- en luchtvrachtnetwerk, de zeehavens (zowel Amsterdam als de nabij gelegen wereldhaven van Rotterdam), weg- en spoorverbindingen en digitaal.

Amsterdam heeft een traditie van openheid en een gewaardeerde historie wat betreft kunst en design. Samen met de unieke groenblauwe omgeving, de verscheidenheid aan woonmilieus en de gedifferentieerde bevolking maakt dit de Metropoolregio Amsterdam tot een zeer aantrekkelijke vestigingsplaats.

De aanwezigheid en nabijheid van verschillende kennisinstellingen die kennis en opleidingen leveren voor de belangrijkste regionale bedrijvenclusters.

De ruim aanwezige, goed opgeleide beroepsbevolking met relatief grote talenkennis.

Het aantrekkelijk leefklimaat voor internationale kenniswerkers” (Economische agenda Metropool, 2008: 265-310).

“Metropolen hebben over het algemeen een hoger Bruto Regionaal Product per hoofd van de bevolking en groeien economisch sneller dan het landelijk gemiddelde. Dit komt door een combinatie van schaalvoordelen, specialisatie en innovatie” (Economische agenda Metropool, 219-221).

“Onder de “global cities” tot een “kleintje”, maar wel één met een grote naam en reputatie. Dat de regio toch tot deze “global cities” wordt gerekend is te danken aan de combinatie van een handels- en financieel centrum met een sterke creatieve sector en een breed spectrum aan andere sectoren” (Ontwikkelingsbeeld Noordvleuge; 2040, 2010: 550-554).

“Amsterdam is een compacte metropool met wereldwijd een gerieflijke positie in de rangorde van steden” (Amsterdam Creatieve stad, 2005: 717).

“Amsterdam wordt net als veel andere steden uitgedaagd om een nieuwe positie in te nemen in het speelveld van metropolen. De economische kracht van Amsterdam is hierin geen gegeven maar moet blijvend bevorderen worden. En het onderscheid van Amsterdam ten opzichte van andere internationale metropolen verdient continu aandacht en vraagt om een heldere koers voor de langere termijn. Met onze creativiteit en innovatievermogen bouwen we aan een Amsterdam dat het hoofd biedt aan de huidige crises en aan een Amsterdam dat een toppositie inneemt in het internationale speelveld”(visie economische aanjagers, 2008: 86).

In de agenda ligt de nadruk op de volgende vijf stimuleringsthema’s:

kennis en innovatie (inclusief duurzaamheid) als economische motor
actief voorzorgen op de arbeidsmarkt van de toekomst

versterking van promotie, acquisitie en exportbevordering

garanderen van voldoende ruimte en een goede bereikbaarheid

good governance": slagkracht en efficiency in regie en uitvoering" (Economische agenda Metropool 2008: 1630173).

163 “Met erkenning van de kracht van de diverse economische structuur van de Metropoolregio wil de regio in haar Economische Agenda prioriteit geven aan het stimuleren van acht krachtige economische clusters, die vooral de internationale concurrentiekracht bepalen en groeikansen bieden:
  • financiële en zakelijke dienstverlening
  • ICT
  • creatieve industrie
  • logistiek en handel
  • lifesciences
  • flowers
  • food
  • internationaal toerisme en congressen” (Economische agenda Metropool, 2010-2014:143).

164 “Amsterdam heeft een diverse economie, woningvoorraad, voorzieningen, landschappen en bovenal: een diverse en relatief jonge bevolking. Amsterdam heeft daarmee een perfecte voedingsbodem om kansrijke economische sectoren vast te houden en aan te trekken en de lokale en regionale economie te laten floreren” (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011: 369).

165 “De kracht van de Amsterdamse economie is haar diversiteit. Deze moeten we koesteren en verder versterken. De Amsterdamse economie wordt gekenmerkt door een sterke combinatie van zeven kansrijke economische sectoren of clusters” (Masterplan Amsterdam, 2011: 1430).

166 “Een aantrekkelijke stad Intensivering van het grondgebruik in de stad biedt tal van mensen wonen- en werkruimte. Het betekent extra draagvlak voor voorzieningen, extra investeringen in de openbare ruimte, efficiënter omgaan met energie en vervoer en er hoeft minder landschap te worden aangetast” (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011: 434).

167 “Het betekent ook een grotere mix van wonen en werken waarbij kansrijke economische sectoren de ruimte krijgen. Ook wordt er ruimte geboden aan de groei van voorzieningen in de zogenaamde stadsstraten. Voor een aantal bijzondere voorzieningen, iconen, worden plekken aangewezen waar deze kunnen neerstrijken, waarbij een koppeling met voldoende openbare ruimte wordt gemaakt” (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011: 462).

168 “De aanwezigheid van een fijnmazig aanbod van diverse voorzieningen is één van de grote trekkers van mensen” (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011:1302).

169 “Menselijk kapitaal dus, vrijwel de gehele economie draait hierop. De vestigingswensen en -factoren voor deze mensen worden daarom steeds belangrijker mensen” (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011:1328).

170 “Voor Amsterdam is het van levensbelang dat het een vooraanstaande positie blijft innemen in de wereldeconomie. Aan deze voorwaarde moet in ieder geval worden voldaan om het welzijn en de welvaart van haar burgers in de toekomst zo goed mogelijk te kunnen waarborgen” (Structuurvisie Amsterdam, 2011: 1777).

171 De oorsprong van CCAA ligt in de doelstelling om van de creatieve sector een spil in de economie van de Metropool Amsterdam te maken (Cramers, Van Dommelen & Drogendijk, 2009: 70).

172 “Binding van partijen, het organiseren van ontmoetingen en onderlinge bekendheid zijn kernopgaven, die hieruit volgen” (Cramers, Van Dommelen & Drogendijk, 2009: 70).

173 “Het programmabureau Creative Cities Amsterdam Area (CCAA) is opgericht om de creatieve industrie in zeven steden te stimuleren en te versterken. Het bureau biedt ondersteuning aan zowel startende, bestaande als groeiende ondernemers” (website CCAA, 2010: 3).
Het loket voor de creatieve industrie CCAA biedt creatieve bedrijven in de regio toegang tot faciliteiten om hun ondernemerschap te stimuleren. Via het loket krijgen ze informatie over onder meer rainingen, coaching, financiering en huisvestingsmogelijkheden (website CCAA, 2010: 15-17).

"We nodigen alle creatieve ondernemers en zielsverwanten van de creatieve industrie uit om lid te worden van ons netwerk. Als lid van het CCAA Netwerk kunt u u of uw organisatie promoten bij CCAA" (website CCAA, 2010: 3)