The Creative City – A Feasible Utopia?

A Research about creative city planning in four Dutch cities.



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'... City areas with flourishing diversity sprout strange and unpredictable uses and peculiar scenes. But this is not a drawback of diversity. This is the point ... of it.'

(Jane Jacobs, 1961)

Preface

With the completion of this thesis, my study Human Geography at the Radboud University also comes to an end. I must say it was a very pleasant and interesting time. A time when I learned a lot; not only about human geography, but also about myself and my own life. It was also a time when I met many nice people, some of whom became close friends. Further, it was a time in which I exchanged rural Brabant for Nijmegen, and this city really became my home; a dazzling city, with beautiful surroundings.

Urban geography always interested me most and this interest is proved by the fact that my bachelor thesis as well my master thesis involves urban issues, though both completely different from each other. In my bachelor thesis, I did research regarding the 'desirability' of ethnic enclaves in The Netherlands. In this thesis, my research is pointed at creative cities. In both cases however, the choice for the research was based on an ongoing interest for urban dynamics.

Cities that I'm somehow familiar with always interest me most, because I knew these cities, often since my childhood, with the consequence that I actually saw them change and develop.

The (often) societal dynamics that lay behind those changes fascinate me. I hope this fascination does filter through this thesis.

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Olivier Kramsch for keeping me critical and curious towards alternative ways of approaching a certain subject or issue. Further, I want to thank Fulco Treffers from 12N STDNBW under which commission I performed this research. He brought me in contact with many interesting people that were involved with creative city development. He also distinguishes himself as a critical and practical thinker who sometimes took care that I didn't lose sight of the main goals and assumptions of my research. Of course I want to thank all the people who were prepared to talk about their role regarding creative city development.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family, friends and girlfriend Anniek for their help and (often very welcomed) relaxation.

And for every reader, I hope reading this thesis will be a pleasant and interesting experience!

Summary

In recent years, concepts like ‘the creative city’, ‘the creative class’ and ‘the creative industry’ started to become very popular with urban managers and city planners. Arguably the most important reason for this was the appearance of the book ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’, written by Richard Florida. In this book, Florida stated that a new group of (creative) people emerges in Western cities that is involved with creative thinking and decision-making on a professional level. This creative class prefers open and tolerant environments and places where they could meet like-minded people to share creative ideas with. Florida stated that cities that attract the creative class usually possess the so called three T’s that stand for Talent, Tolerance and Technology. Cities that are able to attract creative people, often characterize their selves with a large share of profession groups belonging to the creative industry. The creative industry could be defined as a specific business sector that produces goods and services that are the result of individual or cooperative creative effort and entrepreneurship. Content and symbolism are the most important elements of these products. Consumers or commercial buyers purchase them because they appeal to some sort of meaning. This meaning functions as the basis for a certain experience. To that respect, the creative industry plays an important role in the development and maintenance of lifestyles and cultural identities in the society. The creative industry consists of professions in the sphere of design, media and expressive arts and also includes professions that are involved with distribution, publishing and business services. The creative industry is a growing sector that often involves a large amount of money. Cities with a flourishing creative industry are often cities that characterize themselves with economic prosperity, that’s the reason why there happens to be such a ‘rush’ at the moment and why cities are desperately seeking for ways to become creative.

Many Dutch cities want to be creative cities, and in their strive to become one, hit or miss top-down implementations are made in the hope to create the sort of creative infrastructure that should attract the creative class. Often however, there is less attention for theories that exist about the pre-conditions for creative city development or the desires from ‘creatives’ themselves. Sometimes, municipalities don’t really know what they’re doing. They want to be ‘inside the creative game’, but they have no clue about the dynamics that lag behind.

In this research, the relationship between theory, policy and practice regarding creative city development in four Dutch cities is investigated. Together with Fulco Treffers from 12N STDNBW I constructed a hypothetical model that characterizes itself with harmonisation between theory, policy and practice. One of the hypotheses is that when there exist harmonization between theory, policy and practice the ideal of a creative city comes in sight.

Another hypothesis is that either a top-down or a bottom-up approach is insufficient for the establishment of a creative city. A combination of both is needed. A third hypothesis is that creative policy making is inherently surrounded by complexity and paradox because of the difficulty of 'planning' creativity. The main question in this thesis is 'What relationship does exist between theory, policy and practice regarding the concept of the 'Creative City' in the cities Eindhoven, Almere. Tilburg and Dordrecht, and what is the importance of a good harmonisation between these points?' In addition to this question, recommendations could be done about ways to strengthen the harmonisation between theory, policy and practice in the four investigated cities (Eindhoven, Almere, Tilburg and Dordrecht). With regards to the recommendations, focus shall lie on the Viktoriakwartier in Eindhoven.

In the research design, it has been taken into account that the possibility exists that no 'evidence' for any importance of harmonisation would be found. In that case, recommendations should point at other directions. One could find all of the above-standing in the introduction chapter. (Chapter 1)

In the theoretical chapter (Chapter 2), concepts like 'creative industry' , 'creative class' and 'creative city' are thoroughly discussed and delimited if necessary. At the end of this chapter, I gave a list of characteristics and pre-conditions for creative cities.

Following the theoretical chapter, in Chapter 3, initiatives towards creative planning in the investigated cities are elaborately discussed from either the viewpoint from the policy or the practice-side.

In the following chapter (chapter 4), some sort of a 'diagnose' is given and the situation in the four cities is applied to the model. It seems to be the case that Tilburg is a city where there exist successful forms of creative city development. This is mainly because the presence of sufficient pre-conditions for creative city development and a constructive cooperation between the policy- and the practice side. In Eindhoven, a city which possesses suitable pre-conditions for creative city development, the relationship between policy and practice is often somewhat disturbed because of a tendency in Eindhoven to approach things 'too top down'. Almere and Dordrecht are lacking sufficient pre-conditions; with as a consequence that creative city development will be difficult, if not impossible, in the (near) future.

Chapter 4 ends with the conclusion that there seems to be some evidence for the importance of harmonisation between theory, policy and practice regarding creative city development with the comment that the presence of pre-conditions is decisive here.

In chapter 5, recommendations are given. In short:

Almere and Dordrecht: Don't focus too much on large urban restructuring projects, but support small initiatives. Make sure there is room for experiment. This will arguably not lead to creative city development, but contribute to a more creative climate in certain parts of the city. Try to attract knowledge institutes if possible.

Tilburg: Maintain focus on the bottom-layer. In the future, more attention should be given at the quality and improvement of the (public) space in the Viktoriakwartier.

Eindhoven (also Viktoriakwartier): Do not only pay attention to sizeable projects such as Strijp-S. There's a lot going on at a much smaller-scale. Creatives from the bottom doesn't feel supported and valued by the municipality yet, listen more to their desires. Make sure there is room for experiment, be tolerant towards creative initiatives.

1 Introduction

1.1 The creative class and the creative city

Many urban managers and city planners in the 'Western World' have undergone major changes in their viewpoints regarding urban and economic development and their role in the rapidly changing city. One of the prominent causes of this – to put it maybe a bit exaggerated – 'paradigm shift', is the appearance of a highly influential book, written by Richard Florida, and titled 'The Rise of the Creative Class'.

According to Florida**,** a new class is rising and despite the Marxist connotation, it's not about a duality between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Neither is it some sort of 'Weberian' class where status depends on what class you're in. This new class is called the creative class and exists of a broad range of people, in fact, everybody who is able to create something new and innovating is 'creative'[1]. In the words of Richard Florida, who came up with the terminology:

'*The Creative class consists of people who add economic value through their creativity. It thus includes a great many of knowledge workers, symbolic analysts and professional and technical workers. He also states in his famous book 'The Rise of Creative Class' that the core of this class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society: non-fiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion makers. Beyond this core group, the creative class also includes 'creative professionals' who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, and business managers' (Florida 2002, 68-69)*

According to the above standing definition of the creative class, it seems to be the case that at the time of writing, the creative class makes a large share of the total population in Western cities. Richard Florida stated that the creative class covers for 30-35% in developed countries

[1] In order to give a definition of the word creativity, I will build on the one that the psychologist Mihaly Cziksentmihalyi came up with. In his words, 'Creativity creates something that is truly new and innovative and is considered to be valuable enough to be added to culture..' (Franke en Verhagen, 2005) In order for creativity to have economic value, it must be packed into an 'understandable language' and experts must reach 'consensus' about the actual value of a product or idea..

and about 40-50% of the total population in cities like Amsterdam, London and New York. In comparison, in 1980, in the wake of the emerging post-industrial service economy, only 18% of the population in developed countries was part of the 'creative class'. According to Richard Florida, the creative class functions as the driving force behind economy.
Marlet and van Woerkens translated creative class theories into a 'Dutch context' excluded teachers (expect in academics) and people in managerial jobs and came to the conclusion that the Dutch creative class made about 20% of the Dutch labour force. It could be argued that the 'creative class' make even a smaller part of the labour force, by only typifying the core – artists, designers, musicians, architects – as truly creative. [Some scientists might argue in their critiques that Richard Florida stretches the creative class to a degree were almost everybody except the Plummer take part of it..] [o.a. Kloosterman in 'Creativity and the City', 2005)

When it comes to living and working environments, the creative class prefers open, tolerant and diverse places. Places where people are allowed to be themselves, with a high degree of tolerance for those who are different from 'the norm'. For instance, Richard Florida found out that the degree of homosexuals, artists, musicians and so on in a particular place, determines the degree of innovation and economic prosperity[2] To be 'creative', there has to be a certain atmosphere that allows people to be creative. Cities could attract creative people, as long as they have the right 'atmosphere' and facilities.
Thus, creative people are looking for certain places where they can fully expand themselves. Municipalities are well aware of this and often they try to create the right climate for attracting the creative class. However, building music halls and art-galleries and organising 'gay-parades' is not sufficient. An open, tolerant and diverse place makes only one of 'the 3 T's[3]. In order to attract the creative class with all the economic benefits, cities must also have enough talent (often marked by the presence of knowledge institutes such as universities) and technology.
Simon Franke and Evert Verhagen stated in the introduction of 'Creativity and the City' (2005) that there is actually a struggle going on in Dutch cities to become 'creative' and meet the demands of the creative class. Cities all over the developed world do not hesitate to

[2]Following his research concerning the presence of gays and bohemians and their influence on innovation and economic growth in American cities, Richard Florida came up with the so called 'Bohemian/Gay-index' that is elaborately discussed in 'The rise of the Creative Class"

[3] Introduced by Richard Florida, the 3 T's stand for Tolerance, Technology and Talent. Only cities that have all three of them could attract the creative class and could truly become creative cities. Examples are cities such as San Francisco, Seattle, Dublin, Amsterdam or Dublin

call themselves ‘creative cities’. In the wake of the appearance of ‘The Rise of the Creative Class’, Florida launched a group of ‘strategists’ and next generation creative thinkers called ‘The Richard Florida Creativity Group’. Urban managers ‘who were seeking a more finely-grained analyses of their creative health’ could order a standard-format report for just $495 from Catalytix, the organization in the Richard Florida Creativity Group with proprietary rights over the Creative Class database. (Peck, 2005) Besides this ‘creativity-diagnose’, many cities made sure Richard Florida came to their town for a speech, or one could say ‘creative peptalk’. After this creative treatment, many cities were willing to implement Florida’s theories about the pre-conditions for creative milieux to arise – especially those, (Jamie Peck, a critic of Florida – argues) who were not very expensive and quite easy to establish, such as ‘bike paths’ or ‘putting together nightlife guides’. It could be argued that many cities started a ‘hit or miss implementation’ of facilities in order to become creative cities. On the other hand, it could be argued that there are also cities who take things more serious, who tried to give a more practical and carefully considered approach to creativity in their city, without copying indiscriminately every sentence of Florida’s book(s).

Florida also was not the only author who drew attention to the increasing importance of creativity in Western cities. The term ‘creative city’ was first introduced in the late 80’s by English think-tanks such as Demos and Comedia where Charles Landry was part of. He later wrote the influential book ‘The Creative City – a toolkit for urban innovators’. Landry mentioned some pre-conditions for creativity to develop such as the presence of educational institutes, value systems, lifestyles and peoples identification with their city. Further, Landry made a distinction between ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ infrastructures. According to Charles Landry, the ‘soft infrastructure’ of a city must, in order to be a creative city, encompass certain elements:

A highly educated and flexible work force; dynamic thinkers, creators and engineers. The opportunity to give outsiders possibilities to elaborate their ideas. Strong communication channels (both internal as with the outside world) and general climate of entrepreneurship (for both economic and societal purposes) (Landry, 2000)

The hard infrastructure consists of the built environment. According to Landry, this built environment determines to an important degree which ‘milieu’ arises. The (built) environment provides the foundation for development of the atmosphere and activities of a city.

According to Landry, a creative milieu is a place that encompasses all the requirements in terms of a 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure to create a stream of ideas and inventions. Recent history learns that specific 'milieux of innovation' arose in unoccupied warehouses and empty factory grounds, which became breeding grounds for new and innovative companies. History also learns that restaurants, art galleries, coffee bars and trendy shops quickly arose around these specific places. There are clear examples of this process in cities such as London, Paris, Dublin and Amsterdam.

As I stated earlier, urban managers in Dutch cities were not blind for the 'creative rollercoaster' from overseas. Plans to foster creativity and attract the creative class were made in several Dutch cities.

1.2 Formulation of the thesis

The focus in this thesis shall lie on four Dutch cities; Eindhoven, Almere, Tilburg and Dordrecht. The choice for these cities is made by the fact that all these cities characterize themselves by the existence of some sort willingness , mostly supported/ facilitated or even steered from the side of local authorities and/or housing corporations, who see some value (especially for economic reasons) in the development towards the development of a creative city. Further, in all four cities, projects in the sphere of urban renewal / restructuring exists of which the plans were inspired by earlier mentioned 'creative city theories'.[4]

It seems that there are some differences between the positions of local authorities regarding the desired development towards 'a creative city'.

A distinction could be made between more top-down and bottom-up approaches.

In the case of a top-down approach, (often large) urban restructuring projects are set up in order to create the sort of 'creative infrastructure' where members of the creative class feel at home.

However, if there aren't any creative initiatives from the bottom, even a smart planned 'creative atmosphere' could end up as a useless 'ghost-town'.

On the other hand, a more bottom-up approach could be seen with an emphasis on initiatives from artists who operate at the 'rafelrand' (frayed-edge) of society. Here, creative potential becomes visible in the development of breeding grounds, mostly situated in former warehouses, factories and offices.

[4] Of course, an extensive overview of these projects shall be given later in this thesis.

The role that local authorities play here is mostly the role of 'facilitator'. As long as there isn't any clear destination for a certain place or building, artists are free to create ateliers and work-spaces. It might be argued that without any powerful support from local authorities real estate developers and rebuild with shopping malls or apartments will eventually destroy these breeding grounds. This could lead to the first hypothesis in this research:

- Either a top-down or a bottom-up approach is insufficient for the establishment of a creative city. A combination of both is needed.

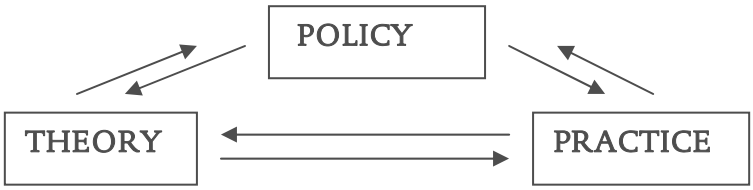
Bottom-up approaches often need support 'from above' in the form of accommodation and subsidies. Top-down approaches need a solid basis from the creative people that inhabit a city; otherwise, the aimed 'creative infrastructure' will not be used for its purpose. In existing 'creative city theories', one could find some support for this hypothesis.
Richard Florida stated that changing the environment by building 'latte-cafés', hip music centres and art galleries will not automatically lead to a massive flow of the creative class to one particular place. Creativity comes from the people who already inhibit a city. Local authorities must focus on local initiatives from (for instance) young entrepreneurs and family companies. Cities must be open, tolerant en diverse places in order to attract the creative class. (Florida in 'Creativity and the City', 2005)
Jane Jacobs, who was way ahead of her time with her publication from 1962; 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities (as mentioned earlier) wrote the following:

"Just like all cities, creative cities are about people. This means that they cannot be planned from scratch. Creative places in the city are just like living beings: they are born, grow, decay and can rise again. In my view, the streets are the vital organs of the creative city. After all, people meet in the streets and it is here that human contact, unexpected encounters and business life take place. This street ballet contributes to creativity and economic dynamics."

Further, besides the earlier mentioned 'soft' and hard' infrastructures, Landry gives a whole set of conditions a city should meet in order for creativity to develop such as the ability and guts to take balanced risks, a far-flung leadership, a certain feeling of 'destination', resolute but not to deterministic, the strength to operate outside the political spectrum, and strategic principles mixed up with tactic flexibility.. (Landry in 'Creativity and the City', 2005)

The theory makes clear that strict policies towards the establishment of creative cities are difficult to construct. To that respect, it could be argued that top-down creative city

planning is some sort of utopian dream and that their must be– at all time – lots of initiatives from creative people in the city.
To conclude, in order to make progress towards the development of a creative city, their must be some harmonisation between theory (Which functions as the framework), policy (Where a theoretical framework is used as a guideline for a particular future vision) and practice. (The top-down implementation of policy but also the bottom-up developments of people 'on the street')
This could lead to a schematic ideal type that looks as follows:



In a hypothetical situation, there is a (often-reciprocal) consistency between the three points. For instance, Florida states that a city needs talent in order to meet one of the three T's. Policymakers take notice of this condition and endorse the need for the development of more knowledge institutes in their 2008-2015 policy plan. Following this plan, money is invested in the extension of the existing academic study supply by the development of a prestigious faculty where studies such as journalism, new media studies, film- and theatre studies and communication could find accommodation. Since the theory of Florida says that talent makes one of the three T's and the city is also known as a leader in technology and R&D (the second T), there is one T left. In order to establish the city as a more tolerant, diverse and open place, one could think about the funding of initiatives from artists and musicians on the fringe of the urban society, or the funding of certain initiatives from gay- and lesbian groups or multi-cultural festivals. However, if policy-makers aren't aware of theoretic assumptions and interpret creative city planning as building trendy art galleries, latte-cafés and expensive apartments for the young and wealthy their strive could lead to blank, meaningless places, without any identity.

The second hypothesis therefore, will be the following:

- If there is harmonisation between theory, policy and practice, the ideal of the 'creative city' comes in sight.

This model without a doubt does raise some questions. For instance, how would one define policy? Are only high officials the ones who shape the policy, or should we talk about a broader scope? In my opinion, policy in this research covers the whole spectrum from local, national and international governments to housing corporations, (big) companies and share/stakeholders. Furthermore, there are many organisations that influence policy, such as rent tribunals and a wide variety of interest groups. The addition of more market-oriented parties to the policy sphere is easily explained by the fact that policy usually, to a large degree, has to do with the goodwill of investors on the more 'commercial' side of the scope. That is where the money is. Large urban restructuring projects, such as Strijp-S in Eindhoven (which I of course refer to later) arguably couldn't work without a co-operation between either governmental parties or market-oriented/commercial parties.

Then, how would one define 'practice'? Practice would be defined as all the people who construct and shape 'the creative city' in their daily life. People on the practice-side could be seen as people who take part of the creative class. (I would 'tighten' the definitions of the creative class in the second chapter.) In the model, there is either a connection between theory and practice, and theory and policy. The relationship between theory and practice is more self-evident. This is because of the fact that the practice side (consisting of creative class members) doesn't have to be necessary aware of theories that are constructed around them. They are creative, they do their thing and they are therefore responsible for the creative development of the city. Theories stem from their existence, from a development that was already going on. Their existence does not stem from the theory, of course. The policy side is somewhat different. Policy-makers very often do not take part of the creative class, they're the ones who notice (or not) that something is going on in their city. When they search for ways to 'jump on' to this development, they should take notice of 'creative city theories', at least, that's what the hypothetical model about theory - policy - practice says.

Further, this ideal-type model could suggest that the stimulation of creativity could be captured in clear policies, as long as theoretical assumptions are not neglected. However, the complexity (and even paradox) of creative policy-making, will be an important issue in this thesis.

This complexity and paradox could eventually lead to a third hypothesis:

- Creative policy making is inherently surrounded by complexity and paradox because of the difficulty of 'planning' creativity

Creativity is a characteristic that is difficult to steer and capture, just because it has to do with people. Therefore, the term creative city planning does inherently raise some serious questions about its feasibility. In this thesis however, besides the fact that I'm aware of the contradiction that exists between the words 'creativity' and 'planning', the possibility that in fact there *are* constructive ways for creative policy-making will seriously be taken into account.

1.3 Research objective(s)

This above standing formulation of the research problem automatically leads to the aim of this research:

- *Gain insights in the relationship between theory, policy and practice regarding the concept of the 'Creative City' in the cities Eindhoven, Almere, Tilburg and Dordrecht, in order to make assumptions about the importance of harmonisation between these three points and give recommendations about ways to strengthen this harmonisation.*

In order to gain insights in the relationship between theory, policy and practice, the theoretical framework must be clear, concepts must be well defined. I gave some brief theoretical backgrounds already in the introduction to this research, but the theories from Florida and Landry were born out of a broader scientific debate about how to view 'the city' and the 21st century city in particular. This will need further explanation.
The relationship between theory and policy could only be investigated when research is done regarding urban decision-making process and especially the role of existing theories in decision-making. Practice follows logically from policy, but this relationship is often (and arguably) a reciprocal one when it comes to creative city planning. It could be the case that local authorities realize accommodation for creative entrepreneurs, so practice follows policy. At the same time, people in practice could make an appeal to policy. Picture a group of artists and designers that inhabit an old factory building that is threatened by a real estate developer with the aim to demolish the old factory in order to build a shopping mall. Local authorities could block this threat by choosing the side of the artists, and facilitating their initiatives, for instance by restructuring and renovating the industrial heritage.
The relationship between theory and practice is more scant, but becomes visible when theoretical images of the creative city are compared with practical outcomes. Naturally, policy functions as a link between theory and practice, but there would also be a connection

between theory and practice. At first, there is always the theoretical notion of the ideal-type creative city. This theoretical notion is linked to the practical situation in a particular city, shaped or not shaped actively by policy.
The assumption in this research is that situations where there is harmonisation between theory, policy and practice should - according to the hypothetical model - have a more positive influence on the development of a creative city than situations in which disruption between these three points appear.
Either harmonisation or disruption between theory, policy and practice would not be directly visible when just walking through a city. It could be - though not likely when drawing on the model and first and second hypothesis - the case that a city has a creative atmosphere without virtually any policy towards creative city planning. On the other side, their could be a good harmonisation between theory, policy and practice, but not much visible creativity – dynamic and bohemian-like street scenes with creative entrepreneurs and artists for instance - in a certain city. It could be that development has just begun, or other aspects of the city do raise more attention than existing 'creative hotbeds'. To find out whether there is some harmonisation or not should follow mostly from conversations with a wide variety of people (either from the 'top' or the 'bottom') in the city.
Research in these cities must makes clear whether a good harmonisation leads to positive development. On the base of these results, recommendations could be given about ways to strengthen the harmonisation between these points. I am aware of the possibility that the research could lead to the rejection of the model. This could, for example, happen when situations appear (rather more than one) when connections in the model are blurred or absent but despite that there is a matter of successful creative development. For instance, it could be that absence of creative policies and presence of many successful initiatives from creatives has led to interesting creative development in a certain city. In that case, the ideal-type model is blurred, but this situation doesn't stop creative city building to happen.

1.4 Research questions

The formulated research objective leads to a central research question, which is divided into some sub-questions. These sub-questions serve as handles for answering the central question. The central question reads as follows:

- *What relationship does exist between theory, policy and practice regarding the concept of the 'Creative City' in the cities Eindhoven, Almere. Tilburg and*

Dordrecht, and what is the importance of a good harmonisation between these points?

- *What relationship does exist between theory, policy and practice regarding the concept of the 'Creative City' in the cities Eindhoven, Almere. Tilburg and Dordrecht, and what is the importance of a good harmonisation between these points?*

In addition, following this central question:

- *Recommendations could be done about ways to strengthen the harmonisation between theory, policy and practice in the investigated cities.*

Sub-questions are:

- *How is the concept of the creative city embedded in a broader theoretical framework?*

This question will be answered mainly through literature study. To understand the thesis, a clear conception of some of the main concepts must be obtained. Concepts such as 'creative class' and 'creative industries' are often used in different publications to describe different things. In the theoretical chapter that follows from this sub-question, I try to bring more clarity to these concepts. With theoretical framework, I do not only mean the most recent (and for this research most applicable) theories, such as the earlier mentioned theories from Richard Florida and Charles Landry but also earlier theories about 'the city' and 'creativity' and how they fit into broader scientific/ geographical ways of thought. A discussion of the theory is not complete with a discussion of some of the main critiques to these theories.

- *How does the strive towards the development of a creative city becomes apparent in the policy (plans) of Eindhoven, Almere, Tilburg and Dordrecht?*

To find an answer to this question, several policy plans and recommendation reports must be investigated. Furthermore, interview sessions with policy-makers and people who are otherwise involved with 'creative planning' are helpful. It is important to consider whether a more top-down approach is chosen, with local authorities occupying a more steering / directing role, or bottom-up approaches where (future) initiatives from creatives are facilitated and supported by policy-makers, housing corporations and/or commercial organisations.

- *What is the practice situation concerning the development of a creative city in Eindhoven, Almere, Tilburg and Dordrecht?*

In order to make a decent inventory of the development of creativity in the described cities, a good overview of recent creative initiatives must be obtained. It is important to find out which initiatives where set up from the bottom by artists, designers, musicians and which initiatives/implementations came from local authorities. Interviews, articles and documents could mostly answer this question. Successful initiatives from the bottom could be 'breeding grounds' settled in former factory / office buildings, that are not 'inward-looking', but have some meaning for the surrounding area or for the city itself. Precondition for bottom-up initiatives is absence or low interference and/or steering from local authorities. (More about pre-conditions in chapter 2)

- *How could the relationship between theory and policy and policy and practice in these cities be described and what are the consequences (of this relationship) for the relation between theory (input) and practice (output)?*

In order to answer this question, which logically follows from the preceding questions, intensive research should be done in the four cities. It is essential to speak with a wide variety of informants (policy-makers, entrepreneurs, artists, scientists, housing corporations) to find satisfying and reliable results. It is important to either investigate to what degree creative city theories are embedded at the policy sphere, how policymakers regard the 'creatives' and their initiatives on the practice side or the way creatives consider local authorities and their role at the policy-side. The relationship between theory (input) and (practice) output could be investigated by a comparison between the ideal-type of the theory and the practical outcomes – whether or not shaped by policy – in a certain city.

- *What is the importance of harmonisation between theory, policy and practice?*

Following the answer to the preceding question, assumptions could be made about the importance of a harmonisation between theory, policy and practice. As earlier stated, it could be the case that research results lead to the conclusion that harmonisation between theory, policy and practice is not a necessary pre-condition for creative cities to develop.

- *What could be done to strengthen this harmonisation (case Viktoriakwartier Eindhoven)*

If a good harmonisation between theory, policy and practice is required for the development of creative cities, it is interesting to investigate which ways do exist to strengthen this

harmonisation. This could eventually lead to a recommendation regarding the development of the Viktoriakwartier in Eindhoven.
Again, there is a possibility that no 'evidence' will be found for the importance of harmonisation between theory, policy and practice regarding creative city development. In that case, I will still focus on the Viktoriakwartier, but from a slightly different viewpoint. If harmonisation is not 'the key', other dynamics could be more important. These findings could be applied to the development of the Viktoriakwartier, so that eventually, it will still be possible to give some degree of recommendation.

1.5 Scientific relevance

Concepts such as the 'creative city', 'creative class', and 'creative industry' are used very often in policy plans throughout the 'Western World'. The starting point of the 'creative hype' - because with respect to the usefulness of the terms, the sudden popularity to use them by policy-makers could be cautiously called a hype – was arguably 'The Rise of the Creative Class' by Richard Florida (2002), despite the fact that Charles Landry was somewhat earlier with his influential book; 'The Creative City, a Toolkit for Urban Innovators' (2000)
Both Florida and Landry mention a whole lot of conditions a city should meet in order for creative initiatives to succeed such as the three T's from Richard Florida, and a required 'soft' and 'hard' infrastructure, introduced by Landry. Notwithstanding the fact that Florida and Landry made a large audience of scientists, policy-makers and urban planners familiar with 'urban creativity', the roots of 'the creative city' lay somewhat further in history. In the 19th century there where philosophers such as Charles Fourier who imagined a future of cities where industrialization didn't lead to the destruction of the creative capital that each individual possesses. (Beecher & Bienvenu 1971)
In the early 1960's, Jane Jacobs mentioned the importance of dynamic and diverse street life for the exchange of creative ideas. (Jacobs, 1962) As stated earlier, Richard Florida was greatly inspired by the works of Jacobs and he is the first to admit that.
Influential geographer and social theorist David Harvey was also influenced by the theories of Jane Jacobs and her ideas to focus on social processes, diversity, intricacy, and the capacity to handle the unexpected in controlled but creative ways which are, according to Jacobs, characteristics of a 'healthy' city environment. David Harvey considered this a postmodern view on the city and cited Jane Jacobs explicitly in his important book 'The Condition of Postmodernity' (1990)

In recent years, there were certain Dutch initiatives to apply the theories of Richard Florida on a Dutch scale in order to investigate the creative potential in Dutch cities. (Marlet & van Woerkens, 2004) They did important work because of 'narrowing' the creative class, however still leaving almost 20% of professions in the creative industry. (With up to 33% in Utrecht and 27% in Amsterdam) This does raise questions about the geographical usefulness of such a large 'class'. Could a distinctive urban environment be typified where almost one third of the urban population feel at home? There is a lot of scientific debate about the exact width of the creative class, and it seems to me that different 'disciplines' couldn't reach consensus. In this research, I will pay extra attention to this issue.

Further, Dutch research towards the 'creative city' is focused on the potential for the creative industry to develop in certain Dutch cities and that is off course important, but there isn't much research about the following route. What is done with this research since local authorities and not scientists are the ones who make the decisions? It seems to me that even since local authorities give commission to research- and consultancy agency's to investigate the potentials for the development of creativity in their city, research results eventually will 'drown' into bureaucracy, leading to a scant relation between theory and policy, and consequentially, policy and practice. If the link between policy and theory is 'crumbled', what will be left of the theories from Florida and Landry in the actual urban planning sphere? In doing research towards the relationship between policy, theory and practice I hope to give assumptions – not delivering a step-by-step manual - about the importance of harmonisation between them. This knowledge could be valuable for further research (for instance in public administration, geography, urban planning and economics) about how to strengthen the relationship between theory, policy and practice, regarding the development of 'the creative city'.

1.6 Social relevance

As earlier stated in this research proposal, creativity posits an importance place on the agenda of many 21st century cities. More and more Dutch cities try to distinguish themselves with initiatives towards creative city planning. This is mainly because attracting creativity is perceived a synonym to economic growth.
With regards to the 'creative struggle' of cities, it is important to investigate why some initiatives succeed when others fail. This starts in my opinion with theoretical knowledge. For instance, Richard Florida gave a clear explanation about the factors that lead to either failure of succession. Policy-makers should know about this basic theoretical knowledge,

because after all, they make the decisions. The question is however; to what degree people at managerial positions are aware of these theories.
The hypothesis is that many initiatives fail, because of a lack of harmonisation between theory and policy, and as a consequence, theory and practice.
A research concentrated on the relationship between these three dimensions, could be helpful in searching for better ways towards harmonisation between them. This could eventually lead to a lower failure rate, and less waste of public funds, because why 'bet' on becoming a creative city when theories suggest a poor basis for such a development? Research results may eventually lead to a more realistic approach from policy-makers in the investigated cities. Nobody would benefit from 'hit or miss' implementations, and therefore a realistic image of the potentials and pre-conditions for creative development and the know-how how to respond to this development is needed.
After all, laying the emphasis on harmonisation automatically leads to a focus on cooperation.
This is important because the development of a more liveable, dynamic (and creative city) will arguably benefit from cooperation between many different actors, from scientists to city planners, from entrepreneurs to housing corporations and from municipal decision makers to artists. Arguably, only if attention is paid to the visions of all these interest parties, real development will be possible.

1.7 Research design

The research could be typified as mostly qualitative and to some degree quantitative.
Qualitative because through the means of in-depth interviews and intensive literature study an image must be constructed about the research subject(s). This is an ongoing – iterative - process, because new acquired information could lead to the ad-just of the constructed image, even in the last stage of the research. The research is partly quantitative because of the interpretation of statistical data – coming either from policy-plans/reports or available scientific research reports, such as the one from Marlet en Woerkens (2004) or Stichting ALICE (2003) - about the investigated cities.
Further, the research has the form of a multiple case study, because processes in several cities are compared. The focus however, shall lay on Eindhoven, because the research eventually should lead to a recommendation regarding the development of the Viktoriakwartier, a part of Eindhoven nearby the city centre that is intended to develop into a 'creative hotspot' in the following years.

Instead of these four cities, I also could have chosen cities such as Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Zaandam or Arnhem. This thesis, however, does not try to give a complete overview of all the dynamics around the creative industry that take place in the Netherlands right now. Nor does it want to point out the Dutch winners and losers in the 'creative game'. This research aims at the finding of support for the assumed importance of harmonisation between theory, policy and practice. The goal is to give assumptions about the importance of (good and vital) networks between all the actors in the city (on either the policy-side or the practice-side) who are involved with the development of 'the creative city' against the framework of theoretical assumptions about pre-conditions for creative city development.
Therefore I choose four – in my opinion – different cities who characterize (more or less) themselves with forms of creative city planning. By investigating which things gone well or not well, and for which reasons, a - supposed – practical underpinning of the hypotheses must be obtained.

1.8 12N STDNBW

The research is done under the supervision of Fulco Treffers from 12N STDNBW. 12N STDNBW is a one-man urban planning and strategy agency and has great expertise regarding creative urban development. Research was done by 12N STDNBW towards the creative potential in cities such as Eindhoven, Almere and Dordrecht. The reconstruction of the Viktoriakwartier in Eindhoven is one of the most recent cases. With this research, I hope to deliver new insights that could be at value for the further development of the Viktoriakwartier

2 About 'creativity, culture, economy and the city'

2.1 Introduction

In cities, there has always been culture and creativity. On the other hand, most cities couldn't persist without periods of economic growth. Creativity and culture are in many cases behind-lying dynamics that determine economic growth.
The link between creativity, culture and economy is - according to influential author Peter Hall - not a new one. Creativity and culture played a crucial role in technological advances in the last centuries and thus for new products and new modes of production. (Hall 1998, 5) It could be argued that there would not exist innovation without creative ways of thinking. To underpin this hypothesis, one could relate to the definition of creativity psychologist Mihaly Cziksentmihalyi came up with: '*Creativity creates something that is truly new and innovative and is considered to be valuable enough to be added to culture..*' (from: 'Creativity and the City', 2005)

Hall, who wrote the influential book 'Cities in Civilizations' stated that…. '*Manchester in the 18th century, Berlin in the middle of the 19th century, Detroit at the turn of the 20th century and Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area during the 20th century are all just as valid examples of urban creativity as are Athens, Florence, Vienna and Paris.*'
Landry further stated that culture lies at the core of creative intervention. (Landry 2000, 39) A culture of innovation, experimentation and subsequently change, will rather lead to creativity than a conservative and 'closed' culture where people are afraid of changes.
Scott, who wrote much about the cultural economy of cities, emphasizes that local (urban and regional) traditions, norms and sensibilities actively shape the structures and strategies of business operations in the cultural economy and the design of outcomes. One could therefore argue that either the economic is embedded in the cultural or the cultural is embedded in the economic. (Scott, 2000)

Despite the fact that it might be clear from the above standing that there is a link between culture, creativity and economy, it was never be realized as such until relatively recent. An explanation could be that concepts such as creativity and culture are automatically related in people's heads to forms of 'higher culture and arts' such as painting, sculpting, (classical)

music and theatre. Nevertheless, these cultural manifestations are just a small part of a much broader scope of past and present cultural outcomes and characteristics.
The fact that most of the big inventions – the engine, the computer, the airplane – were done in cultures open to experiment and innovation, cultures that spontaneously lead to creativity, gives a different meaning to these concepts.

However, when culture is defined in a more delimited artistic sense, it could be stated that the link between culture and economy was negotiated for a long time by policy-makers and urban planners – often because of the fear that the strive for commercial benefit had a bad influence on the cultural/artistic quality. (Alice, 2003)

Regarding the 'great interventions of the past', it could be argued that (creative) interventions such as the steam engine, the moving assembly line and the personal computer have ultimately led to the development of industries where most of the employees are doing work that is repetitive and uncreative, such as manufacturing or data-entry work. One could take it one step further and could argue that most of big (and creative according to the definition of Cziksentmihalyi) interventions in the 19th and 20th century were instruments for the organizational and industrial economy because of improving production standards.[5]

The question could be raised to what degree these creative interventions (the steam engine, the moving assembly line, or – later - the personal computer are creative after all.
Despite the creativity that was needed for (technological) interventions in the 19th en early 20th century, cities weren't sources of innovation and creativity at these times. It was the time of large factory grounds and monotonous working-class areas where the employees (the 'blue collar workers') lived with their families, spaces that characterize themselves by air pollution and dirtiness; not the dazzling street scene that Florida is pointing at when he talks about preconditions for creativity.
Inner cities were usually degenerated environments with badly maintained historical remains such as churches and city walls, lost icons that were more and more pushed aside by newly build factories and large housing projects for employees.
Many Western cities had to deal with the aftermath of this 'industrial era' (after the decline of particular industries (because of for instance outsourcing or automation) quite a long time,

[5]Fourier, as earlier stated, imagined a future of cities where industrialization did not lead to the destruction of the creative capital that each individual possesses.

and some of them are still dealing with it. Following the collapse of the industrial age, different (economic) dynamics became more important in Western cities. This change(s) will be further discussed in the following paragraph.

2.2 Creativity, culture and the 'experience economy'

At the end of the 20th century, creativity and culture become more visibly interwoven with certain sectors of the economy.

This development has to do with the increased importance of such things as perception values, discovery, quality of life, aesthetic, imago – a development that has been going on since the change from the 'industrial' (manufacturing based economy) into the 'post-industrial' (service based economy) society (Bell 1974, a.o.)

Florida stated that the creative class (and I will refer later to this term) and its lifestyle:

…'*comes down to a passionate quest for experience, a creative life packed full of intense high-quality multidimensional experiences. And the kinds of experiences they crave reflect and reinforce their identities as creative people*' (Florida 2002, 166)

Pine and Gilmore stated in their book 'The Experience Economy' (mentioned in 'The Rise of the Creative Class') that consumers are coming to favour the consumption of experiences over traditional goods and services. Florida adds that experiences are replacing goods because they stimulate our creative faculties and enhance our creative capacities. (Florida 2002, 168)

Of course, it is not possible to consume only 'experiences'. We eat, drink and wear clothes so we have to make an appeal to traditional goods and products, but these goods became more and more interlinked with experiences, in fact, the whole idea behind commercials on the TV is to link a certain product – for instance chewing gum, coffee, or beer – with a certain experience. Very often, it is about being young, healthy, sexy, easy-going or carefree.

The link between (commercial) goods and experiences is not a very recent one; in fact, it goes back to the birth of the Marlboro-man, or even before. It seems to be the case however that there is also a tendency towards a more experience-orientated approach in other parts of society, such as the public sector and big service industries such as banks. To give an example, the increased focus on 'quality of life', illustrated by city-marketing slogans such as 'Nijmegen Health City', 'It is possible in Almere' or 'Glasgow Miles Better' introduced by local authorities and invented by marketing-specialists clarify the aim of (local) governments to 'brand' their cities and sell them by means of experiences. Banks and insurance companies like the 'Postbank' , 'ABN-Amro' and 'Interpolis' sell their services with the promise of a long, healthy, carefree, successful life.

In the 'experience' driven economy, the value of 'things' that could not directly be expressed in money, such as images, emotions and feelings are increasing in importance very rapidly.
The 'experience driven economy' suits very well into the 'post-modern age' were it does not matter what you do exactly for a living, but how you construct your identity, profession is just one small part of your identity. The construction of identity is more and more linked with the experiences you have. (Florida, 2002, 2005)

The rise of the experience economy' implicates that companies have to find innovative solutions in order to maintain their competitive position. These solutions often lie in the sphere of a careful construction of images that are created around popular culture and are connected with a certain brand or product. People that were at the leading edge of popular culture such as rock- and movie stars, sportsmen and television personalities became big commercial selling points. The arrival of the new media (such as the internet) made it easier for people across the globe to adapt their identity and lifestyle by means of a wide variety of (popular) images and symbols available. Simultaneous with this development, new types of economies and industries emerged that were directly involved with the creation and distribution of images and symbols in a broader sense. This kind of sectors are often called 'creative industry' or 'creative economy'. The group of people (and definitions differ substantially from each other) that is somehow engaged with this creative industry is often called 'creative class'. The next paragraph will further discuss the meaning of these often used terms.

2.3 'The Creative Industry' and 'The Creative Class'

Since about the last decade, several authors tried to define the term creative industry. Maybe one of the oldest is the definition that came from the UK Government Department for Culture, Media and Sport. According to this definition creative industries are '*those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property*' (http://www.culture.gov.uk)
In the TNO-report 'Bottlenecks in the creative production' (2005) Rutte (et al) define creative industry as a.. '*specific business sector that produces goods and services that are the result of individual or cooperative creative effort and entrepreneurship. Content and symbolism are the most important elements of these products. Consumers or commercial buyers purchase them because they appeal to some sort of meaning. This meaning functions*

as the basis for a certain experience. To that respect, the creative industry plays an important role in the development and maintenance of lifestyles and cultural identities in the society' (Rutte et al 2005, 18)

In the concerned TNO-report, a distinction is made between three (sub) sectors of whom the creative industry exists, namely: Media- and entertainment industries, creative business services and 'the arts'. This differs not substantially from the distinction of the UK Government that mentions the (sub) sectors Design (Architecture, Craft and Design, Fashion and Textiles) , Media (Advertising, Film, Digital Media and Games, Publishing, Software, Television and Radio) , Expressive (Music, Performing Arts, Visual Arts)

Hartley (2005), who wrote the book 'Creative Industries', stated that the… "*Creative industries' idea combines – but then radically transforms – two older terms: the creative arts and the cultural industries.*'' He further stated that this change is important because it brings the arts (i.e. culture) in direct contact with large-scale industries such as media-entertainment. It is also important because of…. '*the possibility of moving beyond the elite/mass, art/entertainment, sponsored/commercial and high/trivial distinctions that have bedeviled thinking about creativity in policy as well as intellectual circles, especially in countries with European traditions of public cultures.'* (Hartley 2005, 5/6)

Marlet and Woerkens, who did a great job at translating 'creative city theories' into a Dutch context, tried to construct an overview of the activities that are linked to the creative industry, which is highlighted (in Dutch), in the scheme below:

Creatie	*Materiële Productie*	*Distributie en Retail*
Kunsten		
• Beeldende kunst, fotografie	• Beeldende kunst, fotografie	• Veilingen, kunst-uitleen, kunstgalerieën en expositie-ruimten, musea, winkels
• Alle podiumkunsten; muziek, dans, theater	• Productie van podiumkunsten: muziek, dans, theater, en reproductie en uitgeverij van geluidsopnamen	• Theaters, schouwburgen en concertgebouwen, evenemen-tenhallen, CD-winkels
• Recreatiecentra, organisatie van culturele evenementen	• Recreatiecentra, evenementen-hallen	• Recreatiecentra, organisatie van culturele evenementen, evenementen-hallen
Media en entertainment		
• Film: Scenario, Script-writing, Pre-productie	• Filmproductie incl. ondersteunende activiteiten	• Filmdistributie, bioscopen, filmtheaters, videotheken
• Productie van radio- en televisieprogramma's	• Productie van radio- en televisieprogramma's	• Omroeporganisaties
• Schrijven: romans, poëzie, non-fictie	• Uitgeverij en boekdrukkerij	• Openbare bibliotheken, boekwinkels
• Journalistiek		
Creatieve zakelijke dienstverlening		
• Vormgeving, mode-ontwerp, grafisch ontwerp		
• Gaming, nieuwe media		
• Architectuur, steden-bouwkundig ontwerp		
• Reclame		

Figure 1: 'Branching' of the Creative Industry (Poort, Marlet & van Woerkens in Raes & Hofstede, 2005)

In this scheme Marlet and van Woerkens show that not only the 'creators' take part of the creative industry, but the ones who are involved with distribution, accommodation and publishing.
Despite the fact that there are different explanations regarding creative industries, it seems to be the case that they (often) put something unique and creative to mass-scale (or at least larger scale) proportions with (economic) increment as a consequence. What is created doesn't have to be necessary tangible; if often involves images, symbols and sounds.
Florida would call (a large share of) the people who function as 'the audience for the creative industry', the 'creative class', besides the fact that people who operate *inside* the creative industry are members of the 'creative class' as well. It could therefore be argued that to a certain degree the creative class consists of the producers as well the consumers of the creative industry. In many cases however, the producer is also the consumer.

In the introduction to this thesis, I talked already about the creative class, but didn't delimit it to a specific group of people. I only gave examples of definitions made by Richard Florida, who count an overwhelming 40 to 50% of the population in certain cities as members of the creative class, and Marlet and Woerkens came to the conclusion that the Dutch creative class made about 20% of the Dutch labour force, which is also a great amount.
When only the so called 'super creative core' which consists of artists, designers, musicians, scientists, creative engineers, actors, novelists, journalists, architects and people who are employed in the 'creative service economy' such as advisors/counsellors and intermediaries (a.o. Florida 2002, 68/69) would make 'the creative class', the percentage of the creative class in the (Dutch) labour force would be much smaller. Landry talked about 'cultural industries' (a sector that has strong similarities with the 'super creative core')
''*This 'cultural industries', hotbeds for creativity, are significant economic sectors in their own right and employ between 3-5 percent of the workforce in world cities such as London, New York, Milan and Berlin.*' (Landry 2000, 9)

When Florida talks about his creative class, he strongly lay his emphasis on people who are engaged in creative thinking processes on the 'workfloor', which arguably sets the stage for an extremely broad definition of the creative class. In my opinion, definitions of the creative class should focus more on the people who really set the (creative) scene in the city.

When we look at the creative industry, the members of the creative core are operating at the supply-side, but they could not do without a (growing) demand-side. To a certain degree, this demand-side exists of the creative core itself. (Picture a local rock band that hires a

designer to design the cover of their new album) To another degree, the demand-side exists of companies or (local) governments who are looking for inspiring ideas for new products. Another category of people that is linked in some way with the demand-side of the creative industry are (sporadic) visitors of music concerts, theatre performances or exhibitions, but in fact also people who go to bars or restaurants which are located in 'creative clusters'. These are usually culture-minded people who feel at home between members of creative core, but do not belong to them on a professional level. It is a rather difficult - or even impossible - task to delimit this group to certain occupations or other strict characteristics. I could call them 'consumers of creative industries', but would not count them to the creative class, because of clear 'delimiting problems'.
When a businessperson or manufacturer hires a designer for the 'rejuvenation' of a certain product, he is located at the demand-side of the creative industry, which does not automatically make him a member of the creative class. If the particular businessman is living in a suburb (or 'Vinex-wijk' to say it in Dutch), only visits the city to go shopping with his wife and kids on Saturdays at the V&D (department store), and has no message to such things as the local music scene, arts and other forms of culture in the city, it could be argued that he delivers no visible contribution to the creative climate in the city. He only delivers money to the designer, so he is supporting the creative industry, but is not taking part of it.

In conclusion, one could say that the people who actually 'make' the creative climate in the city are operating mostly on the supply-side of the creative industry.
Further, Florida states that aside from the super creative core the… '*Creative class includes creative professionals who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, and business management*' (Florida 2002, 69)
These occupation groups without a doubt engage in creative problem solving (certainly with respect to more 'broader' definitions of creativity) in their work, but it's hard to link them with the more artistic qualities of the members of the creative core.

I'm well aware of initiatives (and I will discuss this later, when I talk more deeply about specific cases) to combine ideas from the creative core with the more traditional business world, but these initiatives often doesn't succeed. An explanation for this could be the very different worlds either the businessperson or the artist is in. It is hard to find the so called 'no-collar workplace' Florida is referring to (Florida 2002, 116-128) in lawyer's offices, banks, insurance companies and other high management offices as well as in much of the IT-world in the Netherlands. Despite all interesting statements about casual dressed

employees in prestigious law firms, it is hard to imagine the same scenario here. I'm certainly aware of the value and importance of Florida's works, but when the term creative class is used in this thesis, it excludes the business manager, the lawyer or the IT-programmer, simply because of the fact that they do not set the 'creative scene'.
Maybe IT was revolutionary in Silicon Valley in the 70's/80's and 90's and the pioneers were even linked to the Bay Area 'hippie-movement' of the 60's, the average IT-programmer who works for a big IT-company isn't a person who bubbles with creative energy with an aim to show his groundbreaking and revolutionary ideas to the world.
When I talk about the creative class in this thesis, I talk about the creative core, the people who are able to turn their city into a creative city. As a an exception maybe, the creative class also includes people working in various consultancy agencies that engage in the creative industry and whose task it is to establish and maintain cooperation by means of (creative) networks and search for connections between the creative industry and the more traditional business world.

The city is the common setting for the creative class to develop their activities. Cities where the creative class feel at home are sometimes called 'creative cities', but just as with the preceding terms however, this term is susceptible for more than one definition. Therefore, it will be elaborately discussed in the next paragraph.

2.4 'The Creative City'

Cities usually are concentrations of all kind of networks and clusters. Much has been written about the dynamic between local and global forces and how international flows in trade, goods, information and culture are impacting upon local spaces. (private and public) (Tay 2005 in 'Creative Industries' 220/221) The exquisite place where these flows 'meet each other' is the city. One might argue that the fact so many different flows and networks come together in the city stimulates the creative process of its inhabitants. Therefore, it's no surprise that the large share of groundbreaking work in science, arts, technology etc. found its soil in (big) cities.

Landry wrote that creative ways of thinking are becoming more and more important in cities because of the fact that a 'paradigm shift' occurred from the typical city of 30 years ago and the city of today. He stated that…'*older solutions do not work. What might seem an impenetrable problem from within one mindset might be eminently solvable from within another*'. Just as Florida did, Landry drew from a broad definition of creativity. That may be because according to him, every urban problem (from traffic safety to the collection of

rubbish to street-children) that is approached in an original way is an evidence of the creative capacity of a city.
The message is that urban managers should be aware of the creative potential that exists in a certain city. Any idea or initiative could be a feasible one. Initiatives from the bottom must be recognised and supported. Creative initiatives from the bottom are very often found in arts, music, design, architecture; the creative core that is. These creatives often form (informal) networks and when the number of creatives is increasing in a certain city (part) creative clusters could emerge where people could draw on each other's ideas, knowledge and contacts. When the creative sector makes connections with either the public sector or the more traditional business world, interesting things could happen and value – as well on economic as social/cultural level will be added.

Cities with a good cultural climate are successful in attracting new talent; some kind of domino effect develops. People (often 'creative' and highly educated) want to live in that city because of its reputation as a dynamic, dazzling city with a diverse cultural life and possibilities for people to improve on personal and professional levels.

This has some similarities with the theories Florida came up with about the pre-conditions cities should meet in order to attract the creative class. Florida speaks about the 'three T's'; Talent, Tolerance and Technology. Cities need those T's, otherwise their 'strive for creativity and innovation' would fail. Cities that meet the T from Talent usually have a broad spectrum of knowledge institutes and a wide variety of job opportunities in many different sectors. Cities that satisfy this condition are more likely to attract a broad scope of young and talented people from all over the world than cities without – for instance – the presence of higher education such as a university. Florida further stated that the creative people who come to the city because of the presence of either knowledge institutes or the possibility of develop themselves on a 'professional' level are often preferring 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 skills, sets and ideas. When they meet each other and cooperate, new combinations could arise. Diversity and tolerance also refer to the variety of nightlife opportunities, cultural facilities or the presence of bohemians, gays and other people who do not lead an average 'family-life' and prefer the dynamic and tolerant ambiance of 'the inner-city'. Tolerance also refers to the acceptance of a wide variety of minorities in a particular city. In fact in some cities, a large part of the urban crowd consists of minorities; people from all thinkable cultures, gays, bohemians etc.

This focus on the value of a diverse palette of urban cultures for the attractiveness and vitality of the city is in itself not new. One of the critiques of Peck was that David Harvey came up with this almost fifteen years before Florida did. He cited Harvey in his article 'The Struggle of the Creative Class': (Peck, 2005)

[The] urban terrain is opened for display, fashion, and the 'presentation of self' in a surrounding of spectacle and play. If everyone, from punks to rap artists to the 'yuppies' and the haute bourgeoisie can participate in the production of an urban image through their production of social space, then all can at least feel some sense of belonging to that place (Harvey, 1989: 14).

When the T's of Florida are applied to a more Dutch context, the T of technology seems a bit conflicting. Without ignoring the importance of technology in diverse parts of society, technology could be called a pre-condition for almost any economy or industry nowadays, it is not restricted to only a certain sector. Further, in the Netherlands (but also in other developed countries), the presence of (high) technology (media technology, advanced computer systems, electronic machines and equipment) is just a fact. Technology is a sort of pre-given phenomenon in the average Western city, unlike the presence of talent or an open, diverse and tolerant environment where creative people feel at home. Technology is without any doubt important, but hardly a distinguished quality anymore, unless a particular city is known for its presence of groundbreaking 'marriages' between technology and various art-forms. (In that case, technology could be typified as somewhat of a 'smaller' T, for it's mostly the Talent and the Tolerance who provide the real seed-bed for the creative class.

Besides these T's, also the build environment seem to influence the development of creative climates. Jane Jacobs stated already in the 1960's that… "*Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings; new ideas must use old buildings. …*'' (Jacobs, 1962)
Jacobs couldn't arguably foresee the right of this sentence, because since about the last one or two decades, empty factory buildings – relics of a once flourishing industrial age – became more and more popular with people (artists, designers, musicians etc.) who are searching for 'creative niches' in their city. They couldn't afford the rent of a regular premise, so they seek for alternative places, and found them in empty factories, who sometimes where predestined for demolition. In and around these factory-grounds, successful enterprises and collaborations between creative people started to develop and a limited

amount of entrepreneurs in the 'horeca'[6]- often friends and acquaintances of already present (creative) entrepreneurs - jumped into these creative niches. The organization of exhibitions and public parties in these former factories (whether or not under the influence of the upcoming 'techno/house-movement') attract a wide variety of people to them. This development took place at such a fast speed that former factory grounds are nowadays often regarded by local authorities as true 'gems', spaces that have the potential to transform in successful places for creative industries. Contradicting statements such as '*we need more industrial heritage in our town*' could be heard at meetings with high officials in certain cities, a mayor difference with the vision of local authorities towards these empty factories in the recent past. Nowadays, empty factories –especially those with aesthetic value - often do not go through the phases that are outlined above. Local authorities and real estate developers tend to be rather quick when it comes to constructing plans that must lead to a successful 'upgrading' of these former industrial heritage. Before the creative 'rafelrand' could settle, urban restructuring projects transform these places into inner-city yuppie-areas, which are branded as mixtures of living, shopping, leisure and work. (Often with some space assigned for the establishing of creative industries)

However, either it are people from the creative core, yuppies or other 'urban people', it seems to be the case that the presence of industrial heritage is in itself able to attract more people to the city centre. Empty factory grounds provide possibilities at places that where seen in the 'recent past' as 'saturated' and 'full', because of the presence of already established names and high rents.
Summarized, the creative class needs some sort of 'niche' to develop their activities and find this in empty factory grounds, where rents are usually low or absent and where there is some room for experiment, unless real estate developers aim to transform them into expensive 'yuppie-neighbourhoods'. (Often with 'planned cultural/creative facilities') In that case, creative niches are not able to develop at their own speed, but are planned from above (because creativity 'sells') and the question is if creativity could be planned from above in any case – see the hypothesis about a combination between top-down and bottom-up in the 1st chapter.
Regarding the above standing explanation about some preconditions for and some characteristics of a creative city, a rough typification could be made about how a creative city

[6] Although 'horeca' is not an English word, I shall consequently use it in my thesis. Horeca stands for 'hotel', 'café' and 'restaurant', is really a concept in the Netherlands and covers the meaning of the word - in my opinion - more than 'catering industry'.

would look like. Following the research I did by studying the theory and the conservations I had with a wide variety of informants, I would state that a creative city is a city:

- With a high representation of people who belong to the 'creative core' (artists, musicians, designers, architects, writers, novelists, journalists etc.)
- With a high presence of networks and clusters (either informal of formal) within the creative core and between creatives and the 'external world'.
- Where (economic) successful crossovers between the 'creative core' and the more traditional business world as well as the public sector are possible
- With a high degree of tolerance towards a wide variety of minorities (homosexuals, immigrants, bohemians)
- With a diverse cultural life and a wide variety of possibilities in the nightlife- and entertainment sector
- With a strong appeal to highly educated and talented people – which off course is due to other outlined characteristics.
- With possibilities for starting (creative) entrepreneurs to experiment. (Which usually means not to much restrictions and regulations 'from above')
- With possibilities in the build environment for the shaping / development of creative niches, this usually means the existence of empty factory buildings, which are situated not far outside the city centre.
- With a combination between top-down and bottom-up approaches. This means that local authorities are aware of the present creative potential and are willing to take up the role as facilitators. Local authorities must be conscious of the fact that creativity could not be planned from above, for example by means of large urban restructuring projects and the building of trendy art galleries, latte-cafés and 'yuppie-apartments'. Innovation and urban change generally starts from the 'underground', and is not invented on office desks.

2.5 Creative city checklists' and their critiques

The Creative 100 are dedicated to helping communities realize the full potential of creative ideas by encouraging these principles

1. Cultivate and reward creativity. Everyone is part of the value chain of creativity. Creativity can happen at anytime, anywhere, and it's happening in your community right now. Pay attention.
2. Invest in the creative ecosystem. The creative ecosystem can include arts and culture, nightlife, the music scene, restaurants, artists and designers, innovators, entrepreneurs, affordable spaces, lively neighbourhoods, spirituality, education, density, public spaces and third places.
3. Embrace diversity. It gives birth to creativity, innovation and positive economic impact. People of different backgrounds and experiences contribute a diversity of ideas, expressions, talents and perspectives that enrich communities. This is how ideas flourish and build vital communities.
4. Nurture the creatives. Support the connectors. Collaborate to compete in a new way and get everyone in the game.
5. Value risk-taking. Convert a "no" climate into a "yes" climate. Invest in opportunity-making, not just problem-solving. Tap into the creative talent, technology and energy for your community. Challenge conventional wisdom.
6. Be authentic. Identify the value you add and focus on those assets where you can be unique. Dare to be different, not simply the look-alike of another community. Resist monoculture and homogeneity. Every community can be the right community.
7. Invest in and build on quality of place. While inherited features such as climate, natural resources and population are important, other critical features such as arts and culture, open and green spaces, vibrant downtowns, and centers of learning can be built and strengthened. This will make communities more competitive than ever because it will create more opportunities than ever for ideas to have an impact.
8. Remove barriers to creativity, such as mediocrity, intolerance, disconnectedness, sprawl, poverty, bad schools, exclusivity, and social and environmental degradation.
9. Take responsibility for change in your community. Improvise. Make things happen. Development is a "do it yourself" enterprise.
10. Ensure that every person, especially children, has the right to creativity. The highest quality lifelong education is critical to developing and retaining creative individuals as a resource for communities.

The above standing enumeration of pre-conditions and characteristics has some similarities with the Memphis Manifesto - which is highlighted in the adjoining textbox - that was formulated after a gathering of 100 creative class members in Fort Wayne, Memphis TN. This list however, suggests that it is easy for urban managers to turn their city into a creative city as long as they take the advices it contains. The main thing to do is remove some barriers to creativity (create tolerant and diverse environments) It should not raise eyebrows that this 'manifesto' – based on the theories of Florida – led to various critiques, either from the right or left side of the political spectrum about the actual usefulness and practicability of such a checklist. Moreover, in fact, I must admit that an average city could not 'tick off' all the principles in this checklist in a hundred years. Take for instance principle 8. The advice is: *Remove barriers to creativity, such as mediocrity, intolerance, disconnectedness, sprawl, poverty, bad schools, exclusivity, and social and environmental degradation.* This suggests that urban managers could remove long-lasting urban problems such as poverty and social

degradation with a snap of their fingers. If it was really that simple, urban problems wouldn't exist in the first place, but this is not quite the case. The same critique could be given for almost every principle. Another example is principle 4: *'Nurture the creatives. Support the connectors. Collaborate to compete in a new way and get everyone in the game.'* This sounds like an excellent long-term pursuit, but hardly something that could be placed into a 2008-2015 urban strategy plan.

Despite the fact that creative city theories seem to hold some unmistakably useful elements, the formulation of a workable and feasible creative city checklist seems impossible. This is mainly because such a checklist suggests a top down implementation, a team of city planners and urban managers who check off principle after principle and come closer with each step to their desired creative city utopia. To that respect, one could argue, that Richard Florida isn't quite practicing what he preaches. On the one hand he's drawing on the statement of Jane Jacobs that creative cities are made by the creative capacities of the people in the city and could therefore not be planned from scratch. On the other hand, he and his 'team' are able to offer a complete checklist for urban managers to turn their city into a creative one. This seems a bit conflicting to me.

One of the pre-assumptions – or hypothesises - in this research is that the establishment of a creative city is a more organic and spontaneous – but long-lasting - process, not something that could be forced by strategic policy plans. A harmonisation between policy-makers who are aware of pre-conditions, characteristics and urban dynamics) and creatives who partly shape the image of the city and find their initiatives supported by local authorities, and last but not least, patience will succeed rather than a top-down hit-or-miss implementation of art galleries, latte bars, bike paths and music halls in order to satisfy the – in some cases absent - creative class.

2.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I tried to bring more clarity to concepts such as creative industry, creative class and creative city, in order to reduce the chance that these concepts are used for a wide variety of means and purposes. Despite the fact that definitions were already given by a variety of authors, I felt not very confident with the fact that - for instance - the creative class was regarded as such a large group of people. I tried to connect the creative class with people who are active in the creative industry – roughly the creative core - and who are actively shaping, defining and changing the image of a particular city. In my opinion these are not software programmers or business managers. These are designers, architects, artists,

musicians, journalists, actors and novelists. These people actually make their mark on the city centre. Because of limiting the creative class to a group of people who are capable of changing and shaping the character of the urban environment also adds a geographical touch to this concept. It's about a group of people that prefer a certain environment or geographical setting and in the mean time define, shape, and change this environment.
The pre-conditions and characteristics of this environment are discussed in paragraph 2.3. The understanding of this pre-conditions and the list that resulted from these understanding has its base in either the literatures of Florida, Landry, Hartley etc. and either interviews I held with people who are involved with creative city development, either from the policy or the practice side. I don't want to entitle my list of pre-conditions and characteristics as a 'checklist' because that would suggest an 'easy to use' manual for urban managers, an often heard critique regarding the 'Memphis Manifesto'. It just is what it is; an overview of pre-conditions or characteristics, without the assumption that these characteristics could be allocated by means of good policy-making.

Studying the rich amount of creative city theories – and talking to members of the creative class (which I refer to later in this thesis) - strengthened the notion that it is difficult to 'steer' the creative core. The formulation of a good policy plan – and a gradually implementation of it - would therefore not be feasible. Such a plan could arguably not hold up to the dynamics 'on street-level'. Therefore, one could plead for the transformation from the construction of strict 'plans' for creative development into a more loose attitude *towards* creative development that gives sufficient space for unforeseen dynamics – whether or not from the 'bottom-layer'- to occur.
I'm aware of the fact that this would suggest a behavioural change for many local authorities who more and more lay down their policies into policy-plans that are bound to tight targets and time-schedules.
In the next chapter(s), I will discuss initiatives – as well from the top / policy-side (local authorities, housing corporations, real estate developers) as the bottom (creative entrepreneurs, artists, everybody inside 'the super creative core') regarding the development towards a creative city in the four investigated cities starting with an introductory part about the ongoing 'changes in policy-land'

3 Creative city planning in Dutch cities

3.1 Introduction

As stated in the introduction chapter, in this research, the focus shall lie on the cities Eindhoven, Almere, Dordrecht and Tilburg. This selection is not wholly arbitrary, but was made because of the fact that in all these cities certain strive towards creative city development exists. This is proved from the fact that terms such as the creative industry or the creative class are labelled as value-laden concepts and - and the attracting of them as future goals - in recent policy plans and research reports regarding these cities.
It would hardly be a surprise that the appearance of 'The Rise of the Creative Class' had gained some momentum in Dutch cities. Florida actually came to speak in several Dutch cities in the wake of his book and his words were well received by urban managers and 'creative entrepreneurs'. Many people who were involved - especially the members of the creative class themselves were however aware of the fact that Florida put a development into words they were already familiar with; the growing importance of the creative industry.

What was new was the increased attention from the side of local authorities and urban managers. In the middle of – what is often called – a 'creative hype', every city councillor in the Netherlands is searching for ways to turn his/her city into a creative city.[7] (Franke en Verhagen, 2005)
On the one hand, this renewed attention to the value of the creative industry that local authorities display could have some advantages for especially starters in the creative sector who benefit from the allocation of subsidies and workspace. On the other hand, the interference from local authorities in the creative sphere could arguably lead to overregulation and rash decisions.
However, the assumption that creativity in the city is something that could at least be stimulated by means of policy became prominent in several Dutch municipalities.
In this chapter, I will focus on the past, present and future-planned policies regarding the creative city in the four investigated Dutch cities, starting with Eindhoven. The focus, however, shall not only lie on the policy side, but also on the practice side. This is because it

[7] I personally do not think that this holds for actually every city councillor in the Netherlands, because my research led me to believe that many urban managers – especially those from historical cities– were not very enthusiastic about the formulation of 'creative city policies' for their cities.

is - the central questions in mind - important to know how the practice side (the creative-core) stands towards policies that must stimulate, foster, or support creativity in the city.

3.2 Eindhoven

3.2.1 Introduction

Eindhoven is a city with about 200.000 inhabitants, situated in the southern part of The Netherlands. Eindhoven could grow as a city because of the fact that Philips builds its first factories at the end of the 19th century nearby the present city centre.
In the 20th century, Philips grew very quick to become one of the largest electronic companies in the world, and Eindhoven became the fifth city of the Netherlands.
The continuous growth of Philips leads to an enormous expansion of factory buildings and offices in Eindhoven, especially in the first half of the 20th century.
In the 1980's and 1990's, the fabrication of electronic products was outsourced to low-wage countries, especially in Asia. This lead to a growing number of empty factory-buildings, most of them build in the first decades of the 20th century.

In Eindhoven, since around the second half of the 1990's increased attention was paid to the industrial heritage, which consisted of empty factory buildings that belonged to Philips. These buildings were actually 'saved' from demolishing because of a renewed awareness of their historical value. At the time, Eindhoven was suffering from some sort of image problem. The city that was almost entirely built around the expansion of Philips in the 20th century became uprooted when the same company decided to outsource its manufacturing activities to low-wage countries. Count to that the huge redundancy of jobs in the R&D sector in the early to mid 1990's and the departure of the head quarter to Amsterdam and the 'identity crisis' of Eindhoven is complete. Eindhoven, which once was a flourishing industrial city, was facing the decline of manufacturing – and consequently empty factory buildings - and the loss of jobs, just like many industrial cities in Western Europe did in the 1980's and 1990's.

3.2.2 Towards a 'creative policy'?

In the 1990's, encouraging examples of successful restructuring came from (Northern) British cities such as Manchester, Birmingham or Glasgow ; cities with a rich industrial past who suffered serious decline of their industries with social-economic problems and deterioration of the built environment (especially near vacant factory grounds) as a result. In the wake of this crisis, other interpretations were sought for the existing industrial heritage

and answers were found in the emerging creative industry. It appeared that the people who were active in this creative industry often had some sort of predilection for old factory buildings, and some of them (especially artists) already found cheap ateliers in them. Factories and warehouses also became very popular places for the emerging 'house movement'. (Which sometimes led to critical reactions from the side of conservative politicians, mostly because of induced narcotics?) Urban managers - desperate as they were for new ways to revitalise their decaying cities - were beginning to see some potential in the industrial heritage, and the rest - at least regarding cities such as Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow who became cultural and creative hotspots in the 1990's- is history. (a.o Uncover, Colin)

Urban managers in Eindhoven were aware of the developments in Great Britain and the possibilities for successful restructuring of some of the old Philips buildings slowly filtered through in policy plans.

In the 1990's, initiatives were made to give a former 'lighting-factory' (De Witte Dame) a new destination. Actually, the first initiative came from a local artist, and regarding this initiative, the Witte Dame had to become a place with ateliers and working-places for artists. However, because of some reasons (possibly reasons that had to do with finance etc.) the actual outcome lacked the desired (at least by Bert Hermes, the initiator) working-spaces and ateliers. After the restructuring was ready in 1995, the 'Witte Dame' became a place for several cultural, artistic and educational institutes such as an art centre, the design academy and the public library.[8] (www.dewittedame.nl)



Figure 2: de Witte Dame , Eindhoven

[8] This was before either 'The Rise of the Creative Class' or 'The Creative City' came out.

Inspired by this successful recreation of industrial heritage, city planners were looking for new ideas and initiatives and found them in and around other empty Philips buildings, such as the 'Lichttoren' and a large factory ground (of course also former Philips) called Strijp-S.
At the beginning of the new millennium both the Rise of the Creative Class and The Creative City came out. These two books described – to a large degree – a development that was actually going on in Eindhoven, but off course, also in many other former industrial cities in Western Europe. Urban planners in Eindhoven may have felt that they were 'on the right way' when it appeared to be the case that both books – though especially Florida's – became huge influences for local authorities and city planners across the (Western) world.
Organisations specialised in research about the creative industry such as ALICE were started. This organisation published 'The Creative DNA of Eindhoven Region' in the beginning of 2003. That was just after 'The Rise of the Creative Class' came out; however, the particular research started back in 2001.
In 2004, the municipality of Eindhoven published the policy plan 'Eindhoven Innovative City of Culture' in 2004 in which Richard Florida was cited explicitly.
The writers of this document characterize Eindhoven as a city whose typifying qualities were technology, innovation and art/culture. The main goal was to connect these qualities in order to make Eindhoven a more flourishing city at all levels.

3.2.3 'Creative city planning in Eindhoven' – Strijp-S

Strijp-S is situated west of the city centre in the district Strijp and exists of a large area of factory buildings; all of them empty and out of usage.
Strijp-S is one of the 'hubs' in the 'Sleutelproject Westcorridor', an integral plan that was approved in 1992, with the purpose to achieve a quality-boost in order to offer a internationally competitive establishment climate. In this plan, Philips Strijp-S was mentioned for the first time; Philips was however, the owner at that time.
In the year 2000, when the complex was still under the ownership of Philips, the first discussions were held – from the side of the municipality, housing corporations and real estate developers – about a possible new destination of the Strijp-S complex. In 2002, Strijp-S was sold for a 'symbolic amount' to 'Park Strijp Beheer', which consists of Volker Wessels (a national real estate developer) and the municipality of Eindhoven. (www.strijp-s.nl)

In 2004, the - earlier mentioned - report 'Eindhoven Innovative City of Culture' was determined. In this report, an important role was assigned for Strijp-S in the form of a future view that sees Strijp-S as a new city district with a prominent role for 'arts' and 'culture' – not only for established institutions, but also for 'starters' in the arts and creative industries. The opinion letter (adviesnota) about the approach regarding arts and culture in the Strijp-S plan discussed the 'struggle' urban managers encounter when they must translate a cultural future view/vision into a clear policy plan. This report emphasizes the need for the formulation of 'SMART-goals' *(Specific, Measurable, Achieved, Reasonable, Timely)* and does a good attempt at the formulation of twelve future-goals in the cultural sphere that were formulated after a brainstorm-session with local authorities, policy-makers and urban managers. These future-goals consist (among others) of the realisation of ateliers and working-spaces for artists and starting entrepreneurs in design, the establishment of a more experimental 'dependence' from the well-known 'Van Abbe Museum of Modern Art', art and design in the public space, rehearsal-studios for musicians, spaces for urban sports such as skateboarding and BMX and business complexes for art and culture, added with mixed work/living-spaces. (DSO / Boidin, 2007)
Besides the aimed establishment of these cultural / artistic institutions, living and as a consequence, the establishment of houses and apartments has a prominent function in Strijp-S, with almost 3.000 houses planned. Further, many shops (in all kinds of categories) should arise and the area should become a place with many restaurants, bars and terraces.

It could be stated that Strijp-S is a project that is has to a large degree 'invented' from above, and is characterized by a co-operation between the municipality of Eindhoven, real estate developer Volker Wessels and housing corporations Trudo and Woonbedrijf, added with several cultural institutions, such as the van Abbe Museum of Modern Art.
The project is ambitiously called 'The Creative City', and it aims to attract people who value living, working and relaxing in dynamic 'high-urban environments', people who could be to a large degree typified as belonging to the creative class. (Either in the broader definition of Richard Florida, or in the more narrow definition I came up with.)

When constructing the plans for Strijp-S, urban planners / managers were aware of theories about the pre-conditions a city should meet in order to become 'a creative city'. In '*De magie van de meesterlijke mix – Een integrale inhoudelijke visie op Strijp-S*' urban policy-maker Ton van Gool discussed the three T's of Richard Florida and applied them to Eindhoven. He stated that Eindhoven obviously meets all three T's. First, Eindhoven is leading in technology. Van Gool remarks that technology is just an instrument, a mode of

production and only becomes visible and useful as it is linked with products, services and content. Therefore, technology is in fact something that is 'pre-given' in Eindhoven, the value of this technology depends on its usefulness.

Secondly, Eindhoven could be typified as a tolerant city. Van Gool states that since long ago, people from Eindhoven have been familiar to employees from countries all over the world that came to work for Philips. Further, Eindhoven has always been remarkably tolerant towards the gay- and women's movement and has always been on the front of embracing (sub) cultures like the punk, hip-hop- and skate-culture. At last, he argues that there would be no single PSV[9]-fan who finds the presence of only a few 'real Dutchmen' problematic.

Third, van Gool states that Eindhoven has a lot of talent. Upcoming students from all over the Netherlands come to Eindhoven to study on the Technical University or Design Academy.

PSV contract talents from all over the world, which flow through to more 'wealthy' European teams. Further, Philips Design recruits design-talents from the Netherlands and abroad and many – now famous – artists, comedians and musicians have their roots in Eindhoven.

According to Ton van Gool, Strijp-S should profile itself as an area where Eindhoven could fully show and develop as a 'city of talents'. (DSO/van Gool, 2007)

Further, he sees Eindhoven as 'a transit city' for talent. Eindhoven is no Rotterdam, Berlin or Barcelona when it comes to design and the arts and must not want to be such a city. Positive sides of a transit city are the continuous stream of new energy, new input and new ideas. Strijp-S could give a meaning to the 'transit city' concept. Being a transit city is, according to van Gool, not a bad characteristic. It is more of a realistic approach that could be some sort of counterbalance to an exaggerated ambition of wanting to be in the same league as New York or Barcelona. The most successful designers will move out of Eindhoven after a while to more metropolitan and cosmopolitan cities such as the above mentioned, to make place for new, promising talent with exciting ideas. In the words of van Gool it is the upcoming talent (with an urge for experiment) rather than the established names that makes a dazzling city climate. (van Gool, 2007)

Strijp-S must furthermore become a hotspot for 'sustainable innovation', with innovative ideas in the sphere of arts, culture, living, shopping, the design of public space, the implementation of welfare facilities, the use of materials etc.

[9] Main soccerclub from Eindhoven

Strijp-S posits itself clearly towards the city-centre of Eindhoven. When the city-centre characterises itself with a more 'classic mix' of shopping, living and recreation, Strijp-S must distinguishes itself with the development of a more adventurous and experimental mix of functions.
At last, Strijp-S has clear connections with the Eindhoven Brainport concept in which the Eindhoven-region is considered as knowledge-intensive and therefore an important place of settlement for a wide variety of companies, also in branches that could be placed under the creative industry such as architecture and design. (DSO, van Gool, 2007)



Figure 3: Strijp-S Complex (Woonbedrijf 2007)



Figure 4: Strijp-S, Future Vision (www.skyscrapercity.com)

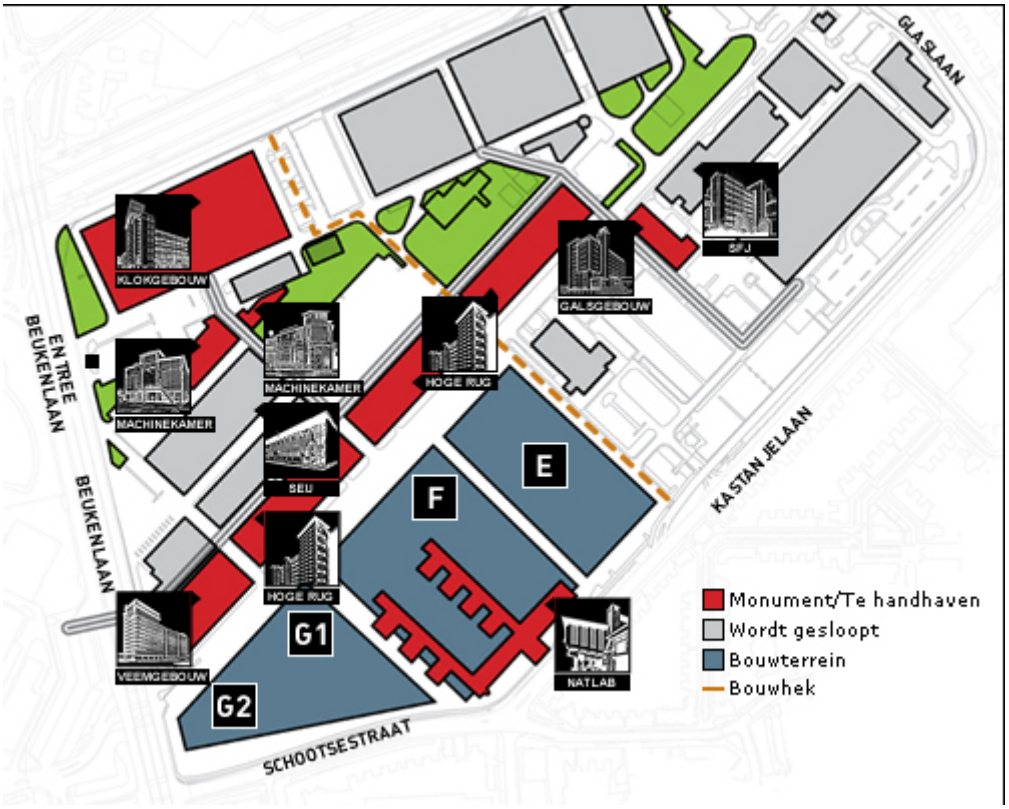


Figure 5: Map of Strijp-S (Treffers, 2008)

3.2.4 Viktoriakwartier – A more 'intimate' approach to 'creative urban planning'?

The Viktoriakwartier lays closer to the city centre and has a smaller surface than Strijp-S.
Important spot in the Viktoriakwartier is TAC (Temporary Art Centre) that functions as a breeding ground for young artists and creative entrepreneurs. The history of TAC goes back to 1999 (Treffers, 2008) and TAC is situated in a building that used to be a store and magazine for Philips employees. (Philips employee shop, now situated in the PSV stadium)
TAC was also a provisional/temporary place for the Van Abbe museum; an internationally known modern arts museum, that used this space periodically because of restructuring.
Next to TAC stands the Ventoseflat (1927), a monument for implementation of the 'Amsterdamse School' style in Eindhoven. Inside the Ventoseflat, besides housing accommodation, one could find ateliers and art/design-shops.
These two spots make up the core of ideas and plans towards the establishment of a 'small piece of creative city' that is stuck between the shopping area, and the PSV-stadium. The first plans about for the restructuring of the Viktoriakwartier were developed in 2005.
In that year 'Woonbedrijf' (a housing corporation), municipality of Eindhoven, TAC and 'vereniging Ventoseflat' came together to construct future-plans for a new 'creative' district in Eindhoven. The strength of the Viktoriakwartier must lie in the combination between living, working, experience of culture and leisure activities, all captivated in some sort of alternate city-heart. The Viktoriakwartier should become a place with a distinctive cultural character. The area should invite people to meet each other and to exchange (creative) ideas.
The aimed target-group for the Viktoriakwartier consists of people with an urban lifestyle (tolerant, dynamic, multicoloured and culture-minded)
In order to get common goals and visions 'sharper', the project-based organisation from the Viktoriakwartier undertook a trip to Birmingham and Manchester (UK) for inspiration.[10]
The development of the Viktoriakwartier suits into the 'Stadsvisie Westcorridor' that dates from the mid 1990's and that described a westward development in Eindhoven, beginning with the Witte Dame and the realisation of two high apartments buildings (Regent en Admirant) and 'ending' with the realisation of the earlier mentioned Strijp-S.

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[10] Birmingham and Manchester are cities with a long history of industrialization (starting early in the 19th century)
This industrialization was followed by either the vanishing of some manufacturing industries or the massive outflow of labour to low-wage countries in the 20th century and therefore to widespread vacancy of former factory grounds. The abundant presence of industrial heritage has found a new destination in the creative industry since the 1990's. This has led to the development of successful new urban identities in both cities.

Fulco Treffers from 12N STDNBW stated in the development vision for the Viktoriakwartier that a lively neighbourhood rarely arises through implementations of planners and policy-makers. The people who discover and 'conquer' the neighbourhood are the ones who shape it and are eventually responsible for the liveliness of it. The extent to which the creative development of the Viktoriakwartier can be effected by policy is an ongoing tension here.

Besides this –arguably– correct remarks about the tension between 'manipulability' and 'spontaneous development', the development vision of the Viktoriakwartier gives some future objectives for the area.. First, TAC will be the cultural 'motor' in the Viktoriakwartier, this place has an important influence on the potential of the Viktoriakwartier, it gives an innovative, cultural and creative identity to the area. (12N, Woonbedrijf)

In the (near) future, TAC will not transform into a 'classy' art centre with expensive ateliers, but it should stay a provisional, elementary, raw and low-priced place for starting 'creatives'. Therefore, TAC would function as a permanent location for the creative bottom-layer, the 'rafelrand'. This does not mean that TAC would be an isolated 'underground enclave'. The 'creatives' that work inside TAC will always seek connections within the broader world of arts and cultures as well as connections with the business world and public sector, at least that's what is says in the development vision.

Further, the Viktoriakwartier should have a clustering of cultural facilities that implicates that besides TAC, other cultural facilities/institutions should find their place in the Viktoriakwartier. Film- and theatre centre 'Plaza Futura' could be an interesting addition to the Viktoriakwartier – and its arrival is welcomed - but there are several alternatives.

Besides this, there is a growing demand for workspace in the creative industry.

The Viktoriakwartier should distinguish itself by providing this workspace to starting creative entrepreneurs. Treffers remarks in the development vision that Eindhoven characterizes itself by an inflow of (creative) talent from the Technical University and the Design Academy. The Viktoriakwartier could provide the creative talent the open, tolerant, diverse and cultural atmosphere and of course, the affordable and attractive workspace they desire. Further, the Viktoriakwartier should be a place where starters and more established companies could strengthen each other. The development of networks between creatives is an important future-goal for the Viktoriakwartier.

When it comes to living, the apartments/houses for small households in the lower-rent section are the principle. The apartments must attract young people who feel at home in a creative neighbourhood. Outflow is not necessarily a bad thing, just as it is not a bad thing in TAC.

At this very moment, the area has hardly –except the Ventoseflat – a function for living. This means that the dynamics in this sphere should arise and develop in the next years; in concrete this means substantial urban renewal, because new houses and apartments must be build. Because affordable housing/workspace for a specific group of (creative) people is one of the principles of the Viktoriakwartier-plan, a solution could be found for the shortage of these elements in the city centre.

Concerning the supply of shops in the Viktoriakwartier, not surprisingly, chainstores must be avoided and specialized shops, particularly when they have connections / crossovers with the creative industry must be attracted. When it comes to 'horeca', uniqueness (not another snackbar or fastfoodrestaurant) must be fostered. Furthermore, the 'horeca' in Viktoriakwartier should be the exquisite place for encounters between creative people and the exchange of ideas.

The development vision for the Viktoriakwartier treats some more subjects such as parking, design of public spaces, dealing with (outside) events and so on. The most important, coordinating goal is to 'create' a neighbourhood with a distinguished, creative character. The people in the Viktoriakwartier should shape the neighbourhood, but a right framework could be created by the provision of for instance suitable working and living space and the design of public space and buildings.

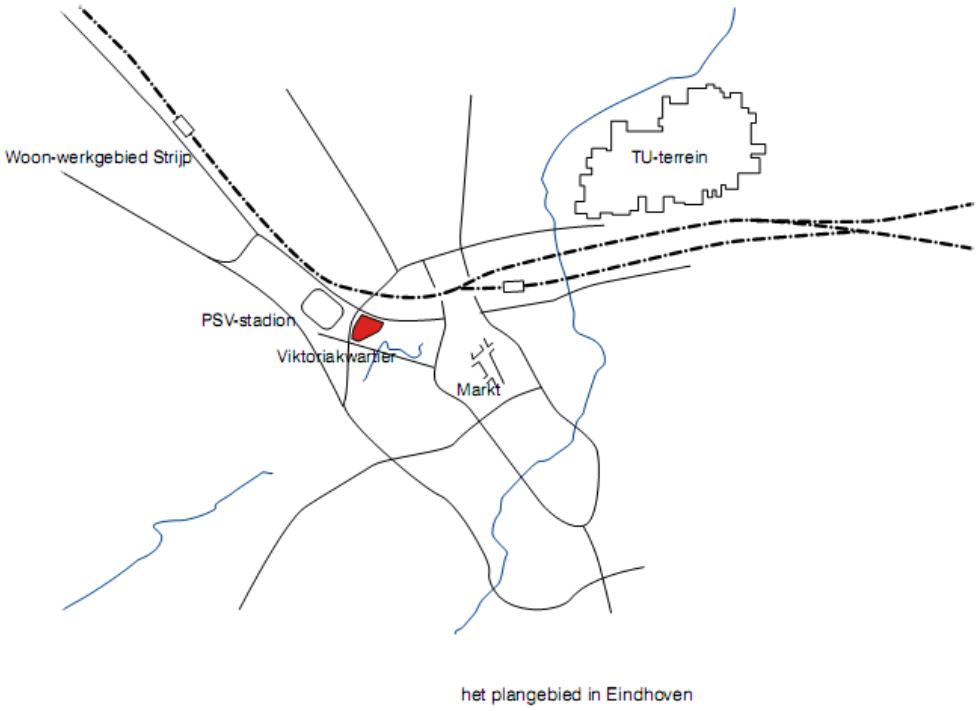


Figure 6: Rough map of Eindhoven with location of Viktoriakwartier and Strijp-S (woon- werkgebied Strijp)

3.2.5 A creative's viewpoint

Above, two projects in Eindhoven are discussed, were the aim towards the development of a creative city becomes prominent in policy-plans and development visions. The plans and notions for either Strijp-S or the Viktoriakwartier, lay emphasis on the people who ought to make the desired creative climate, the widely discussed creative class, which I delimited to people who belong to the creative core. These are the people projects such as Strijp-S and Viktoriakwartier aiming for in their plans. I spoke to several creatives in the investigated cities in order to create an image of the way they consider their role, and the role of local authorities regarding the creative city.

When speaking with creatives in Eindhoven, it becomes apparent that unless the fact local authorities in Eindhoven emphasize the value of workspace and accommodation for the emerging creative class, the need for affordable spaces for 'creative starters' (considered as the boosting group for the creative industry) in the city-centre is somewhat neglected. Treffers wrote the concept proposal 'Eindhoven Arts Campus' about the need for atelier-space for creatives in Eindhoven. In this document he stated that there exist a growing demand for cheap workspace for mainly autonomous artists who can't afford the hires (for instance) commercial designers pay. He further stated that in Eindhoven, there exists a large amount of square meters that could possible be used for temporary or permanent workspace. The local government should acknowledge this need and not only concentrate its policy to design and multi-media, creative branches, which usually involve more money. (Treffers, 2006)

The development of Strijp-S for instance concerns a certain amount of workspaces and ateliers for creatives but there exists dissatisfaction with the high rents and the supposed 'sameness' in the area.

Creatives in Eindhoven have their doubts about the feasibility of planned hotbeds such as Strijp-S. There is some resistance towards a commoditization of creativity. For instance, designers Bas van Raay and Djim Berger who found workspace in a vacant church that is under the property of Woonbedrijf value the freedom to work and live at places they desire, without to much restrictions and laws. They are afraid that they will lose their identity because of working in a large building with many other designers.

'*When you're together in a building that is 'steered' by one 'organ', you all have the same identity. With 'real breeding grounds' such as a church, an old garage or an empty office building you could create your own identity and you could look at possibilities to make yourself known with that place as an operating base. Working at Strijp-S is like living in a new suburb, and if you want to think freely, you need some sort of freedom*' (Berger, 2008)

The fear of losing a certain creative identity also exists in the case of the Viktoriakwartier that is usually regarded as a more bottom-up approach of creative city building.

'*When TAC becomes the center of a whole new urban development policy, things will change. When the area becomes more of a place for living, spontaneous meetings and parties will become more bound by rules. The area now has a distinctive character; it doesn't have to change for me*' (van Raay, 2008)

The 'creatives' I spoke to in Eindhoven also strongly emphasize the value of experimentation and the 'crippling' effect of rules and laws. Creatives need a tolerant and loose environment. There must be opportunities for spontaneous parties and performances without the police arriving to put it to an end. They need the freedom to fix up they're workspace in a way they desire, they often loathe homogeneity, tidiness and parochialism.

'*In Strijp-S, you would have everything arranged for you when you rent workspace, but maybe people don't want that, maybe they want their own, distinctive place; a ceiling that's partly open, a purple window, just a little bit rough*' (Berger, 2008)

Treffers disputes the often prevailing notion – although from the side of creatives – that restructuring plans for Strijp-S and the Viktoriakwartier didn't leave room for experiment. However, for creatives, it is a matter of speaking out their ideas at a rather early stage in order to claim their space. Furthermore, it should be, according to Treffers, the combination of parties that are involved with either Strip-S, or the Viktoriakwartier to make sure that preconditions (such as enough room for initiatives to develop) are warranted.

The idea rises that many creatives in Eindhoven value some sort of edginess when it comes to their working environments. These kinds of environments seem to be sufficiently available in Eindhoven at the moment, very often with thanks to sympathetic housing corporations, which I refer to later. The reason why creatives in Eindhoven are looking for some degree of edginess could be the fact that they regard themselves mainly as non-

commercial and autonomous. This however, does not imply that links with other segments are not sought. TAC for instance is always searching for links with the more traditional business world; the support however is quite weak. (Treffers, 2008)
The fact that networks with commercial parties are not easily established could lead to a more inward-looking attitude. Hesitation towards collaboration with commercial parties could emerge, often because of the fear of losing ones identity or becoming a sell-out. Commercial parties on the other hand, see no benefit in working with creatives whose ideas may be original or innovative but are too abstract to produce economic value.
With this in mind, it is not surprising that networks within the creative core are much more common than networks between creatives and the 'external world'. These networks characterize themselves by a high degree of informality. For example, creatives value meeting each other in cafes or 'clubs' more than meeting each other in a more formal setting. (Alice, 2003)

According to the creatives I spoke to, the earlier mentioned edginess is hard to find in the Eindhoven nightlife scene. Eindhoven nightlife seems to lack diversity and originality. Creatives very often organise their own parties and festivities. Artist Luk Sponselee states that the lack of interesting nightlife facilities in Eindhoven is very often a point of complaining from the side of creatives.

The creatives in Eindhoven stress the need for people at the policy-side who operate with 'one leg' in the practice-side, who are aware of existing initiatives and recognize the need for affordable space and the value of experimentation.

'*Because of the fact we didn't receive structural subsidies, we were absent in the municipal database, and that's a bad thing. When you are a municipality, you need to have an overview. You must know what is happing in the city on a cultural level. You must know that their also are private initiatives. Local authorities should anticipate at dynamics that happen in a society. Vacant buildings should therefore be made available for creatives, but the involvement of local authorities should stay between certain scopes*' (Sponselee, 2008)

'*Policy-makers and 'creatives' don't have to live in separated worlds. When someone enthusiastic is in control, someone who knows what he or she is talking about, and someone who has experience in creating good spaces, that will be good. It has to be someone that knows how to deal with government interests but also thinks about creative people*' (Berger, 2008)

When creatives have some critiques regarding the policies and attitudes from the government of Eindhoven towards creativity in the city, a more positive voice is heard about the role that Woonbedrijf plays. It seems to be the case that Woonbedrijf is an absolute believer in the positive influence breeding grounds could have, not only on the creative climate in the city, but also on the surrounding neighbourhood. Woonbedrijf functions as an important facilitator of creatives because of the allocation of workspace. Whether there is not much interaction with the local government, Woonbedrijf functions as some sort of mediator between the government and the creatives. The municipality approached Woonbedrijf when there was need for affordable workspace. Maintaining contacts with creatives in Eindhoven is also more a 'task' of the housing corporation. The perception exists that the municipality is mostly concerned with Strijp-S in terms of policy and interference, and 'outsources' the concern for creative breeding grounds in other parts of the city to housing corporations.

3.2.6 Concluding remarks

What raises attention in Eindhoven, is the fact that emphasis is largely laid on Strijp-S when it comes to the support and fostering of the creative industry in Eindhoven. The slogan is: 'Strijp-S, Creative City", not 'Eindhoven, Creative City'. This focus on Strijp-S from the policy-side implies that attention for other creative initiatives across the city is lacking and this is indeed a point of critique from the side of creatives in Eindhoven. It seems to be the case that policies in the sphere of culture and creativity for other parts of the city (centre) are very much concentrated on big, established institutes such as van Abbe museum, Effenaar (pop centre) and Plaza Futura.

Regarding Strijp-S, it could be stated that there are some disturbances between policy-makers and creatives. Strijp-S, which ought to be the 'showpiece' of creative city planning in Eindhoven, raised serious doubts with young creatives that are mostly looking for affordable workspace and a distinctive environment. They find their affordable workspaces and unique environments in empty churches, schools, garages and office buildings scattered through Eindhoven. A number of these buildings are property of Woonbedrijf that allocates

them to creatives who only pay for their energy consumption. TAC is also a good example of a low-budget breeding ground, where creatives pay minimum prices. Even when the area around TAC (Viktoriawartier) is restructured, TAC should still hold its breeding ground appearance. According to policy-makers who are involved with the creative industry in Eindhoven, these breeding grounds could serve as a steppingstone for Strijp-S. This draws on the notion that when creatives from breeding grounds such as TAC grew more successful, they will settle in Strijp-S. It is however, with the above standing in mind, the question if the concerned creatives share this notion. Creatives in Eindhoven are mostly looking for affordable and diverse places, where experiments are possible and not to many laws and restrictions prevail and many of them don't regard Strijp-S as such a place.

It is possible that a (wider) gap emerges between the creative bottom-layer that keeps concentrating itself in breeding grounds in 'rafelrand' areas and more established and commercial activities that will become concentrated in Strijp-S, just because a necessary connection between commercial parties and the creative bottom-layer is missing. If this will happen, collaborations between creatives and commercial parties will remain scarce, creatives will be more inward looking than required for a successful creative industry to emerge. Further, what may be lacking are good network organisations for creative people. Creatives very often meet each other at exhibitions and other events, but aren't united in some sort of organisation that is involved with the concerns (either with respect to content or on a juridical scale) of creatives. Then, future doubts could be raised regarding the creative development of Strijp-S, when creative pioneers are left out of this area and only the established and wealthy cultural and artistic initiatives will settle in this area.

3.3 Almere

3.3.1 Introduction

The city of Almere could be typified as a typical 'new town.'[11] Build on impoldered land, this city is not more than three decades old. First started as some sort of an 'expansion' for working Amsterdam citizens, it developed more and more as a town in its own right with a wide array of services and a local economy. With more than 180.000 inhabitants, the city is

[11] New Towns are those human settlements that were founded at a certain moment in history by an explicit act of will, according to a preceding plan and aiming to survive as a self-sustaining local community and independent local government, able to play a role in the ongoing development of the region in which the new town is located (www.newtowninstitute.org)

in rank with the ten largest cities of the Netherlands, with lots of spatial possibilities to grow much larger, until 350.000 inhabitants in the next decades. Almere was – from day one – mostly seen as an archetypical commuter town. The city provided space for they who want to escape the overcrowded Randstad. Amsterdam and Utrecht were close by, so there was no real need for an own identity, it be on economic, cultural or social level.
Almere was mostly invented on office desks, following the strict rules for urban planning that prevailed in the 1970's. In the Netherlands there are many examples of this planned cities such as Zoetermeer, Lelystad and Hoofddorp, the last two also build on impoldered land.
Examples of this sort (fixed, tightened, well-organized and sober) of city planning could also be seen in almost every city in the Netherlands. (Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam, Tilburg-Noord, Nijmegen Dukenburg, Woensel Eindhoven etc.)
These places are usually not the ones who come directly in mind when hearing the term creative city. Almere is a commuter town without important knowledge institutes or an exciting nightlife. It's not a town that attracts creative talent and because there are is no design academy or university; there would be hardly any talent anyhow. Almere would simply not be the exquisite place for creative city planning. Despite these rather unfavourable pre-conditions, local authorities and housing corporations began to see some potential for the creative development in certain parts of Almere. The embeddedness of these dynamics however, seems to be quite weak in policy. Clear policy-plans about creative development in Almere are absent. Despite this reservedness, it looks like at least a certain strive towards creative city development is going on.

When speaking about Almere in this paragraph, a distinction is made between Almere-Stad and Almere-Haven. Both are parts of the bigger municipality of Almere. Almere-Stad is the part of Almere where most facilities and institutions are present, and could be typified as the city centre of Almere. The area is known for its modern and distinctive architecture. Almere-Haven is situated near the water and distinguishes itself from the rest of Almere through a more 'intimate' architecture, which is reminiscent of the ring of canals in Amsterdam. Almere-Stad is much more accessible than Almere-Haven, which is more or less an isolated neighbourhood, rather badly accessible with either car or public transport.

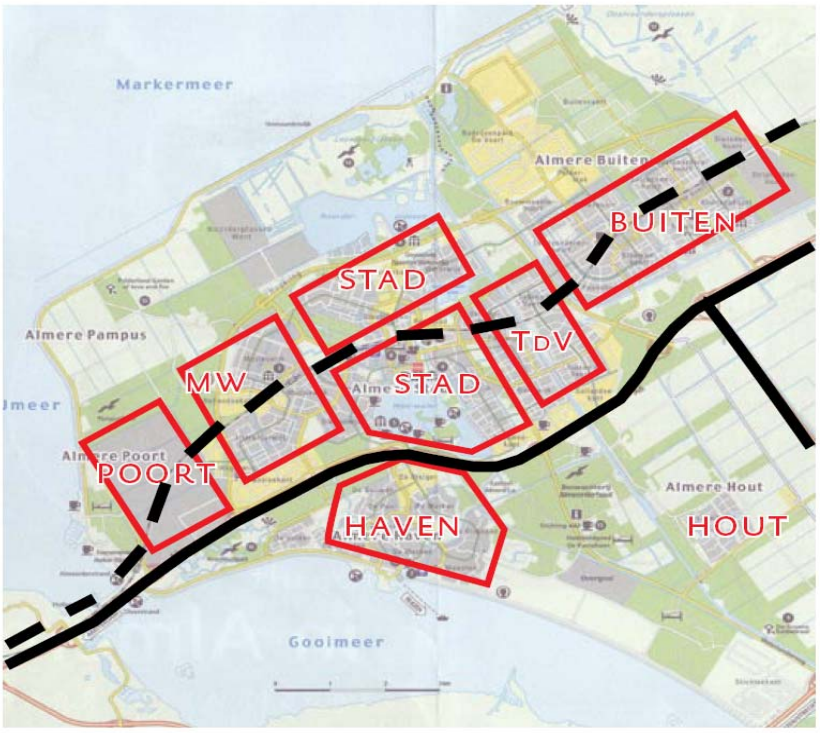


Figure 7: Situation of the city-parts in Almere (www.l2n.nl)

A building that ought to be smashed up is now intended to transform into a breeding ground and should be made available for either creative entrepreneurs who engaged in manufacturing or architects, designers and artists. Because initiatives regarding creative city building seem to be more prominent in Almere-Haven, accent is laid on this part of the city.

3.3.2 Creative city planning in Almere

As earlier stated and in contrast with a city such as Eindhoven, Almere lacks clear policies for creative city planning, policy plans or opinion letters do not exist. This, however, does not mean that the local government does not recognize the value of the presence of creatives in Almere. The municipality supports and facilitates several initiatives by means of subsidies and bringing together different parties. (creatives, corporations, companies and governmental parties)

De Alliantie is an important player because they are willing to allocate a part of their property to creatives. De Alliantie asked 12N and Casla (Centre for Architecture, Urban Development and Landscape) to investigate and 'map' the creative potential in Almere-Haven.

One could read in the following research report that a certain potential for the development of a 'creative hub' exists in Almere-Haven. This is because of the presence of several cultural

/ artistic organizations and the earlier mentioned intimate village-like build environment and infrastructure.

Because it was assumed there was a lack of suitable space for creatives, de Alliantie has laid its hands on an empty office-building in Almere-Haven called 'de Hulk' with the intention to establish a sizeable breeding ground. Besides this 'future breeding ground', in Almere-Haven there is already a concentration of cultural facilities in the form of Corrosia, a multi-functional building where a theatre, CBK Flevoland (Centre for Expressive Arts in Flevoland) and de Alliantie found its place. BG 22-24 is a breeding ground where several cultural and artistic collaborations take place in the form of 'labs'. BG 22-24 is subsidised by the municipality of Almere and the breeding ground is under the property of de Alliantie. In Almere-Stad, a building called 'de Voetnoot' will become vacant; this building could also become a breeding ground if enough initiatives show their interest. It has been said that Almere-Stad is aiming at institutes that now settle in Almere-Haven, such as Corrosia, for the destination of 'de Voetnoot'. These institutes at their turn have showed their interest in Almere-Stad. Thus, it seems to be the case that Almere- Haven has to fear Almere-Stad as a concurrent regarding the attracting of cultural facilities. (Treffers & van Berkum, 2006)

There is some concern about the lack of talent inflow in Almere. Johan Bouwmeester, who works for the municipality of Almere and is involved with social matters states that there are little knowledge institutes in Almere and that the attracting of knowledge institutes is a very ponderous process and depends on 'geopolitical' factors such as (often imagined) social-economic contrasts between new towns such as Almere and 'established' cities such as Amsterdam and Utrecht that could lead to the preconception that there is no basis for knowledge institutes in cities like Almere.

The municipality of Almere is searching for alternative ways to attract higher education by aiming at private knowledge institutes from abroad, such as the International New Town Institute.[12] (Bouwmeester, van Berkum 2008)

A research that had as a goal to 'map' the typifications (in terms of lifestyles) of inhabitants of Almere showed that Almere is a city which varies in a positive way from other cities regarding people with individualistic lifestyles that are directed towards innovation and

[12]The International New Town Institute will be a scientific research institute focusing on new towns all over the world. Research will be done by BA and MA students, PhD students and other research workers. The topics will cover past, present and future of new towns in the world. It aims to deepen insight in the new town phenomenon by studying theory and practice of new town development, the specific conditions and experiences of their initial development and their comparative social strengths and weaknesses as against existing cities and towns. (www.newtowninstitute.org)

discovery. This could indicate a certain urge for undertaking and pioneering. (Bouwmeester, 2008)

Further, according to Bouwmeester, a certain atmosphere is developing in the city centre regarding nightlife and entertainment. There have been considerable investments concerning a number of facilities such as a theatre and a cinema; these investments should pay their selves back in terms of a dazzling city centre between now and ten years. This development could have a positive effect on an emerging creative industry in the area. [One could argue, however, that this desired outcome is highly speculative]

Bouwmeester regards it as a governmentental task to support the formation of creative networks and clusters in the city, but the actual formation of these networks and clusters is not a governmental task, but a task for the creatives themselves.

'*To support networks and a certain magnetism, you must point at locations. In the case of 'de Hulk', maybe you should first accommodate people who are very strong in 'connecting'. Being creative on the one hand, making connections between 'creatives' on the other hand*' (Bouwmeester, 2008)

Their obviously exist some positivism at the policy-side of the creative spectrum about the creative future of Almere. According to Ans van Berkum from Casla and 'de Alliantie' faith is the key. The relative 'underdog-position' of Almere could also be a strength. Van Berkum mentions cities that were Europe Capital of Culture in earlier years such as Lille, Bergen or Liverpool, which also had that 'underdog-position' but grew out to become rather successful names. In 2018, it is the Netherlands' turn to provide the Cultural Capital of Europe and there already have been some initiatives to make sure that Almere will be proclaimed for this role by the Dutch government. (www.almere2018.nl)

Johan Bouwmeester believes that there exists a 4th T from Top-quality. Almere lacks top-quality (either regarding knowledge institutes or the reputation of its city centre) but has many ambitious to change this in the future.

'*What we're doing - and what we already did at certain places – we're going to realize outstanding top-quality in the city centre. That could be rather big projects, projects with the size of the city-heart. We put it on a massive scale, a scale that is never showed before. That's also 'top-quality', a quality that we are strong in. I don't know what kind of effects this will have, but it could be interesting for the stimulation of developments in the economic sphere*' (Bouwmeester, 2008)

3.3.3 A creative's viewpoint

The often prevailing notion that there is not much 'to do' in Almere in terms of nightlife and cultural events is only partly emphasized by creatives. Jolle Roelofs, a creative entrepreneur who was one of the founders of BG-22-24 stresses that it is just the fact that Almere is uncultivated in terms of creativity that provides many possibilities for pioneering 'creatives'.
He states that at first sight, there may be not much to do, but there are many initiatives that are not channelled into the right direction yet.

'*Almere does not have a flourishing cultural live yet, but I notice that my generation is very artistic and creative, just because there was nothing here. Many friends that were raised here went to art schools in other cities. This had led to the development of some sort of 'underflow'. We must take care that this underflow does not move away from Almere, this 'fresh culture' is the quality of Almere.* (Roelofs 2006)[13]

Other people who are active in the cultural and creative sphere discern the presence of young creatives in Almere. Marlous T, member of Trapnotov (centre for youth in Almere-Haven) states that there are…… ''*enough' creatives that could vitalize the city, and what's more interesting, they want to put effort in it; they really want to do something for Almere-Haven.'* (Marlous T. 2006)[14]

Roelofs praises the role of the municipality of Almere and de Alliantie because of their believe in the value that breeding grounds such as BG-22-24 could have for the cultural climate and quality of life on a broader perspective.

'*The municipality of Almere is aware of the lack of 'creative infrastructure' on a smaller scale. That infrastructure is missing and I think they realize that we play an important role in this 'infrastructure building'. That's why they support us.'* (Roelofs, 2008)

BG-22-24 is however, according to Roelofs the only initiative that is left from a couple of initiatives that were supported by the municipality of Almere. Therefore, he has his doubts about the ambitious plans regarding the establishment of a breeding ground in 'de Hulk'. He thinks that 'Almere' often makes the mistake for being too ambitious. The purpose of de

[13] This quotation is placed in 'Almere-Haven: Creative Space' (12N & Casla, 2006)
[14] ibid.

Hulk is to attract creative entrepreneurs, either on a professional or less professional level. The future aim of this breeding ground must always be a successful connection between creativity, culture and economic value. When the aimed initiatives are missing, there could be a situation that a group of amateur 'clay-modellers' applies for affordable space.

> '*When there is enough supply, you could filter out the most promising initiatives, when there isn't enough supply you end with up the 'clay modellers', and it's fine when that sort of initiatives get a chance, but that isn't the objective of this breeding ground*'. (Jolle Roelofs, 2008)

Roelofs thinks that if 'creative city building' must start with the facilitation and support of small initiatives from the bottom.

> [About 'de Hulk'] '*It is too idealistic that a building of this size could be 'filled' with creatives. Stimulating culture is a good thing, but then, stimulate it and do not try to get everything done. It has to grow from the bottom, not from above*'. (Roelofs, 2008)

The need for formation of networks between that emerge from the bottom is emphasized by Albert Lubbers, artistic leader of theatre group Suburbia, in an interview with 12N he stated:

> '*There is a lot in Almere-Haven, but in order for initiatives to really lead to something, we should put our heads together. For instance, you could hire one commercial leader together with a number of initiatives and you could fabricate printing matter together. That would differ a lot.*' (Lubbers, 2006)[15]

3.3.4 Concluding remarks

One could say that there are some initiatives regarding creative city planning in Almere such as the allocation of de Hulk for the creative industry and initiatives to transform the city centre into a livelier and dazzling area by means of investments in cultural facilities. In spite of some sort of 'underdog' like optimism on the policy-side, it is very unclear whether these interventions will eventually lead to the development of a creative city. At first, a reason for doubt is the lack of (creative) talent inflow and the fact that Almere does not distinguish itself very much with a diverse palette of nightlife opportunities.

[15] ibid. pag. 57

One of further the reasons for doubt could be the fact that the municipality and the housing corporation seem to overdo things a little on the one hand, without having a clear future vision on the other hand. This raises doubts with creatives in Almere who emphasize the need for the supporting of small initiatives from the bottom rather than massive interventions from above without to much attention for dynamics on a smaller scale, such as networks between creatives. The local government recognizes the need for networks, but according to them – and I pointed now to Johan Bouwmeester – networks should be established by creating the right 'environment' and putting the right people at the right places.

Finally, a disadvantage for Almere could be the fact that the city doesn't seem to operate as a entity. Almere-Stad and Almere-Haven are divorced by greenery and water and connected with just one road. Count to that the fact that both city parts are drawing on each other's cultural facilities, such as Almere-Stad that aims at institutes in Almere-Haven. The question could be if a city that is already fragmented in a spatial sense should characterize itself rather by competition than collaboration.

3.4 Tilburg

3.4.1 Introduction

Just as Eindhoven, Tilburg is situated in the southern part of the Netherlands and the city has about 200.000 inhabitants. Tilburg started to grow as a city because of the emerging textile industry in the 19th century. This development led to a dramatic increase of factories and working-class neighbourhoods. Just as so many cities who had undergone a flourishing industrialization in the 19th and (early) 20th century, this development eventually led to some sort of identity-crisis in the second half of the 20th century because of the declining of industries as a consequence of automation and outsourcing to low-wage countries. Additional factors of the decline of the textile industry in Tilburg were the incapacity of the traditional 'family firm' to strengthen their market position by means of modernisation, specialisation and 'merging' and the lack of government support. (Gorisse, 2001)

The 'turn' from manufacturing into a service economy involved a spatial transformation of the city because old factories were demolished and replaced by modern architecture. The turn from manufacturing into the service economy however, didn't pass smoothly on a social-economic level; the proportion of unemployment lay abundantly above the national average throughout the 1980's. The revival of the economy and the ongoing stimulation regarding the establishment of companies in the service industry improved the economic prospects from the middle of the 1990's. Because of a growing (service) economy and a

relating increase in population, several projects in the sphere of innovating architecture and high-rise housing blocks set up that changed the image of the city. (Gorisse a.o., 2001)
In the governmental sphere, Tilburg underwent important changes since the latter part of the 1980's. These changes implicate the far-reaching privatising of services that were under strict supervision of the city council before, such as housing, working and traffic. This approach became internationally known as the 'Tilburg model' with the city seen as a 'holding company' with separate divisions that are to a large degree autonomous. The divisions operate as profit centres generating clearly defined urban services and 'products'. (Landry, 2000) Or as van Houtum, Lagendijk and Dormans stated, the Tilburg Model involves the transformation of administrative bodies into self-managed agencies that are accountable to the city politicians on the basis of contractual agreements and performance indicators. (Houtum van, Lagendijk & Dormans, 2002) Perhaps needless to say is that the Tilburg Model was copied in many cities from the 1990's onwards.
In the 1990's, Tilburg wanted to characterize itself more as a 'cultural city', especially in the sphere of popular music. The realisation of 013 (a big stage for popular music) in 1998 and the 'Rock Academy' (school for rock and pop-music) in 1999 contributed to the realisation of this ambition. 013 is located nearby the city-heart in a neighbourhood called Veemarktkwartier. This area serves as the scene for an extensive development plan that should transform the Veemarktkwartier into a dynamic creative space where the creative core feels at home, a place also, with significant economic value for the city. In the next paragraph, more emphasis is laid on this area and how does it relates to creative city planning in Tilburg.

3.4.2 Creative city planning in Tilburg - Veemarktkwartier

One could say that the birth of the Veemarktkwartier as a development area for the creative industry started at the end of the 1990's, just around the time 013 was realised in the area.
At that time, the council designated a large area (much larger than the actual Veemarktkwartier) for the development and support of artistic and cultural initiatives. (Strik, 2007)
Although also the 'Spoorzone' was part of the designated area, development started first in the direct surrounding of 013. This area had some sort of creative appearance for quite a long time because of the presence of breeding grounds such as 'de Lancierskazerne' and 'Carré'.
The development of the Veemarktkwartier was initially a more top-down affair; the municipality of Tilburg outlined the policy that should be followed and operated by the local government as the director of the process. In the Kadernota Cultuur 2001-2004 one could read that:

'*The presence of cultural facilities has certainly contributed to the strengthening of the Tilburg city centre, already since the 1980's spearhead of the municipal policy. In this strive also fits the further development of the Veemarktkwartier that should come to conclusion in the upcoming years. Plans for a multimedia-centre and a 'arthall' will be developed around parts that are already established such as pop centre 013, The Rock Academy, the FAXX (art centre) and Villa Media. (Multi-tenant building for the creative industry)*
In order to stimulate the cultural activity in and around the Veemarktkwartier firms in the sphere of music, advertisement, design, photography and copywriting come in mind. A cultural mix with a strong synergy' (Kadernota Cultuur 2001-2004)

One could conclude from the above-standing text that the framework and desired direction regarding the development of the Veemarktkwartier more or less are 'clear', but guidelines for implementation are missing. In this note however, the municipality of Tilburg stresses the need and value for cooperation between different parties (cultural organisations, companies and governmental parties) regarding the strengthening of the cultural infrastructure.
In recent years, cooperation emerged between three parties, namely the municipality of Tilburg, Red Concepts and Stichting Veemarktkwartier. Red Concepts is a developer that is involved with the creative industry. Stichting Veemarktkwartier consists of people from the creative core itself, and is highly involved with the creative industry in this area. Stichting Veemarktkwartier is 'steered' by Jos Kuijsters and Harry Dona. These so called 'kwartiermakers' (*harbingers / trailblazers)* are the principal initiators of the creative activity in the Veemarktkwartier. The municipality of Tilburg endorses the need for an autonomous economic development of the creative cluster, so the role of the municipality is therefore facilitating and supporting in nature. The municipality creates the conditions on which creativity could develop; she is concerned with the observing of the zoning plan, the allocation of space (sometimes) and the provision of subsidies. At the same time, she must make sure that spontaneous initiatives aren't crushed by rules and regulations. The government of Tilburg therefore should literally and figuratively create space for creative development to emerge. The municipality is however, not the owner of most of the existing real estate in the area; this ownership mostly lies in the private sphere, which makes the simple allocation of space for creative initiatives somewhat difficult. Red Concepts is as a real estate developer concerned with the construction of new buildings, but they are largely involved with the characteristics of creative areas by the construction of their future plans. Together with the municipality and stichting Veemarktkwartier, a masterplan was

constructed. This masterplan came out in September 2007. In this document, a comprehensive overview is given about the occasion, the future, the programme, the spatial elaboration, phasing and involved parties regarding the Veemarktkwartier. Research concerning the creative industry in Tilburg lies at the basis for the concept. The research proved that:
'*With respect to other cities from the same size, Tilburg distinguishes itself positively in the field of the creative industry. With a diverse amount of popular and genre-specific stages, Tilburg gives a clear field for talented upcoming and 'arrived' musicians from the Netherlands and abroad. Also in the field of the new media, the city already inhibits the necessary creative seeds. Initiatives that are fed by a constant inflow of new talent from the wide variety of knowledge and educational institutes*.' (Masterplan Veemarktkwartier, 2007)

The link with the existing knowledge and educational institutes becomes visible in collaborations between knowledge institutes and the creative industry. Institutes who are (most) involved with the Veemarktkwartier (either with specific educational programmes or just with annual inflow of creative talent) are the School for Journalism, Rock Academy, Theatre Academy, Academy of Music, NHTV Breda (International school for Tourism, Mobility, Leisure and Creative Industries) School for International Events, Music and Entertainment and the University of Tilburg. (Masterplan Veemarktkwartier, 2007)

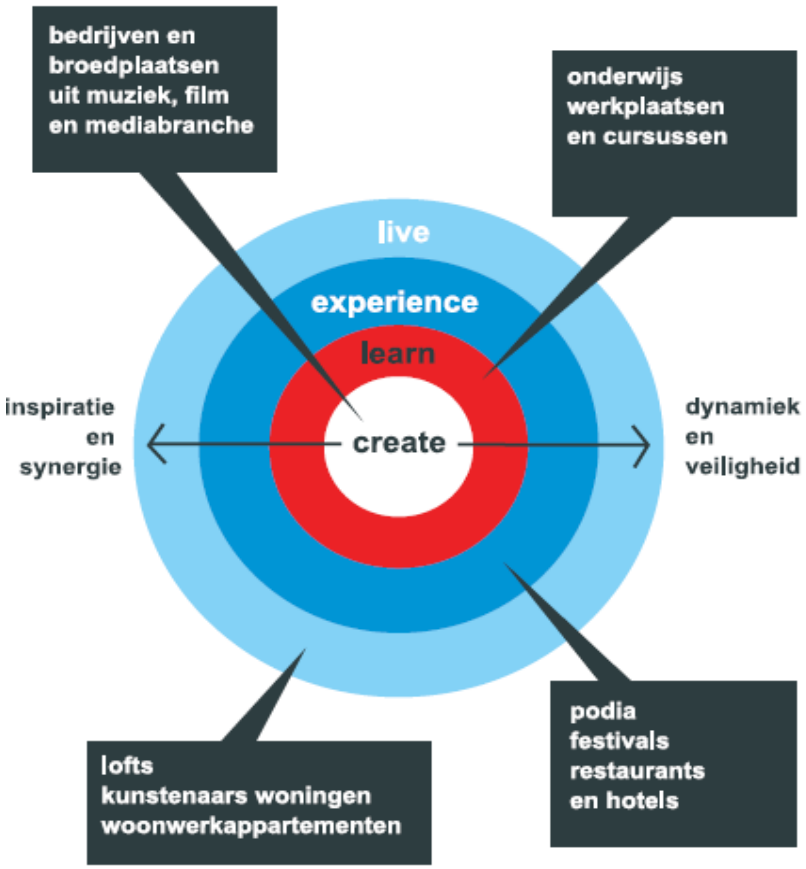
Besides the continuous inflow of talent, Tilburg characterizes itself as a rather tolerant city, at least in the eyes of Margot Strik who was involved for many years with the development of the Veemarktkwartier from the side of the municipality. According to her, Tilburg is an informal city and there are no boundaries between high and low-culture. Managers of big institutions are VJ at 013 in their spare-time. Furthermore, the centre of Tilburg characterizes itself by niches of people with different lifestyles such as artists, gays and students. (Strik, 2007)
Municipal representatives from the departments culture and economy state in the Masterplan Veemarktkwartier that Tilburg is a city 'known' for talent and experiment and the Veemarktkwartier provides opportunities for creative entrepreneurs to 'breed' and grow. Room for experiment seems to be an important condition on the policy-side. (Masterplan Veemarktkwartier, 2007)

In the masterplan, one could further read that the Veemarktkwartier is the ideal location for the strengthening of the creative industry. The area has a cocky and authentic character with either historical buildings and modern architecture and the already present parties such as

013, Interpolis, Villamedia and V39 (big youth centre) make the area an attractive place for creative entrepreneurs, inhabitants and visitors. When formulating plans regarding the creative development of the Veemarktkwartier, a lesson was learned from existing creative clusters in the Netherlands and abroad.

Despite the fact that there seems to be a 'shared positivity' about Tilburg and its chances for creative development at the policy-side, policy-makers are aware of the fact that Tilburg has still got a reputation for being a grey industrial town without much to do, except for the annual 'kermis' (fair) which belongs to the biggest of Europe. Tilburg doesn't attract very much people from outside the city. Strik states that inside the city prevails some sort of underground feeling; '*when you are born and raised in Tilburg, you stay committed to the city*'.
The successful positioning of the Veemarktkwartier could eventually lead to an increasing awareness of the benefits Tilburg has to offer for creative talent.

The concept of the Veemarktkwartier is constructed around four 'rings' that are explained in the following picture:



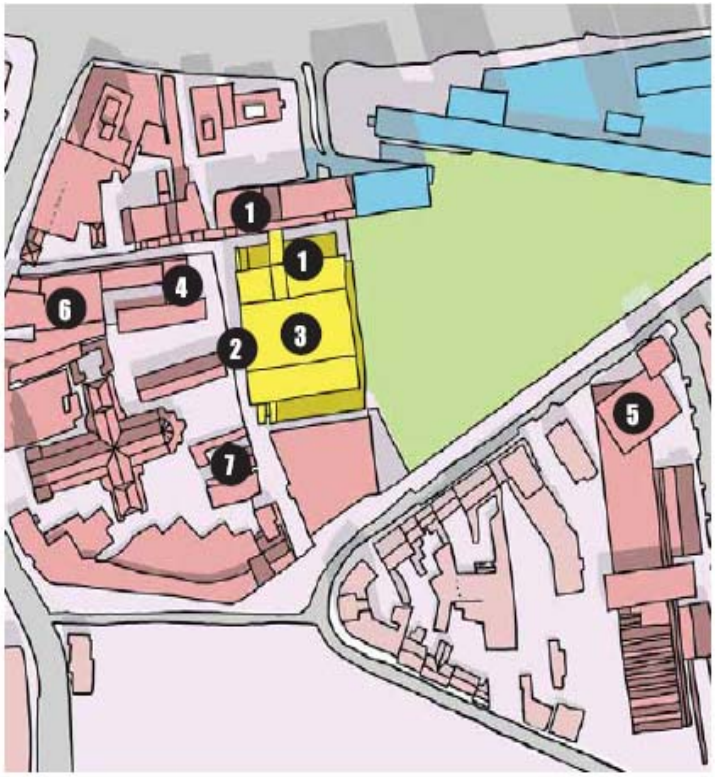
1. The heart of the Veemarktkwartier – CREATE – exists of creative and innovative entrepreneurs who make and invent ditto products and services.
2. Around this ring lies the - LEARN - ring. Learning is an essential activity inside the Veemarktkwartier. The establishment of knowledge institutes and workplaces guarantees the exchange of knowledge, stimulation of useful contacts and the gaining of practical experience.
3. The inner two rings of the concept feed the third ring: EXPERIENCE. The Veemarktkwartier will become, also because the supply of creative talent, a pull factor for audience / stage activities in the cultural segment
4. The outer ring - LIVE – will be provided with new houses that 'fit' with the lifestyle of creative entrepreneurs and cosmopolitan character of the Veemarktkwartier.

Figure 8: The four rings of the Veemarktkwartier (Masterplan Veemarktkwartier)

One of the most eye-catching spatial transformations of the Veemarktkwartier will be the Tivoligarage, at the moment an ordinary parking garage, but in the future a multi-functional building because of the addition of five storeys on top of the existing garage. This building is situated in the 'create-ring' of the Veemarktkwartier, and will become either the architectonic or the public centre of the Veemarktkwartier. According to the Masterplan, several stages in the sphere of world music and jazz, a 'world restaurant', a hotel and 'cultural student activities' will find its place in the building. This ambitious, large-scaled approach to urban restructuring ought to contribute to the establishment of Tilburg as a cosmopolitan and metropolitan city.



Figure 9: Two possible designs for the Tivoli Garage



1 noordzijde garage
2 voorzijde garage
3 boven op de garage
4 hoek veemarktstraat
5 faxxgebouw
6 midi
7 vincentius

1. Creative businesses, workspaces for education, 'horeca' and exhibition space will be established at the north side of the garage.
2. At the frontside of the garage, Scryption, (museum for written communication) small-scale retail shops and so-called conceptstores will find their place.
3. The current garage will get five extra storeys with a mixture of cultural /creative facilities and 'horeca'.
4. At the corner of the Veemarktstraat, a bakery adjoining lunchroom and apartments will be realised.
5. The 'FAXX-building' is (after re-development) designated for creative businesses. Next to this building comes a housing project with loft-like apartments and living-working space.
6. The current Midi-cinema has the ambition to establish a theatre for diverse forms of entertainment.
7. The building from the 'Vincentiusvereniging' (charity organisation) will become accommodation for a few creative businesses.

Figure 10: Division of programme in outlines

3.4.3 A creative's viewpoint

From the above standing, one gets the impression that regarding the creative development in Tilburg, everything goes 'smoothly'. The municipality knows exactly how they must support and stimulate the creative industry without interfering with the dynamics on 'street-level'. The creatives are well organised and have a lot of autonomy. The real estate developer who is involved with the plans has a 'feeling' for the desires and demands of the creative class.

Creatives in Tilburg to a certain amount subscribe to this viewpoint. Jos Kuijsters, who is one of the creative 'superintendents' of the Veemarktkwartier states that the municipality has the guts to risk one's neck. As Stichting Veemarktkwartier, they feel highly supported by the municipality. According to Kuijsters, there is an absolute trust in the value the creative industry could have for Tilburg. There is also freedom for experiment, for the concluding of collaborations between creatives. The municipality posits the right role as a facilitator and 'booster' of the creative industry.

> '*This area, for about ten years, has the stamp of 'Culture is the motor of economic development'. Following this motto, some interesting things have been organised, but people did not know how to shape this development, it was also a rather top-down affair back then… later on, after we made some initiatives and collaborations the municipality started to see that something they hoped for all the time started to develop by itself, from the bottom. The municipality is also not the one to carry the load, they are far better as facilitators. When we started from the bottom, they reported that they wanted to support that development, together with Red Concepts; a three-party relationship emerged, with parties who influenced each other. We felt clearly that we stroked the right chord with the municipality, set a development that suits the city.*' (Kuijsters, 2008)

Gosuin van Heeswijk, who is director of BraM, an organisation for music that 'serves' the whole region and is involved with (a.o.) the supply of subsidies from the government, counselling and promotion thinks that creative ideas do not come from the municipality. There are no 'creative spirits' at the local government, that's why earlier top-down approaches failed. Van Heeswijk thinks that these failed initiatives are the reason why the municipality chose a 'new' approach that is pointed towards facilitating and supporting.

Further, he thinks it's a good thing that besides the department of culture, also the departure of economics started to see the value of the Veemarktkwartier. According to him however,

the civil service is a bit unwieldy, they are sometimes slow at recognising new dynamics and developments.

'*It's a good sign that the department of economics started to get involved with culture, that the value culture could have for the economy is recognised. That might be the reason why the development of the Veemarktkwartier happened so quickly. Officials started to get more eyes for links between culture and economy, but it goes a bit slow*' (van Heeswijk, 2008)

Theo Andriessen who is the director of 'Muzieklab' (production house for innovative music-projects does also welcome the fact that the municipality is slowly starting to see the importance of creativity for the whole city. As opposed to this stands the fact that the municipality is unwieldy and stratified and it is hard to get everybody on the same side, despite the fact that there are a number of people at the municipality that are tuned into the creative industry. (Andriessen, 2008)

Either van Heeswijk or Andriessen value the clustering of creative businesses and organisations in Veemarktkwartier such as 013, Mundial (world-music) and Paradox. (jazz and experimental-music) This makes cooperation and exchange of expertise possible, through which innovative collaborations could emerge.

Simon de Wijs, who is project manager of COLIN (Creative Organisations Linked in Networks), emphasizes the need for mutual networks between creatives and networks between creatives and commercial parties or the public sector. Networks are important because of the exchange of knowledge, expertise but also workforces and clients. COLIN, an organisation that is initiated by NHTV Breda and is involved with the connecting and strengthening of networks. COLIN frequently organises creative markets where creative and commercial entrepreneurs linkup with each other and where collaborations emerge.

'*Many starters in the creative sector have a lack of entrepreneur-skills; this is because they often followed the art school where entrepreneur-skills aren't taught. It is therefore a good thing to put them in contact with people that are capable of make them more enterprising, how they could broaden their network, sell their products, and present themselves. Besides that, the creative industry exists of many small, young businesses at the moment. These small businesses have a very thematic way of working. They change their colleagues and clients very quickly, that makes networking in this sector very important*' (De Wijs, 2008)

De Wijs stated that he could not sense the desired creative dynamic when walking through the Veemarktkwartier. He thinks that the establishment of a creative city is a long process. In the Veemarktkwartier it's something that is going on for almost fifteen years. Since the appearance of Richard Florida, every city wants to be creative as quick as possible, but according to de Wijs doesn't work that way.
Kuijsters also thinks that there is a long way to go for the Veemarktkwartier in order to meet its desired creative city image. Parts of the area are simply 'shabby' at the moment, there are fallow grounds and buildings in decay, according to Kuijsters:
'*Many people park their car in the Tivoligarage and walk through a 'grubby' street that leads to the city centre. That is not quite a showpiece for Tilburg*'.

Theo Andriessen considers the Veemarktstraat as a bit of a 'backstreet' right now. He hopes that the Veemarktkwartier will be the centre for the creative industry in Tilburg in the future but thinks that a lot should happen in order to realise this ambitions.

'*In order to transform the Veemarktkwartier into the desired 'dazzling' creative zone, there should at first be some hurry with the execution of the development plans – such as the addition of storeys on top of the Tivoligarage) This is a task for Red Concepts and the municipality. Further, it is important that the destination of the buildings will be established and that it becomes clear that the Veemarktkwartier is not purely a 'Tilburg affair', but at least for the entire Brabantstad. (Breda, Eindhoven, Helmond,'s-Hertogenbosch and Tilburg) Working on the image of the Veemarktkwartier is of course a task for the existing businesses and organisations. There must be an active search for collaborations.'* (Andriessen, 2008)

3.4.4 Concluding remarks

Concepts like the creative industry or the creative city are very much embedded at the policy-side in Tilbur. The Veemarktkwartier is the most important case of creative city planning here. In this case, however, doubts must be placed with the word planning, which in some sense suggests a rather top-down approach. Regarding the Veemarktkwartier, there is no 'steering' party because of the fact three parties (Municipality of Tilburg, Red Concepts and Stichting Veemarktkwartier) are bound together in thoroughgoing collaboration where the municipality facilitates, Red Concepts constructs and executes, and Stichting Veemarktkwartier initiates and guarantees the content. Of course, there are difficulties in this collaboration. With projects such as the Veemarktkwartier, there is always some degree

of uncertainty about the long term and a whole lot of money is involved. Policy-makers are often short-term thinkers, they want to know if they could realise their goals within their term.

On the one hand, the municipality might be more focused on the short-term; on the other hand, they are often slow with recognising certain urban dynamics, such as the development of the creative industry. Therefore, the municipality 'outsources' this task to people who have more expertise in this, in this case Stichting Veemarktkwartier.

The creative sector in Tilburg characterizes itself by an increasing professionalization; much attention is paid to promoting themselves by means of new media, joint ventures with other creatives are founded frequently and although there are many creatives who haven't find an audience or market yet, and are only looking for cheap workspace, successful collaboration between creatives and commercial parties is taking place and many creatives have found their way towards a bigger audience because of network organisations such as COLIN or Villa Media. There seem to be however, some concerns regarding the creative development of the Veemarktkwartier. At first, the Veemarktkwartier is not a very compact area, it involves many square meters and is not as appealing to one's imagination as an old factory building. Further, at the moment, the desired dynamic is merely absent, the Veemarktstraat still has the appearance of a backstreet, existent creative facilities haven't got much exposure in the area yet, so at the moment, the spatial dimension is somewhat poor, despites the fact the municipality typified the Veemarktkwartier as an authentic and 'cocky' area. Besides that, the fact that the area has many owners makes the distribution of space a difficult and complex affair.

There is however, a well-developed future plan, and there seems to be either the potential or the believe, so if ambitions and plans will be realised, the Veemarktkwartier could serve as an example for a successful clustering of creative initiatives. A clustering that really adds economic value because of collaborations that reach a larger audience and therefore deserve the term 'creative economy'. And finally, creative initiatives that not only radiate within Tilburg, but wield attraction on a regional, national or even international scale.

3.5 Dordrecht

3.5.1 Introduction

Dordrecht is a city with about 120.000 inhabitants, situated in the southwest of Holland, one of the most densely populated parts of the Netherlands.

Dordrecht is situated on an island surrounded by five rivers and has a long history that goes back to the 12th century. The city centre is full of historic buildings, which are reminiscent of a rich past.

It seems to be the case that in these kinds of cities, initiatives towards creative city development are not as popular as in 'younger' cities who started to grow in the industrial age and which therefore went through some sort of identity crisis at the end of the 20th century because of the disappearance of the manufacturing industry.

Dordrecht never went through flourishing industrial periods; the only flourishing period for Dordrecht would arguably be the Golden Age when it was a thriving city for trade and shipbuilding because of its favourable position. Dordrecht is therefore since a good length of time promoted to the 'external world' with its history and abundant presence of water. (www.dordrecht.nl)

Despite its authentic city centre however, Dordrecht has the reputation of being quite undiscovered by the 'audience'.

It seems to be the case that everybody complains about the fact that there is not much to do in Dordrecht and the inhabitants of Dordrecht are obviously the one to blame because they do not take advantage of the potential this city has.

In recent years, new ways of 'upgrading' the city were sought. Dordrecht has quite a lot of artists and there we're already some initiatives towards breeding the establishment of breeding grounds, particularly in Voorstraat-Noord, which counts as the area with the greatest amount of artists and creative entrepreneurs. Possibilities to apply the creative city concept to this part of the city centre were explored. Other places in Dordrecht that were considered for creative development were the 'Stadswerven' and the 'Energiehuis', but since these initiatives didn't came of the ground in the past, I shall restrict myself to the Voorstraat-Noord.

In the next paragraph, I shall further discuss the initiatives towards creative city planning in Dordrecht.

3.5.2 Creative city planning in Dordrecht

At the start of the 21th century, first initiatives were made to explore the chances for creative development in Dordrecht. In March 2005, a research appeared under the commission of the municipality in which the chances for Dordrecht to develop itself as a creative city were mapped. In this research, (a.o.) the three T's from Richard Florida were applied to Dordrecht, which shows a mixed image and which laid much emphasis on technology as one of these

T's. Following this research a SWOT-analysis and a creative 'kansenkaart' (opportunity-map) were constructed regarding the creative development of Dordrecht (Saris, 2005)[16]
Later in 2005, 12N also investigated the possibilities for creative development in Dordrecht, and saw them in Voorstraat-Noord and its surroundings.
Voorstraat-Noord is a typical 'aanloopstraat' with an overrepresentation of antique / curiosity shops and art galleries. In addition, the centre for expressive arts (CBK) and Werkstatt (A creative multi-tenant building, facilitated by 'Stichting Noordkaap') are located at the Voorstraat-Noord. In the 'Startnotitie Ontwikkeling Voorstraat-Noord' that was formulated by the 'Programme of Economy' (part of the Municipality of Dordrecht) one could read that the Voorstraat-Noord finds itself at a watershed position where the street could develop into a negative direction, with vacancy, inferior or poor facilities and investments in businesses and real estate that lag behind. The Voorstraat-Noord was regarded as a street that has potential for (creative) development, but has not enough 'capabilities' to maintain itself, let alone that it could further develop indepently. The possibility to upgrade the Voorstraat-Noord and turn it into a 'dwaalmilieu'[17] by means of policy therefore was explored in the 'startnotitie'. In this document, the importance of connections between culture, creativity and economy are discussed and the authors concluded that a fast growing creative class is present in Dordrecht, but this group is hardly visible.
'*There are no places were the new dynamic manifests and strengthens itself. Creative entrepreneurs are scattered through the city and clusters of business are nowhere formed. Because of this, the benefits that networks could offer are lacking and cooperation is insignificant*'…. Further…'*from the 85 interviews that were held with creative entrepreneurs in Dordrecht emerged that there actually is a need for encounter, exchange and cooperation. There is a strong demand for creative workplaces in the form of multi-tenant buildings*' (Startnotitie Voorstraat-Noord, 2005)
In the startnotitie, three 'tracks' to reach the desired outcome are mentioned. The first track has to do with feasibility – is it feasible to stimulate the development of a 'dwaalmilieu' in

[16] A critique on this research and the kansenkaart is that it divides Dordrecht into different parts and allocates different types of creative (economic) development to this parts. This allocation leaves not much room for spontaneous developments, but it may surely serves the need for policy-makers who are looking for defined future-goals.

[17] A place where culture, arts and economy go hand in hand, a place that could distinguish itself, where visitors go to with a specific reason, where the environment invites to walk around and experience etc..

the area, what exact direction should this development has and what is the relation with the city as a whole? The second 'track' is engaged with the 'software', the programmation, the actual fulfilment of the area. The third track has to do with the 'hardware', the built environment, which parties are involved with the purchasing, re-development and selling of the buildings.
In order to steer the development in the right direction, five workgroups were established and a budget was arranged.
In 2007, an extended policy-plan appeared regarding the development of a 'dwaalmilieu' in Voorstraat-Noord. This policy-plan was written by Roel Esseboom, who later left the municipality of Dordrecht to work at the Economic Development Board in Rotterdam.
In this policy-plan, emphasis is laid on the facilitating and supporting role of the municipality regarding the creative development of the Voorstraat-Noord. According to Esseboom, the local government should be involved with the environmental planning, with large-scale processes such as the parking, traffic and the zoning scheme. Furthermore, she should listen to the demands of inhabitants, artists and entrepreneurs. (Esseboom, 2008)
Point of special interest is the establishment of networks and the strengthening of pull-factors. At the moment there is a lack of cooperation and there is vacancy because many entrepreneurs don't really realize the value of Voorstraat-Noord. The government should boost this development by the acquisition of new entrepreneurs who could 'set the scene' and are to attract other creative entrepreneurs to the area. In the policy-plan, an intensive approach from different municipal parties (department of economy and a special appointed 'streetmanager') is suggested. Regarding the establishing of networks, far-reaching cooperation from the creative entrepreneurs is expected.
Besides the acquisition, promotion of Voorstraat-Noord is an important spearhead for successful development:
'*An elaborated promotion-policy is important in order to give a convincing rendition of the area for the involved parties that are already present in the area, for the* '*target-group*' *of the acquisition-plan and for potential visitors. Important with that, is the fact that entrepreneurs, inhabitants and owners contribute to the promotion by means of cooperating with the activities on street-level en by means of acting as ambassador for their Voorstraat-Noord.*' (Aanpak Voorstraat-Noord, 2007)

Further, owners of real estate must play an important role regarding the development of Voorstraat-Noord. They are able to decide which entrepreneurs they accommodate. It is important however, that these entrepreneurs suit inside the formulated vision. In order to realise this, a number of instruments could be chosen, from persuading real estate owners

from the benefits of a clustering of creative businesses for Voorstraat-Noord to the active bringing up of tenants, the regulation of tenancy agreements, the hiring of business accommodation to prevent the settlement of unwanted functions or in exceptional circumstances, the buying up of premises.
To summarize, the municipality do not want to interfere too much with the dynamics in the Voorstraat-Noord, but they want to lead them to the right direction by means of various implementations. When these implementations are successful, an interesting creative area must arise. An important issue, namely the pre-conditions for the development of creative cities is arguably somewhat acknowledged, at least in the policy-plan. Roel Esseboom stated that regarding the creative development of Voorstraat-Noord, not much emphasis was laid on the 'three T's' from Richard Florida. He however argues that policy pointed at the attracting of knowledge institutes is important, not so much regarding the creative economy, but for the stimulation of the knowledge economy.

'*Dordrecht has no 'HBO' (higher vocational education) or university, except for two dependences of the PABO (training college for teachers) There exists however active policy for attracting more HBO to Dordrecht. That's very sensible, because more talent will be bound to the city. It will have benefits for the liveliness, horeca and for the economy as a whole. But when there was no policy towards the attraction of knowledge institutes, the creative economy nevertheless could have been stimulated, because the presence of enough creative entrepreneurs.*' (Esseboom, 2008)

Esseboom further stated that he has some doubts about the causality regarding the three T's. He wonders whether creatives are attracted to the T's, or whether the T's are present because of the presence of creatives. He further questions if these T's should be handled this strict, as for instance the above-mentioned research did. In this research, the tolerance in Dordrecht was considered quite weak because the city scored badly in the 'gay-index'.

'*The problem is the (in) visibility of the creative-core, the lack of networks. The presence or absence of a gay-scene is not a gripping detail. You cannot trace the tolerance of a certain city from its gay-scene. Tolerance is important in the sense that there must not be a police officer on every corner; in that case you don't want to be there. There must be a climate where you could manifest yourself, where you could search for boundaries.*' (Esseboom, 2008)

Esseboom was arguably one of the few people at the municipality that was involved with the creative dynamics from the bottom and believes in the value of the creative industry.

This type of intermediaries are well needed at the policy-side, his departure could therefore have a negative influence on the creative development of Dordrecht. Esseboom himself isn't aware of a suitable successor at the department of economy.

The plan however, is definitive. According to this plan, Voorstraat-Noord and its surroundings should by 2017 be transformed into an area with a unique and creative 'dwaalmilieu', that is surprising, dynamic and inspiring. Voorstraat-Noord characterizes itself with a mix of functions among which design and modern arts, creative entrepreneurship, (a multi-tenant building where entrepreneurs cooperate, organise activities and welcome their clients) exceptional retail trade (alternative music and clothing shops, game shops or special delicacy-shops) and exceptional horeca (specialised, with an emphasis on quality)

Finally, it is stated that when the creative and cultural climate in the street functions better, she could satisfy her role as important axis in the city centre more and more. (Esseboom, 2007)

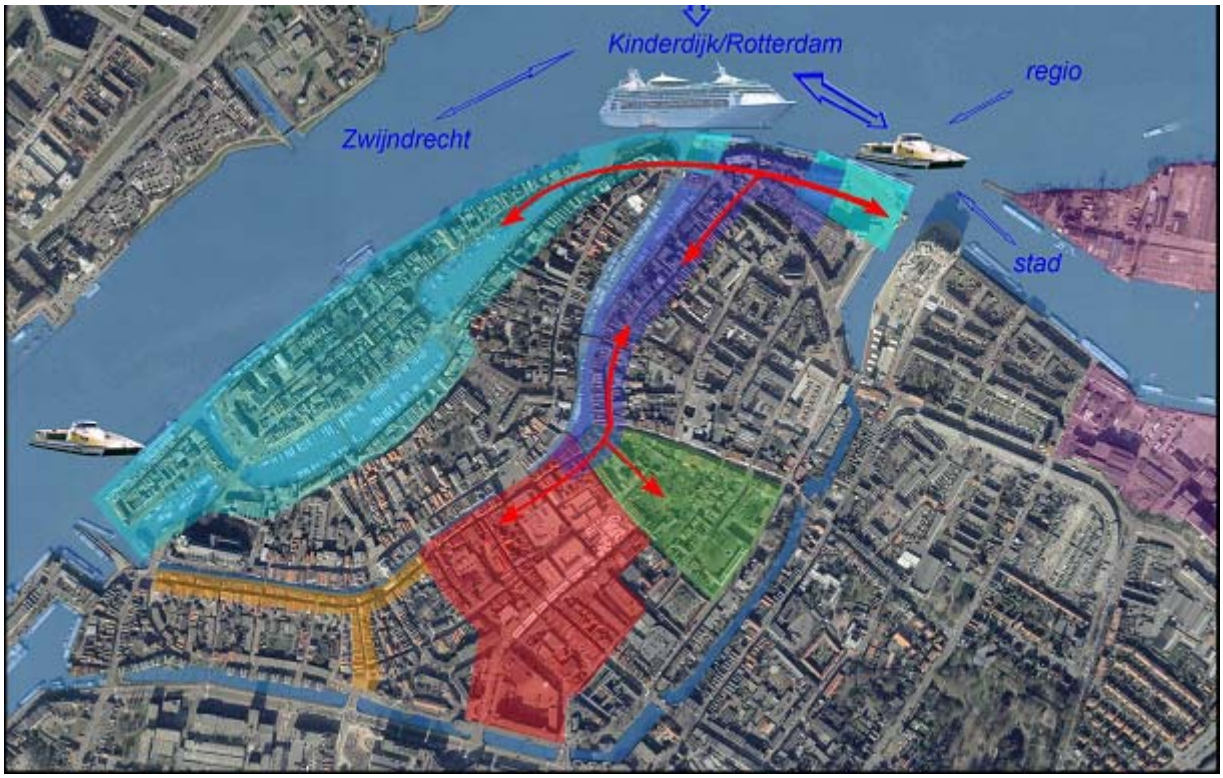


Figure 11: 'Creative Axis Dordrecht, Voorstraat-Noord represented in purple

3.5.3 A creative's viewpoint

From the above standing becomes clear that initiatives towards creative city planning were made by the municipality of Dordrecht and established in a policy-plan for the next ten years. Designated area for creative development is Voorstraat-Noord. In this area, the CBK

plays an important role as a coordinator and catalyst for artists and designers in Dordrecht. Gerrit Willems is the director of the CBK, from the beginning, he was involved with the municipal plans regarding the creative development of the Voorstraat-Noord. CBK was seen in the policy-plan as an organisation, which is capable of attracting creatives and establishing networks. Willems stated in an interview that he has its doubts about the succeeding of the ambitions for Voorstraat-Noord. According to him, there are too less initiatives from the bottom, and existing initiatives are not sufficiently facilitated from above.
The establishment of networks didn't get of the ground in the last years, there is for instance no such thing as a creative entrepreneurs association. According to Willems, Dordrecht couldn't be compared with a city such as Eindhoven, where the pre-conditions for creative development are much better. Eindhoven has a prestigious design academy, and designers are more market orientated than autonomous artists, of which Dordrecht has a lot. (Willems, 2007)

'*Initiatives from artists are not really present, though they are increasing. The potential doesn't come from the autonomous artists. I think that they couldn't be count to the creative industry. The creative industry consists of businesses that lean towards the arts – fashion, music, design and gaming. We see that the number of these businesses is increasing in Dordrecht, and they are inclined to cluster.*' (Willems, 2007)

Katja Diallo is an artist and member of creative multi-tenant building Werkstatt, Werkstatt is an initiative from 'Stichting Noordkaap' an artist-initiative that is …'*involved with the organisation of art-manifestations and tries to react with contemporary strategies to dynamics that happen in the city*' (Diallo, 2008)
According to her, Noordkaap is one of the few organisations that try to establish and connect networks with creatives inside as well as outside Dordrecht. Werkstatt is set up from the philosophy that entrepreneurs and artists must be located next to each other.
Just as Willems, Diallo makes the same difference between the artist and the creative entrepreneur. She states that Dordrecht was an 'artist-island' for quite a long time, but the creative industry is an issue for only a few years.
Willems thinks that the creative industry does not sufficiently exist in the 'mindset' of officials. City-marketing campaigns for Dordrecht are pointing at 'history and water', and that stands far from the creative industry as an innovative and dynamic sector. In order to become a 'complete' city, there must also be contemporary culture, otherwise the city will be become some sort of open-air museum.

Willems further thinks according to creative development, the government should enforce as less as possible restrictions. There has to be much more self-regulation in Dordrecht.
Too much government-regulations and an extreme focus on security are destructive for creative development in a city. The government should stimulate and facilitate the (local) economy but must not interfere with it.
Treffers, who was involved with the establishment of Werkstatt and did research about the potential for creative development in Dordrecht thinks that the doubts that prevail about creative city building in Dordrecht come from the fact that the municipality wasn't capable - in the past - of giving the right development frame to the creative 'makers' in Dordrecht, with the consequence that some initiatives (Energiehuis, Stadswerven) failed at an early stage. Treffers stated that the 'frames' where either too tight / too much bounded by rules, too less financially supported, or lacking decent PR or organisation. (Treffers, 2008)

Many creatives - and I now refer also to the creatives that were questioned as a part of the research 'Schateiland Dordrecht', have the opinion that Dordrecht lacks interesting 'horeca' facilities or meeting-places. There are virtually no bars or cafes where creatives could find like-minded people. (Saris, 2005)
Both Diallo and Willems regret the fact that there are virtually no knowledge institutes in Dordrecht. The fact that Dordrecht is not a college town has a direct connection with the lack of an interesting nightlife.

> *'I think that an art school is missing in Dordrecht. 'We' also have no university. This situation makes it difficult. The critical mass must be imported. There is no academy of arts, no design academy. If we're talking about a city, there has to be at least a university or academy of arts'.* (Diallo, 2008)

Diallo thinks that Dordrecht is not visible enough for the external world. Regarding creative development, all the attention goes out to Rotterdam, which isn't comparison with Dordrecht, either because of the size and population or because of the presence of knowledge institutes and creative initiatives. In Rotterdam there is more demand for the creative industry than in Dordrecht. This situation however, could have benefits for Dordrecht because the creative market is not saturated here; there are more possibilities for creatives to be innovative and 'ground-breaking' in Dordrecht than in Rotterdam. Diallo thinks that it will be a good thing when Dordrecht could function as a breeding ground for

Rotterdam. Therefore, the Voorstraat-Noord should not be transformed in some sort of Witte de Withstraat. [18]

Finally, Diallo regards the development of the Voorstraat-Noord as a good test case for the possibilities of (top-down) organisation of a creative environment, unless her doubts about the feasibility of it.

3.5.4 Concluding remarks

Since recent years, the Municipality of Dordrecht started to see the benefits the creative industry could have for certain parts of the city. The policy-plan regarding the development of the Voorstraat-Noord into a creative 'dwaalmilieu' employs clear future goals for the street.

To some degree therefore, it could be argued that the development of Voorstraat-Noord is a top-down affair. The policy should safeguard for instance, that the 'right' kind of functions will be established in the Voorstraat-Noord. Further, by means of acquisition of new entrepreneurs who could 'set the scene' and the appointment of a 'streetmanager' the municipality hopes to stimulate the development of creative networks. Further, in the policy-plan, not much attention is given to the pre-conditions for creative development in Dordrecht. This neglecting of necessary pre-conditions for creative city building could have several reasons. It could be the fact that policy-makers in Dordrecht aren't convinced of the necessity and causality of (for instance) the three T's (see Esseboom, 2008), or it could be the case that they are aware of the fact that Dordrecht simply don't satisfy much pre-conditions for creative development and have therefore ignore this discussion in the plan, or it could be a combination of both. Fact is that cities, who are convinced of 'meeting every T', are glad to emphasize this in their policy plans. (Eindhoven, Tilburg)

Creatives seem to have mixed feelings about the feasibility of the municipal plans; they do not want the government to interfere too much with the creative development, but if there are initiatives they should be recognized and facilitated. They share the idea that more creative networks should be established, but do not regard this as a municipal task.

Creatives regret the lack of interesting meeting places, such as cafes where they could find like-minded people. The lack of a dazzling 'nightlife' could (to some degree) blamed to the fact that Dordrecht has virtually no large knowledge institutes. The lack of knowledge institutes has as a consequence that there's not much 'critical mass' in the city

[18] Witte de Withstraat is a trendy shopping street in Rotterdam, with a broad supply of (a.o.) design shops and 'hip' horeca facilities.

Despite the above-standing unfavourable conditions, the prevalent thought is that things are slowly getting better, but the government sometimes still don't know how she should facilitate the creatives. Maybe this is due to the fact that a satisfying cooperation between the policy-side and the practice-side has not set ground yet.

4 ‘Back to the model’ - assumptions and hypotheses applied to the investigated cases

4.1 Introduction

In chapter one and two, I constructed a model that represented harmonisation between theory, policy and practice regarding the development of a creative city. I stated that when there is harmonisation between these three points, the ideal of a creative city becomes in sight. [In chapter two, I marked out the term ‘creative city’ and I gave a overview of the characteristics a creative city should have, which again is highlighted below]

A creative city is a city:

- With a high representation of people who belong to the ‘creative core’ (artists, musicians, designers, architects, writers, novelists, journalists etc.)
- With a high presence of networks and clusters (either informal of formal) within the creative core and between creatives and the ‘external world’.
- Where (economic) successful crossovers between the ‘creative core’ and the more traditional business world as well as the public sector are possible
- With a high degree of tolerance towards a wide variety of minorities (homosexuals, immigrants, bohemians)
- With a diverse cultural life and a wide variety of possibilities in the nightlife- and entertainment sector
- With a strong appeal to highly educated and talented people – which off course is due to other outlined characteristics.
- With possibilities for starting (creative) entrepreneurs to experiment. (Which usually means not to much restrictions and regulations ‘from above’)
- With possibilities in the build environment for the shaping / development of creative niches, this usually means the existence of empty factory buildings, which are situated not far outside the city centre.
- With a combination between top-down and bottom-up approaches. This means that local authorities are aware of the present creative potential and are willing to take up the role as facilitators. Local authorities must be conscious of the fact that creativity could not be planned from above, for example by means of large urban restructuring projects and the building of trendy art galleries, latte-cafés and ‘yuppie-apartments’. Innovation and urban change generally starts from the ‘underground’, and is not invented on office desks.

I further stated that the relationship between theory and practice should be reciprocal; there could be no top-down without bottom-up and vice versa. Finally, I stated that creative policymaking is inherently surrounded by complexity and paradox because of the difficulty of 'steering' creativity. Around these notions, I constructed my research.
In this chapter, I shall put the four investigated cities to some sort of 'diagnose'. Three questions are important here:

- Does the city characterize itself as a creative city or else, by developments towards a creative city? (see overview of characteristics)
- How does the actual situation in the city relate to the hypothetical model that characterizes itself with harmonisation between theory, policy and practice?
- Does either successful or 'poor' creative city development relate to either a harmonisation or disruption in the hypothetical model?

By applying these questions to the four investigated cities, answers could be found about the importance of a harmonisation between theory, policy and practice regarding the development of a creative city.
Finally, I would not jump to conclusions without emphasizing that I'm aware of the fact that even if their seems to be importance in the harmonisation between theory, policy and practice in the four investigated cities, the model could only be used as some sort of an indicator, not as a 'magical' instrument for successful creative city planning. This is because of the fact that the model - and actually every model - represents a simplified reflection of reality that doesn't leave much room (depending of course on the complexity of the model) for outlying variables/dimensions that also could influence this reality.

4.2 Eindhoven

Eindhoven has a rather high representation of people who belong to the creative core with an emphasis on designers. (Mostly informal) networks bind most of the creatives in Eindhoven. This means that creatives meet each other at a regular base, but are not very much organised. (As is the case in Tilburg for example)
The creatives in Eindhoven tend to be 'scattered' across the city, but clustering exists for instance at TAC and maybe in the future in Strijp-S. Networks between creatives and the 'external world' are much scarcer than networks within the creative core. Crossovers between creatives and commercial parties (traditional market-orientated business) are scarce, artists and designers seem to be a bit inward looking, which is party due to a lack of support from above. Policy-makers further state that Eindhoven characterizes itself with tolerance

towards ‘minorities’. I wouldn’t call Eindhoven more or less tolerant towards minorities than any other Dutch city. Eindhoven has little interesting nightlife opportunities for creatives. The bulk of the bars and cafes are concentrated at a very young and mainstream audience. In the cultural sphere, there are some well-known and popular - large - institutes such as ‘de Effenaar’, Plaza Futura and ‘van Abbe Museum of Modern Arts’. Smaller institutes seem to be much more obscure in Eindhoven. Eindhoven has no particularly strong appeal to high educated and talented people, although the city generates a considerable share of new talent each year because of the presence of a Technical University and several HBO-institutes, talent which often leaves Eindhoven after graduating. However, there might be some improvement in this situation because of the increasing reputation of Eindhoven as a ‘leader in technology’ with organisations and companies - especially in the R&D sector (www.sre.nl) - arising quickly in and around Eindhoven. Graduates from the Design Academy are still moving to cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam, but also in this sector their tend to be positive development with more and more designers that settle in Eindhoven after graduation, because of the presence of affordable and ‘edgy’ workspaces an room for experiment, without much restrictions. Strijp-S, which is sometimes pointed to as the future ‘Mecca’ for creatives is not meant with this. In essence, these empty factory building will serve the ideal climate for creative niches to develop, but an often heard critique is that Strijp-S is too much invented from above. Creatives in Eindhoven therefore find their space in empty schools, churches or garages, which are often allocated by housing corporation Woonbedrijf.

Finally, creative city planning in Eindhoven is to a large degree a top-down affair. The plans towards the creative development of the Viktoriakwartier are characterized by a more bottom-up approach, with the practice-side as an important party, but also here, influential parties such as the municipality proved that they are willing to ‘enforce’ their policy to the other involved parties if they find it necessary. (more about this in chapter 5)

Strijp-S is especially a project between the municipality, the housing corporation(s) (Trudo and Woonbedrijf) and the real estate developer (Volker Wessels). Of course this top-down approach may be due to the fact that in this case, a lot of square meters are involved that has to be filled. It is however, the question if creative city development should occur with the ‘filling of many square meters.’

To conclude, despite the fact that initiatives are present and this whole ‘creative city’ thing seems to be embedded at the policy-side (at least by some officials), the approach might still be too top-down and pointed at very large projects such as Strijp-S. This didn’t leave much room for a more gradual and natural development, where also the smaller initiatives from the bottom receive their deserved attention. Eindhoven makes some progress towards

creative city development, but the above-standing (a.o.) factors that could disturb or slow down this development.

When the situation in Eindhoven is applied to the model, their seem to be some disruptions. As earlier stated, theories are embedded in the policy, but the question is if policy-makers in Eindhoven aren't considering things to be too bright. Is the fact that there is barely any 'Eindhovenaar' that makes a problem of the team of PSV consisting principally of foreigners a good indicator for tolerance? Isn't tolerance more related to a diverse composition of the inhabitants their self or to diverse and exciting nightlife without fixed closing times for instance? Further, Eindhoven is without a doubt a city with a lot of talent, but on the other hand, Eindhoven has difficulties to maintain this talent, a situation that has maybe led to the labelling of Eindhoven as a 'transit city', which might sound adventurous, but could also be explained as the admitting of its shortcomings.

Theories state that it is hard to 'steer' creative development by means of city planning, but that is what the municipality of Eindhoven is aiming at with Strijp-S. Strijp-S seems to be invented from above and the situation is now that creatives from the bottom are planning to 'avoid' Strijp-S in the future. There clearly is some disruption between the policy side and the practice side here, with policy-makers draw too much attention to big projects and to less attention to smaller initiatives from the creatives themselves. Consequently, creatives have the feeling that they are not taken seriously by the municipality. The only party that seems to take them seriously is Woonbedrijf that provides affordable workspace, and often stands between the municipality and the creatives.

In Eindhoven, we see the theories supported by practice. For instance, theories state that creative developments arise at 'rafelrand' areas where creatives could experiment, where new ideas must need old buildings. (Jacobs, 1962) In Eindhoven, creativity indeed occurs in typical 'rafelrand' milieus; vacant churches, car garages, office buildings, warehouses etc.

Further, according to the theory, the lack of interesting nightlife facilities and inspiring places to go meet like-minded people has a negative effect on the attractiveness a city has on creatives. (Florida, 2002 /2005) The creatives I spoke to indeed stated that they, and the creatives inside their networks, regret the lack of interesting nightlife opportunities, and count it as a minus for Eindhoven. Finally, theories state that a creative environment is difficult to steer from above. (Florida, 2002 / Jacobs, 1962) There's indeed an increasing number of creatives in Eindhoven that refuse to be 'steered' and 'commodified' into a multi-tenant building located in Strijp-S and want to make their own choices regarding their workplaces. The above-standing relationships support the self-evident connection between theory and practice. Theory could be traced back to pre-conditions for creative city development. These pre-conditions stem from either creative city theories or conversations

with people involved with creative city development. When discussion the three other cities I shall restrict myself to a short explanation about whether theory (pre-conditions) is supported in practice or not.

Important question is now, if the slowing down of the development of Eindhoven towards a creative city could be traced back to disturbances in the model. In my opinion, it could and this becomes especially clear in the relation between policy and practice. Policy-makers and creatives often have little to say to each other. Creatives don't know their way in the municipal apparatus and policy-makers aren't aware of small-scale creative initiatives and only pay attention to large-scale projects such as Strijp-S, a project that raises, at their turn, serious doubt with the creatives. Furthermore, there exists the possibility that policy-makers apply theoretical assumptions to 'loose' and arbitrary when constructing their plans regarding creative city development. In conclusion, it seems to be the case that a better harmonisation in the model - particularly regarding the relationship between policy and practice - would arguably lead to better chances for creative city development in Eindhoven.

4.3 Almere

Almere doesn't have a high representation of people who belong to the creative core, although there are some 'creatives' settled in – particularly – Almere-Haven. These creatives consist mainly of autonomous artists or members of cultural facilities. There exists little formation of networks within the creative core, creatives are often not aware of each other's presence.

The creatives that are present in Almere have a tendency to 'cluster' in Almere-Haven, although the word 'clustering' might be somewhat exaggerated.

Crossovers between the creative core and the more traditional business world are nearly absent in Almere. Tolerance towards minorities seems to be neither higher nor lower than in other Dutch cities. Almere doesn't distinguish itself with a wide variety of nightlife possibilities. Just as in Eindhoven, the bulk of nightlife facilities are concentrated at a rather young audience. Cultural life is also not particularly diverse, with regular facilities such as a cinema, a theatre, but for example no decent stage for pop/rock music. Almere doesn't have a strong appeal – if any appeal – to highly educated and talented people and it doesn't have virtually any knowledge institutes. The foundation of private institutes such as the International New Town Institute could be seen as a step into the right direction, but this doesn't remove the impression that Almere has less to offer in the sphere of high (er) education.

Almere has many possibilities for creatives to experiment. This is mainly because Almere is quite 'unreclaimed'. The municipality doesn't put too much restriction on 'pioneering'

creatives because they are aware of the value they could have for the social and cultural infrastructure of Almere. Although there is enough space for creatives to settle, experiment and develop creative niches, typical 'rafelrand' zones, such as empty factory buildings that possess some sense of industrial history are missing. And even if these buildings were present in Almere, the question is if they would be filled with creatives, because of a lack of creative initiatives.

On a very small scale, there happens to be a good combination between top-down and bottom-up initiatives, such as the supporting and facilitating of breeding ground BG-22-24, but on a larger scale, the municipality and the housing corporation may be to ambitious by the labelling of an empty office building as future creative breeding ground, without much insight in the basis for such a development and without the existence of a policy-plan.

With the above-standing explanation in mind, I could hardly state that Almere is developing into a creative city. This is because Almere simply doesn't meet the required pre-conditions for creative cities to emerge. This doesn't implicate that any attempt toward the stimulation of the creative industry is futile here, small initiatives could very well succeed. However, the concept of a real creative city; with a continuous inflow of new creative talent, with tight networks and creative clusters, successful crossovers between the creative core and the external business world and a dazzling and varied nightlife and cultural life seems – to express it carefully – a bridge too far for Almere.

When the situation in Almere is applied to the model, there seem to be many disruptions.

At first, theoretical assumptions about pre-conditions for creative city development seem to be neglected in policy. Policy-makers are aware of the fact that Almere scores 'poor' on pre-conditions for creative development, but this doesn't restrain some people at the policy-side to put their stakes on the creative industry. This situation could lead to the assumption that policy-makers adopt every concept that could lead to the improvement of the social-cultural infrastructure.

Concerning the connection between policy and practice, there happens to be quite a good cooperation between the municipality, the housing corporation and the few creatives Almere has. This cooperation currently occurs at a small scale, and this seems to be the right approach for Almere; no large projects which involve many square meters, just the facilitation of small-scale initiatives such as BG-22-24. Therefore, doubts could be cast about the allocation of vacant office building 'The Hulk' for the creative industry, because many square meters are involved and there exists uncertainty about the presence of enough initiatives to fill this building.

Again, the 'creative city theories' are supported by practice here, especially theories about pre-conditions for creative cities to emerge. These pre-conditions are virtually absent in

Almere, so it might be difficult if not impossible to construct successful policies for creative city development. Easily stated one could argue that Almere lacks input (pre-conditions) which lead to virtually no output (creative city development)
In Almere, the absence of creative city development could be traced back to disruptions in the model, but here it goes directly 'wrong' with the theory. Almere lacks suitable pre-conditions for creative city development at the moment, so harmonisation between top-down and bottom-up is not that important here because it will not lead to a convincing creative development.

4.4 Tilburg

Tilburg has a high representation of people belonging to the creative core with an emphasis on music and new media. Many formal and informal networks bind these creatives and they cluster in the Veemarktkwartier where for instance several organisations in the sphere of music are found. Crossovers between 'creatives' and the business world exist in Tilburg, not at a large scale yet, but there are examples of successful collaborations and there is a tendency of increasing. Also noticeable is the cooperation between knowledge institutes and the creative sector and the fact that creatives mostly are very well able to 'promote' their selves. Thus, there is some professionalization going on in the creative sector.
Further, I wouldn't call Tilburg considerably more tolerant than other Dutch cities, but there exist without a doubt a certain 'edgy' and informal atmosphere where people with alternative lifestyles feel at home. This however, does not mean that Tilburg has a dazzling and varied nightlife, once again, the bulk of nightlife facilities is concentrated at a young and mainstream audience, but besides this, there are some interesting places, such as Paradox, 013 or 'Het Patronaat' that are able to attract creatives, all of them situated in the Veemarktkwartier.
Tilburg has a continuous inflow of talent because of the presence of a wide variety of knowledge institutes. These knowledge institutes are often linked with the creative sector; which safeguard the ongoing relationship of many graduates with their city. However, this doesn't alter the fact that there is also a large amount of students that exchange Tilburg for other cities. Tilburg hasn't got a particularly strong appeal to (creative) talent outside Tilburg yet, but this may change if successful attempts towards creative development become more widely known. Creatives in Tilburg have possibilities to experiment; this is even supported by the government that is willing to allocate property to creatives with promising ideas. It isn't however the kind of noncommittal experiment one often sees at 'rafelrand' zones, where creatives are not bound by any regulations at all. This may be due to the earlier mentioned professionalization in Tilburg. It may also be because Tilburg doesn't have much

suitable (free) space available for the establishment of new breeding grounds, at least not in the direct surroundings of the Veemarktkwartier, where every building is someone's property. This situation will arguably not lead to the development of new creative niches, while a creative niche has already developed in the Veemarktkwartier. The outside appearance of this creative niche is however, not well established yet. (remember the creatives that consider the Veemarktstraat to be a bit of a 'backstreet' right now) According to the plans, the (spatial) improvement of the area should occur in the (near) future.

Tilburg characterizes itself with a good balance between top-down and bottom-up. Promising initiatives from the bottom are facilitated and supported from above. With respect to the content, it is the creative core that is responsible for the development of the Veemarktkwartier; they're the ones with the ideas. The municipality facilitates and the real estate developer is involved with the build environment. Therefore, it seems that a rather successful cooperation has emerged.

With respect to the above-standing, one could state that Tilburg makes some serious development towards a creative city, although there are some 'barriers' that should be overcome. (When keeping in mind that these barriers could not simply be 'removed')

Most important barrier is the reputation of Tilburg, which has as a result that Tilburg is not particularly popular with people from outside the city. When Tilburg will acquire more the reputation of a 'dazzling', lively and diverse city with lots of opportunities for creatives, the attracting of new talent will become easier. Either policy-makers or creatives are expecting that the Veemarktkwartier will improve the external appearance of Tilburg in the upcoming years.

When the situation in Tilburg is applied to the model, there is actually some harmonisation noticeable. First, theory seems to be embedded in policy. Policy-makers that are involved with urban development and planning are familiar with pre-conditions for creative city development. In their policies, they refer to research that proves the existence of the right seed-bed for creative development in Tilburg. Policy is therefore not directed at the establishment of something that doesn't yet exist in Tilburg, but rather on the responding to and strengthening of processes and dynamics that are already present. This automatically leads to the relationship between policy and practice, which characterizes itself with a combination between top-down and bottom-up. There is a good balance between initiatives from the bottom and the facilitating of these initiatives by the government. The 'informal sphere' in Tilburg involves the fact that some people at the policy-side operate within the creative sector and vice versa. The fact that the governmental apparatus is sometimes regarded as unwieldy and stratified doesn't alter the fact that creatives consider the current role of the municipality to be positive.

Here again, the evidence for the validity of creative city theories is proved by practice. Tilburg meet most of the pre-conditions for creative city development, the practical outcome is indeed the development towards a creative city.
Finally, the development towards a creative city in Tilburg could be traced back to harmonisation in the model. Tilburg possesses suitable pre-conditions for creative city development, policy-makers, who realize the importance of bottom-up initiatives and lay their trust in the practice-side, grasp these pre-conditions. The practice side is facilitated and supported by the policy-side, and initiatives very often succeed, because pre-conditions are favourable. This leads to a situation that comes very close to the hypothetical model.

4.5 Dordrecht

Dordrecht has a moderately high representation of people belonging to the creative core with an emphasis on autonomous artists. Networks within the creative core and between the creative core and the external world are not common in Dordrecht, therefore, successful crossovers between the creative core and the (more traditional) business world as well the public sector virtually do not exist in Dordrecht. Dordrecht doesn't characterize itself with a substantially high tolerance towards minorities. Dordrecht however, has a climate where artists feel at home, but that may be due to the beauty and serenity of the city rather than to the high degree of tolerance.
Dordrecht hasn't got a wide variety of possibilities in the nightlife -and entertainment sector. In fact, inhabitants often complain that there is not much to do in their town. The cultural life is moderately diverse, with an emphasis on the arts; museums, art-galleries etc.
Dordrecht doesn't have a strong appeal to highly educated and talented people. Dordrecht itself has virtually no knowledge institutes and exerts little or no attraction to talent from other cities. This could be party due to a certain unfamiliarity with what that the city has to offer, a situation that arguably could be blamed to the local government which isn't able to define what Dordrecht really 'is'. Through the fact that Dordrecht is relatively unreclaimed, there happens to be possibilities for creatives to experiment in the sense that the 'market isn't saturated', but according to rules and restrictions from above, Dordrecht isn't a city where endless experimentation is possible, because of the fact that the government sometimes imposes to 'tight' frames on creatives who therefore feel restricted in expressing themselves. Further, Dordrecht doesn't have many possibilities for the development of successful creative niches. Through the fact that Dordrecht wasn't an industrial town, there were/ are virtually no empty factory buildings here. Their seems to be some space for the establishment of breeding grounds at the 'Stadswerven', but past initiatives didn't came from the ground. Of course, the Voorstraat-Noord is designated area for the establishment

of a creative niche, but real estate owners and the role of the municipality arguably prevent 'spontaneous developments'.

Finally, I would call the approach in Dordrecht particularly top-down, because of the important function the municipality allocates itself when it comes to steering the creatives into the right direction and 'prohibit' the settlement of the 'wrong' functions in the Voorstraat-Noord.

To conclude I think that Dordrecht is lacking too much for successful creative city development. Very important is that Dordrecht seems to completely lack the inflow of talent and the diversity in nightlife opportunities. This makes it a rather 'dull' city, despite the fact that the aesthetic value of Dordrecht is very much present. The fact that Dordrecht isn't developing into a creative city doesn't mean that the development towards a 'dwaalmilieu' in Voorstraat-Noord wouldn't succeed, but this will be largely emphasized on the existing antique-shops and art-galleries and will therefore reach a whole different audience (middle aged art-lovers for example) than the young, talented, creative and 'unruly' people that are attracted to creative cities.

When the situation in Dordrecht is applied to the model, at first the link between theory and policy is quite poor. For instance, pre-conditions for the development of creative cities were not taken into account when constructing policies. This however, might be due to doubts about the value of pre-conditions and the believe in the potential the existing creatives in Dordrecht already possess, without laying too much pressure on the things Dordrecht doesn't have, such as an annual inflow of creative talent or a diverse nightlife. Further, the connection between policy and practice might be quite poor, because of the fact that there aren't many initiatives from the bottom, and the initiatives that exist are insufficient facilitated from above. The municipality want to transform Voorstraat-Noord into a creative zone, but arguably, this should occur on her own terms. Therefore, I think it is justified to say that creatives and policy-makers to some degree live in different worlds.

Again, according to the relationship between theory and practice; Dordrecht lacks sufficient pre-conditions which – to put it a bit simplified - consequentially doesn't lead to successful creative city development.

To conclude, it could be stated that the absence of creative city development in Dordrecht could be traced to disruptions in the model, and just as in Almere, the basis for this lies at the theory; Dordrecht doesn't meet enough pre-conditions for creative development yet. Further, the little potential that is present here has the risk to be 'overlooked' because of poor harmonisation between the policy and the practice side.

4.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I applied the theoretical assumptions and hypotheses from the first and second chapters to the situation in the four investigated cities. Important conclusion is the fact that the hypothetical model I constructed in the first chapter seem to possess some validity. A good harmonisation between theory, policy and practice does lead to creative city development, although the theoretical aspect is decisive here; there has to be enough pre-conditions for creative city development, and it is useless to construct policies in order to facilitate a development that doesn't have a change of succeeding because of a lack of suitable pre-conditions.

The situation in the four investigated cities further proves that theoretical assumptions about creative cities apply in a practical situation. The presence or absence of pre-conditions leads to a presence or absence of creative city development.

A point of critique could be that the pre-conditions that seem to matter in a certain city are not the same pre-conditions that are important in another city. Pre-conditions are therefore location and context bound, as opposed to theory itself, which ought to be universal.

This without a doubt makes sense to a certain degree, but then, it should be clear from chapter two that pre-conditions regarding the development of creative cities are derived from existing theories about creative cities. Pre-conditions therefore belong, in my opinion to theoretical assumptions about creativity in the city. But just as it is the case with many theories in the geographical sphere, the fact that there exist a theory about (the emergence of) certain phenomenon, does not imply that this phenomenon occurs at the same extent at the same place. This is because the existence of many other dynamics that influence and shape a certain place. A pre-condition for creative city development such as the existence of empty factory buildings could be more important in a certain city than it is in another city. This is often because of the presence or absence of other important pre-conditions. Tilburg, for instance, hasn't got many empty factory buildings, but since other important pre-conditions are present – such as a diverse and sizeable creative core, a wide variety of knowledge institutes and networks and collaborations between different involved parties, the lack of empty factory buildings may be a bit of a pity, but doesn't have to restrain Tilburg from creative city development.

Following the investigations in the four cities, it seems to be the case that creative city development couldn't do without policy. This is because the policy-side is able to and should facilitate and support creative development, not by the implementation of tight rules and regulations, but with the safeguarding of a right climate (which means a rather

loose approach regarding rules and laws) the allocation of space and financial support. If creative development could do without any policy involvement, the model had to be adapted to these investigations and only show a connection between theory and practice.

Finally, it could be stated that the hypothetical model and the related hypotheses possess some validity; harmonisation or disruption between theory, policy and practice seems to relate to the presence or absence of creative city development. A combination between bottom-up and top-down is needed and creative city planning is often (and inherently) surrounded by paradox and complexity because the difficulty of 'planning' creativity. The last hypothesis seems to be only party valid however. The word planning doesn't mean that the policy-side is interfering with the dynamics that happen on the practice-side. A local government could choose for an approach where creatives could 'go ahead' to a large degree, with the policy-side safeguarding the right climate. This could be considered as just a different – or maybe the right – approach for creative city planning. However, the word 'creative city building' will be arguably more suitable here - and does - if the wishes and desires of the practice-side are taken into account – not necessarily have to be surrounded by paradox and complexity, although successful creative city development is always dependent on many different dynamics and may be therefore a somewhat complex affair in itself.

5 Recommendations

5.1 Recommendations in general

In this thesis, I investigated the relationship between theory, policy and practice regarding the concept of the 'creative city' in the cities Eindhoven, Almere, Tilburg and Dordrecht.
This investigation should lead to statements about the importance of harmonisation between these points.
In order to answer these questions and find support for the formulated hypotheses, I used literature, (applied) research reports and policy-plans. Further, I spoke to a number of policy-makers and creatives in the four cities, which was often very useful and interesting.
In the previous chapter, I already gave the answer to my research questions; most important the fact that harmonisation of theory, policy and practice seems to 'correlate' with successful creative development, but only when there are sufficient pre-conditions (stemming from the theory) for creative development. The value of these pre-conditions for creative city development seems to differ in importance at different locations and pre-conditions are therefore not universally equal in importance. Further, a model such as 'simplified' as this, always should be used as a guideline, not as a 'magical instrument'.

In this chapter, I shall give some recommendations – mostly directed at policy-makers and city planners – regarding creative development in their city. This recommendations should not be read as a future 'to do list' for successful creative city planning, but more as a reflection of the experiences and insights that stem from my research and the feelings I have about the chances and /or constraints regarding creative city development in the four investigated cities.

The importance of the presence of pre-conditions becomes very clear in a city like Almere. The relation between policy and practice here is not a particularly poor one, but since the city lacks pre-conditions for creative development, it will not become a creative city, at least not in the direct future. To my opinion, Almere shouldn't focus too much on becoming a creative city, but policy-makers shouldn't however be 'blind' for small-scale initiatives, since these initiatives actually are present. Quite the same goes for Dordrecht, a city with more creatives than Almere, but also lacking (other) important pre-conditions such as inflow of talent and a diverse palette of nightlife opportunities.

Cities with poor pre-conditions – such as Almere and Dordrecht - for creative development shouldn't focus too much on large-scale 'creative restructuring', this will inevitable fail because of a lack of creative talent to establish the practice side.
Further, constructing policies towards the 'purchasing' of suitable pre-conditions is a very difficult, if not impossible task. Cities that possess these pre-conditions didn't actually purchase them in a couple of years, and some things are simply 'irreversible'; for example, it's impossible to purchase old factory buildings.
It is a good thing – and not only with the benefits for creative development in mind - that cities like Dordrecht and Almere are trying to attract knowledge institutes. Besides an annual inflow of talent, students are often responsible for a certain liveliness in the city, with a wide variety of 'horeca-facilities' directed at them. This liveliness is what Almere and Dordrecht are missing most.
Eindhoven meets more pre-conditions for creative city development, but here, the importance of small-scale initiatives should not be neglected when focussing on sizeable projects such as Strijp-S. The municipality in Eindhoven seems to have the tendency to approach things 'too top down'. This is one of the main critiques of creatives and it's a critique that policy-makers should take serious notion of. Eindhoven (Viktoriakwartier) will be further discussed in the next paragraph.
Although in Tilburg, the actual situation lies quite close to the situation in the hypothetical model and much attention is given to small-scale bottom-up initiatives, future advice will be that the focus on the bottom-layer should not be lost. Success could often lead to 'overstated' ambitions' and the interest for large restructuring projects such as 'de Spoorzone' in the future could lead to the overshadowing of small initiatives. Furthermore, urban planners in Tilburg should keep in mind the fact that at the moment the (public) space in the Veemarktkwartier posits difficulties for the emergence of a creative milieu. To improve this situation one could think about certain spatial interventions in order to make the Veemarktkwartier more attractive for creatives, such as (green) pedestrian areas and 'daring and innovative' street furniture; interventions that invite to stroll through the area and meet each other in the public space. Furthermore, to improve the exposure of the buildings to the street, (for instance) more transparency could be 'applied' to the facades so that some sort of entirety will be established. It will lead to far to give far-going urban planning recommendations, since this is essentially not the purpose of this thesis, but since public space seems to be only pre-condition that is poor in Tilburg, recommendations should be pointed at this issue.

Last but not least, there is no such thing as a ‘best practice’ for creative city development that holds for every city. Every city is different and cities need to look at the strengths they already possess. These strengths could lie in the creative industry, but it’s also possible that these strengths lie elsewhere. When present, the creative core is very well capable of setting up their own initiatives; they don’t want to be steered, especially not at an early stage. They need freedom to experiment, to express themselves. They shouldn’t be bound by rules and regulations. (this holds for every city) The policy side should ‘jump’ to an already existing development, and should not try to invent this developments their self. After all, creativity takes place in projects on street-level, when people with a certain passion meet each other and exchange ideas, when ideas find accommodation, and eventually, an audience. Therefore it is important that the meeting and interacting on street-level - and thus the attractiveness of public space deserves more attention from the side of local authorities who are involved with spatial development. They should try harder to create a spatial framework within people are more invited to be creative.

5.2 Recommendation for Viktoriakwartier

In chapter three I stated that in the Viktoriakwartier, a more bottom-up approach is sought, with parties that already play an important role in the area, such as TAC and Vereniging Ventose taking part of the project based organisation – Stichting Viktoriakwartier - that is involved with the creative development of this area. Parties that are also involved with the development of the Viktoriakwartier are the municipality of Eindhoven, Woonbedrijf (Housing Corporation and developer) and (at a later stage) Plaza Futura, an important cinema house that is willing to settle in the Viktoriakwartier. The arrival of Plaza Futura, however, did lead to some – serious - problems regarding the development of the Viktoriakwartier. It changed the plans a little bit; it slowed them a bit down as well. And it also became clear that their ambitious plans were hard to fit.. Besides this, the arrival of Plaza Futura will attract many visitors to the Viktoriakwartier and extra parking opportunities should therefore be realised. The discussion about the size of the parking space, its location (below ground level) and its entrance takes over 9 months. All the other projects have been slowed down due to that. The frustration on the speed and quality of the development is rising. The city of Eindhoven wants to force a decision, which has as a consequence that the cooperation between the related organizations is getting less.

This is in short the awkward situation at the moment. A situation where the overall picture threatens to become overshadowed by an ongoing struggle about parking space and traffic safety. It is quite a difficult situation, because traffic safety *is* an important value. You can argue however, that according to traffic safety, Eindhoven has the reputation to approach things a bit exaggerated in comparison to other Dutch cities. Eindhoven does not always have be the 'most obedient boy of the class'. But more than that, the creativity and feeling of collectivity in finding the solution are nowhere to be found.

The conflict here and the fact that the municipality doesn't hesitate to take the decisive role implies a top-down approach, other parties are simply pushed away when spatial decisions have to be made. When the current situation in the Viktoriakwartier is applied to the model, it becomes clear that there are some disturbances. The initial philosophy regarding the Viktoriakwartier was to create a small-scale creative space with lots of possibilities to meet, interact and share creative ideas. The theoretical knowledge from players from (for example) TAC and the applying of this knowledge in the development vision for the Viktoriakwartier should safeguard this philosophy in the elaboration of the plan.

At this stage however, the creative development philosophy that was an important pillar of the plan seems to be neglected now. It is important that the creative dimension again will become the starting point in the Viktoriakwartier.

Giving a constructive recommendation about the strengthening - or even the 'repairing' - of the harmonisation between theory, policy and practice regarding the development of the Viktoriakwartier is not easy. However, some things should be changed as soon as possible in order for the consultation between the concerned parties to get going again. At first, it is important that all parties become aware of the fact that a successful elaboration of the plan is only possible when all involved parties are more or less satisfied. Willingness to cooperate should be the main starting point. Since there has been no stringent decision about the traffic entries yet, and the consultation has reached a deadlock, it is very important that all parties gather around the conference table again to discuss the future of the plan with the development vision as a guideline. Therefore, all parties should depart from their demands, assumptions and prejudices regarding the 'parking-issue'.

In order for the discussion not to end in struggle and distrust again, an independent panel chairman could be appointed which has the approval of all the parties.

When the consultation gets going again, it is important that all involved parties are doing their 'homework'. Local government officials need to be aware of dynamics that are involved with creative city development and the benefits such development could have either on an economic or cultural level. It would therefore be a good thing when not only officials from the department of town planning participate, officials from the departments of culture and economics are much needed. In Tilburg, for example, the development of the Veemarktkwartier very much is an affair for the latter departments. (See page 64, 69)

Further, a project manager is involved with the creative industry in Eindhoven. This person of course is highly needed at the conference table. Those people are needed at the conference table because discussion should not only involve the urban planning sphere, but also has got to with the social, the cultural, the sort of events that 'fit' the Viktoriakwartier and so on.

Then, some sort of mentality change is needed from the side of the municipality. In my list of characteristics (page 35) , I earlier stated that creative cities characterize themselves with room for experiment and starting initiatives. This means that local authorities should not put too many rules and regulations on creative initiatives. Creative initiatives - even if they're somewhat daring - therefore should be supported rather than prevented. Despite the critiques about the lack of feasibility of 'checklists' such as the Memphis Manifesto (see page 36) one point from this list at least represent some decent advice with regards to a much needed mentality change for local authorities:

'Value risk-taking. Convert a "no" climate into a "yes" climate. Invest in opportunity-making, not just problem-solving. Tap into the creative talent, technology and energy for your community. Challenge conventional wisdom.'

This mentality is much more present in a city such as Tilburg. In this city, there is more 'believe' in the value of small-scale creative initiatives. This may be because of the fact that there are the boundaries between 'high' and 'low' culture are more indefinite in Tilburg, there are arguably more people at the municipality in Tilburg who are also operating at the practice-side than there are in Eindhoven. This situation has without a doubt led to a more bottom-up approach in Tilburg, because the distance between policy and practice is smaller to start with.

The municipality in Eindhoven must dare to take alternative decisions. Why choose for the safest option if there are many opportunities that are still safe, but leave more room for spontaneous development?

Of course, parties, such as Vereniging Ventose, TAC and Woonbedrijf should be aware of the fact that the municipality has to deal with difficult assessments and statutory / judicial constraints. The municipality should however, under no circumstance, use 'the judicial' as a cover-up or justification for spatial decisions that lack research regarding the feasibility of alternative options. Therefore, it is important that all relevant documents are available for everyone involved.

Concerning the future of the Viktoriakwartier, it is important that this area could really distinguish itself as a creative area. At the moment, this is not the case, mostly because of the fact that the area should undergo a substantial transformation with regards to newly built space. With respect to this extensive restructuring, there is an exquisite chance to hook up with 'design' as a distinctive value for Eindhoven, not only in the newly build environment, but also in the public space. The Viktoriakwartier should, as a unique part of Eindhoven, become a place where the spatial environment invites people to meet, interact and create. This may sound as something for the future, but it'll be a good thing too consider this area as a creative area right now, where it's just the unexpected that is possible. This means that there should be more freedom for temporary solutions; why not a 'city beach', or a 'picknick-garden'; things people do not directly expect in the centre of Eindhoven? Things that challenge and invite and lay emphasis on meeting and exchanging in a pleasant environment.

The 'Via Ventose Street Festival' that was held in early July 2008 showed the 'capacity' of the Viktoriakwartier to temporary change into a very pleasant and inviting area, only because of the establishment of a big 'turf' and the opening of some ateliers and workplaces.

This success contribute to the feeling that the supporting - either financial by means of (for example) sponsoring or with the softening of rules and legislations and the provision of permits - of these temporary developments is important for the establishment of liveliness and creativity in the Viktoriakwartier. Besides this, more publicity and marketing should surround these initiatives, because they contribute to the 'future Viktoriakwartier' that was mentioned in the development vision and is well desired by residents, creatives and people who value intimacy / small-scaliness, encounter and originality more than uniformity and massivity.

If this room for experiment, to engage in alternative solutions, to invite and challenge could be maintained in the future, even when urban restructuring takes place, there is chance for an authentic piece of creative city to emerge in the Viktoriakwartier.

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