Arnhem, Creative City:
A Study on Design, Fashion, and Entrepreneurship

Faculty of Arts | Master Thesis Creative Industries

Ricardo Borges Hippert

Student number 4594576

Radboud University Nijmegen

Nijmegen, August 25, 2016

Supervisor

Dr. Timotheus Vermeulen

Assistant Professor Cultural Theory

Radboud University Nijmegen

Acknowledgements

After making the decision to study in the Netherlands, my life has entered a rich stage of new experiences. This would not be possible without my family and friends, people whom I truly love and to whom I owe the success of this long journey of discovery.

I want to thank my supervisor Timotheus Vermeulen for the freedom he provided in the choice of the subject matter of this thesis and for providing all the support, guidance, and patience that I needed to fulfill this task.

Finally, I want to dedicate this thesis to my wife Raquel and my son Tito. It is impossible to describe how much I love you and how lucky I feel having had the opportunity to share this experience with you. We make a hell of a team!

Contents

Introduction

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Arnhem and Nijmegen represent one of the most interesting regions in the Netherlands, comprising a range of educational institutions, natural attractions, and a cultural scene that is enriched by a growing creative industry. This thesis is inspired by entrepreneurship and Arnhem's fashion industry, and my motivation for choosing this theme began with a curiosity about the "fashion city" image that is projected through several means of communication. Before coming to the Netherlands I was already aware of the typography school *Werkplaats Typographie*, but gradually I started to learn more about the fashion industry that flourishes in the region. As a foreigner, my expectation was to find a kind of Parisian Arnhem, with fashion permeating the streets and the cultural scene. And in fact it does, but rather than following stereotypes of cities such as Paris or Milan, Arnhem finds its own way to construct and manifest its fashion identity. Several highlights such as the *Modekwartier* (the Fashion District), the ArtEZ University of the Arts, and the Fashion + Design Festival that once a year shakes the city for the entire month of June, contribute immensely to the region's cultural scene with economic and social developments.

My decision to approach the subject of entrepreneurship arose during a visit to the Modekwartier, when I felt a gap between the expectations transmitted by the website and the reality that I saw locally. While the well-designed website transmitted a sophisticated and vibrant atmosphere, the visit revealed a simpler and much quieter neighborhood. However, during my tour I visited several shops and became fascinated by the opportunity to talk directly to the designers, who in most cases are also the makers of the products. Although most of them have developed alternative strategies to sell products (e.g. via e-commerce), I wondered how those people managed to keep their businesses running, since the majority of tourists choose to shop in the city center, just a few minutes away.

With this in mind, I decided to address the following research question:

> "How do the websites of the Modekwartier, ArtEZ University of the Arts, and
> Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region use entrepreneurship in branding Arnhem as a
> creative city?"

The answer is developed through the critical discourse analysis of one specific web page from each of these websites. The research is delimited in time by the date of March 29, 2016, when the snapshots of the web pages were captured. The aim is not to research entrepreneurship itself but to understand how it is promoted, constructed, and deployed in order to put Arnhem on the map of creative cities. The direction I aim to follow in this thesis involves questions about the way in

which entrepreneurship in the creative industries is seen by the higher governmental spheres, how it is applied in regional development, and in what way it is represented in Arnhem. It is important to mention that despite its strong fashion city reputation, a broad spectrum of disciplines within the creative industries are also developing in Arnhem. This is achieved by the use of "design" as an umbrella comprising almost any activity except fashion. Since the corpus of research commonly unites fashion with design (Arnhem is mostly described as "A city of fashion and design"), the investigation and results also apply to the creative industry in a general manner. In this regard, when mentioning these disciplines and creative workers, I use the terms "fashion and design" and "(fashion) designers," respectively. In Chapter Two, which refers to ArtEZ, I employ the same designation used by the web page, that is, "art and design" and "artists and designers."

2. EXISTING RESEARCH

In a search of previous theses on fashion and Arnhem, I found one title that provided initial insights: "Fashion in gentrifying urban spaces: the case of the Fashion Quarter in Klarendal, Arnhem" (Gourzis 2014). It helped me to access the main subjects around entrepreneurship and fashion and design in Arnhem, which I use to map and critically contrast two different perspectives: that of institutions and organizations that promote entrepreneurship, and the perspective of those working in the fashion industry (and by extension the members of the creative industry). Due to the critical stance I assume in the research, the critical perspectives around these subjects provide valuable inspiration for the discourse analysis to answer the question "How do the websites of the Modekwartier, ArtEZ University of the Arts, and Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region use entrepreneurship in branding Arnhem as a creative city?"

In his thesis, Gourzis aimed to determine the role of fashion in the gentrification of Klarendal and its relation to Arnhem's policies. The methodology included interviews, observation, analysis of statistical data, and discourse analysis of policies and articles. According to Gourzis, gentrification was implemented as an urban policy that, in association with city branding, brought about the present profile of Klarendal – he pointed out that Richard Florida's concept of the "creative class" had a strong influence in the decision to use Arnhem's creative class to revitalize the district. Aside from the fact that fashion catalyzed the identity and aesthetics of the district, it also had an urban role as an economic activity, in the provision of livability, in the enhancement of status, and in the stimulation of creativity. Against the most often cited clichés of the creative industries, one important affirmation was that fashion did not generate income for the locals or create new job positions. Gourzis' thesis presents a vast amount of information about the process

of regeneration that took place in the district, providing the past and the present contexts of the Modekwartier.

Influenced by Florida's creative class, city branding is an emerging field of research. It originates from "nation branding," a term that was coined by Anholt (earthspeak.com, n.d.) in 1996 that still involves disagreement around its precise definition. Dinnie proposes that a nation-brand is defined "as the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all of its target audiences," (2008, 15) and affirms that the main foundation is "the increasingly global competition that nations now face in both their domestic and external markets" (2008, 17). City branding follows this momentum and is motivated by the positive outcomes deriving from the management of cities' resources, reputations, and images (2011). Kaneva proposes an agenda for critical research on nation branding and sees it as "a compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms" (Kaneva 2011, 118). Considering Anholt's vision that nation branding must be seen as "a component of national policy, never as a 'campaign' that is separate from planning, governance or economic development," (Anholt 2008, 23) she points out ideological implications for the reconstitutions of nations "whereby the meaning and experiential reality of nationhood itself is transformed in ways that are yet to be fully understood" (Kaneva 2011, 118). The concept of nation and city branding sets the framework of competitiveness both on the level of the region and the level of the city of Arnhem, influencing the discourse of all the webpages selected for analysis.

City branding is a field that constantly draws upon the concept of the creative city. Landry began to pave the road of creativity in cities, describing the disappearance of old industries and their replacement by knowledge generated through creativity and innovation (1995). The original formulation of the creative city highlights the use of creativity to solve urban problems – for instance the role of arts projects in the re-use of old buildings. Landry also started the discourse on "making the most of creative individuals," accepting "the contribution of immigrants," "balancing cosmopolitanism and locality," and "developing creative spaces" (1995, 29). The concept of the creative city gained considerable attention due to the work of Florida. He states that due to its impact on the economy, the creative class is more influential than the working class and the service class. At its core, the term refers to those working in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music, and entertainment. Their main activity is to create novel ideas, new technology, and new creative content. In comparison with other classes, "those in the Creative Class are paid to use their minds—the full scope of their cognitive and social skills" (2012, 9). He underlines that "talent" has an important role on regional development, and is attracted by diversity, which can be measured by indices such as the proportion of gay households in a region

(gay index), cultural and nightlife amenities (cool index), conventional amenities, high-technology industry, and regional income (2012).

Critics affirm that the adoption of creative city policies create tension between aspirational cultural strategies (that aim to diminish inequalities) and industrial cultural strategies (that privilege highly educated and wealthy city dwellers as well as wealthy migrants and workers of transnational companies) (Zukin and Braslow 2011). There are also those who argue that little evidence attests that amenities rather than jobs motivate migration among members of the creative class, mainly those above the age of thirty (Hansen & Niedomysl 2009 cited in Zukin and Braslow 2011). The same applies to culture for social inclusion and its use for economic growth that polarizes artists on one side, and bankers, lawyers, and engineers on the other (Peck 2005 cited in Zukin and Braslow 2011). The Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region clearly demonstrates via its website that one of its purposes is the attraction of talent. The website is a branding tool that promotes the region as a place to work, study, live, and innovate.

Last but not least, entrepreneurship is another subject that relates to the main research question. In the creative industries the entrepreneur is considered a main agent who has the capability to detect opportunities (potential sources of value) for developing new things in the market (Hartley et al. 2013, 92). The process necessarily involves uncertainty, creativity, and innovation. One fact that contributes to making entrepreneurship relevant in the creative industries is the assumption that uncertainty and innovation plus the search for value constitute a natural similarity between artists and entrepreneurs – actors who have a high level of self-motivation and tolerance for risk in common. Statistics also show that the majority of the creative industries is constituted by freelancers, microbusinesses (firms with 0-2 employees), and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Hesmondhalgh cites that in the late 1980s, the cultural industries became related to regional development policies, regeneration and employment creation in which entrepreneurs became a drive of competitiveness (2013). The Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region website as a joint effort of European Regional Development Fund and regional policies follows the same track, and the promotion of entrepreneurship is given continuity in the ArtEZ and Modekwartier websites.

There are several studies showing that entrepreneurship in the creative industries is commonly linked to precarity. For instance, through interviews and observation in diverse kinds of workplaces McRobbie (McRobbie 2002 cited in Davies and Sigthorsson 2013) described a workforce constituted by self-employed people who had to bear the costs that are normally the responsibility of employers. It is also important to mention that the independent character of freelancers and small businesses in the production stage is also relative since the stages of commissioning, publishing, and distribution tend to be controlled by large organizations (Davies and Sigthorsson 2013).

3. RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS

To answer the main question of this thesis – "How do the websites of the Modekwartier, ArtEZ University of the Arts, and Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region use entrepreneurship in branding Arnhem as a creative city?" – I establish sub-questions for each web page analyzed.

The first sub-question is "What representations of entrepreneurship are found in the Modekwartier website?" In this chapter I detect the social structures at play in the Fashion District and how they affect the representation of entrepreneurship.

The second sub-question is "What role does the ArtEZ website have in the development of the entrepreneurial discourse in Arnhem?" The purpose of this chapter is to investigate if and how ArtEZ influences the city economy, and understand the connection between artistic education and entrepreneurship in Arnhem.

The third and last sub-question is "How are the field of fashion and design and the relation between its practitioners and entrepreneurship represented in the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region website?" With this twofold and final inquiry I show a broad perspective on fashion and design and entrepreneurship in the region, investigating how these practices and their practitioners are seen by the social structures.

According to Fairclough, social structures are abstract entities such as an economic structure, a social class, or a language (2003). When I use this term I refer to the organizations and institutions that organize, stimulate, or control the Modekwartier, ArtEZ, and the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region. It is important to mention that the texts found on these webpages are also influenced by social practices, which are entities that mediate the relationship between the social structures and the texts (for instance practices of teaching, or practices of management) (2003).

4. RELEVANCE

As I mentioned above, my aim is to confront different points of view on entrepreneurship, questioning the way creative workers are represented by the institutions and organizations that imprint an entrepreneurial character in the region of Arnhem. This thesis contributes to previous research by entering the fields of culture, discourse, representation, and ideology. The critical description of the social relations that move the creative industry in the city can provide new insights on an improvement of the social and cultural effects of fashion and design. By establishing a more democratic discourse textured by the voices of (fashion) designers, the city can become truly creative, increase its originality, and bring equal benefits for all those interested in the development of the region.

On the other hand, city branding is a recent field of research with much to develop. According to Kaneva, cultural approaches on the research of nation branding represent "the smallest and most recent group of studies" (she conducted this investigation in 2011 and found a total of 14 sources). Additionally, the practical application of nation/region/city branding still has huge potential to grow geographically. Hence, the considerations presented in this thesis can be of valuable help to criticize, review, and improve the present theory in the field, and also influence future branding strategies, in a broader sense of development within which economic factors are also accompanied by social and cultural advances.

Finally, the specific subject of the creative industries is relatively new, with much space for contributions. This thesis enhances the study of entrepreneurship by questioning discourse representations that depict creative workers as mere pieces of production in the economy.

5. CORPUS SELECTION

The corpus of research will consist of three web pages: (a) "Press"[1] on the website of the Fashion District, (b) "Art, Culture and Economy Professorship"[2] on the website of ArtEZ University of the Arts, and (c) "Fashion and Design"[3] on the website of the Arnhem Nijmegen City Region.

Considering the context of nation/region/city branding in conjunction with the capability of the Internet to cross ethnic and national boundaries, websites represent an accessible and useful kind of media to external audiences that are looking for a place to travel, live, study, or work. Websites are a contemporary form of communication that provide a range of expressions through text, layout, and design features that influence how meanings are conveyed. For instance, the way information architecture organizes and categorizes content may indicate the privileging of certain information and biased perspectives of the world. Additionally, non-linear narratives and links to internal pages allow different means of (inter)action and a combination of genres (Fairclough 2003). Also, the multimodality in websites – the way in which different semiotic modalities such as text, image, sound, and video are associated – grants originality, representing a fertile medium for analysis. Finally, it is important to consider the Internet as a mobile form of communication made available in our pockets through technology such as smartphones.

The corpus of the research aims to provide three different levels of analysis – micro, meso, and macro – through three specific criteria of selection: geography, sphere, and perspective. In the criterion of geography, the selection covers a spatial range that begins with the neighborhood of

---

[1] http://www.modekwartier.nl/press/ (accessed on March 29, 2016).

[2] https://www.artez.nl/en/research/art-culture-and-economy-professorship (accessed on March 29, 2016).

[3] http://www.arnhemnijmegencityregion.nl/business/Fashion-and-design (accessed on March 29, 2016).

Klarendal (the Fashion District), reaching an intermediate space represented by the city of Arnhem (the ArtEZ University of the Arts), and ends in the region in which the city is located (the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region). From the point of view of the production of the web pages, the spheres also change considerably, starting with the public sphere (the entrepreneurs of the fashion district), approaching an intermediate sphere of a private educational institution (the ArtEZ University of the Arts), and reaching the highest sphere of governmental institutions (the provinces and urban networks of Arnhem and Nijmegen). Finally, fashion and entrepreneurship are seen from different perspectives: the first provides a perspective on production – the majority of the entrepreneurs in the Fashion District design and make their products by themselves, locally; the second contributes with a research view – ArtEZ University of the Arts catalyzes the communication between the creative industry and the business world; and the third presents a perspective of development – the governmental institutions behind the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region privilege the economic aspects of fashion and entrepreneurship. Language was also a criterion for selecting the corpus, and all the webpages are available in English, which was the language chosen for the analysis. The range of analysis is synthetized in the table below:

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	MICRO	MESO	MACRO
WEBPAGES	The Fashion District	ArtEZ University of the Arts	Arnhem Nijmegen City Region
GEOGRAPHY	District/Neighborhood	City	Region (European Union)
SPHERE	Public sphere / citizens	Private sphere	Governmental sphere
PERSPECTIVE	Production (fashion/entrepreneurship seen from the side of production)	Research (fashion/entrepreneurship seen from the perspective of research)	Development (fashion/entrepreneurship seen from economic development)
LANGUAGE	Dutch and English	Dutch and English	Dutch, English and German

The Modekwartier (Fashion District)

In the past, from the 1970s to the end of the 1990s, the district of Klarendal developed a very distinct character from what it is today. With its low costs, the area became well populated with immigrants and students, but gradually prostitution and drug-related crimes were added to the social background (Gourzis 2014). From the 2000s onwards, in a joint effort with the residents, the authorities managed to regenerate the district in a process that took years of continued labor in policymaking, in the establishment of local campaigns and public investment. The strategic

decision of linking the district to fashion came only in 2005, hugely influenced by the presence of ArtEZ School of Arts. Situated in Arnhem, it is a renowned educational institution in the fields of fashion and design that naturally represented a provider of talents to populate the district. To incentivize ArtEZ's graduates to settle their business in the district, *Volkshuisvesting*[4] started to buy properties, and subsidies were implemented to facilitate the provision of spaces with a twofold purpose, allowing these entrepreneurs to have their studios on the ground floor and their homes on the first floor. Entrepreneurs in the catering business also were handpicked by the *Volkshuisvesting* to settle cafes, bars, and restaurants in the area. From 2008 onwards, other initiatives were conducted such as urban improvement, restoration, and construction; the trading association of Klarendal and St. Marten districts (DOCKS) were founded; and the MultiFunctional Center, a complex including activities to improve the quality of life in the neighborhood was opened. The district remains dynamic and has a vision for 2022 – "Klarendal 2022, quirky and enterprising"[5] – that has developed since 2011, uniting residents and entrepreneurs to orient policies and Klarendal itself in the forthcoming years.

ArtEZ University of the Arts

ArtEZ University of the Arts is one of the largest art institutes in the Netherlands, with more than 3,000 students in Arnhem, Enschede, and Zwolle[6]. In Arnhem the facilities are located along the Rhine, in the Klarendal district, and in the city center. The Academy of Art and Design is located on the Rhine, highlighted by the main building designed by Gerrit Rietveld in 1957.

The Department of Fashion Design was founded in 1953[7] and is one of the main pillars of the reputation that ArtEZ has in the field of the arts. Like the other disciplines offered by the institute, fashion students need to pass the admission exam, which is comprised of an interview, personal portfolio evaluation, assessment of a homework assignment, and language requirements – in 2016 English became the official language in the faculty of art and design. Such measures contribute to the department to accumulate prizes such as the Grand Seigneur in 2011 – the highest award in the Dutch fashion industry – and to generate a list of former students who have achieved national and international recognition after graduation.[8]

Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region

The Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region is one of the five networks that propel the economy in the

---

[4] http://www.volkshuisvesting.nl/ (accessed on June 24, 2016).

[5] http://www.klarendal.nl/bewonersoverleg/klarendal-2022/ (accessed on June 23, 2016).

[6] https://www.artez.nl/en/about/who-are-we/education (accessed on May 20, 2016).

[7] https://www.artez.nl/en/study-programmes/fashion-design/vision/anno-1998 (accessed on May 20, 2016).

[8] http://arnhemfashiondesign.nl/en/information (accessed on May 20, 2016).

eastern part of the Netherlands. With a creative city approach, the main strategy is to promote the region as a place to work, study, live, and innovate, aiming at national and international audiences. The website becomes a vital promotion tool in this task, showing a strong focus on business where the main areas of the local economy are concentrated: health, fashion and design, energy and environmental technology, semiconductors, logistics, and tourism. Besides information about the business climate, the website also provides content related to practical issues for professionals and students who are moving to the region. The site is also linked to the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region Expat Portal with an enormous amount of information about the region, official matters, housing, education and living. The implementation of such initiatives are funded by GO, a joint funding program of the provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland, and the European Regional Development Fund.

6. METHODOLOGY

The relations between cities, the creative industries, and entrepreneurship have been intensely discussed since the 1990s and contributed to the spread a variety of assumptions that today work as a strong ideological component influencing these elements. One of the consequences is the increasing use of culture, through the creative industries, as a means of economic development. In this processes the individuals constituting the creative workforce are subject to entrepreneurial practices as the only way of surviving in a market when in fact the role expected of them is to make cities and regions more competitive in the global scenario.

In this sense, critical discourse analysis becomes an appropriate methodology to investigate the different ways through which the webpages relate to entrepreneurship, and their relation with fashion and with the promotion of Arnhem. As stated by Fairclough,

> Critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants. (1992, 12)

Van Dijk reinforces this vision by affirming that critical discourse analysis "specifically focuses on the strategies of *manipulation*, *legitimation*, *the manufacture of consent* and other discursive ways to influence the minds (and indirectly the actions) of people in the interest of the powerful" (1995, 18).

Due to Fairclough's focus on the relationship between language and power, I use his framework (1989; 1992) as the method for this critical discourse analysis. He has investigated the impact that new capitalism (neoliberalism) and other aspects such as globalization have on many areas of

social life – topics strongly related to Arnhem's promotion strategies. He conceives of discourse as having three dimensions: the text dimension involves the language analysis of texts; the discursive practice dimension looks for the processes of production and interpretations of texts; and the social practice dimension looks to the institutional context and how it influences the production and interpretation of the texts (1992). He built his own framework based on the strengths and weaknesses of various non-critical and critical approaches. Among the non-critical approaches Fairclough (1992) refers to are those of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Coulthard (1977), in which a system for analyzing discourse in classrooms was developed; he also mentions the work of a group of sociologists who created the approach of conversation analysis to employ in ethnomethodology. Fairclough also cites the model developed by Labov and Fanshel (1977) for therapeutic discourse, and refers to the approach of Potter and Wetherell (1987) that used discourse analysis in social psychology. One of the critical approaches that influenced Fairclough's work was critical linguistics (Fowler et al. [1979] and Kress and Hodge [1979]) which considered that language is dependent on social structures, but also passive in interpretation since grammar depends on the choices made by speakers/writers in specific social circumstances (Fairclough, 1992). Regarding grammar, this approach is strongly based on the work of Halliday (1978; 1985) in systemic linguistics. Fairclough also refers to the approach in Pecheux et al. (1979) and Pecheux (1982) which employed text analysis in written political discourse. Pecheux drew upon Althusser's Marxist theory of ideology (1971), conceiving of language as a form of ideology. Finally, although Foucault's approach to discourse analysis differs from textually-oriented discourse analysis, Fairclough cites his work as an important reference and a valuable source of insights.

Fairclough's framework is based on the principle that language and society are not independent elements but entities that have an internal and dialectical relationship (1989). He considers that a linguistic phenomenon is social, since the acts of speaking, listening, writing, or reading are socially framed and have social effects: on the one hand, the no matter the social sphere, language will be always subject to a social convention; on the other hand, while the use of language is capable of maintaining social relationships, it is also capable of changing them. At the same time, a social phenomenon is linguistic in the sense that language is not a consequence of a social process but a part of it. And finally, language is a social process in which a text results from a process of production and interpretation. Thus, the dimension of analysis that looks at the formal properties of text (text analysis) must be accompanied by a second dimension of analysis in which the text is a footprint of a production process and a clue in the process of interpretation (a discursive practice). The second dimension considers that to produce and interpret texts, people have to draw upon their "members' resources," such as the knowledge of language,

representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, etc. The third and last dimension considers that both the text and the processes of production and interpretation are conditioned by the society (a social practice), in the sense that the same "members' resources" are socially produced and a trace of society in the individual psyche.

These three dimensions constitute Fairclough's framework, synthesized in the diagram below.

Envisioning these three dimensions, critical discourse analysis comprises three steps: description, which is related to the properties of text; interpretation, which refers to the relationship between the text and the processes of production and interpretation; and explanation, which is concerned with understanding how the processes of production and interpretation are influenced by or effect the social context.

Figure 1. This figure displays the three-dimensional framework in which discourse is constituted by text, its production and interpretation, and social context (Fairclough 1989, 25).
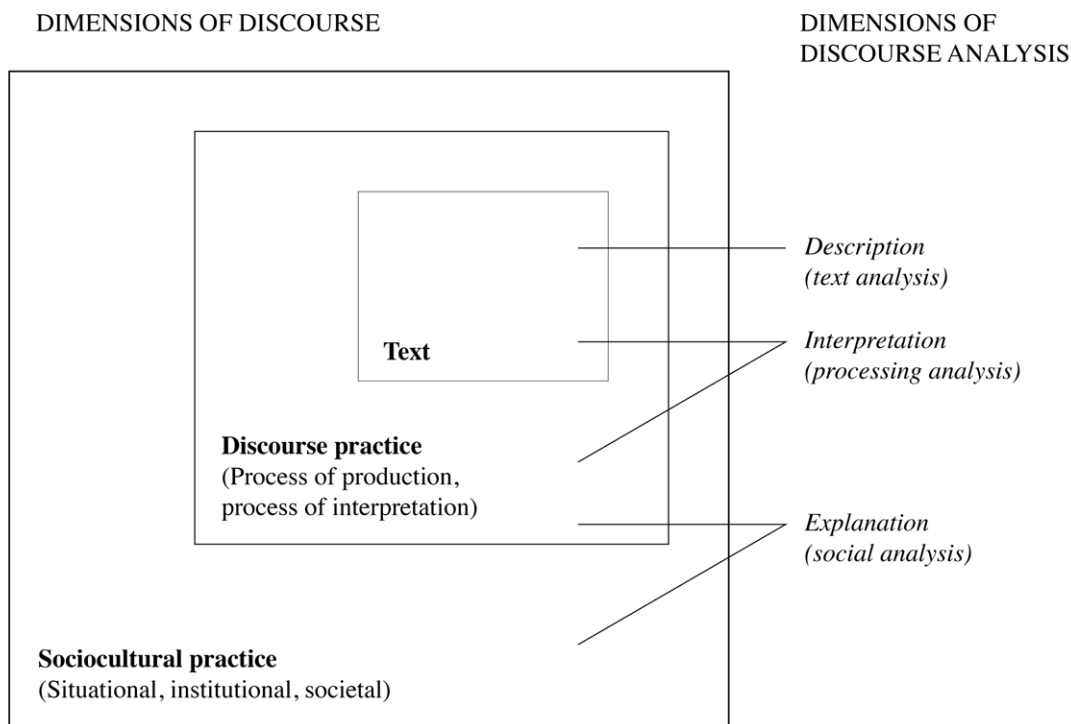
I. The Modekwartier

1. INTRODUCTION

As a neighborhood constituted by a mix of creative professionals, entrepreneurs, and citizens, the Modekwartier is one of the tourist attractions of Arnhem. The city's long tradition in fashion is strongly manifested in the district, but fashion boutiques and stylists also share the space with a variety of other creative professionals such as product designers, interior designers, photographers, and artists, to mention only a few. The creative atmosphere in the neighborhood is complemented by the presence of cafés and restaurants that induce visitors to spend more time in the area, enhancing their experience. With this web of different activities, my aim in this chapter is to use a webpage from the Modekwartier website to answer the question "What representations of entrepreneurship are found in the Modekwartier website?" Entrepreneurship in the district assumes a complex mix of nuances, expressing the different needs of designers, and the organizations and institutions that helped to frame the area in the way it is today. The analysis revealed a total of four different representations of entrepreneurship: the first relates to the community of creative workers that share the experience of working and living in the neighborhood; the second highlights these people's talents and the quality of their work; a third representation clearly emphasizes the presence of businesses; and the fourth representation depicts entrepreneurship as what made the Modekwartier possible, saving it from deterioration.[9] I found that the economic interests in business and consumption supplant the social aspect found in the community and the emphasis on quality.

To answer the question addressed in this chapter, I selected two different pages to analyze: "About" and "Press." These were the pages referring more generally to the Fashion District, providing a broader perspective on the activities taking place there. Other options were specific pages containing information about each shop located in Klarendal, which in my opinion seemed limited by a strict producer/consumer relationship – consequently performing a specific (and narrow) representation of entrepreneurship. Then I realized that the same strict relation existed in the "About" page that had constructed a designer/visitor relation. I also found that the entire contents of the page "About" was common to the page "Press." The latter offered four additional

---

[9] The deterioration in Klarendal refers to the previous conditions of the neighborhood. As I explained in the introduction to this thesis, between the 1970s and the late 1990s, low costs made the area suitable for students and immigrants, but also attracted problems such as drugs, crime, and prostitution (Gourzis 2014). Around the year 2000, as the state of deterioration became unbearable, the citizens requested the intervention of the municipality. The restoration that took place involved the participation of private capital (*Volkshuisvesting*), which bought old properties and provided incentives for the new class of entrepreneurs to settle in the area.

paragraphs that included a statement of the writer, the story of the district, and an explicit mention of the tourism industry. This greater data meant new nuances of discourses representing entrepreneurship, defining my choice to analyze the "Press" web page.[10]

The analysis is concentrated on the text, which provided all the means to answer the question in this chapter. In this sense, I drew upon several features of text analysis provided by Fairclough to interpret events, metaphors, semantics, and vocabulary. I also used alternative formulations of sentences and words in order to find the meanings that best matched the context.

Figure 1. This picture displays the "Press" page.


---
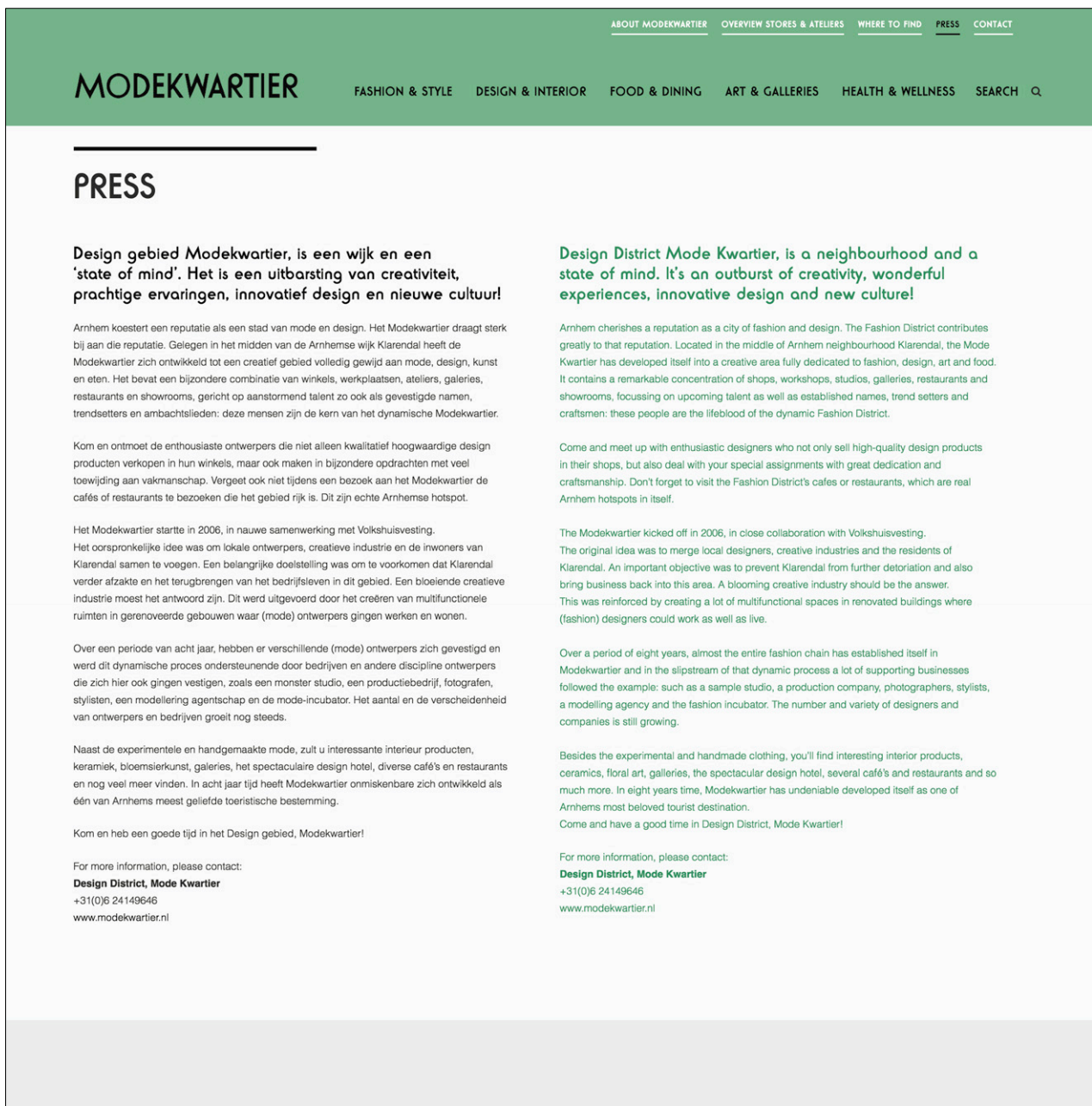
[10] http://www.modekwartier.nl/press/ (accessed on April 7, 2016).

2. WEBSITE DESCRIPTION AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICE

Launched in 2014, the Modekwartier website presents the district as the conjunction of creative talents in fashion, design, art, food, and health. The pages are visually attractive, with the main colors light green and white. The white background provides good legibility for both texts and photos, the latter being an important resource to attractively display shops and products. The standard structure of the pages is divided into three sections: the first is a green header containing the text "Modekwartier" and two navigation bars; the second has a white background and is dedicated to the variable information of the site; and the last section is a grey footer, which shows the same links found in the header, the copyright, and web design and development credits.

Figure 2. The home page of the Modekwartier website. The picture shows the first and second sections of the layout structure (represented respectively by the green header and the area with a white background). The footer is not shown.
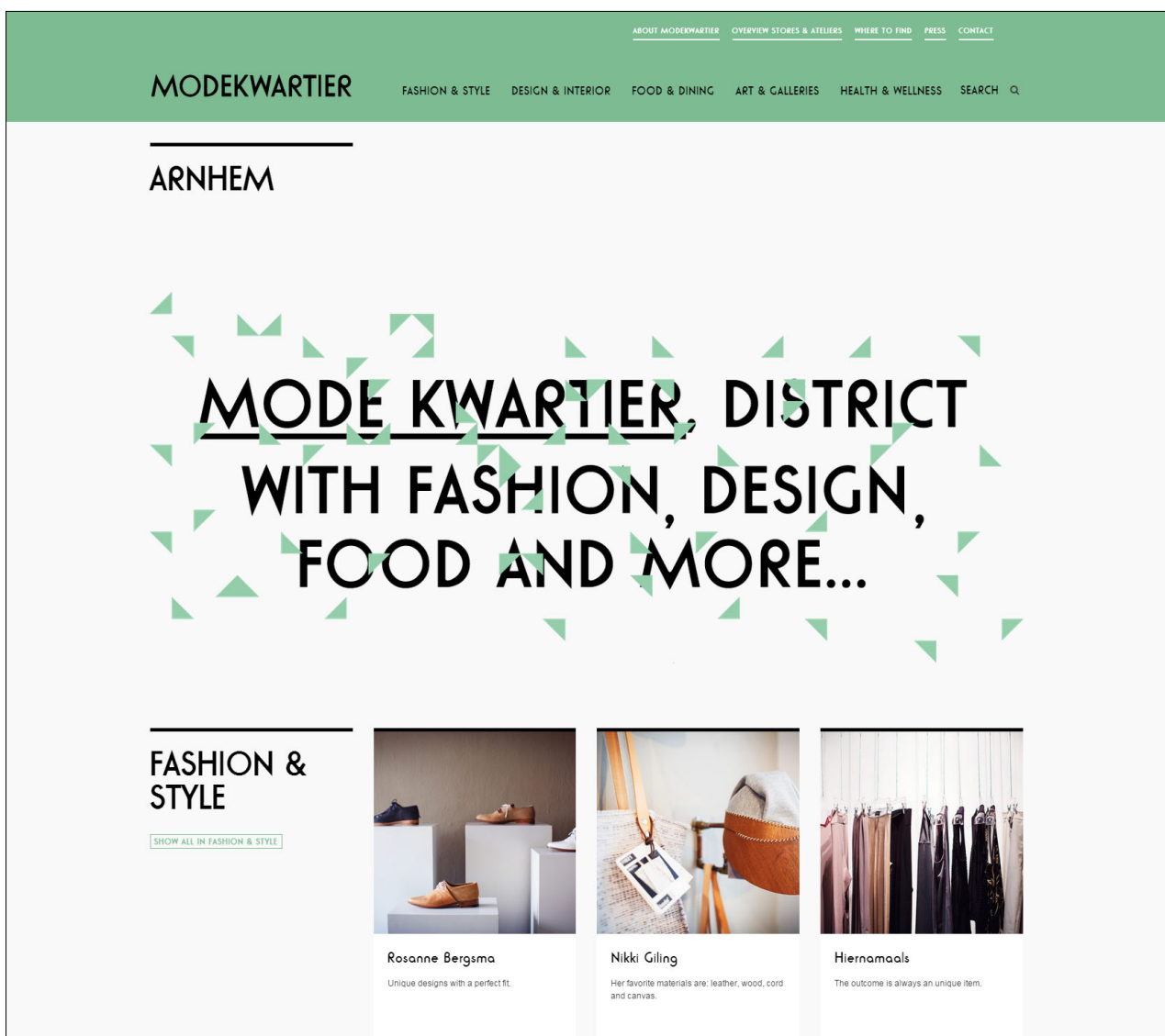
One of the first steps taken in the research was to discover who is the "speaker" behind the Modekwartier website. The website did not provide any data on its authorship and the "About" page was more focused on building the image of the district rather than explaining the origins of the website, how the initiative emerged, its purpose, etc. To obtain this information, I contacted Kim van Es, the owner of Graphic Playground, a studio located in the Modekwartier that was responsible for the design of the website. She was given this task as a proactive member of DOCKS, the trade association of Klarendal and St. Marten districts, who has organized meetings of its members at her shop. Using the human resources within the association – such as writers, designers, photographers, etc. – the community published the website around 2014. Asked about the process of design, Van Es said it was developed less like a design agency approach, but more intuitively without developing a precise briefing with specifications such as targeted audiences. The entrepreneurs realized that the website should be a product of their own effort and represented a necessity for promoting the Fashion District and announcing what it had to offer.

The website is used by several audiences ranging from tourists to ordinary people looking for a buying experience, fashion lovers, students, entrepreneurs, or the press. Visitors can use the website previously to their visit, gathering information such as how to get there by train, bus, car, or on foot; selecting the main shops they want to visit; and choosing a café to relax in during the experience. The website is compatible with mobile devices, also representing a valuable tool for accessing information on the site. Similarly, an entrepreneur also may be attracted by the Modekwartier website, and visiting the webpages may be the first step in evaluating whether it represents an opportunity to establish his/her own business. Representing a cultural, social, and economic impact in the city of Arnhem, the Modekwartier website is also a resource for the press, to retrieve information, or get in touch with the community of designers. In addition, the website is a reference for the organizations and institutions to illustrate the results of their efforts in the regeneration process of Klarendal.

As becomes clear in the analysis, the web page "Press" connects with these different audiences through a particular mix of genres and discourses. For instance, the advertising genre is discussed in the third and sixth paragraphs, related to consumption, and addresses the visitor directly. This can also be seen via intertextuality – the use of elements of other texts that are brought to a given text – which shows specific vocabulary taken from other texts and discourses: the word "reputation" found in the second paragraph is massively important in the subject of city branding, whereas "city of fashion and design" implies a specific identity and a link with the discourse of city branding. "Deterioration," "creative industries," and "business" in the fourth and fifth paragraphs evoke discourses whose main subject is the regeneration of places through the creative industries' foreseeing economic returns. Finally, the first paragraph demonstrates the local

discourse of (fashion) designers and what seems to indicate their particular vision of the "neighborhood" as a community.

This mix of genres and discourses represent an order of discourse[11] settled in the Fashion District that may have similarities and particularities compared with other neighborhoods that went through similar processes of regeneration. For most of these cities it is expected, to a greater or lesser degree, to have a link with discourses such as creative class, creative city, city branding, and creative industries. However, the kind of business model that is found in the Modekwartier helps to differentiate the district and all of Arnhem from other fashion cities that rely on the name of famous designers (Paris and Milan), styles (New York and Tokyo street wear), trends (Scandinavian menswear and Stockholm minimalism), or fashion heritage (Antwerp).[12] The small shops and boutiques that deal with "special assignments with great dedication and craftsmanship" symbolize the particularity that is present in the Modekwartier. Although not the most representative, this is one of the hallmarks in the text. Another characteristic that makes Modekwartier's order of discourse original is the absence of famous stylists or designers in the text, which helps to imprint the identity of "Fashion and Design" rather than a neighborhood of stars.[13] Nevertheless, the preponderance and repetitiveness of business-related activities and the subject of regeneration help to make the overall discourse less innovative.

3. TEXT ANALYSIS

The aspects mentioned above are reflected in the text, and with each occurrence I map different representations of entrepreneurship. The analysis is structured by paragraph, which are referred to by the numbers on the left. The sections of highlighted text are a code that will be explained opportunely.

1 Design District Mode Kwartier is a neighbourhood and a state of mind. It's an outburst of creativity, wonderful experiences, innovative design and new culture!

2 Arnhem cherishes a reputation as a city of fashion and design. The Fashion District contributes greatly to that reputation. Located in the middle of the Arnhem neighbourhood Klarendal, the Mode Kwartier has developed itself into a creative area fully dedicated to fashion, design, art and food. It contains a remarkable concentration of shops, workshops, studios, galleries, restaurants

---

[11] According to Fairclough, the discursive aspect of such a network of social practices is constituted by a particular combination of genres, discourses, and styles: an order of discourse (2003).

[12] http://www.highsnobiety.com/2015/08/24/fashion-capital-list/ (accessed on July 7, 2016).

[13] Although this seems to be an intentional strategy, the analysis points out that it also results from a strong interest in the existence of a variety of businesses.

and showrooms, focusing on upcoming talent as well as established names, trend setters and craftsmen: these people are the lifeblood of the dynamic Fashion District.

3   Come and meet up with enthusiastic designers who not only sell high-quality design products in their shops, but also deal with your special assignments with great dedication and craftsmanship. Don't forget to visit the Fashion District's cafes or restaurants, which are real Arnhem hotspots in itself [*sic*].

4   The Modekwartier kicked off in 2006, in close collaboration with Volkshuisvesting. The original idea was to merge local designers, creative industries and the residents of Klarendal. An important objective was to prevent Klarendal from further detoriation and also bring business back into this area. A blooming creative industry should be the answer. This was reinforced by creating a lot of multifunctional spaces in renovated buildings where (fashion) designers could work as well as live.

5   Over a period of eight years, almost the entire fashion chain has established itself in Modekwartier and in the slipstream of that dynamic process a lot of supporting businesses followed the example: such as a sample studio, a production company, photographers, stylists, a modelling agency and the fashion incubator. The number and variety of designers and companies is still growing.

6   Besides the experimental and handmade clothing, you'll find interesting interior products, ceramics, floral art, galleries, the spectacular design hotel, several cafés and restaurants and so much more. In eight years' time, Modekwartier has undeniable [*sic*] developed itself as one of Arnhem's most beloved tourist destination. Come and have a good time in Design District, Mode Kwartier!

The leading paragraph is highlighted with one of the larger fonts found on the page, calling more attention to it than any part of the text. It is a statement of fact, asserting what the Fashion District "is," and is also an evaluative statement which specifies all the elements as desirable – "wonderful" (experiences), "innovative" (design), and "new" (culture). One important word choice is "neighborhood," whereas the writer could have used "district," "area," or "region." His or her refusal to use these alternative terms may signal that he or she prefers a meaning that is affective, such as "community." Another relevant feature is the metaphor "state of mind": while the Fashion District is a place with plenty of material aspects such as shops and products, there is no meaning assigned to objects but to intangible aspects such as creativity, experiences, design, and culture. This paragraph is also a statement revealing an affective mental process: according to Fairclough (2003), "affective evaluations" are subjective and assign evaluations from the author.

Indeed, this textual characteristic matches with the fact that the website represents the community of the Fashion District's entrepreneurs, one of whom was given the role of writer. Thus, it is about identity, how the community of entrepreneurs conceives of the place themselves, what they consider desirable, and what their priorities are. In this sense the use of words such as "experiences," "designs," and "culture" where the writer could have used "shops," "products," and "handicraft" refers to the primary representation of entrepreneurship that is encountered in the text: an entrepreneurship that allows for the cohesion of people to establish a community and is acknowledged as a mood.

With its vocabulary, the second paragraph introduces two additional representations of entrepreneurship that are repeated consistently throughout the text: one referring to businesses, and another relating to the caliber of the designers and products. With the three representations mapped so far, I began to structure the classification scheme[14] that will support the analysis (each column designates a cluster of words characterizing a vocabulary):

Table 1. The table shows the classification scheme established in the first paragraphs of the text.

Community cluster	Business cluster (highlighted in green)	Caliber of designers and products cluster (highlighted in blue)
Neighborhood, state of mind, creativity, experiences, design, culture	Shops, workshops, studios, interior products, ceramics, floral art, galleries, cafes, restaurants, showrooms, business(es), sample studio, production company, photographers, stylists, modelling agency, the fashion incubator, companies, galleries, design hotel	Upcoming talent, established names, trend setters, craftsmen, high-quality design products, special assignments, dedication and craftsmanship, experimental and handmade clothing

With the first two paragraphs, the main characteristics of the text are established: while the creative entrepreneurs understand the Fashion District as a "state of mind," valorizing the aspect of community, the text comprises another two categories based on businesses, and the caliber of the designers and products.

The business cluster sees entrepreneurship as a variety of business (and not fashion in particular), while the caliber of the designers and products cluster emphasizes talent and the characteristics of the products. Whether one of these clusters is given a higher level of prominence is a question to be answered through the analysis of other parts of the text. The clash of evaluations already begins in the second paragraph: whereas the business cluster is assigned the

---

[14] "A speaker expresses evaluations through drawing on classification schemes which are in part systems of evaluation, and there are ideologically contrastive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types" (Fairclough 1989, 119).

adjective "dynamic," the designers' and products' caliber cluster is favored by the metaphor "lifeblood" – they are the force that propels the Fashion District.

The truth is that the representation of community is evident only in the first paragraph and becomes weak when compared with the others: business is present in five paragraphs of the text, while designers' and products' caliber are present in three. Other aspects point to a biased view of entrepreneurship directed at business. Firstly, in terms of social actors, designers are always mentioned generically as "established names," "trend setters," and "craftsmen." This characteristic shapes the whole text and extends to other professionals such as "photographers" or "stylists," who never have their names mentioned. Secondly, the term "Fashion District" is reworded throughout the text as "Design District Mode Kwartier," and "Modekwartier." This kind of semantic relation is called hyponymy – a relation in which the meaning of a word is included in another word. What is signified in this case is that fashion has its meaning included in design or vice-versa, indicating a lack of discrimination between these two disciplines. Another semantic relation found in this sentence confirms this: "[…] renovated buildings where **(fashion) designers** could work as well live." One possible interpretation is that the role behind the business does not matter, but only the existence of the business itself.

A new approach to the text is presented in the third paragraph: it is clearly oriented towards "activity exchange"[15] and the speech function[16] is "offer." The approach is the same as advertising by directly addressing members of the audience with the imperative grammatical mood – "**Come** and **meet** up […]," "**Don't forget** […]," – and possessive pronouns – "**your** special assignments […]." The text has all the ingredients of a "promoting message" (Fairclough 2003): it "represents" the Fashion District, "advocates" the district as a place to meet enthusiastic designers, and "anticipates" that a visit to the place will include an encounter with high-quality products and craftsmen. This new approach has a strategic nature and suggests the purpose of attracting tourists and visitors by employing both the business cluster and the caliber of the designers and products cluster. In this paragraph the text dedicates more emphasis to the designers, creating a higher number of elaborative semantic relationships between the clauses: "[…] designers **who** not only sell […]," "[…] special assignments **with** great dedication […]." "Craftsmen," and "craftsmanship" are recurring terms when referring to designers' and products' caliber.

The sixth paragraph is also oriented towards activity exchange, addressing the reader directly

---

[15] According to Fairclough there are two types of action in texts: one that is oriented toward communication, while the other one is strategic. "Knowledge exchange" refers to the former type of action and aims to reach understanding, while "activity exchange" refers to the latter and aims to achieve results, efficiency, and so forth (2003).

[16] Fairclough distinguishes four primary speech functions: statements, questions, demands, and offers. These functions are organized between activity exchange, comprising offers and demands, and knowledge exchanges, comprising statements and questions (2003).

("**you**"), and employing the speech function of "offer" with the imperative grammatical mood ("**Come** and have a good time"). Additionally, the promoting message represents the Design District, advocates for the district as a place where one will find handmade clothing, products and businesses, and anticipates that the visitor will have a good time. Another feature of the "promoting message" (Fairclough 2003) is the use of evaluative statements ("**interesting** interior products") and predictions ("**you'll** find"). The paragraph highlights both the clusters of business and the caliber of the designers and products.

The fourth paragraph is a narrative explaining the process by which the deteriorated area of Klarendal overcame its problems through the creative industries. Fairclough (2003) shows different methods for analyzing events. One of these seeks evidence for the exclusion, inclusion, or prominence of elements in events by proposing a systematic division: the form of activity, persons involved, social relations/institutional forms, objects resulting from the activity, means, times and places, and language issues. The paragraph discusses more than one activity taking place, however the most representative is "deterioration," which is the subject related in the last three sentences. Then, with "deterioration" in mind, the systematic division of the event indicates the following: "Klarendal" is the object and place of deterioration; persons are partially included; there are no social relations but an institutional relation between *Volkshuisvesting* and the *Modekwartier*; and the means of activity is "the blooming creative industry, multifunctional spaces in renovated buildings." Note that the formulation of the sentences causes a strange effect in which the means of "deterioration" become "the blooming creative industry," which is not the case. Hence, I reformulated the 3 last sentences (which appear italicized below) into a new version of the paragraph – I will apply the same systematic separation of elements to see what differences emerge:

> The Modekwartier kicked off in 2006, in close collaboration with Volkshuisvesting. The original idea was to merge local designers, creative industries and the residents of Klarendal. *A blooming creative industry and the creation of a lot of multifunctional spaces in renovated buildings – where (fashion) designers could work as well as live – should bring back business and allow the development of Klarendal.*

The new sentence is simpler, and instead of "deterioration," now the activity is "development," which coherently indicates the means of achievement. Evaluating the two alternatives raises the question of the intentions of the writer, namely, why he or she highlights "deterioration" instead of "development."

According to Fairclough (2003) narratives are a "pre-genre," encompassing several kinds of genres such as press and television narratives, conversational narratives, etc., which represent

particular social practices. To "focalize" the story with a particular point of view, narratives may not respect the chronological sequence of events. Specific genres of narrative also follow a generic structure, for instance a news report usually describes a disturbance and then its rectification. Similarly, in the original version of the fourth paragraph, "deterioration" – which chronologically represents the first event – is placed in the middle of the paragraph. The rectification of the problem, represented by "A blooming creative industry should be the answer," comes just after, indicating the climax (and the focal point) of the story. Another important feature is the modal verb "should" that refers to "expressive modality" (Fairclough 1989) – the writer's evaluation of what is truth or the probability of representing reality. By using "should," the writer implies a necessity, a duty of the creative industry to act against deterioration. The same does not occur in the new version of the paragraph, which put facts in chronological order and therefore lacks the biased focus.

The comparison of the two versions of the paragraph is useful for revealing the key themes – deterioration and the creative industries. These are directly associated, but the main role is played by the creative industries that assume the archetypal role of a superhero – one who comes just in time to re-establish the order. Furthermore, the peculiar way in which entrepreneurship is present in Klarendal is presented as a necessary condition to keep the place in order (in multifunctional spaces where designers can work and live). This is the fourth notion of entrepreneurship available in the text, which is represented within this hidden metaphor.

The fifth paragraph lends continuity to the previous one, expanding on the social event that began in 2006. Using Fairclough's method to determine the exclusion, inclusion, or prominence of elements, one notices the text's highlighting the establishment of the creative industry, and mentioning the businesses that settled in the Modekwartier in a timespan of eight years. To deepen the understanding of the paragraphs, I use the principles of "presence," "abstraction," "arrangement," and "additions" (Fairclough 2003). These principles help to determine the degrees of abstraction of social events have and how they are evaluated, explained, legitimated, and ordered. In terms of "presence," prominence is given to the form of activity that is the establishment of new businesses, whereas "abstraction" is present via the partial inclusion of persons, the lack of social relations, and the means of the activity. A specific arrangement is also missing: the text does not specify whether business settled following a specific order, or what was the first modeling agency to be established, and so on. Finally, the text does not make additions and omits further explanations, for instance whether there were any criteria in selecting these new businesses. Considering the time span of eight years, it is expected that such process would have had specific developments; however, according to the text, the event just "happened."

With this in mind, the paragraph develops a strategy in which specific parts become abstract to help other parts to emerge and receive attention: how new businesses were established is not relevant; what matters is the number of businesses that are generated. Like the semantic relation between design and fashion that I explained above, the different kinds of supporting business are not relevant; what counts is that they represent business and economic growth. Another important aspect is that of space-time representation – the number of companies "is still growing" – which determines an unlimited timespan of business advancement.

To conclude the text analysis, the four types of representation for entrepreneurship are condensed in the table below.

Table 2. The table shows the four different representations of entrepreneurship.

EMPHASIS	PRESENCE IN PARAGRAPHS	CLUSTERS OF WORDS	REPRESENTATION
Business (highlighted in green)	2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th paragraphs	Shops, workshops, studios, galleries, cafes, restaurants, showrooms, business(es), sample studio, production company, photographers, stylists, modelling agency, the fashion incubator, companies, galleries, design hotel.	Entrepreneurship generating economic wealth.
The superhero archetype	4th and 5th paragraphs	Deterioration.	Entrepreneurship as a tool of regeneration.
Caliber of designers and products (highlighted in blue)	2nd, 3rd, and 6th paragraphs	Upcoming talent, established names, trend setters, craftsmen, high-quality design products, special assignments, dedication and craftsmanship, experimental and handmade clothing.	Entrepreneurship highlighting quality.
Community	1st paragraph	Neighborhood, state of mind, creativity, experiences, design, culture.	Entrepreneurship creating a collective space with social values. Acknowledged as a mood.

The ones that have most impact are the emphasis on business and the emphasis on the superhero archetype. While the former is evident in nearly all paragraphs, the latter required a more elaborate and strategic approach in the text, which relied on the abstraction of certain aspects to highlight others. These are followed by the emphasis on the caliber of the designers and products, which is present in three paragraphs and essentially relies on the repetition of vocabulary, and the emphasis on community. With these findings in mind, the next section is

dedicated to explaining the origins of these different representations of entrepreneurship in social practices.

4. SOCIAL PRACTICE

All these different emphases on entrepreneurship that emerged with the text analysis indicate how culture relates to the economic and social fields and what degrees of importance are allocated to these fields. In the case of the Modekwartier, the social aspect produced by the vision of local entrepreneurs was given less prominence ("neighborhood" and "state of mind"). On the other hand, the economic aspect was clearly present in each part of the text. Considering the so-called fashion identity that Arnhem has, the results of the analysis are surprising, since fashion is more frequently cited in the text as equivalent to the other economic activities that take place in the district. These, rather than being related as mere satellites, are also highlighted as important parts of the "experience." Thus, fashion, the remaining creative disciplines under the umbrella "design," and cafés and restaurants become the three main activities in the Fashion District. According to Fairclough (1995, 2), "unstable social practices […], a complex and creative discourse practice involving new combinations of genres and discourses, and texts which are heterogeneous in forms and meanings" indicate a change in hegemony. Different social practices are developed below, and each one relates to a specific representation of entrepreneurship.

Regeneration – business and the superhero archetype

To a greater or lesser degree, the role that culture plays in the economy is related to a wave of democratization. After the Second World War, there were various struggles to bring democratization to the field of the arts. For instance, in the UK the availability of funding for the "fine arts" was gradually extended to a more general concept of art, such as traditional crafts. Then the wave of democratization continued beyond the 1970s and 1980s with cultural policies emphasizing "community arts," multiculturalism, also stretching the field of "legitimate" culture, for example with operas and theaters sharing funds with arts cinemas (Hesmondhalgh 2013). This was the period when the creative industries started to achieve the significance they have today, representing an investment for governments. However, Hesmondhalgh states that despite the new relationships that developed between high and low culture, inequalities still exist and prevent the lower social classes from developing the same habits and tastes of the rich.

While critical perspectives bring polemics to the field, the economy is always present and catalyzing changes and advances. History showed how Adorno and Horkheimer's utopian view of art was frustrated in the 1940s by the combination of culture and industry, thus signifying a commodification that was once unimaginable (Hesmondhalgh 2013). They coined the term

"culture industry," which by the 1970s had its plural "cultural industries" consolidated by policymakers who identified the potential of culture to develop economic strategies (Hartley et al. 2013). Today the term "cultural industries" exists side-by-side with "creative industries" and the preference for one or another depends on the field of use.

At a certain moment, policies shifted from democratization and directed the use of culture towards economic development. One example is the designation of European Capital of Culture, which was created by the European Union in 1985 as a yearly event to highlight European cities and their role in the development of European cultures. The program promoted benefits that went far beyond culture, also achieving long-term developments in a number of cities. One of the successful cases is Glasgow, which in 1990 reinvented its image and became a European City of Culture (European Capitals of Culture 2009).[17] Glasgow exemplifies how a city with unemployment, street crime, and urban decay managed to revolutionize its creative scene and boost its international image. Similar cases followed, such as Antwerp in 1993, which used the momentum created by the designation of City of Culture to fight against growing political extremism. Similarly, Weimar in 1999 and Porto in 2001 went through important processes of urban remodeling and developed themselves as tourist destinations: "often the image of the city changes for the better, thus encouraging investment and tourism, and fostering employment and growth" (2009, 7-8).

I see the European City of Culture as an example of how primary social and cultural aims are converted into political and economic capital returns. Knowing the outcomes that may be achieved, it seems that cities and regions are less interested in culture and its democratization as an end in itself, but are more focused on regeneration and image boosting. Asked about the legacy of Glasgow 1990, Palmer[18] (2009) mentioned a dramatic image transformation, infrastructural improvements (new cultural venues and public spaces), economic development and an increase in business, and development in tourism.

Hesmondhalgh also states that the cultural industries became linked with strategies in which culture was used for urban regeneration:

> So it was that in the late 1980s, shaped by economic neo-liberalism and a breaking down of long-standing forms of cultural hierarchy […], the notion of the cultural industries or the cultural sector became increasingly attached, in a new era of local and regional development policy, to the goals of regeneration and employment creation […] also with an emphasis on entrepreneurialism in the private and public sectors. (2013, 168)

---

[17] Glasgow still uses the label of European City of Culture. It was nominated as a UNESCO City of Music in 2008 and included in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. http://www.scotlandnow.dailyrecord.co.uk/lifestyle/glasgow-still-city-culture-3259040 (accessed on July 11, 2016).

[18] Robert Palmer was the Director of Glasgow 1990, European Capital of Culture.

In this sense, entrepreneurship is represented as a tool of regeneration and a new model for achieving economic wealth, resonating with the Modekwartier's emphasis on **business** and **the superhero archetype**.

However, regeneration does not only have positive outcomes such as the establishment of the creative clusters (see next topic). The literature invariably relates regeneration with gentrification, which is the process in which the original community of residents and business is displaced by the new creative class that arrives. There are also cases where the creative itself class suffers the consequences. Cases such as SoHo,[19] New York show that after settling a new authentic, bohemian lifestyle in the neighborhood, artists can then be threatened by a new real estate market that is established (Zukin and Braslow 2011). Such examples help to sustain criticism over Florida's notion of the creative class, which lacks the incompatibilities that may arise between culture, social inclusion, and economic growth.

Smith has pointed out that gentrification is frequently preceded by a "physical deterioration and economic depreciation of inner-city neighborhoods." One of his claims is that deterioration "produces the objective economic conditions that make capital revaluation (gentrification) a rational market response" (1979). He created a concept called the rent gap, which affirms that devaluation must reach a certain point to become economically interesting to those responsible for the redevelopment. His theory was also the target of criticism, but it offers an analogy with the creative industries, which are frequently active within regeneration processes with economic motivations, incorporating the **superhero archetype**.

Creative clusters – the community

Regeneration processes also seems to include social gains, but when these are faced with a higher corpus of economic returns, they end up with a smaller significance, similar to the weak emphasis that **community** received on the "Press" page. The social gains are frequently related to creative clusters, which are a specialization of business clusters, a concept from Porter (1990) that defines a "geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a specific field based on commonalities and complementarities" (Hartley et al. 2013, 17). The advantages of similar firms coexisting in the same place is an attraction of complementary businesses that improve the chain of production. This is exemplified in the Fashion District: after the establishment of the fashion chain, other supporting businesses followed, such as photographers, stylists, a modeling agency, and the fashion incubator. The result contributes to improving the general productivity and the competitive advantage of all firms involved (2013).

---

[19] SoHo indicated to the real estate industry the advantages of developing artistic neighborhoods: https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/the-art-of-gentrification (accessed on July 14, 2016).

The community arises through the interaction between the firms and the alternative economy that settles within the group: this environment provides additional types of rewards other than monetary, such as collaboration, inspiration from fellows, friendship development, networking, knowledge exchange, and a gift economy (exchange without immediate remuneration) (Davies and Sigthorsson 2013). In this sense, the writer, as a member of the creative cluster of the Fashion District, had the choice to illustrate the "neighborhood" and the "state of mind." With his final choice to dedicate only a small part of the text to this subject, he may be reproducing the hegemony of a consumption economy, or even demonstrating his own interests, judging by the advertising approach present in the text. As Kress states,

> The concept of the *motivated sign* in no way places restrictions on sign-makers; the sign is as open or as restricted as the sign-maker's *interest*, which shapes the sign; an interest which is an effect and a realization of the histories in social environments of the sign-maker. (2010, 69)

Hartley et al. (2013) point out that creative clusters target innovation in high-value markets, while a cultural cluster is predisposed to consumption (galleries, cafes, restaurants), thus indicating that the Modekwartier is a hybrid of the two.

Craftsmanship – the caliber of the designers and products

Besides the alternative economy that is present in the creative clusters, the academic field has also directed attention to workers in the creative industries based on their particular relationship with work: they build an emotional attachment, a high degree of personal investment that creates a relationship of "self-exploitation" – "long working hours, high levels of stress and anxiety." This characteristic in the creative industries may be attributed to "residues of artistic, craft, and artisanal labor to be found there" (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011, 386). If Marx's concept of alienation denounced an estrangement of both artisans from the product of their work and capitalist societies from the process of production, the personal investment in the creative industries work in an opposite direction. This different kind of business model, which is amply present in the Fashion District, contrasts with standardization and mass-production, avoids retailers, and works towards direct contact with the public in small boutiques (Davies and Sigthorsson 2013). It provides a specific buying experience since visitors can talk directly to designers, which is useful for both parties: the designer can perceive how his or her clients react to the products, and use this observation to fine tune the products, while for the buyer a chat with the creator adds more value to the product itself, which may assume the characteristics of a souvenir. This is another aspect of the Fashion District that emphasizes the **caliber of the designers and products** through wording like "high-quality products," "special assignments," "craftsmen," and "craftsmanship."

As stated by Fairclough (1995, 2), "The heterogeneities of texts are a sensitive indicator of sociocultural contradictions, and a sensitive barometer of their evolution," which, in other words, signal a struggle of different ideologies. The presence of four different representations and the preponderance of the representations of business and the superhero archetype demonstrate the heterogeneity referred to by Fairclough. However, this thesis exposes the sociocultural evolution that took place until the date when the "snapshot" of the text was taken. At this point it is not possible to infer in which direction the text may evolve in the future.

5. CONCLUSION

The textual analysis showed four different representations of entrepreneurship. The weaker (less present) representation is that of entrepreneurship creating a collective space in the neighborhood with a social character. With a higher degree of importance is the representation of entrepreneurship denoted by the caliber of the designers and products, which stress how talented the designers are and that their products are exceptional, tailor made. I interpret these as the most authentic representations or, to put in different terms, those representations that seem to be less influenced by external texts.
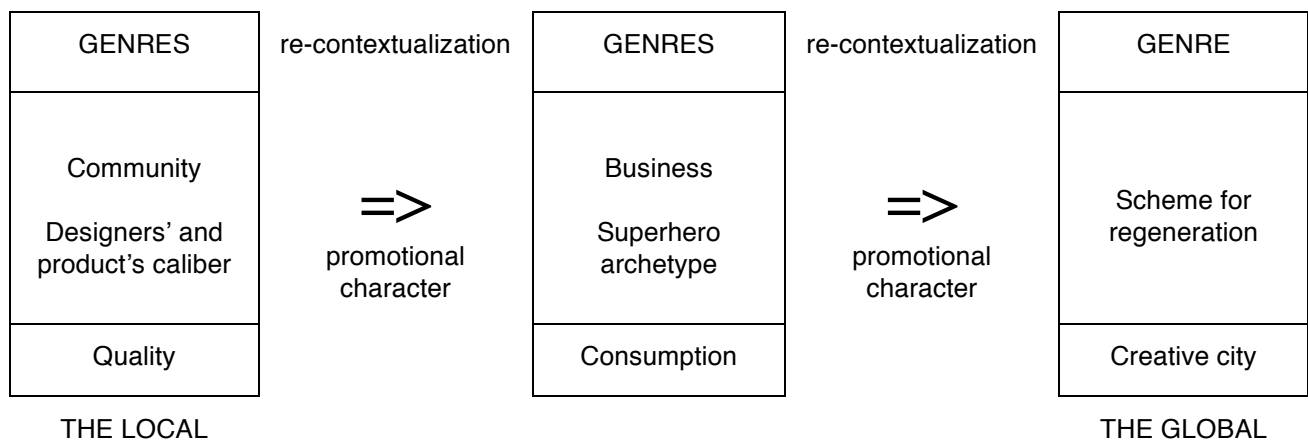
The most powerful representations are those that portrays entrepreneurship generating economic wealth – sustained by the amount and variety of different businesses in the district –, and another highlighting how entrepreneurship can work as a tool of regeneration – a superhero embodied in the figure of the creative industries. These representations are the most influenced by external texts: the superhero representation invokes texts that are present in the story of the district itself, the keyword of which is "deterioration," while the representation of economic wealth repeats the use of the keyword "business" accompanied by multiple activities taking place in the district.

With this hierarchy of meanings, I detect the hegemony of an economy of consumption in which a community of businesses displaces the community of people in the main role in the Modekwartier. As I mentioned above, cultural and social concerns seem to be an excuse and the means for larger ambitions of organizations and the government to obtain economic returns. The small scale production of boutiques (and craftsmanship) becomes the less compatible actors in this stage, needing other supporting businesses to enact the scene. The analysis of the social practice showed that the notions of the creative class and regeneration are also hegemonic in policymaking, leaving no space for the critical evaluations from academics that already indicated collateral effects such as gentrification and a conflict of interests between those aiming for cultural and social improvement and those in the real estate market, the government, and other organizations

that profit from regenerated areas. If once the neighborhood of Klarendal received assistance, now it seems to be at work for these higher spheres.

This seems to be an example of "re-contextualization" in which genres are chained together: the genres found in the expression of community and the caliber of the designers and products are chained to the genres of business and the superhero archetype. In this transition, language is modified and "translated," becoming more promotional: the emphasis on quality is translated into an emphasis on consumption, while at the same time the Modekwartier becomes one more case of regeneration and a scheme to be used as an example for other cities (see table below):

Table 3. The table shows the four different representations of entrepreneurship.

GENRES	re-contextualization	GENRES	re-contextualization	GENRE
Community Designers' and product's caliber	=> promotional character	Business Superhero archetype	=> promotional character	Scheme for regeneration
Quality		Consumption		Creative city
THE LOCAL				THE GLOBAL

II. ArtEZ University of the Arts

1. INTRODUCTION

Present in the city since 1953, ArtEZ exerts a strong influence in Arnhem's social, cultural, and economic fields. The university also exists in two other Dutch cities: Zwolle and Enschede. In the latter, the ArtEZ School of Music is part of the National Muziekkwartier (national music quarter) and contributes to impressing the label of "music city."[20] Similarly to Enschede, in Arnhem ArtEZ furthers the "fashion city" image and participates in diverse initiatives in the field of fashion. The role that ArtEZ plays in the Arnhem-Nijmegen region is not an isolated case, but is part of a collective effort of several educational institutions that along with the government strive to highlight the regional economy in the new global landscape.

In this regard, ArtEZ reveals itself as not only a university that teaches the arts, but a place of research and entrepreneurship, which seeks to go beyond the creation of a workforce in the creative industries, extending its actions towards innovation and enterprise. In this chapter, through the discourse analysis of a webpage from the ArtEZ website, I answer the question "What role does the ArtEZ website have in the development of the entrepreneurial discourse in Arnhem?" The analysis shows that ArtEZ spreads the ideology of entrepreneurship in two distinct ways. Firstly, the institution inculcates in the business world the idea that artists and designers must be accepted in the business community. Secondly, ArtEZ impresses upon artists and designers the belief that they are empowered with special gifts to become "the entrepreneurs of the future." With this twofold strategy of inculcation, ArtEZ manages to put art and creativity at the service of the regional economy.

The ArtEZ website offers two main options for performing the discourse analysis. The first is the "Entrepreneurship" webpage, which reports how the institution prepares students to implement an entrepreneurial practice in the market, provides students with real experience through assignments inside companies, and offers a starter desk to assist the launch of small businesses. The second is the page "Art, Culture and Economy Professorship,"[21] located within the section "Research," which explains how ArtEZ facilitates the connection of artists and designers with the market and how the institution keeps track of entrepreneurship through the collection and interpretation of data. While the page "Entrepreneurship" mainly establishes an institution-student relationship, the "Art, Culture and Economy Professorship" page includes additional actors such as artists, designers, architects, the Municipality of Arnhem, the HAN University of Applied

---

[20] http://cityofenschede.com/student-life/going-out/culture/ (accessed on May 20, 2016).

[21] https://www.artez.nl/en/research/art-culture-and-economy-professorship (accessed on March 3, 2016).

Sciences, and a range of partnerships, revealing a larger scope of entrepreneurship in the regional economy. I also found it relevant that the text on this page enriches the institutional speech with a quote from the leading professor, bringing an important ingredient to the analysis. I decided on the second option, "Art, Culture and Economy Professorship" (ACEP), which explicitly addresses the regional development of entrepreneurship through a network of participants, and in my opinion fit more appropriately with the question aimed at in this chapter and the main research question.

Figure 1. The picture displays the "Entrepreneurship" page (the footer is not shown).

Figure 2. The picture displays the "Art, Culture and Economy Professorship" webpage that was chosen to be the sample for analysis (the footer is not shown).
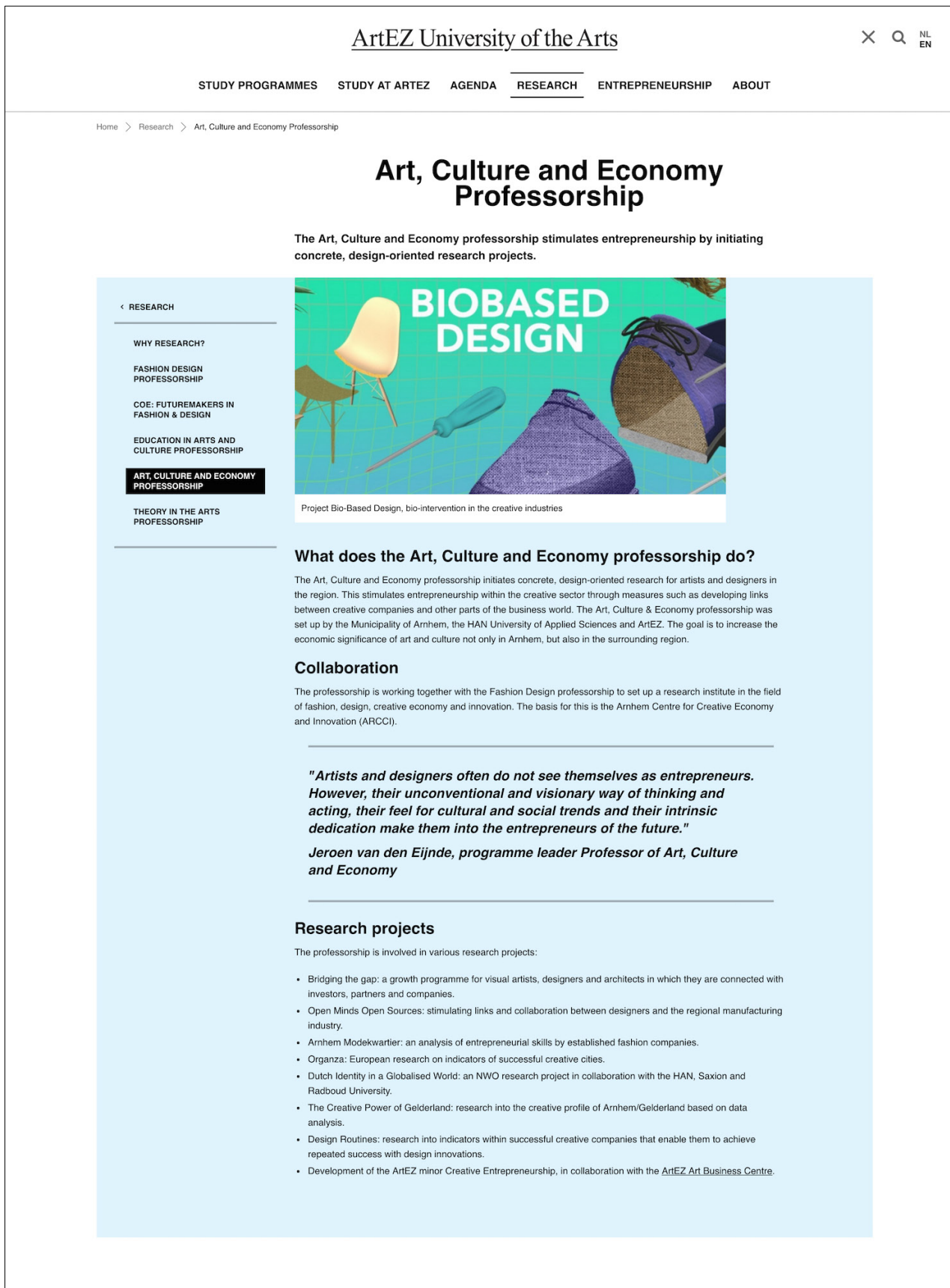
To provide a better understanding of the ACEP, I explain the project Biobased Design, which is illustrated by the image that appears at the topmost part of the text. According to the Biobased Design page,[22] the project took place on May 28, 2015 as an initiative of the ArtEZ Art Business Center and the province of Gelderland. It was aimed at companies in the energy and environmental technology sector[23] and in the manufacturing industry demanding innovations from renewable resources – an alternative product or process technology employing bio-based materials. The interested company could choose three designers – young professionals (former ArtEZ graduates) in product design and fashion design – and invest €1,500 in research (pitches). Once the project was completed, Biobased Design would offer help in the next steps by providing access to various forms of support, funding and research by the ArtEZ Centre of Expertise, the Province of Gelderland, Greentech Alliances, and Regional Centers for Technology. With this example, it is possible to give a clearer picture of how the professorship acts, facilitating the contact between professionals and the market.

2. WEBSITE DESCRIPTION AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICE

When entering the website one encounters a dynamic homepage with a video in the background that changes randomly if the page is reloaded. The short movies show different forms of art – a man playing guitar, actors interacting, a painter wearing his smock, a woman singing. With black being the main color of the page the impression is that of a spectacle, also demonstrating the strong link that the school has with the performing arts. The navigation bar can be turned on and off, leaving the attention on the video, the university brand, and four blocks of links to the study programs and to other subjects such as in the institution's agenda and recent news.

The structure of the internal pages is constituted by the three parts: the first is a white header containing the ArtEZ brand, links to the internal sections, a search field, and buttons to choose language (the content is available in English and Dutch); the second part presents different dispositions to hold the main text of each page, usually organizing the content within boxes; and the third consists of a blue footer with contact links, a Facebook button to follow the ArtEZ page, links to the university's intranet, and a disclaimer. The color palette consists mainly of white and a light blue, which allows texts to be read clearly and the images to provide visual impact.

---

[22] http://innovatie.artez.nl/2015/04/biobased-design-bio-interventies-met-de-creatieve-industrie/ (accessed on May 25, 2016).

[23] The energy and environmental technology sector (Energie- en Milieutechnologie – EMT) is an economic activity with innovative projects in renewable energy sources. In the Arnhem Nijmegen city region the focus is set on durable mobility/clean propulsion technology, smart grids, and solar energy. http://www.arnhemnijmegencityregion.nl/business/Energy-and-environmental-technology?set_language=en (accessed on July 28, 2016).

Figure 3. The home page of the ArtEZ website.
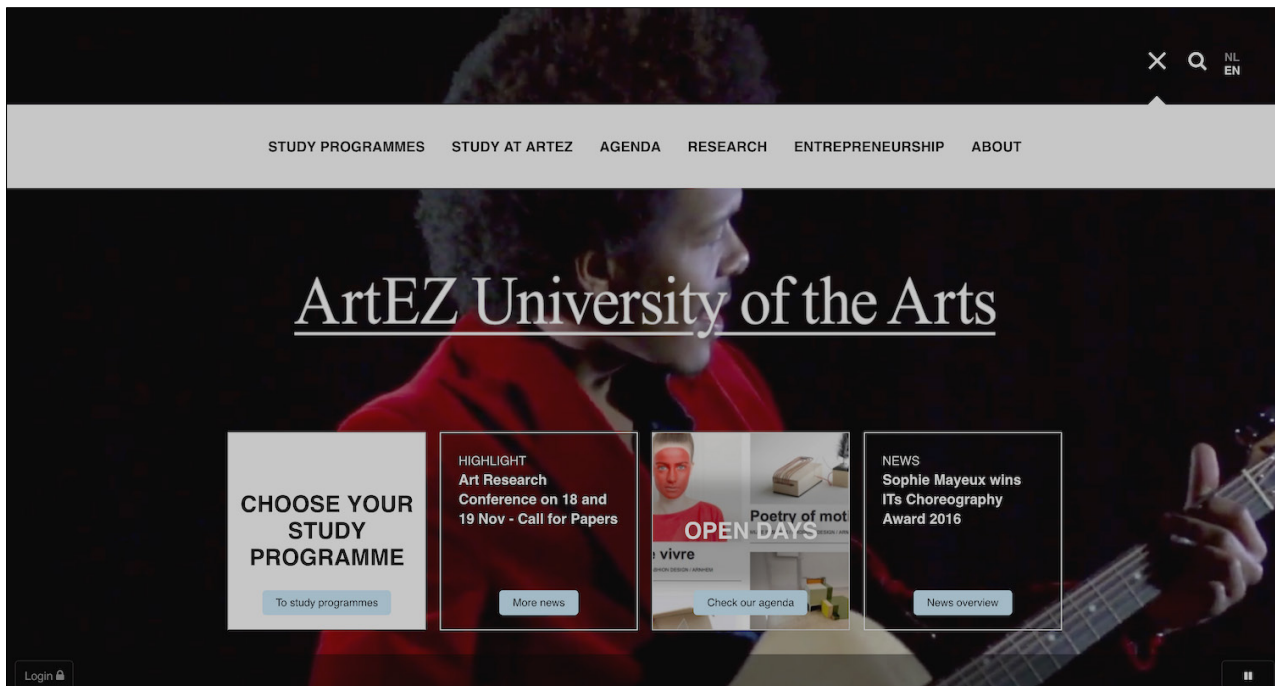
The header, which is common to all the pages, categorizes the content of the entire website in six main sections which are "Study programmes," "Study at ArtEZ," "Agenda," "Research," "Entrepreneurship," and "About." Although four of these sections would be expected to be found on the website of an institution related to art education, "Research" and "Entrepreneurship" point to innovative approaches. While the section "Research" encourages future developments in the disciplines taught at the institute by means of theory, innovation and technology, "Entrepreneurship" aims to provide students with the necessary knowledge for their future practices in the market.

One of the goals of the website is to promote ArtEZ as a strong educational institution in the arts, listing courses in a variety of disciplines: architecture and interior design, writing, dance, design, education in the arts, fashion, fine art, music, and theater, among others. Potential and future students can access information about the different degrees offered, the qualifications they must meet to be accepted into the institution, exchange opportunities, tuition fees, grants and scholarships, etc. Another aim of the website is to promote ArtEZ's talent for business. By mentioning a wide range of entrepreneurial initiatives in which the institution assumes the position of partner or coordinator, ArtEZ aims to demonstrate to the business community that its performance goes beyond the boundaries of traditional education in the arts. In this regard, the range of initiatives mentioned in sections such as "Entrepreneurship" and "Research" represent a dynamic showcase, helping to legitimize the position of ArtEZ in the regional economy.

The textual analysis below shows how the ACEP webpage interacts with these two audiences via two distinct genres. I borrow from Fairclough the term "governance" to denote the first, which becomes evident in the first three paragraphs. Through this genre, the page describes how ArtEZ implements and engages with a network of businesses. An evident intertextuality is the means of achieving a good level of communication with the business sector: the vocabulary used in this genre includes words such as "entrepreneurship," "creative sector," "economic significance," and "creative economy," which constitute what I call the "entrepreneurship" discourse. The second genre, which I call "hortatory," is present via a quote from professor Van den Eijnde that lends originality but also effectiveness to the text. By mixing different vocabularies – one represented by "entrepreneurship" and another by "unconventional," "visionary," and "feel," the professor's quote manages to translate the entrepreneur discourse to artists and designers. More important than this translation is the fact that the ideology of entrepreneurship is inculcated by assuming that artists and designers are not mere entrepreneurs, but "entrepreneurs of the future." Whereas this may be the interpretation for artists and designers, for the business community the message that results is that it is worth engaging in business relations with artists and designers. Thus, the inculcation can have a twofold effect. The fact that the quote receives a strong graphical stylization indicates the importance that it has to the author of the page and the relevance that it may have among its audiences.

The ACEP webpage positions ArtEZ on the level of renowned art schools. For instance, the Royal College of Art in London[24] and the Politecnico di Milano[25] in Italy are examples of the adoption of research and entrepreneurship. What brings originality to ArtEZ's overall discourse is the attention to the intense involvement that the institution has in the region's business initiatives and the use of professor Van den Eijnde's quote.

3. TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The characteristics mentioned above are evidenced in the analysis that follows. The text is characterized by a contrast between the first paragraphs and professor Van den Eijnde's quote, and the main findings of the analysis are based in this polarity. I have indicated the semantic relations (in capital letters) and the connectors (in bold) that link these relations, which are commented on opportunely.

---

[24] http://www.rca.ac.uk/research-innovation/innovation/ (accessed on August 3, 2016).

[25] http://www.polimi.it/en/scientific-research/polihub-business-incubator/ (accessed on August 13, 2016).

Art, Culture and Economy professorship

1   The Art, Culture and Economy professorship stimulates entrepreneurship ELABORATION **by** initiating concrete, design-oriented research projects.

What does the Art, Culture and Economy professorship do?

2   The Art, Culture and Economy professorship initiates concrete, design-oriented research for artists and designers in the region. ELABORATION **This** stimulates entrepreneurship within the creative sector ELABORATION **through** measures such as developing links between creative companies and other parts of the business world. ADDITION The Art, Culture & Economy professorship was set up by the Municipality of Arnhem, the HAN University of Applied Sciences and ArtEZ. PURPOSE **The goal is** to increase the economic significance of art and culture not only in Arnhem, CONTRAST but also in the surrounding region.

Collaboration

3   The professorship is working together with the Fashion Design professorship PURPOSE **to set up** a research institute in the field of fashion, design, creative economy and innovation. ELABORATION **The basis for this** is the Arnhem Centre for Creative Economy and Innovation (ARCCI).

[Professor Jeroen van den Eijnde's quote:]

4   "Artists and designers often do not see themselves as entrepreneurs. CONTRAST **However**, their unconventional and visionary way of thinking and acting, ADDITION their feel for cultural and social trends ADDITION and their intrinsic dedication make them into the entrepreneurs of the future."

Jeroen van den Eijnde, programme leader Professor of Art, Culture and Economy

The leading paragraph summarizes the aim of the page and begins building a discourse through a vocabulary containing the words "entrepreneurship" and the expression "design-oriented research project." The speech function is "statement of fact." One important feature is the word "concrete," which acts as a metaphor that contrasts with the intangible nature of projects in the creative industries. In many cases, projects may have their materiality restricted to formats such as a drawing on a sheet of paper, or a digital file on a web server – from such point of view, websites, sounds, brands, or animations may not appear "real." Thus, the use of "concrete" may indicate the intention to oppose such connotations that a project may have, stimulating potential clients in the

market to hire creative and innovative services. The verb "stimulates" works in the same manner to encourage the interaction between artists and designers and the market. Thus, the use of words from distinct vocabularies – "entrepreneurship" and "design-oriented research project" – signifies an interaction between two distinct worlds.

The second paragraph is the longest, and it is the locus of the text's logic. Via semantic relations of elaboration, purpose, and contrast constructed between clauses and sentences, the text assumes an "explanatory logic" (Fairclough 2003). In other words, the sentences follow a specific order due to these semantic relations – with the exception of the third sentence that has an additive function and could be placed anywhere in the paragraph. With such a configuration, the paragraph avoids mere description and moves toward an argument. According to Fairclough (2003), such sequences of semantic relations foreground legitimation:[26] the text aims for a perfect interpretation and to achieve that, utilizes a rational explanation about what the professorship does, its consequences, how it was set up, and its goals – a "procedure." The form of legitimation at work in these paragraphs is "rationalization."

Another relevant semantic relation is the rewording of "artists and designers" as "creative sector" and "creative companies." According to Fairclough, this relation of hyponymy involves a presupposition – in this case the writer takes it as a given that "creative companies" are the manifestation of "artists and designers." In this case one can see how important the word choice is for the process of production and interpretation, considering the use of alternatives such as "craftsmen", which would provide a distinct meaning. As in the first paragraphs, the text unites different vocabularies. However, it seems that rather than building a relationship between two different discourses, it is more appropriate to say that the aim is to build a representation of artists and designers that can be inserted into the discourse of entrepreneurship. Here one can observe the global discourse of entrepreneurship colonizing the social practices surrounding art and design.

As for the participants involved, the text mentions "artists and designers," organizations and institutions such as the Municipality of Arnhem, the HAN University of Applied Sciences, ArtEZ, and the business world. The evidence mapped so far seems to indicate a governance genre that, according to Fairclough, sustains "the institutional structure of contemporary society – structural relations between (local) government, business, universities, the media, etc." (Fairclough 2003, 32). This is the role that ArtEZ sustains by enabling networks among the participants mentioned. Other evidence that points to a governance genre is the re-contextualization of the social practices of artists and designers within a context of entrepreneurship and business. And finally, the governance genre is also characterized by the aim to increase the economic significance of art and

---

[26] According to Van Leeuwen, there are four strategies to achieve legitimation: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis (undated, cited in Fairclough 2003).

culture in the city and surrounding region – a move in scale. As the webpage is from an educational institution, the existence of an academic discourse is natural (it is already mixed with market practices embodied in the ACEP). However, I prefer to consider the academic genre as being at the service of a dominant genre of governance that places ArtEZ in external relations with other participants.

In terms of processes and participants, there are also a number of transitive clauses in the text denoting actions (subject – verb – object) (Fairclough 1992). For instance, clauses with verbs such as "stimulate," "initiate," "develop," "increase," and "set up" – in which the ACEP itself is the subject. The choice of "action" processes in the paragraphs, and not "event," "relational," or "mental" processes configures an intentional attribution of agency, causality and responsibility to ACEP. Finally, the third paragraph follows the same direction, using semantic relations of elaboration and purpose, which clarify the current actions of the professorship, how these are taken, and the main goal.

The "procedure" described in this initial part of the text is summarized below, taking into consideration the agents and objects of the actions taking place in the text:

Table 1. The table shows the stages of the complete action described in the first three paragraphs.

Action starts	Verb	Intermediate stage	Verbs	End of action
"the Municipality of Arnhem, the HAN University of Applied Sciences and ArtEZ"	=> Set up	"The Art, Culture and Economy professorship" "The professorship"	=> Stimulates Initiates	"entrepreneurship" "design-oriented research"

The initiative to catalyze and take part in networks and partnerships provides conditions for the institution to obtain a high degree of prestige and influence in the local economy. Additionally, through the interchange between artists and designers and potential clients, ArtEZ contributes to creative workers' admission into the business community. In this process, artists and designers does not have an active voice, and by depicting them as dependents, ArtEZ manages to present itself as a patron of the local creative industry.

The quote from professor Jeroen van den Eijnde brings new ingredients to the text, and its importance is assigned by one of the largest fonts in the page, which is highlighted in bold. Whereas the legitimation in the first paragraphs was achieved by rationalization, the quote uses "authorization" to legitimize what is said – the authority of Van den Ejinde as the professorship program leader constitutes the legitimation. Quotes naturally signify intertextuality. In the present case the quote is direct speech, bringing authenticity to a text that so far has used a more formal, technical, and distant approach. In this quote the intertextuality is in fact twofold, since it mixes

words from different discourses (this is an important characteristic that I explore below).

The type of statement has changed from statement of fact to irrealis statement[27], which is configured by the prediction that artists and designers are the entrepreneurs of "the future." The paragraph describes a process of "attribution" (Fairclough 1989) in which the sentences consist of a subject followed by a verb and a complement (SVC): for instance, in "Artists and designers often do not see themselves as entrepreneurs," "entrepreneurs" is an attribution to "artists and designers." The same occurs with "unconventional and visionary way of thinking and acting," "feel for cultural and social trends" and "intrinsic dedication," which are possessive attributes. The assumption that artists and designers are natural entrepreneurs and the range of attributes ascribed to them make the text manipulative. Moreover, artists and designers are passivated and "made" into the entrepreneurs of the future. Additionally, instead of elaboration and purpose, the semantic relation between the sentences brings contrast and addition (see the text) and configures a "logic of appearances" – the paragraph does not use arguments but is limited to description. The quote presents a characteristic similar to hortatory reports, a common contemporary genre that is present in a range of texts, for instance policies, which limit available options by describing the socio-economic order as simply a given (Fairclough 2003). It is not a matter of evaluating whether entrepreneurship is good or not; the perspective evidenced by the text is that artists and designers have no other choice but to be invested with an entrepreneurial personality. Additionally, rather than having their own agency regarding the future, their destiny to become entrepreneurs is already set.

Another aspect that builds a contrast between the first part of the text and professor Van den Eijnde's quote is the use of vocabulary. While the first, second, and third paragraphs use words such as "entrepreneurship," "innovation," "creative economy," "business world," and "economy," the quote employs "visionary," "unconventional," "thinking," and "feel." The type of process also changes, and verbs denoting action give place to those indicating a mental process, such as "think" and "feel." With the choice of specific words, professor Van den Eijnde creates equivalence between the entrepreneurial discourse and the discourse of visual artists, designers, and architects. The quote goes even further: by using "visionary," "unconventional," "thinking," "feel," and "entrepreneurs of the future," the text inculcates a connotation of power that is almost mystical. With this empowerment, designers may be seduced into adopting the entrepreneurial behavior that is being compelled by the text. According to Fairclough, meaning-making can be achieved by creating relations of equivalence and difference between words (2003). He also points out that the

---

[27] According to Fairclough there are 3 types of statements: statements of fact ("realis" statements), "irrealis" statements (predictions and hypothetical statements), and evaluations (2003).

construction of these semantic relations indicate the backgrounding of difference – for instance the text does not mention the risks, which are also a strong feature of entrepreneurship.

Table 2. The table below compares the main features of the first three paragraphs with professor van den Eijnde's quote.

Discourse	Entrepreneurship / Creative city	Artists and designers
Paragraphs	1st, 2nd, and 3rd paragraphs	4th paragraph (quote)
Genre / participants	Governance / Interaction between artists and designers, institutions, and the business world.	Hortatory / Interaction between the professor and students.
Vocabulary	Entrepreneurship, creative sector, creative companies, business world, economic significance, region, collaboration, creative economy, innovation.	Entrepreneurs, unconventional, visionary, thinking, acting, feel, dedication.
Voice	Predominantly active	Predominantly passive
Grammatical mood	Declarative (action)	Declarative (attribution)
Semantic relations	Elaboration and purpose (explanatory logic)	Contrast and addition (logic of appearances)
Legitimation	Rationalization	Authorization

The last part of the text, just after the quote, consists of a list of several research projects in which the ACEP is involved. The most noticeable feature is the vocabulary, which reestablishes the discourse of entrepreneurship with a range of words and expressions such as "investors, partners and companies," "regional manufacturing industry," "indicators," "collaboration," and "data analysis." Another important characteristic is the overall semantics of the sentences that reveals implicit actions performed by the professorship in relation to entrepreneurship (see highlights). The first two topics concern "directing" current artists towards entrepreneurship, and "facilitating" artists' communication with the market and the industry, while the third, fourth, and seventh topics refer to "monitoring," "benchmarking," and "replicating" entrepreneurship.

Research projects

The professorship is involved in various research projects:

• Bridging the gap: a growth programme for visual artists, designers and architects in which they are connected with investors, partners and companies.

• Open Minds Open Sources: stimulating links and collaboration between

designers and the regional manufacturing industry.

• Arnhem Modekwartier: an analysis of entrepreneurial skills by established fashion companies.

• Organza: European research on indicators of successful creative cities.

• Dutch Identity in a Globalised World: an NWO research project in collaboration with the HAN, Saxion and Radboud University.

• The Creative Power of Gelderland: research into the creative profile of Arnhem/Gelderland based on data analysis.

• Design Routines: research into indicators within successful creative companies that enable them to achieve repeated success with design innovations.

• Development of the ArtEZ minor Creative Entrepreneurship, in collaboration with the ArtEZ Art Business Centre.

The generic structure that is achieved with the whole text, including the first paragraphs and the quote, is "argumentation" (Fairclough 2003) based on the following principles: the creative industries have economic potential (grounds), artists and designers are the means for the creative industries to achieve economic relevance (warrant), and commercial relations must be stimulated between artists and designers and the business community (claim).

4. SOCIAL PRACTICE

As the text analysis demonstrates, the ACEP web page places its full focus on the economy, with no mention of social and cultural developments in the field of arts and design. Moreover, from a macro perspective, the text shows how educational institutions are "marketizing" their discourses. Fairclough (2010, 117) studied earlier changes in higher education, and in 1993 he had already mentioned the beginning of a transformation of universities and public services in several countries. The change he referred to was such institutions' convergence with the economy. For instance, he pointed out an increasing dedication to managerial and marketing approaches, and highlighted the envisioning of students as customers in higher education institutions. Among his conclusions I highlight the presence of "a much greater investment of effort into the construction of more entrepreneurial institutional identities" and "a reconstruction of professional identities of academics on a more entrepreneurial (self-promotional) basis, with the foregrounding of personal qualities." The ACEP webpage gives continuity to this stage, but rather than simply growing

closer to the economy, ArtEZ shows how higher education institutions go one step further, influencing and participating in the economy. In the social practices described below I strive to map the present stage of this phenomenon with developments in the arts and the creative industries.

Higher education, entrepreneurship and the creative industries

The role that ArtEZ performs in Arnhem's economy, as an interface between institutions and creative workers, is similar to other cases in education in which universities are becoming strategically involved with the creative industries. These actions are due to public policies aiming for the positive impacts that were achieved in national economies, which brought more attention to creativity and its link with intellectual property (IP) development and exploitation. Taylor points out that in the UK, one of the most cited cases in the creative industries, university business managers have assessed the opportunity to become involved with IP-based sectors, including the creative industries: "It is now not unusual to see universities set up graduate creative entrepreneurship programmes, invest in incubator and spin-out programmes and, perhaps most commonly, enter into innovation partnerships with creative enterprises from the private, public and third sectors" (Taylor 2007, 178). This has been a process of development through enterprise and innovation, in which educational institutions participate through research and knowledge transfer. Although the initiatives of higher educational institutions are directed at social and economic development, they also attract commercial benefits to the institutions. In this regard, there is a consonance between the "marketization" of educational institutions mentioned by Fairclough and the structure on which Taylor built his arguments: "Under the combined pressures of growth in the higher education system, changes to the funding of universities and new policy emphases, the relationship between university-based activities and the wider economy and society have risen up the public policy agenda" (Taylor 2007, 187).

Taylor underlines a number of challenges that universities must deal with in order to attain a synergy with the creative industries in a regional context. One is associating with an organizational configuration that follows a post-Fordist system – mainly micro, small, and medium enterprises involved in small-scale and specialized production. Another challenge is how to deal with risk: usually the creative enterprises are concentrated on the stage of creation, leaving the other stages of production and distribution the responsibility of larger businesses. Usually such businesses manage the risk by developing a broad portfolio that helps to absorb the failure of unsuccessful products.

On the other hand, Taylor indicates that the creative industries can be strongly attached to regional development strategies because enterprise and innovation depend on territorially based

relationships. Closer relationships and stronger cultures of trust developed in clusters are important conditions for developing "difficult-to-replicate 'untraded interdependencies' that allow regional economies to specialize" (Taylor 2007, 185). In such relationships, universities participate on a formal level that involves multiple organizations: "firms; financial institutions; local chambers of commerce; training agencies; trade associations; local authorities; development agencies; innovation centers; clerical bodies; unions; government agencies providing premises, land, and infrastructure; business service organizations; marketing boards" (Amin and Thrift 1994 cited in Taylor 2007). The genre of governance that was detected in the text analysis is deeply related to such formal level of networks. As shown, the ACEP webpage mentions several initiatives in which ArtEZ is involved on the scale of the city (Arnhem), locality (Gelderland), and region (Europe). Taylor's reference to specialization also resonates with the constant attention to "fashion and design" (fashion in a different scope than other creative disciplines). Since fashion can rely on different initiatives in a well-established supply chain, it becomes the most advantageous activity – this specialization will become clear in the analysis of the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region webpage.

Just as the relationship between universities and the creative industries has become a matter of public policy, the same is happening with knowledge-transfer. Taylor cites a triad of actions that have constituted knowledge-transfer in science, engineering, and technology: "technology and non-technology transfer, the growth of new firms emerging from university activities and the additional income generated by the existence of universities in a locality" (Williams 1997, 99 cited in Taylor 2007). In England there have been initiatives encouraging knowledge transfer in the creative industries, for instance the implementation of pan-regional centers of professional excellence, postgraduate programs in creative enterprises, business support, and centers for creative enterprise. However, as Taylor underlines, the field still needs a wider understanding. One question that arises in this sense is if and to what extent strategies from the sciences, engineering, and technology can be applied in the creative industries. He explains that due to the specifics of the creative industries, knowledge transfer may not be acknowledged. One example is the know-how that circulates through professional networks without being codified and, as tacit knowledge, becomes unprotected. The notion of value then becomes significantly related to specific networks.

To apply this discussion to the present case, it seems that due to the long-term network that has been developed since the year 1953, when the institution was founded, ArtEZ occupies a privileged position in Arnhem. The institution continues to participate actively in the city's social, cultural, and economic scenes through the provision of talent to the region's creative industry, and via the establishment of partnerships in local initiatives and events such as the Arnhem Mode

Incubator[28] and the Fashion + Design Festival Arnhem (FDFA).[29] As a result, ArtEZ has a strong link with the municipality of Arnhem, also managing to strengthen relations with the region of Gelderland and reach other European institutions and organizations. One example is the Organza project, which involves European regions and medium-sized cities and works toward the improvement of policies concerning the creative industries and the development of new policy instruments to invigorate regional economies.[30]

Entrepreneurship education in the arts

Entrepreneurship may be the subject of polemics in the field of the arts, since it refers directly to the commodification of culture. While some philosophers such as Adorno and Horkheimer considered commodification of culture a sort of sacrilege, depriving art of the greater role of criticizing superficial life, others saw positive aspects in the mix of culture, society, and business that could take to new directions and innovations (Hesmondhalgh 2013).

Today there remain discussions surrounding the merging of the arts and the market. Gielen states that artists' practice can be divided in four kinds of spaces: the domestic space, the communal space (peers), the market, and the civil space (2012). In each one of them there is a specific relationship between theory and practice. While the domestic space provides the intimacy that the artist needs to build theoretical knowledge, the communal space allows a valuable exchange between fellow students, pushing the limits of what is artistically possible. Both spaces provide liberty from criticism or market evaluations – these are spaces of trial and error. In the civil space, where transgressions are expected from the artist, theorizing is a tool of self-defense. Finally, in the market space social relationships are converted to economic relations where the artist can become alienated both from his own product and his client, as occurs in the auction market.

> In general, the market space allows the artist to trade his creativity for money. It simply enables the artist to make a living. Theory on the one hand, may well gain the status of marketing, and concepts serve to gain or keep a distinguished position on the market. The practice on the other hand, is only interesting when the product is finished, for only then it can be traded. The process of making the product has little value in this domain. (Gielen 2012, 20-21)

---

[28] Arnhem Mode Incubator is located close to the Modekwartier and provides workplaces, workshops, networking activities, lectures, and coaching for designers needing advices on a range of aspects concerning their enterprises. The focus is entrepreneurship and facilitating the network between designers, partners, and businesses. http://arnhemmodeincubator.blogspot.nl/p/over-ons.html (accessed on July 7, 2016).

[29] The summer festival happens in Arnhem once a year for the whole month of June, invigorating the city's cultural scene. The festival "celebrates creativity" providing space to fashion, photography, architecture, film, design, visual arts, sculpture, and dance. http://www.fdfarnhem.nl/fdfa/ (accessed on July 20, 2016).

[30] http://www.organzanetwork.eu/objectives (accessed on July 20, 2016).

Gielen and Bruyne suggest that the "healthy" artist (whether he is a visual artist, an actor, a dancer, or a musician) ideally must work in harmony with the four spaces.

There are also those who defend the idea that art is essentially an entrepreneurial activity in which the artist must persist in the face of failures, deal with technical difficulties, and interact with others to exhibit (and sell) his/her achievements for a specific audience: "It is a genuinely creative process that finds its origin in the artist's perception of highly subjective ideas, whose viability and ultimate impact on the art arena are surrounded by genuine uncertainty" (Scherdin and Zander 2011, 1). Aiming to achieve reciprocal benefits in the fields of the arts and entrepreneurship, Scherdin and Zender explore different phenomena such as opportunity recognition, risk and uncertainty, and similarities and differences between art and entrepreneurship. However, they recognize that these fields "have remained separate in terms of both academic research and practice."

In education, White points out that despite the existence of courses teaching entrepreneurship in the context of the arts, "there currently exists no proposed theory or theories of arts entrepreneurship in nascent literature for guiding contextual entrepreneurship pedagogy and practice" (White 2015, 4). He affirms that it is not a particularity of entrepreneurship in the field of the arts, but that entrepreneurship itself lacks theory in education and practice. In the USA, the existing art entrepreneurship education courses approach the theme from the perspective of new venture creation – commonly experiential learning in business planning and pitching – or from the perspective of skills for transitioning – the development of skills, competencies and behaviors that are needed in the job market such as building a portfolio, dealing with personal finances, and networking. According to White, both perspectives are limited: while new venture creation lacks deeper ventures such as "arts and non-arts partnerships/collaborations, art festivals, cultural district plans, public art exhibitions, arts/cultural programs […]," skills for transitioning offers one program to a variety of disciplines – "Does a dancer need the same skills for transitioning as an actor?" or, to what extent do the "proposed skills, competencies and behaviors for arts entrepreneurship differ from those learned by arts administrators?" (2015, 7).

Taking into consideration these distinct notions of art, market, and entrepreneurship, I believe that Gielen provides a more balanced vision, which recognizes distinct necessities that an artist has, including a professional performance in the market. However, as typically happens in every field with potential economic developments, anxiety grows proportionally to ambition and challenges the balance to which Gielen refers. As explained in Chapter One, the arts, cultural, and creative industries are a recently discovered means of urban regeneration and regional development. Although this trend is becoming dominant worldwide, there is still considerable

space for development and consequently the need for a more rational balance between economic, social, and cultural spaces.

Entrepreneurship education in the creative industries

In the UK, the creative industries have an increasing importance in the economy, reaching a rate of 7% in employment, and one of the highest incomes – on average 37% higher than the whole UK economy (NESTA 2008). It also has one of the highest rates of education of the whole workforce – 43% of employees are educated to degree level or higher (NESTA 2003 cited in DCMS 2006). However, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) points out that with the high propensity towards self-employment and entrepreneurship, graduates feel unprepared to face their careers in the creative industries (2006). Their courses have not provided the proper knowledge of the industry they are about to enter, or developed their know-how in commercializing their work. With the investigations that were undertaken, it was found that graduates have few opportunities in higher education to develop their entrepreneurial skills and self-employment capabilities; although entrepreneurial learning is available in different approaches, these are still generic and do not link creative practice with commercial realities successfully. The experiences that had achieved the best results were delivered on a "need to know," "learning by doing" basis followed by reflection and assimilation (DCMS 2006). Considering this landscape, in 2006 the DCMS Task Group made several recommendations, from among which I highlight the development of a national framework for entrepreneurial learning for the creative industries and a national enterprise program for the creative industries.

The social practice indicates that the concern surrounding education and entrepreneurship in the arts and design is a trend, at least in Europe and the USA. This perspective may have an even greater impact in the arts, where the relationship with commerce can often be problematic. Fairclough (1995, 100) describes this process as "the colonization of institutions in the public domain by types of discourse which emanate from the private domain." He affirms that

> professions, social services and even the arts which are being drawn into commercial and consumerist modes of operation, are under pressure to transform their organizational practices and "cultures" in this direction, undertaking in many cases systematic strategies of training and other forms of intervention to achieve these ends. (1995, 100)

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the ACEP webpage shows that the text develops two distinct strategies. The first part defines ArtEZ as a catalyst of business in the region, with a key role in the construction of commercial relations between artists and designers and the "business world." This action is

taken via "Research," which can be performed through the elaboration of innovative prototypes for companies and industries under the supervision of ArtEZ. As in a test-drive, the experience may be an incentive for companies to adopt such innovative services more frequently. Via this strategy, the institution manages to inculcate the acceptance of artists and designers in the business community. As the governance genre indicated in the analysis suggests, by assuming coordination in this process, ArtEZ also assumes power in the economy of the region.

The second part employs professor Van den Eijnde's quote to translate the jargon of entrepreneurship and induce artists and designers to adopt entrepreneurial behavior. To achieve this, the text develops a strategy of empowerment through mystical attributions such as "unconventional," "visionary," and "entrepreneurs of the future." With these two strategies, both the activities of art and design and their practitioners are placed at the service of the economy.

III. The Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region

1. INTRODUCTION

The Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region (ANCR) is a governmental effort that encompasses 20 municipalities and a total of 750,000 inhabitants, among which the cities of Arnhem and Nijmegen, with 145,000 and 160,000 inhabitants respectively,[31] lead as the most representative. The website is financially supported by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF),[32] which along with other two initiatives – the Cohesion Fund (CF) and the European Structural and Investment (ESI) Funds – conducts the EU's main investment: Regional Policy.[33] According to the Regional Policy website, the funds aim to support job creation, business competitiveness, economic growth, sustainable development, and improve citizens' quality of life. The umbrella over these improvements is the Europe 2020 Strategy for smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth in the European Union. Also important is the initiative from the cohesion policy that concentrates funding in less developed countries and regions, aiming to reduce inequalities in the European Union. Since the ERDF has granted €500,000 to the City Region of Arnhem-Nijmegen and given the fact that the region has to contribute at least the same amount, this means that more than €1 million will be invested in the region.

This initiative is built on the increasingly competitive ideology that is developing globally. This points out that the local character of the economy is gone and instead assumes a regional/international profile, aiming at new markets for selling products and services. Due to the transformations imposed upon fashion and design as important activities in the region, the main question I seek to answer in this chapter is "How are the field of fashion and design and the relation between its practitioners and entrepreneurship represented in the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region website?" The analysis shows that the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region projects an image of fashion and design that is almost exclusively related to business and, to a lesser degree, to innovation, leaving no space for social or cultural developments. In turn, to fit (fashion) designers into this perspective, the website naturalizes them as entrepreneurs, privileging a notion of production rather than quality and originality. An atmosphere of prosperity is also constructed without citing the possible issues involved in enterprises.

The Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region website has an entire page dedicated to fashion and design, on which all the participants of these industries are cited. The Modekwartier and ArtEZ that were analyzed in the previous chapters re-emerge, accompanied by a whole spectrum of institutions,

---

[31] http://www.destadsregio.nl/arnhem-nijmegen-city-region/fact2019s-and-figures (accessed on June 9, 2016)

[32] http://www.arnhemnijmegencityregion.nl/erdfgrant (accessed on June 14, 2016)

[33] http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/what/investment-policy/ (accessed on June 13, 2016)

organizations, and initiatives, helping to build a complete picture of the creative industries in the region. To answer the question assigned to this chapter, I make a preliminary analysis aiming to discover the representation of (fashion) design in a broader sense. This is achieved through the analysis of the information architecture of the website, which shows how the content is organized, the types of categories that result, the hierarchies that are established, and so forth. Then, this macro perspective is narrowed through a discourse analysis aiming to understand how the relationship between entrepreneurship and (fashion) designers is represented.

Figure 1. The picture displays the "Fashion and Design" webpage.

- The strongly developed fashion cluster in Arnhem, with facilities like the Modekwartier, Arnhem Mode Incubator, Arnhem Fashion Factory and Arnhem Coming Soon is unique.

- Main features are ArtEZ Hogeschool voor de Kunsten [Academy for Art & Design], Knowledge Centre ARCCI, Hogeschool Arnhem Nijmegen [HAN] , the top international event Arnhem Mode Biënnale [Fashion Biennial] and the top class designers generated by the city (such as Piet Paris, Lucas Ossendrijver, Jan Taminiau, Daryl van Wouw and Alexander van Slobbe).

- The head-quarters of large fashion retail organisations are located here; for example: Score and Open32 (each with their own label: Chasin' and Silver Creek) and famous international design labels such as Humanoid, People of the Labyrinths, Spijkers en Spijkers, Sjaak Hullekes and rising stars like Elsien Gringhuis.

- Famous names in product design in the Arnhem Nijmegen region are Ineke Hans, Ruud Jan Kokke, Floris Schoonderbeek, Dick van Hoff and Erik Jan Kwakkel.

- Famous names in graphic design from the region are Richard Vijgen, O.K. Parking, Sinds1416 and Diep Arnhem.

INITIATIVES
Modekwartier Arnhem

In the Modekwartier [Fashion Quarter] you can shop in exclusive fashion and design stores and studios from (predominantly) emerging design talents. We are talking about shopping for a product with a story. The shops and studios can be found spread over a distance of more than a kilometre. It is quite easy to fill a day in the Modekwartier visiting the wide variety of fashion and design on offer. The shops and studios are located in refurbished premises in the Klarendal district within walking distance of the Arnhem city centre.

MODE INCUBATOR
Arnhem Mode Incubator [Fashion Incubator] is a breeding ground for entrepreneurs just starting out in the fashion industry. Arnhem Mode Incubator supports these entrepreneurs with a place to work, coaching and advice on finances and business matters. The goal: to enable starting designers to grow into successful fashion entrepreneurs.

HET AFF MONSTERATELIER
AFF Monsteratelier (Arnhem Fashion Factory Monster studio) is unique in the Netherlands. Now that almost all fashion production has been moved to the low-wage countries, AFF Monsteratelier offers a solution for fashion professionals wanting to create samples and collections in small editions up to hundred and fifty pieces.

COMING SOON
Arnhem Coming Soon is an exclusive fashion & design shop in Arnhem's city centre which focusses entirely on Dutch designers. The range is a mix of work from young up and coming talent and established names. The exclusive designs and fine interior make this a shop a place worth visiting in itself.

MODE BIËNNALE

De Arnhem Mode Biënnale [Arnhem Fashion Biennial] is the largest cultural, fashion festival in the world. The international festival takes place every two years at the best locations in an around Arnhem city centre. Preparations for the fifth edition in 2013 are underway. With exhibitions, readings, workshops, a shopping trail and fashion shows both fashion professionals and the general public are introduced to fashion design in all its manifestations.

FABLAB ARNHEM
FabLab Arnhem is an idea laboratory where individuals can use digitally operated machines to develop and produce something themselves Cooperation and knowledge sharing are the principle factors. Visitors to the FabLab can ask each other for advice and assist each other in developing and elaborating their ideas. This applies globally because the FabLabs (more than 50, of which 10 are in the Netherlands) are connected to each other live by means of video conferencing.

PRODUCTIEHUIS PLAATSMAKEN
With its traditional graphic studios and digital workshop the Productiehuis PlaatsMaken provides artists with the opportunity to experiment with traditional and digital techniques

SHOWROOM ARNHEM
Showroom Arnhem is a cultural centre. It has been designed literally as a showroom for creative Arnhem. It is a cultural platform/stage for projects, readings, exhibitions and shows. The spacious 600m² location situated under a car park was originally a public, pedestrian passage Ontwerp Platform Arnhem (OPA), Centrum voor Architectuur en Stedenbouw Arnhem (CASA) [Centre for Architecture and Urban Construction] and kunstenaarscollectief G.A.N.G. [Artists collective G.A.N.G.] are the initiators and permanent occupants of this cultural hot-spot.

MODEKERN ARNHEM
Arnhem is opening the (digital) fashion archives of contemporary designers to the general public. Under the name 'Modekern Arnhem' [Arnhem Fashion core] any interested parties can access fashion designers' sketches and

2. WEBSITE DESCRIPTION AND INFORMATION ARCHITECTURE ANALYSIS

The homepage divides the information in the ANCR website into four main categories:[34] "Business," "Education," "Living," and "Innovation." There is a fifth category (actually a link to a separate website) that provides help to expatriates and approaches typical subjects such as the region, official matters, housing, education, and living.

Figure 2. The picture displays the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region home page.
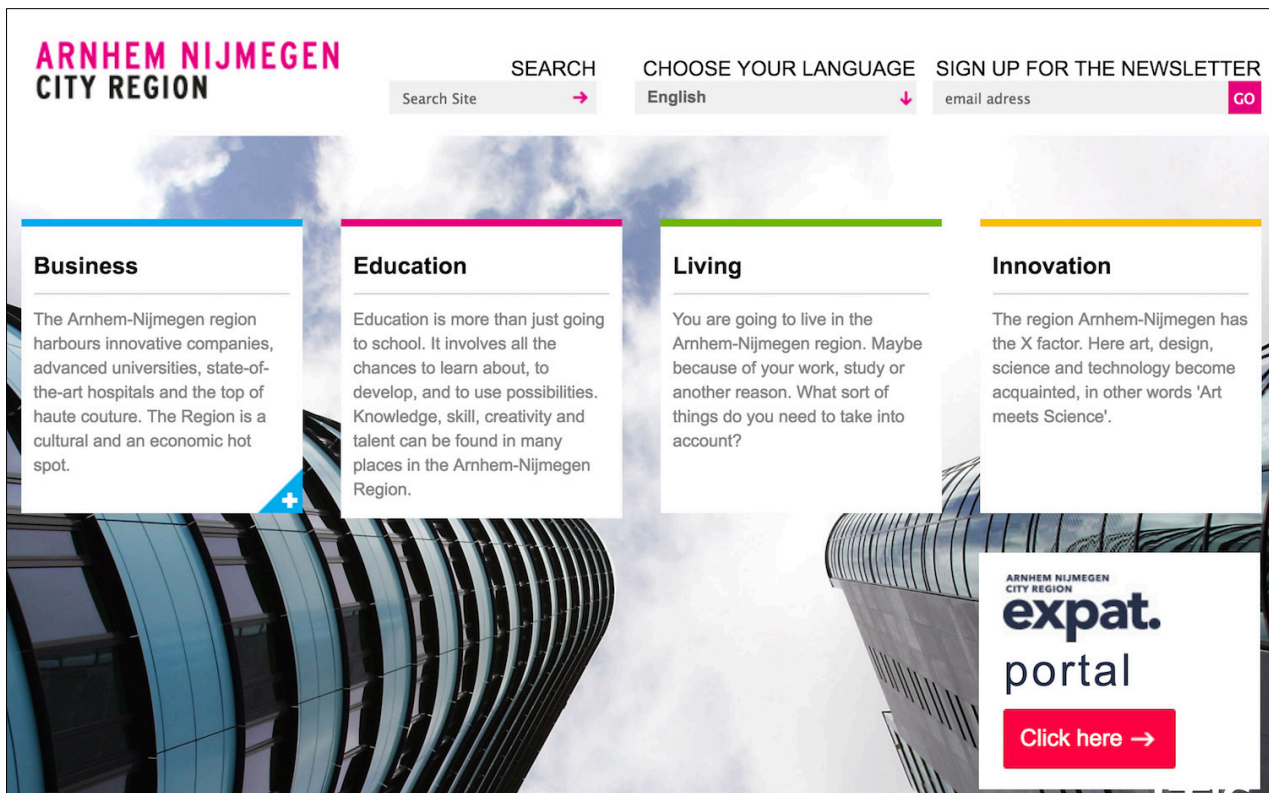
The structure of the internal page is constituted by a header (see figure 0), three columns of information immediately below the header, and the footer. The header contains the logo, a search field, a menu with the available languages, and a field for newsletter subscription. The leftmost column contains the navigation bar; the brands of the European Union and Gelderland Overijssel, which are responsible for the funds supporting the ANCR; a map locating the region in the Netherlands; and a Facebook "like" button. The central column is dedicated to the main text of the page, while the right column shows two boxes containing social media buttons and small images related to the content of each webpage. Finally, the last part of the page is the footer, which provides an accessibility mechanism, allowing the visitor to increase or reduce the size of the elements contained on the page, the site map, a contact form, and links to the "Home," "Disclaimer," and "About" pages.

---

[34] http://www.arnhemnijmegencityregion.nl/en (accessed on June 13, 2016)

Information architecture

According to Lynch and Horton (2009) the primary aims of information architecture are to: a) organize the site into taxonomies and hierarchies of information, b) communicate conceptual overviews and the overall site organization to the design team and clients, c) research and design the core site navigation concepts, d) set standards and specifications for the handling of HTML semantic markup and the format and handling of text content, and e) design and implement search optimization standards and strategies. For the questions set for this chapter, the first two aims can provide an answer as to how fashion and design are represented.

The first clue is the arrangement of the homepage, which presents the four main categories that organize the information of the website. Looking at the text of these categories, one can find fashion and design assigned to the categories of "Business" and "Innovation" – there is a mention of creativity in the category of "Education," but it is exclusively related to the activities of ArtEZ:

Business

The Arnhem-Nijmegen region harbours innovative companies, advanced universities, state-of-the-art hospitals and the top of haute couture. The Region is a cultural and an economic hot spot.

Innovation

The region Arnhem-Nijmegen has the X factor. Here art, design, science and technology become acquainted, in other words "Art meets Science."

According to Fairclough, these kinds of semantic relations are part of a social process of classification that through logics of difference or equivalence produce, reproduce, and subvert divisions and differences (2003). He points out that such meaning-making reveals political processes seeking to achieve hegemony. Thus, on the one hand an equivalence is constructed between business, fashion, and culture. On the other hand, an equivalence is drawn between innovation, art, and design. Such a system of classification limits these activities, preventing the interaction with other disciplines. For instance, fashion appears restricted by a business-focused perspective, with social and cultural developments inhibited. Even the omission of fashion in the category of "Innovation" narrows the possibility to several areas of research such as science, humanities, social sciences, etc. On the other hand, the fact that design is exclusively mentioned under "Innovation" gives rise to two implications: firstly, it prevents the use of design as a business; secondly, it insinuates that despite the constant mention of "fashion and design," the specialization of the region is predominantly related to fashion rather than design.

According to Lynch and Horton, most sites rely on hierarchies to move from a broad overview of the site, represented by the home page, into increasingly specific content. To establish

hierarchies, information architects rank the content in terms of importance and then organize the categories accordingly (general categories occupy a higher position in the hierarchy, while specific "chunks" of information occupy lower positions) (2009). The elaboration of this organization also obeys other rules, such as where to put things and why. For instance, due to our reading habits and the Western tendency toward rightward reading, when the page composition is dominated by text, users scan webpages from top to bottom and from left to right in a Z pattern. Taking this into consideration, based on the distribution of categories on the homepage, the highest priority is given to "Business," and "Innovation" receives the lowest. Accordingly, this value is transferred to the items that are included in the business box such as "haute couture," "innovative companies," "advanced universities," etc.

The website employs a hierarchy that is commonly found in corporate and institutional websites and is familiar to most users: a single homepage that links to subtopic menu pages. As stated by Lynch and Horton, this type of structure characterized by a star, with pages radiating from a central home page, is one of the simplest forms of organization. One characteristic of such an organization is that the user cannot access different categories without going back to the home page (2009). A better alternative would be the provision of a navigation bar offering links to parallel areas of interest. One could also develop a more sophisticated approach, employing a web-like organizational structure to allow a heuristic, individual form of navigation, guided by the user's interests. For instance, the text on ArtEZ on the "Fashion and Design" webpage could provide a link to the section on "Education," and so on. Additionally, regarding the issues of difference and equivalence mentioned above, the creation of a fifth category ("Culture") to house fashion, design, art, and culture, and the adoption of more flexible structures of organization would provide these topics a more democratic and less restrictive perspective. Within this new structure any webpage inside the category of "Business" would provide links to other categories, including "Culture."

Figure 3. The figure displays the difference between a star-shaped hierarchy (on the left) and a web of associated pages (on the right).
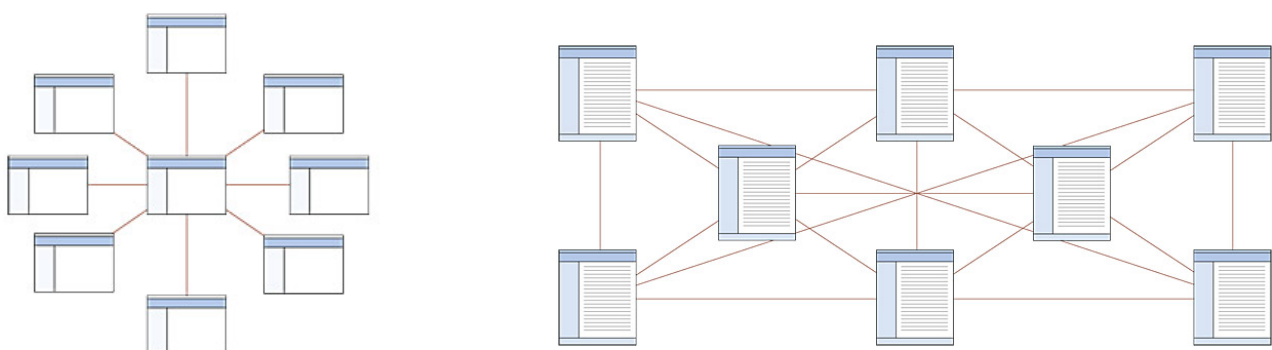
Looking at sub-categories, it is possible to deepen the inquiry and continue investigating how the content is conceived and organized by the producers of the page. As mentioned, the website uses the criterion of "category" to organize the information, which means that items are organized by similarity of characteristics or relatedness of the items; other forms of organization can be time, location, alphabetic, or continuum.

These sub-categories are explicitly shown in the navigation, which is an important part of the interface. On the "Fashion and Design" webpage, the navigation bar has a vertical disposition and is permanently "open," calling the user's attention with its dimensions. The main category of "BUSINESS" displays two distinct sub-groups: one containing information about the business environment – such as "Business climate," "Businessparks," "Knowledge and Research Climate," and "Key Networks,"

Figure 4. The navigation bar of the "Fashion and Design" webpage.

written in upper[35] and lowercase[36] letters – and another containing the key economic sectors in which the items are emphasized with uppercase letters – "ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGY," "FASHION AND DESIGN," "HEALTH AND TECHNOLOGY," "SEMICONDUCTORS," "TRANSPORT AND LOGISTICS," and "TOURISM." Note that the use of lower and uppercase letters reveals the intention to display two distinct sub-categories.

The technical artifice of highlighting the present page with a white arrow and white text helps the reader to locate himself among the content. One issue that arises is the long list that is formed, making the subjects in uppercase letters lose relevance. Among the economic activities, the alphabetical order positions "FASHION AND DESIGN" third in line, in a better position than "HEALTH AND TECHNOLOGY." The technical artifice of highlighting the present page with a white arrow and white text helps the reader to locate himself among the content.

This investigation shows that the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region sees fashion and design as "specialized" activities. While the former assumes an important position in the category of "Business," the latter gains more prominence in the category of "Innovation." At the same time that the concept of specialization may have a positive association with production and the economy, it forces fashion and design into a limited perspective within which these activities have

---

[35] http://www.typographydeconstructed.com/uppercase/ (accessed on June 17, 2016)

[36] http://www.typographydeconstructed.com/lowercase/ (accessed on June17, 2016)

no interdisciplinary interaction with other areas such as culture, science, the humanities, the social sciences, and so forth. As the analysis below demonstrates, although the webpage "Fashion and Design" cites other activities of the creative industry under the "design" umbrella, it demonstrates that most initiatives developed in Arnhem are geared towards fashion. I see this as an indication that the representation of fashion as business has been continuously constructed over the years by local and regional policies. As said, design gains more prominence in the webpage "Innovation" via projects such as a balance bike for people with physical limitations,[37] and the Vanhulsteijn premium bicycles[38] that are designed and produced in Arnhem.

3. DISCURSIVE PRACTICE

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the actions in the region are not a product of local interests but a joint effort between the local government and European Union policies to valorize the region as a potential target of investment. The availability of three languages in the header (Dutch, English, and German) and the mechanism of accessibility[39] in the footer reveal an ambition of reach that extends beyond the locality and even the audience's physical limitations. In this sense, the initiative as a whole relies on the Internet as a communication technology that re-scales social, economic, and political relations. The website has different sections: "Business," "Education," "Living," and "Innovation." Since each section is a form of specific interaction employing specific discourses, one can say that these divisions represent different genres. Thus, due to the goal of attracting investment, workers, students, etc., I believe that the genre of the site as a whole can be called a "creative city" genre with four sub-genres relating to these sections.

The main purpose of the "Fashion and Design" webpage is to demonstrate the strength of the creative industry to investors, companies, (fashion) designers, or students. This purpose is evidenced by an advertising genre that can be seen mainly in the initial portion of the "Fashion and Design" text. With a promotional tone, the page shows investors a series of initiatives, mainly in the field of fashion, indicating a dynamic and entrepreneurial character. The promotional tone also reaches companies and (fashion) designers who may use the information to evaluate whether the region is appropriate for them to settle their businesses. Finally, students also may use the page to analyze the potential in terms of artistic education, with the possibility of developing a career in the region.

---

[37] http://www.arnhemnijmegencityregion.nl/innovation/alinker-r-volution-the-cool-revolutionary-balance-bike (accessed on August 9, 2016)

[38] http://www.arnhemnijmegencityregion.nl/innovation/van%20hulsteijn%20bicycles, (accessed on August 9, 2016)

[39] There are several ways to allow people with disabilities to access websites. Among the examples we can mention alternative text for images, the provision of functionality via keyboard, and transcription of audio files. https://www.w3.org/standards/webdesign/accessibility (accessed on August 9, 2016)

Through three main discourses that I call "business," "productive quality," and "prestige," the text approaches themes such as the cultivation of designers, the role of Arnhem as a source of creative talent, the presence of organizations and initiatives that provide a healthy environment for the creative industry, and the impact that the creative industry has in the region. One important characteristic is the absence of the voices of designers, making the text too technical and less innovative.

4. TEXT ANALYSIS

The overall characteristic of the webpage is to show how strong the region is in the fields of fashion and design. The analysis complements the findings of the previous sections showing semantic relations and metaphors to persuade the reader, different types of vocabulary, the level of agency of (fashion) designers, and so on. The majority of the analysis is concentrated on the beginning portion of the text that is constituted by the heading, the leading paragraph, and the "Profile" text. The text is shown below, with semantic relations in blue and highlights in yellow that will be explained opportunely:

FASHION AND DESIGN

1   The Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region has cultivated world-class designers, such as Viktor & Rolf. ADDITIVE Yet the region offers much more in the way of fashion and design, much more.

PROFILE

2   The Arnhem Nijmegen region has a passion for artistry. ADDITIVE The creative industry ELABORATION - entrepreneurs in the fields of fashion, product design, graphic design, architecture, multimedia and ICT and such like – is strongly represented in the region. ADDITIVE Arnhem is the source of all the design talent and CONSEQUENCE thus serves as the centre and display case for Fashion & Design. REASON That is predominantly due to ArtEZ Hogeschool voor de Kunsten [ArtEZ School of the Arts] ELABORATION which has enjoyed a national and international reputation for dozens of years.

3   ADDITIVE The Arnhem Mode Biënnale [Fashion Biennial] is a major international event in the field of innovative fashion design. ADDITIVE ArtEZ is the breeding ground for (inter)national design talent, with Victor & Rolf as prime examples. ADDITIVE The Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen - HAN [University of Applied Sciences] has a strong base of

creative and technical training. ADDITIVE The Fashion & Design cluster is made up of: Modekwartier [the fashion quarter] in Klarendal, the Arnhem Fashion Factory, the Arnhem Mode Incubator [Fashion Incubator], Arnhem Coming Soon, the Fablab, the Productiehuis Plaatsmaken, Showroom Arnhem, Modekern Arnhem [Fashion Core Arnhem] and the organisational support. ADDITIVE The ArtEZ and HAN also collaborate with the Arnhems Centrum voor de Creatieve Economie en Innovatie ARCCI [Centre for the Creative Economy & Innovation] with three research groups.

4   ADDITIVE The creative industry contributes considerably to the regional economy. ADDITIVE The creative sector is almost as large as Construction, Education and Health care. ADDITIVE In Arnhem a quarter of the working population belongs to the creative sector ADDITIVE and in Nijmegen it amounts to a third. ADDITIVE The Arnhem Nijmegen region of course has its share of large Art Museums [*sic*]: the Museum voor Moderne Kunst Arnhem [The Museum of Modern Art] [deeplink to living MMKA] exhibits current and recent work. ADDITIVE Museum Het Valkhof [deeplink to Living Valkhof] in Nijmegen devotes attention to modern art and the city's rich Roman past.

The text is an "argumentation" (Fairclough 2003): it affirms that the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region has much to offer in terms of fashion and design (grounds); that designers are the pieces that move the creative industry (warrant); and finally, with the presence of ArtEZ and a series of initiatives, that the permanent provision of talent is assured (claim).

The leading paragraph helps to introduce the argumentation, indicating through a metaphor that the city has been a traditional source of designers: "The Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region has 'cultivated' world-class designers […]." The notion of "cultivation" may be seen as a simple stylization, but I recognize an ideological implication in the choice of the metaphor. For instance, a more neutral effect could have been achieved by using "home" instead of "cultivated": "The Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region has been the home of world-class designers […]." However, artists and designers are treated as pieces of the economy, being more associated with tools and competitive advantage rather than creative individuals. Then, "cultivation" reinforces the idea of a workforce production in which people are given little agency regarding their own future, or, as in agriculture, people are referred to as crops in a field. The sentence's use of passive voice contributes to intensifying this effect. The same happens in the "Facts" box, where in the third bullet point, designers are "generated" by the city:

• Main features are ArtEZ Hogeschool voor de Kunsten [Academy for Art & Design], Knowledge Centre ARCCI, Hogeschool Arnhem Nijmegen [HAN], the top international event Arnhem Mode Biënnale [Fashion Biennial] and the top class designers <mark>generated</mark> by the city (such as Piet Paris, Lucas Ossendrijver, Jan Taminiau, Daryl van Wouw and Alexander van Slobbe).

"Generated" suggests an external action on (fashion) designers rather than an inherent capability of these professionals. The text could have developed an alternate approach through which designers would have had a less "functional" role, and more emphasis based on their abilities and/or the quality of their work. However, the choice of "generation" indicates the preference for a sense of productivity.

The first sentence of the lead paragraph evokes an aura of prestige – "The Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region has cultivated world-class designers, such as Viktor & Rolf," while the second sentence intends to build expectations – "Yet the region offers much more in the way of fashion and design, much more." Also important is the metaphor in the region's name with the exchange of the word "city" for the word "cool" ("The Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region"). The same aura of prestige is achieved in the first paragraph of the profile with "passion for artistry," "the source of all design talent," and "international reputation."

The beginning of the text starts to resemble the advertising genre. It indicates the strategic character of the text that functions in order to achieve the primary goal mentioned above, which is the attraction of investors. Fairclough points out that strategic actions as a characteristic of modernity become "pathological," invading our lives (2003). In this sense, the text presents information with a purpose in mind and poses an activity exchange with the appearance of a normal knowledge exchange – note the verb "offers" that is used:

"The Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region has cultivated world-class designers, such as Viktor & Rolf. Yet the region <mark>offers</mark> much more in the way of fashion and design, much more."

Although the exchange is not clearly articulated, as it would be in a selling strategy, it works as a "soft-sell." This kind of communication is a fact in contemporary society where domains such as education and health have been "marketized" but still avoid explicit advertising – they occupy an intermediary space where there is the attraction exerted by the market from one side, and an institutional behavior from the other side (Fairclough 2003).

The second paragraph is the key to the argumentation, in which one can find three important semantic relations between the sentences: consequence, reason, and elaboration. The third and fourth paragraphs complement the argument with a number of additive semantic relations: both describe a portfolio that includes other educational institutions, several initiatives in the fields of

fashion, design, and culture, and a strong creative economy.

As Fairclough states, arguments are closely related to ideology and employ presuppositions and elements that are taken for granted (2003). The text presupposes that all the members of the creative industry are entrepreneurs (see the second paragraph):

> The creative industry - entrepreneurs in the fields of fashion, product design, graphic design, architecture, multimedia and ICT and such like – is strongly represented in the region.

In this regard, it is important to consider that self-employed individuals constitute a substantial part of the creative industry. Less than personal choice, this fact is also due to industry trends (for instance vertical disintegration of large conglomerates and the adoption of production based on outsourcing). Neoliberalism, the implicit free market, and the opportunism of employers are also issues in the creative industries that prevent workers from having more stable conditions in their professions (Davies and Sigthorsson 2013). Thus, while one can argue that the Modekwartier, the Mode Incubator, and several initiatives mentioned on the page help to cultivate the necessary entrepreneurship to make the region flourish, one can also argue that the premises are structured on mistaken arguments. Additionally, for the naturalization of entrepreneurship, professionals end up losing their identity and skills, while their capacities could be used to build originality. For instance, the page mentions Elsien Gringhuis[40] along with businesses but omit her focus on craftsmanship and sustainability.

In contrast to the passive position of designers in the text there are various active participants who perform important roles. In most cases they are participants in action or relational processes (Fairclough 1992). For instance, the sentence "The Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region has cultivated world-class designers, such as Viktor & Rolf" exemplifies action in a transitive sentence constituted by a subject, a verb, and an object, in which the "Arnhem Nijmegen Cool Region" is the agent and "world-class designers" is the patient. An example of a relational process (relations of being, becoming, or having) is "The Arnhem Mode Biënnale is a major international event in the field of innovative fashion design." As shown in both examples, agents in the text are predominantly inanimate, such as institutions, organizations, and initiatives involved in clear actions or relations: Arnhem, ArtEZ, the creative industry, HAN University of Applied Sciences, Arnhem Fashion Incubator, and so on.

---

[40] http://www.elsiengringhuis.com/about-the-studio/ (Accessed on August 9, 2016)

The next part, constituted by the "Profile," works towards complementing the meaning of a "promotion message":[41] (a) the text **represents** Arnhem as the central stage of creativity in the region; (b) by mentioning several activities in the city, the text **advocates** the cultural scenario as strong and worthy of investment. The third ingredient of the promotional message is not clearly expressed: that is, the **anticipation** of what the region could/will be.

This is reinforced by a recognizable structure composed of several satellite paragraphs that add details about the initiatives mentioned in the profile and a "Facts" list. See the example below:

HET AFF MONSTERATELIER

AFF Monsteratelier (Arnhem Fashion Factory Monster studio) is unique in the Netherlands. Now that almost all fashion production has been moved to the low-wage countries, AFF Monsteratelier offers a solution for fashion professionals wanting to create samples and collections in small editions up to hundred and fifty [*sic*] pieces.

Through this known ritual, the text maintains control over the information, omitting data that may bring negative impressions. According to Fairclough, "in a period of fast social change where 'flexibility' is one of the buzz-words, organizations have an interest in establishing and maintaining control through ritualization" (2003, 73). One example of omission is the fact that the page was not updated with the results of the 2013 Fashion Biennial edition, which was a financial disaster. According to the website *De Gelderlander*, in March 10, 2014, the Fashion Biennial was facing a deficit of at least €270,000[42] (since then the status of the event is "on hold" with no official date of return). The failure of the Fashion Biennial indicates that entrepreneurship has a close relation to financial risks; however, the page omits the pitfalls that can endanger such enterprises. The "Facts" list can also be seen as manipulative since it mentions how many people are employed in the creative industry but does not mention the contrary – the number of unemployed workers. While Fairclough sees such practices as control through ritualization, from a Foucauldian perspective, one could see this strategy as a mechanism of production of knowledge through which power is exercised.

In terms of discourse, the text is in tune with the advertising strategy and imprints on the region a dynamic character. Besides the significant repetition of "fashion" and "design," the vocabulary includes words such as "entrepreneurs," "regional economy," "creative sector," "industry," "retail," and "shops," imprinting a strong semantic relation between fashion and business-related

---

[41] A "promoting message" represents, advocates, and anticipates something (Wernick 1991 cited in Fairclough 2003)

[42] http://www.gelderlander.nl/regio/arnhem-e-o/arnhem/wethouder-arnhem-weg-na-drama-mode-bi%C3%ABnnale-1.4258907 (accessed on August 8, 2016)

discourses. As pointed out by Fairclough, in this kind of semantic relation (hyponymy), one discourse associates with another, and the discourse being drawn upon (in this case the discourse of business), restructures the world associated with the second discourse (2003).

Table 1. The table below shows a classification scheme for the discourses found in the webpage, which includes vocabulary and expressions that help to ground the argument of the text.

Business	Productive quality	Prestige
"Entrepreneurs," "regional economy," "creative sector," "industry," "working population," "innovation," "retail," "incubator"	"Technical training," "preparing," "develop," "collaborate," "coach," "advice," "enable"	"World-class designers," "design talent," "international reputation," "talented artists," "famous international design labels," "famous names," "prominent designers"

The overall discourse promotes (fashion) designers as the functional pieces that move the creative economy. As tools of production, their capabilities are ensured through prestige and quality guarantees. It is also worth mentioning other sets of words that are less present in the text but also contribute important representations – for instance, "laboratory," "production," "machines" and the word "industry" reinforce the sense of productivity. In turn, "labels," "shops," "stores," "studios," "exclusive," and the use of "you" also invokes a sense of consumption:

> In the Modekwartier [Fashion Quarter] you can shop in exclusive fashion and
> design stores and studios from (predominantly) emerging design talents.

One of the images displayed in the text reinforces the meaning of production: a woman holding a roll of red sewing thread. Behind her it is possible to see other colored rolls and materials and a net of yellow threads resulting in a textured and colored background. She is not fashionably dressed but wearing casual clothes. I see the photo as giving continuity to the notion of productivity that is initiated in the text: (a) there are raw materials ready to be used, and the roll of red sewing thread is being held upside down, suggesting movement. The composition also suggests dynamism and intensity due to the tilt applied to the framing that creates two main diagonal lines (Block, 2008) – one in the corner in the background and another created by

Figure 5. The figure shows a worker in action.

the woman; (b) the woman is casually dressed instead of wearing a uniform as in an ordinary industry, which may suggest that she is a designer crafting her own project; (c) the woman appears as a single worker within an industry, which may indicate that she is an autonomous entrepreneur.

The text reinforces what the information architecture analysis has already revealed: fashion is seen from a restricted business perspective. Moreover, (fashion) designers are represented as production tools. Although there is an allusion to talent, a sense of quality refers more to a productive workforce rather than originality. The text could have developed an alternative and more original approach, for instance showing both positive and negative facts of the fashion industry, and highlighting how the initiatives created around fashion manage to minimize common issues. Additionally, the text could provide space for the voices of (fashion) designers, for instance through the inclusion of quotes.

In 2001, Fairclough used the term "self-publicizing genre" to describe a common activity of cities in the intent to attract investment. He also described it as a "disembedded genre" – in other words, the genre of corporate advertising being taken from business practices (Fairclough, 2003). The same happens with the "Fashion and Design" webpage in which I mapped the advertising genre and different discourses relating to business, productive quality, and prestige. Therefore, I understand the overall discourse of the webpage as taking part in a "city branding" discourse.

5. SOCIAL PRACTICE

City branding, creative class, business and culture

The ANCR website is a product of an ideology of global competition that began on the scale of nations and quickly became a reality for cities and regions. One can note how Anholt expresses this ideology by explaining the argument of a nation brand:

> Nation brand is an important concept in today's world. As a consequence of globalisation, all countries must compete with each other for the attention, respect and trust of investors, tourists, consumers, donors, immigrants, the media, and the governments of other nations: so a powerful and positive nation brand provides a crucial competitive advantage (2002, 186).

Based on the concept of nation branding, which he defines as "the sum of people's perceptions of a country," Anholt (2002) developed a methodology for measuring a nation brand: the Nation Brand Index. He conceives the nation brand as a Nation Brand Hexagon constituted by six different areas of perception: tourism, exports, governance, investment and immigration, culture and heritage, and people. In fact, he proposes the use of the same hexagon for branding regions and cities, a Place Branding Hexagon.

Concerning cities, Anholt envisions a perspective that is less complex:

> They aren't usually famous for producing particular products or services, the tourism emphasis is often as much on conventions as on leisure visitors, the apparatus of government is usually more technocratic than political, and the city's culture isn't always easy to distinguish from the culture of the country as a whole. (2007, 59)

He underlines that due to their simpler and smaller scale, cities usually do not have cultural or environmental disparities, or substantial differences in infrastructure. Additionally, cities are often envisioned from a utilitarian point of view, through aspects such as pollution, transport, traffic, cultural life, etc.

Based on these differences between nation branding and city branding, Anholt (2007) adapted the Nation Branding Hexagon and developed a new version to measure the city index, which is constituted by six new areas: the presence, the potential, the people, the prerequisites, the pulse, the place. "The presence" relates to the international status that the city enjoys; while "the place" refers to how the physical aspects of the city are perceived; "the potential" looks at to what extent a city is seen as an appropriate place to work and study; whereas "the pulse" indicates to what measure the image of the city is associated with a dynamic urban lifestyle; "the people" determines if the inhabitants are seen as friendly or not; and finally, "the prerequisites" evaluate the city in terms of accommodation and a series of amenities such as schools, hospitals, public transport, sports facilities, etc.

This new hexagon has commonalities with Florida's term "quality of place" that refers to the decision making process of the creative class in choosing where to establish a life. Florida sees quality of place comprising three dimensions: what's there, who's there, what's going on.

> What's there: the combination of the built environment and the natural environment; a proper setting for pursuit of creative lives. Who's there: the diverse kinds of people, interacting and providing cues that anyone can make a life in that community. What's going on: the vibrancy of street life, café culture, arts, music, and people engaging in outdoor activities—altogether a lot of active, exciting, creative endeavors (2012, 281).

Rather than focusing exclusively on an economic discourse listing aspects such as infrastructural matters or business climate, both Anholt and Florida integrate in their theories a discourse of quality of life that is a determinant for cities' success. Interestingly, Anholt proposes artistic or intellectual stimulation as a form of return for the audience that has chosen a specific place rather than another, and states that this "soft power" is cost-effective and has measurable and tangible effects (2010). Additionally, in "culture and heritage," the third dimension of the place branding hexagon, he points out:

Places which treat growth as a purely economic issue run the risk of developing a two-dimensional brand image, of interest only to investors, tax exiles and currency speculators. Culture, heritage and sport provide the third dimension, giving places richness, dignity, trust and respect abroad, and quality of life at home (2003, 215).

Such considerations seem to fit the ANCR website and the "Fashion and Design" webpage. As I indicated in the information architecture analysis, the website lacks the section "Culture," in which fashion, design, along with other cultural activities such as art, music, dance, theater, etc. could be displayed as cultural assets. Additionally, the technical point of view that is developed around fashion as a business activity omits a social character that could be employed to make the business discourse more human and original. For instance, the satellite paragraph on the Modekwartier in the "Fashion and Design" webpage emphasizes the act of shopping, omitting the interesting characteristics of community and craftsmanship that emerged in the first chapter. Such nuance is what puts a local culture of fashion into practice, and provides a discourse that is truly unique.

(Fashion) designers and entrepreneurship

In the introduction to this thesis, I mention the level of importance that is attributed to the entrepreneur in the creative industries. As shown, the literature refers to the creative industries as practices involving the use of creativity and search for innovation, at the same time describing an environment in which the practice naturally involves uncertainty and risk. In Chapter One I also cite the use of the creative industries and consequently entrepreneurship in urban regeneration initiatives where these activities embody a superhero archetype.

Such representations of the ideology of entrepreneurship conceal further implications. Ogbor (2000) explored how the discourse of entrepreneurship can materialize as an instrument of power. His research indicates that this discourse "has been used to further enhance the divisions among humans, race, ethnicity and gender, through processes of classification, codification, categorization and taxonomies" (2000, 608). He noted that the prevalence of inquiries such as who is an entrepreneur and what constitutes entrepreneurship prevented the field from achieving a working definition and theory. This has been a long and unending debate dating from 1755 when, in the search for the "who," Cantillon suggested that this individual could be anyone undertaking a business in the face of uncertainty. In 1934 Schumpeter, in the search for "what," stated that entrepreneurs used existing elements to create a new combination to innovate (for instance to introduce a new product in the market, to create a new mode of production, to find a new market, etc.). Within this conception, entrepreneurs are those who innovate, but never invent. Ogbor noted that a common fact in the classic literature was the constant reference to these practitioners as

"he," and a person provided with super-normal abilities. Psychological studies also contributed to constructing a heroic personality fighting against an environment that was usually depicted as the wilderness, a feminine entity. Additional representations that emerged were those of the European white male who discovered and conquered America, or the entrepreneur as a lone and determined human being managing to succeed on his extremely difficult road. Besides the heroic personality, individuality, masculinity, inborn attributes, and ability to predict the future were some of the recurring patterns found by Ogbor:

> The discourse on entrepreneurship, following a pattern within a general "Eurocentric" character of Western thought, has sustained traditional dichotomies, oppositions and dualities – between male and female – where the male-oriented definition of reality is upheld as the legitimate world-view celebrating masculine concepts of control, competition, rationality, dominance, etc. (2000, 620)

Among Ogbor's suggested implications was the existence of ideological control on research methodology in entrepreneurship, where mathematics and science prevailed over subjectivity and social contexts. On the effects of such issues on entrepreneurial praxis, Ogbor mentions studies of women's participation in entrepreneurship that indicate gender discrimination in start-up capital provision and a perception of women that favors different personal traits such as nurturing and caring rather than dominance and achievement. He highlights the empirical nature of these studies, which employed historical, sociological, and qualitative data (for instance, Butler 1991).

With this in mind, I add an important observation about how (fashion) designers are represented in the "Fashion and Design" webpage. In addition to the fact that these professionals are represented as passive tools of production, the "Facts" list indicates that this representation may also be gender biased. Observing the four topics in the list in which names of famous (fashion) designers are mentioned, one notice that the vast majority is constituted by male designers, namely Piet Paris, Lucas Ossendrijver, Jan Taminiau, Daryl van Wouw, Alexander van Slobbe, Ruud Jan Kokke, Floris Schoonderbeek, Dick van Hoff, Erik Jan Kwakkel, Richard Vijgen, and O.K. Parking. Among female designers we can find Ineke Hans and Elsien Gringhuis – the latter is featured as a "rising star."

This last finding along with the previous analyses made in Chapters One and Two, resonate with Ogbor's research: in Chapter One I detected a representation of entrepreneurship that I termed the superhero archetype, while in Chapter Two the analysis evidenced the "special gifts" that make artists and designers "the entrepreneurs of the future."

6. CONCLUSION

This chapter was dedicated to finding two kinds of representations. First, I analyzed the information architecture to find how the fields of fashion and design are represented in the ANCR website. I found that the website classifies fashion and design in a very restrictive manner, preventing a possible contribution of these disciplines in several fields such as culture, science, humanities, social sciences, and so forth. This analysis also showed that fashion and design are activities much valorized in the regional economy, sharing the same category with important areas such as energy and environmental technology, semiconductors, etc.

The second part of the analysis was dedicated to discourse analysis to discover how the entrepreneurs of (fashion) design are represented in the webpage. The analysis showed a preference for depicting the creative workers in the position of a cultivated, bred, and generated workforce rather than having agency and individuality. With no voice in the text, they are deprived of notions of quality and other characteristics of their work. In times when industrial production is almost entirely located in less developed countries, it seems that the economy is working in the same direction toward a mass-produced knowledge economy, with the difference that the workforce is located in wealthy countries. Another ingredient is the presupposition that all members of the creative industries are entrepreneurs – as I exposed in the analysis, entrepreneurship can not be portrayed as a matter of personal choice, but a sum of external factors that usually subject (fashion) designers to a position of precarity and instability. Finally, the social practice revealed that the representation of these entrepreneurs may be gender biased, since the mention of female professionals in the text is scarce.

IV. Conclusion

Located in the eastern part of the Netherlands, the city of Arnhem has a promising creative industry. A well-established tradition in the field of fashion, plus a series of activities in other disciplines such as product design, graphic design, architecture, art, and culture, just to mention a few, contribute to imprint a creative city image. The aim of this thesis was to understand the relation established between fashion (and by extension the creative industries) and a strong entrepreneurial character that is present in the promotion of this creative activities. With this in mind, the investigation is conducted to answer the following research question:

> "How do the websites of the Modekwartier, ArtEZ University of the Arts, and Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region use entrepreneurship in branding Arnhem as a creative city?"

To answer this question, I analyzed webpages from three different websites dating from March 29, 2016, which provide different levels of analysis: micro, meso, and macro. The division of these levels is based on the criteria of geography, sphere, perspective, and language. The concept of nation and city branding have set the framework of competitiveness both on the level of the region and the level of the city of Arnhem, influencing the discourse on all the webpages selected for analysis.

MICRO LEVEL

At the micro level of analysis, Chapter One analyzes the "Press" webpage of the Modekwartier website, which refers to a neighborhood of Arnhem. The members of the creative industry who work and live in the district of Klarendal produced the page. The analytical perspective is on fashion and entrepreneurship seen from the side of production, in a sense that most of the designers are also the craftsmen/women responsible for the production stage.

The sub-question designated to this chapter is:

> "What representations of entrepreneurship are found in the Modekwartier website?"

The analysis shows that the Modekwartier is the stage for an ideological struggle denoted by heterogeneity of discourses. Entrepreneurship is represented via a mix constituted by four different representations assuming different hierarchies of importance. The strongest representation has an emphasis on business and sees entrepreneurship as generating consumption and, consequently, economic wealth. Another important representation is what I called "the superhero archetype," which refers to entrepreneurship as a tool of urban regeneration. A third and less important

emphasis is on the caliber of the designers and products, which highlights (fashion) designers' talents, craftsmanship, and high-quality products. Finally, the weakest emphasis is on "community" and represents entrepreneurship as a means of achieving a collective space with social values.

It is curious that "community," which is a representation created by the designers themselves, receives less attention in the text. On the other hand, "business" has a connotation of consumption that is more valued than the connotation of quality. The superhero archetype reflects a worldwide trend using the creative industries as a vehicle of economic progress and a tool for regeneration for deteriorated areas, mainly in post-industrial districts and cities. Through these nuances, the chapter shows that economic interests are predominant in relation to the social value of the creative industries.

MESO LEVEL

At the meso level of analysis, Chapter Two investigates the "Art, Culture and Economy Professorship" webpage of the ArtEZ website, which describes actions directly influencing the economy of the city of Arnhem. If on the micro level the perspective of analysis was on fashion and entrepreneurship from the side of production, in this chapter the outlook of research takes central stage.

The sub-question designated to this chapter is:

> "What role does the ArtEZ website have in the development of the entrepreneurial discourse in Arnhem?"

As an educational institution, ArtEZ has the role of inculcating the ideology of entrepreneurship in the arts, design, and fashion. Besides preparing students to deal with practical issues in their professional lives, such as financial and legal aspects, ArtEZ uses research to stimulate the relationship between (fashion) designers and client companies, thus also giving artists and designers access to the business community. Except for the participation of the program's leading professor who is given the responsibility of translating the economic jargon, (fashion) designers have a passive role in this play. The main tool for inculcating entrepreneurship among artists and designers is the recurring presupposition that artist are innate entrepreneurs.

MACRO LEVEL

At the macro level of analysis, Chapter Three analyzes the "Fashion and Design" webpage of the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region website. It describes a branding strategy directed at a region constituted by 20 municipalities, of which Arnhem and Nijmegen are the most representative. The

page received financial support from the European Regional Development Fund and the regional government. Fashion and entrepreneurship are analyzed from the perspective of economic development and the creative actors.

The sub-question aimed to this chapter is:

"How are the field of fashion and design and the relation between its practitioners and entrepreneurship represented in the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region website?"

As in the micro and meso levels, designers are mentioned in a generic form. The page is structured by a discourse of nation/region/city branding supported by a neoliberal ideology of global competition that depicts the members of the (fashion) design industry as mere tools of production, serving the needs of the economy. As aspects of quality and other particularities in the works of (fashion) designers are ignored, I suggest that the so-called era of the knowledge economy seems to be under pressure of commodification.

Moreover, although fashion and design are commonly cited together, both activities also appear divided in the webpage: while fashion was classified as business, design was classified as innovation. Fashion and design are regarded from a limited perspective within which they have no interdisciplinary interaction with other areas such as culture, science, humanities, and social sciences, just to mention a few. The analysis also indicates strong evidence that the discourse surrounding entrepreneurship in the region may be gender-biased.

MAIN FINDINGS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

All the results point to a process of the construction of entrepreneurship in the (fashion) design industry via the three websites. The first step in this line of production is represented in the Arnhem-Nijmegen City Region webpage that, supported by internal and external funds, manifests a discourse of region/city branding and the adoption of a strategy of "creative city" and talent attraction. In the second step, ArtEZ as a prestigious educational institution in Arnhem manages to inculcate the mentality of entrepreneurship among the practitioners of the (fashion) design industry and the members of the business community.

In the final step of its fabrication, entrepreneurship presents the Modekwartier as a successful product. The Fashion District website represents the results of all the efforts made in the process, and different representations of entrepreneurship emerge. As the webpage shows, the ideological process of entrepreneurship is not smooth, involving the struggle of different interests. The analysis showed a contradiction in recognizing people from the creative industries as entrepreneurs. As Chapter Two demonstrates, most graduates are not prepared to venture into the

market and there is still the lack of a proper framework to teach entrepreneurial practices to these students. The "production" of individuals with an entrepreneurial focus aligns with one of the implications of neoliberalism that is a "thoroughgoing individualism, which, in some cases, rejects the notion of 'society' as merely a collection of individuals pursuing their private goals" (Davies & Sigthorsson, 2013, p. 49). Another contradiction that arises is the lack of participation of designers in the webpages. As the main actors in the final step of entrepreneurship, these practitioners could contribute with a truly inventive culture of creativity for the locality. When mentioned, for instance, as "Viktor & Rolf," they are more frequently represented like a label than as active subjects, or as an artifice of promotion.

Finally, looking at the analysis from a broader perspective, one can see the materialization of the stereotypes associated with entrepreneurs: these are people of a special breed, mythologized as white, male, and heroic adventurers. Considering the predominance of male entrepreneurs in the websites consulted, future investigations could be developed to inspire the creation of policies aimed at promoting wider female participation in the local economy.

As a final conclusion, it became clear in the course of the research that the creative industries are a field full of cultural and economic potential; nevertheless, more clarity must be brought to their actors and stakeholders in order to promote wider benefits, as in the case of Arnhem and its (fashion) design industry.

In terms of branding, a deeper investigation could reveal how the overlapping representations observed in this research of Arnhem's main creative industries influence the way in which the city is positioned and perceived locally, regionally, and even internationally.

Another question that arose for future research is whether the pressure to venture into entrepreneurial practices affects the quality of products and the search for innovation or causes homogenization. If the emphasis is placed on production and economic interests, is there the risk that creative workers will privilege quantity rather than quality? Or stick to a business model directed at production for the masses? In this regard, investigations can delve further into the relationship between quality and quantity of products. As the Modekwartier is a district where craftsmanship is highly advertised and frequently seen in means of communication, what kind of impacts can be expected in artisanal processes and how competitive will they remain?

Future research is needed to confirm whether the economic discourse will prevail in the official policies stimulating entrepreneurship in the Arnhem-Nijmegen region, or if the cultural approach will become part of it. Considering the importance of the creative industries in the Netherlands and in the economy of Arnhem, it seems inevitable that creativity and entrepreneurship will merge as disciplines and as sources of the city's identity, reinforcing the uniqueness and competitiveness of Gelderland's capital.

References

Anholt, Simon. 2002. "What is a Nation Brand?" In *Superbrands*, 186-187. http://www.superbrands.com/turkeysb/trcopy/files/Anholt_3939.pdf. Accessed August 9, 2016.

Anholt, Simon. 2003. "Branding Places and Nations." In *Brands and Branding*, edited by Rita Clifton, and John Simmons, 213-226. London: Economist in Association with Profile Books.

Anholt, Simon. 2008. "From Nation Branding to Competitive Identity – The Role of Brand Management as a Component of National Policy." In *Nation branding: concepts, issues, practice*, edited by Keith Dinnie, 22-23. Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Anholt, Simon. *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Anholt, Simon. *Places: Identity, Image and Reputation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Block, Bruce A.. *The Visual Story Creating the Visual Structure of Film, TV and Digital Media*. Oxford: Focal Press, 2013. Kindle version.

Davies, Rosamund, and Gauti Sigthorsson. *Introducing the Creative Industries: From Theory to Practice*. London: SAGE, 2013. Kindle edition.

Department for Culture Media and Sport. *Developing Entrepreneurship for the Creative Industries*. *Making the Case for Public Investment*. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2006. Accessed July 21, 2016. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ 20090506163429/http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/publications/3501.aspx.

Dinnie, Keith. *City Branding: Theory and Cases*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Dinnie, Keith. *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008.

European Capitals of Culture: The Road to Success, from 1985 to 2010. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2009. https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/library/capitals-culture-25-years_en.pdf

Fairclough, Norman. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow, England: Longman, 2010.

Fairclough, Norman. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1992.

Fairclough, Norman. Introduction to *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman, 1995.

Fairclough, Norman. *Language and Power*. London: Longman, 1989.

Florida, Richard L. *The Rise of the Creative Class: Revisited*. New York: Basic Books, 2012.

Gielen, Pascal. 2012. "Artistic Praxis and the Neo-liberalization of the Educational Space." In *Teaching Art in the Neoliberal Realm: Realism versus Cynicism*, edited by Pascal Gielen ans Paul De Bruyne, 16-31. Amsterdam: Valiz.

Gourzis, Konstantinos. 2014. "Fashion in Gentrifying Urban Spaces: The case of the Fashion Quarter in Klarendal, Arnhem." Master's thesis, Radboud University.

Hartley, John, Jason Potts, Stuart Cunningham, Terry Flew, Michael Keane, and John Banks. *Key Concepts in Creative Industries*. London: SAGE, 2013. Kindle edition.

Hesmondhalgh, David, and Baker, Sarah. 2011. "Toward a Political Economy of Labor in the Media Industries." In *The Handbook of Political Economy of Communications*, edited by Janet Wasko, Graham Murdock, and Helena Sousa, 381-400. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hesmondhalgh, David. *The Cultural Industries*. London: SAGE, 2013.

Kaneva, Nadia. "Nation Branding: Toward an Agenda for Critical Research." *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 117-41.

Kress, Gunther R. *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Landry, Charles. *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. New Stroud, UK: Comedia, 2008.

Lynch, Patrick J., and Sarah Horton. *Web Style Guide: Basic Design Principles for Creating Web Sites*. 3rd Edition ed. London: Yale University Press, 2009. Accessed August 24, 2016. http://webstyleguide.com/index.html.

NESTA. *Beyond the Creative Industry: Mapping the Creative Economy in the United Kingdom*. London: NESTA, 2008. February 2008. Accessed July 27, 2016. https://www.nesta.org.uk/publications/beyond-creative-industries-study.

Ogbor, John O. "Mythicizing and Reification in Entrepreneurial Discourse: Ideology-Critique of Entrepreneurial Studies." *Journal of Management Studies* 37, no. 5 (2000): 605-35. doi:10.1111/1467-6486.00196.

Scherdin, Mikael, and Zander, Ivo. 2011. "Art Entrepreneurship: an Introduction." In *Art Entrepreneurship*, edited by Mikael Scherdin, and Ivo Zander, 1-9. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Smith, Neil. "Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 4 (1979): 538-48. doi:10.1080/01944367908977002.

Taylor, Calvin. 2007. "Developing relationships between higher education, enterprise and innovation in the creative industries." In *Entrepreneurship in the Creative Industries: An International Perspective*, edited by Colette Henry, 178-193. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Van Dijk, Teun. "Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Japanese Discourse* 1 (1995): 17-27.

White, Jason C. "Toward a Theory of Arts Entrepreneurship." *Journal of Arts Entrepreneurship Education* 1, no. 1 (2015): 2-23. Accessed July 29, 2016. https://jaee.ncsu.edu/.

Zukin, Sharon, and Laura Braslow. "The Life Cycle of New York's Creative Districts: Reflections on the Unanticipated Consequences of Unplanned Cultural Zones." In *City, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (2011): 131-40. doi:10.1016/j.ccs.2011.06.003.