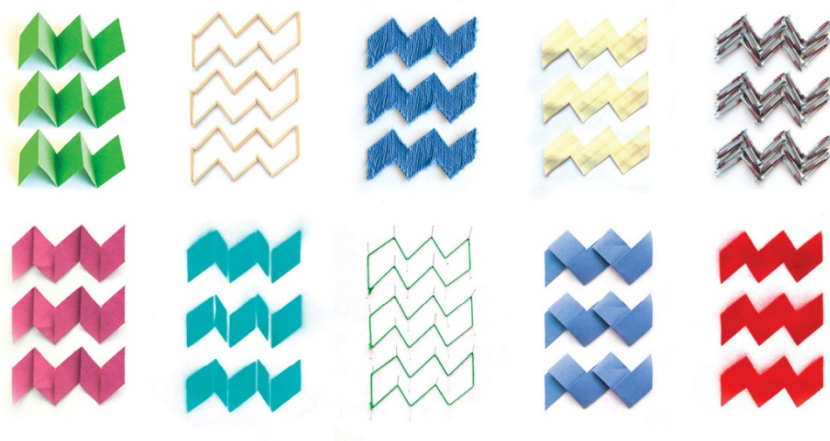# Creative Industries and City Image:
The Case of Eindhoven

An analysis of the ways in which creative industries and creative clusters
influence the image and identity of a city

Master Thesis
Creative Industries
Kunst- en Cultuurwetenschappen

Belinda Limani

belinda.limani@student.ru.nl

Reviewed by
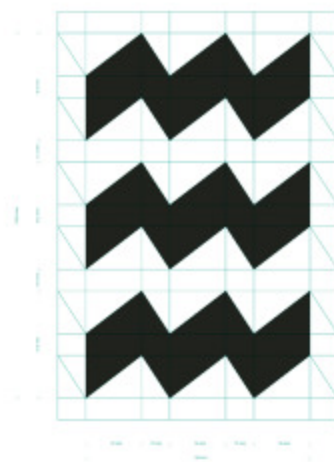Dr. Vincent Meelberg
Dr. Lianne Toussaint

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Research abstract

This master thesis examines the ways in which the creative cluster Strijp S can be used to shape the urban image of Eindhoven. This research was carried out using qualitative research methods to explore the phenomenon of creative clusters and their relationship to urban image formation. Based on relevant literature, the influence of the creative industries on various urban socio-economic factors has been analysed, such as economic growth, innovation and the appeal and the livability of a creative urban district within one of the largest cities in the Netherlands. In addition, two in-depth interviews were conducted with important pawns in the identity discussion of Eindhoven, namely the director of the city's marketing agency and the project leader of the transformation project of Strijp S. The results indicate that Eindhoven always held on to its age-old identity marker that they owe to the Philips technology industry, but now wants to renew its image by incorporating design and knowledge into their urban image. In this way Eindhoven participates in the creative knowledge economy and radiates this by following the trend of creative clusters, of which Strijp S is the result. The purpose of the city's marketing strategy is to fuel economic growth by recruiting creative, knowledge-based workers who provide innovative new products and services. Part of this strategy is to use Strijp S as an attractive attraction for these workers and other investors of the city, but Strijp S itself is not necessarily included in this strategy. With regard to the urban image, the ultimate goal of the Strijp S transformation is to make the outside world aware that Eindhoven is an interesting and progressive city that is ahead of many Dutch cities in terms of creativity and innovation. The ways in which Strijp S is used for the urban image of Eindhoven are therefore primarily directed to attracting international attention and recognition, with the ultimate prospect of better positioning itself in the global market of cities and the overarching knowledge economy.

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Introduction

Ever since the 1980s, the creative industries have undergone a massive transformation and have been incorporated as an important part of the global economy (Hesmondalgh, 2012: 2). The economist Micheal Porter came up with the idea of 'business clusters' around 1990, as it was believed that firms from the same industry would tend to gather in the same places (Porter, 1998). Business clusters were a means to boost the regional economy because of the stimulus for innovative entrepreneurialism and competitiveness (Hartley, 2013: 7). Policymakers concerned with the success of the creative industries linked the notion of business clusters to the rising influence of creativity in business management and government, using the term 'creative clusters' (Hesmondhalgh, 2012: 171). The creative cluster is a relatively recent addition to the cultural and media industries. The common factor in all variations on the theme clusters is localized external economies: "the benefits of co-location to businesses competing in similar markets but cooperating in the development of similar knowledge" (Hartley, 2013: 7).

In Amsterdam, the city district Westergasfabriek is an example of a creative cluster. The historic city park, surrounded by expanses of green, also has workplaces, venues for large and small events, and a range of catering, film, theatre and exhibition facilities. The district was previously used for manufacturing purposes, and is now turned into a creative area by re-using the industrial areas as a home to artists, designers, performers and everyone else who is engaged with the arts. The city of Rotterdam did the same thing with their abandoned industrial district Lloydkwartier. What previously was a harbor for passenger ships to and from the East, has now been transformed into a contemporary living and working area with a lot of creative activity. In the monumental warehouses, old harbor monuments and modern buildings many design agencies, advertisers, architects, photographers and audiovisual companies can be found. To be able to maintain the inhabitants and businesses that are located here, the clusters not only consist of production and service around arts and culture, but also offer public functions such as cultural events and exhibitions, catering facilities and relaxation opportunities (Grootscholte, 2006: 7). A similar creative cluster is located in Strijp, a city district of Eindhoven. Eindhoven is one of the largest cities of Northern Brabant, the southern province of the Netherlands. The creative cluster 'Strijp S' is a redevelopment project on the outskirts of the city centre of Eindhoven and is based on the former industrial site of the Dutch multinational electronics corporation Philips, which owned the site from 1891 to 2001 (Havermans et al., 2008: 6). In 2004, the municipality of Eindhoven and the organization West8 Urban Design & Architecture developed an urban plan in which art and culture would have a leading role. In 2013, three key plots within the urban redevelopment plan were substantially completed. According to the official website of West8, this milestone was nationally acknowledged when Strijp S won the

Dutch Gulden Feniks (Golden Phoenix) award in the 'Area Transformation' category.[1] The multi-annual plan should have reached its goal by 2020 (Devreese et al., 2011: 6-7).

The city of Eindhoven is often characterized as a 'company town': a settlement that is build and operated by a single business. However, even before Philips settled there in 1891, Eindhoven was an industrial town. The main reason for the industrialization of Eindhoven was its strategic geographical position between Germany and Belgium (Havermans et al., 2008: 6). However, the Philips company started to decline in the 1970's, when the deindustrialization of cities in the post-industrial (or post-modern) era took place (Grootscholte, 2006: 6). While city planning and society at the time of the industrial revolution was mainly focused around standardized production and mass consumption, it is now believed that creativity and the associated creative industries can offer an important contribution to improving the residential, work and living environment of a city (Grootscholte, 2006: 2; Havermans et al., 2008: 6-7; Devreese et al., 2011; Florida, 2002). And so, in the following years, several new slogans and images came in to fashion in order to characterize Eindhoven, such as 'city of knowledge', 'city of design' and 'creative city' (Havermans et al., 2008: 9).

Research has been conducted on the contribution of creative industries on a city's appeal to foreigners and tourists (Gilboa et al., 2015; Sevin, 2014), the quality of life in a city (Florida, 2002; 2012), and the success of redeveloping abandoned district through creative industries (Evans, 2009; Bagwell, 2008). More specifically, researchers have looked into the Strijp district, and the accompanying creative cluster Strijp S. It has been investigated how the area obtained its 'corporate identity' and which factors played a role (Grootscholte, 2006), what image Eindhoven obtained as a city in response to the Philips electronics industry (Havermans et al., 2008), and how much involvement the municipality of Eindhoven had during the implementation of the Strijp S plans (Devreese et al., 2011). In addition, it has been proven that investors and consumers are guided by the appeal of a city, thus attractive cities will be better able to generate revenue (Grootscholte, 2006: 6). Because the appeal of a city influences economic growth, many cities attempt to increase their attraction. In concrete terms, this means that cities will invest in arts and culture, recreation, relaxation, 'green' facilities and accessibility (Grootscholte, 2006: 7).

Research Focus

Although it is evident that the city image of Eindhoven has changed over the years, influenced by its largest source of economic growth, its most valuable property as a city, or its most attractive factor for tourists, since the start of the redevelopment project of Strijp S in 2004, little research has been done on the impact of the project on the city image of Eindhoven. It is valuable to explore whether an urban image can be consciously changed by the arrival of a relatively new economic system, namely the creative knowledge economy, and how

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[1] Retrieved January 15, 2019 from http://www.west8.com/nl/press_releases/06_june_2013/

much influence this can exert on a city whose identity was dependent on a single company for years. Furthermore, it is valuable for the research field of urban identity formation and marketing to investigate whether the predicted influences of the creative industries on the image construction of a city, such as the belief that creative industries can make an important contribution to the quality of life and economic success, stand firm in the case of Eindhoven and Strijp S. Moreover, many researchers argue for further study of the relationship between creative clusters, better understanding of their production quarters and other economic flows within the city and further exploration whether creative clusters contribute much value and cultural distinctiveness to the city (Evans 2009; Bagwell 2008; Florida 2002). In the light of these findings, and the lack of further study on the relation between city image and creative clusters, I will answer the following question in this research:

♦ In what ways is the creative cluster Strijp S used to shape the city image of Eindhoven?

In order to be able to answer this question, I will first address the following sub-questions:

- How is urban image and identity constructed and what is their function?
- In what ways can the creative industries and creative clusters contribute to the image of a city?
- What is the intended effect of Strijp S on the urban image and what actions have been taken to achieve this by those involved?

Method and Literature

This research was carried out using qualitative research methods to explore the phenomenon of creative clusters and their relationship to urban image formation. This study therefore uses various sources, both academic sources such as previous research and self-collected sources such as in-depth interviews, with which these relationships can be explained. By making use of previous quantitative studies, qualitative research can contribute to a better interpretation and understanding of the complex reality of this situation, because it offers a greater perspective on the functioning and structure of urban image construction and on the influence of both connotations around creativity as socio-economic effects that the creative industries entail.

In the first chapter, quantitative and qualitative research by Foster et. al. (2011), Gilboa et. al. (2015), Stevenson (2012) and Kladou et. al. (2017) is used to determine urban image and identity and how it is influenced by external factors. Drawing from the studies by Anholt (2005), Braun and Zenker (2010) and Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2006), the comparison between corporate marketing and place marketing are investigated and defined, and previous research methods are reevaluated.

Braun and Zenker (2010) combines insights from a literature review of place-related academia and marketing academia, and outlines an integrated approach to place brand management called the *Place Brand Centre*. Anholt (2005) provides definitions and explanations for branding and primarily place branding. A number of arguments as to why the time has come for place branding of cities are argued. In their exploratory paper,

Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005) use contemporary developments in marketing theory and practice to suggest how product branding can be transformed into city branding as a powerful image-building strategy, with significant relevance to the contemporary city. In addition, they define city branding, as it is being currently understood by city administrators and critically examine its contemporary use.

A comparison is made between (place brand) image and identity by Foster et al. (2011) in order to determine which element has a greater impact on customer loyalty towards to brand. Kladou et al. (2017) evaluate the contribution of commonly used symbolic elements - namely destination name, logo and tagline - to the establishment of the destination brand. Gilboa et al. (2015) have conducted research into a scale that can determine the image of cities on the basis of a number of factors based on an accumulation of factors that define city image perception from similar studies. Finally, in her work, Stevenson (2014) analyses the city as a central concept in contemporary social thought. Taking a thematic approach and drawing on a range of theoretical, methodological and empirical points of reference, her book *The City* examines such subjects as urban inequality, public space, creative cities, globalization, the night-time economy, suburbia, and memory and emotion.

The second chapter makes use of previous scientific research into the function and effects of creative industries on urban development. The formation of creative clusters is also critically evaluated on the basis of studies by Boix et al. (2010), Stam et al. (2008) and Evans (2009).

Boix et al. (2010) provide a methodologically consistent comparison of creative industries across France, Great Britain, Italy and Spain. In their study, they map spatial agglomerations of creative activities showing evidence of urban concentration. Based on an empirical study in the Netherlands, Stam et al. (2008) explore the effect of creative industries on innovation, and ultimately on employment growth in cities. They analyse how the concentration of creative industries across cities is connected with employment growth. Evans (2009) has conducted an international study of creative industry policies and strategies, based on a survey of public-sector creative city initiatives and plans and their underlying rationales. His paper considers the scope and scale of so-called new-industrial clusters in local cultural and creative quarters and sub regional creative hubs, which are the subject of policy interventions and public–private investment. Furthermore, existing trends and beliefs on the subject which stem from the works of Florida (2002; 2012) have been reviewed. In his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida describes the emergence of a new class of people dedicated to innovation and unique problem solving through "creative" processes, and explains why this class is going to be the fuel for the future economy (Florida, 2002; 2012). His creative class thesis soon became the rationale behind a number of urban redevelopment projects, particularly in working-class cities that might have struggled to find a place in the postindustrial economy. Yet there has also been much criticism of Florida's work, which he largely tries to refute in his second edition in 2012.

The case study is analysed in the last chapter in which external statements about the Strijp S area are examined, such as news reports, public interviews, municipal documents, strategy plans and surveys commissioned by the parties involved in Strijp S, as well as relevant studies on Eindhoven and it's city image by Maldonado & Romein (2013), Zwart (2007) and Hurk (2009).

The paper of Maldonado and Romein (2013) describes the process of economic transformation of the city-region of Eindhoven, and examines the roles of knowledge and technology, quality of place, and organizational capacity in mutual coherence. Although the Eindhoven region is a rather successful example of knowledge-based development, the paper also addresses limitations to this development, in particular its quality of place and its labour market, and the efforts by regional stakeholders to overcome these. In Zwart's extensive research (2007), he analyses the specific motives behind the applied place marketing in urban renewal locations within the framework of the history of modern place marketing. Eindhoven is used as a reference in which city branding, in an early form and without being qualified as such, plays a prominent role. Hurk (2009) investigates the interests and motives for the various stakeholders in the development of Strijp S and which positive agglomeration effects are to be expected. His research also focuses on Eindhoven and the Eindhoven creative industry.

Finally, two in-depth interviews were also conducted to determine the current state of affairs of the developments in the field of urban image and its cooperation with the creative industries on Strijp S. The interviewees were Jack Hock, the Strijp S program manager and transformation director, and Peter Kentie, the managing director of the city marketing agency Eindhoven365.

Thesis Structure

This research starts with an explorative analysis of the terms and definitions that play a role in determining the influence of a creative cluster on a city image. The first chapter therefore examines the emergence of 'place marketing' and 'city branding'. These concepts are then analysed and explained on the basis of previous marketing practices, such as product branding and corporate identity and image. This chapter makes clear in which ways and in which context place marketing and city branding are used by policy developers, urban developers and other authorities. In addition, the difference and importance of urban identity and urban image is also being investigated. The system that emerges out of these complex layers of marketing possibilities is outlined and evaluated. This way, it becomes clear what the causes and consequences of implementing a city marketing policy are in different regions around the world.

The second chapter deals with the creative industries and the economic and social benefits that it brings to a city. Herein, based on research into these elements, a distinction is made between assumptions and connotations about the creative industries and authentic effectiveness of these industries on cities and regions. Research is conducted into the economic effects in terms of innovation and productivity, as well as into a

number of social elements such as the creative class and the aura of openness and diversity. This chapter makes clear what contributions the creative industries, and especially creative clusters, can make to cities and regions and how that is achieved.

The final chapter presents the case study of Eindhoven and Strijp S in the light of the theories in the previous two chapters. The creative industries of Eindhoven are mapped and the marketing strategy of the city of Eindhoven is analysed. By making comparisons to the theory, it is analysed to what extent Eindhoven is a fertile ground for the successful implementation of creative industries in the marketing policy. In addition, it is examined to what extent the creative industries are consciously included in the marketing strategy and what might have influenced the reasoning of the decisions that are made about this. Finally, an analysis is made of the identity formation of Eindhoven and it is determined what function the creative cluster Strijp S might have had in this development.

1. The Branding of Cities

Place marketing, city branding and the development of city image

Place marketing is becoming an increasingly popular concept on a global level. The emergence of this scientific branch is due to key developments within the marketing discipline. This demanded a restructuring of cities and thus stimulated the search for the new role for cities. The answer to this question was partly found in the development of city branding. More and more governing bodies of cities make use of the concept of city branding, yet the underlying theory of this concept is still unclear. In this chapter, definitions of the concepts place marketing, city branding, city identity and city image are accumulated from various prominent studies in this field. The implications and different uses of these definitions are further investigated and the current importance of city marketing practices is examined.

Most great cities have a brand that is developed organically, focusing on events and traditions that have given the location its definition. Paris, for example, developed its brand around the notion of romance, while Hong Kong focused its brand development on trade (Dinnie, 2010). Yet one of the most successful cases of city branding is that of New York. With their world-famous slogan of 1977, 'I Love New York' (I ❤ NY) , New York is possibly the world's greatest branded city. The British tabloid *The Guardian* stated that New York's 'brand key' is the integration and intermixing of people, and a clear direction that is "driven by a combination of single-minded leadership about what New York is: an eclectic mixture of people, all of whom, regardless of sex, age or creed, have the potential to realise their dream — if they work at it".[2] It wasn't until the 1970's, however, that New York started to seriously prioritize the city's brand after a series of crises that were both financial and image-oriented. This is when 'The Big Apple' campaign launched, which aimed at emphasizing the many assets of the city and was directed at residents, businesses and visitors. The former Commissioner of the New York State Department of Commerce (DOC) John Dyson realized that the best job creation opportunity for New York was presented by tourism. Travelers would be able to spend their travel budget on theatre, shopping, museums, accommodations and food, and thereby revive the local economy (Dinnie, 2010: 180-181). Nowadays the city image of New York can hardly be any clearer. With more than 100 nicknames in it's history, e.g. 'The Big Apple', 'World Financial Capital', 'The City So Nice, They Named It Twice', and even 'The City of Light', the city has managed to maintain an image that can be seen and experienced everywhere, visible and embedded in every tourist and resident of the city.

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[2] Salman, S. (2008). Retrieved April 23, 2019 from https://www.theguardian.com/society/2008/oct/01/city.urban.branding

City branding constitutes a sub-field of place marketing and emphasizes the marketing and branding of cities to the residents (and potential residents) as a place to live and to businesses as a place to invest (Foster et al., 2011: 441). The uniqueness of places is becoming increasingly more important due to their competition for capital investments. In order to attract part of the consumers, tourists, businesses, investments and skilled workers of the world, city branding can create effective promotion opportunities for a city's tangible and intangible characteristics (Gilboa et al., 2015: 50-51). The example of New York, and research into the branding of many more cities, proves that the development of a city brand is beneficial to a city's national and international position, the local economy and consequently its livability (Dinnie, 2010). Therefore, more and more scholars and urban planners argue that it has become more necessary than ever for cities all over the world to develop an appropriate city brand (Anholt, 2005; Stevenson, 2012; Gilboa et al., 2015). Ashworth and Voogd (1990) attributed the emergence of extensive research into place marketing theory to key developments within the marketing discipline: marketing in non-profit organizations, social marketing and image marketing. Especially image marketing, which stems from the realization that images can be brought to market effectively while the products to which they relate remain vague, was widely accepted by city administrators and marketing strategists. A second reason for the increasing attention for place marketing theory is the de-industrialization in the 1980s and 1990s which caused a fiscal crisis for many cities across Europe and North-America. This 'urban crisis', to which is already referred in the above case of New York, was widely perceived as leading to the potential terminal decline of 'traditional urban economies' (Kavaratzis, 2005: 330). This demanded a restructuring of cities, and thereby stimulated the search for the 'new role' of cities (Kavaratzis, 2005: 331).

Simon Anholt, who is recognized as the world's leading authority on national image and identity, also argues for more research into place marketing and its implementation by cities. One of the reasons is the growing involvement of residents and visitors to city politics in many parts of the world, which is not surprising – given that the power of the international media is growing as well. The media is now driven by a more informed and news-hungry audience and more influential non-government organizations (Anholt, 2005: 120). A clear city brand could be transmitted through the media channels that appeal to the particular city residents and thereby simultaneously reaching larger international attention. This same audience is currently gaining more spending power and, as the costs of international travel are falling, wants to spend their money on new and unfamiliar experiences abroad (Anholt, 2005: 120). This requires cities to develop a profile that is attractive to tourists, while simultaneously caring for their own residents by, for example, preventing overcrowding. In addition, the increasingly tightly linked global economic system is a reason for investors to make well-thought-out decisions about what they are investing in. Even talented immigrants who can do wonders for urban development are

already being chased by a large number of influential and less influential cities (Anholt, 2005: 120). All the more reason for poor and developing places to develop a good policy as well, so that it becomes attractive for this rare group of people (i.e. investors, talented immigrants) to invest in their city or country (Anholt, 2005: 121).

The most widely cited definition of the brand is that of the American Marketing Association (see Kladou et al., 2017: 427 and Kotler & Keller, 2015: 274), which defines it as "a name, term, sign, symbol or design, or a combination of these, intended to identify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors".[3] The brand image, however, is the perception of the brand in the minds of people. It is a reflection of the 'brand personality' or 'product being', which refers to what people believe about a brand – their thoughts, feelings and expectations. Nevertheless, many scholars had to admit that translating contemporary branding insights and methods to the contexts of places can be a great challenge (Stevenson, 2012; Braun, 2008: 2). Early urban sociologists that attempted to study the city and its structure, have struggled developing a conceptual framework that was capable of explaining all cities and all urban processes, without taking their different histories, cultures and geographies into consideration (Stevenson, 2012: 10). The earliest attempts to frame a specific methodological approach to the study of the city was made by The Chicago School of Urban Sociology. The Chicago School (sometimes described as the Ecological School) was the first to produce a major body of works specialized in urban sociology, which emerged during the 1920s and 1930s. Researchers employed the methods of quantitative statistical analyses and qualitative participant observation (Stevenson, 2012: 21). This led to the concept of 'ecological mapping', which is a research method used to produce locality profiles. With this tool, the researchers could determine profiles of residents in a particular area of the city, in order to provide the products and services that where demanded by that community. However, the research produced detailed ethnographies of life in city districts and rural communities, in which a considerable variation was notable. This, to some extent, undermined a belief in the existence of a uniform 'urban experience' or 'way of being' by highlighting the diversity and complexity of the urban (Stevenson, 2012: 22). This means that the proposition of products and services could not be generalized because of the large diversity of target groups and consequently of the demand for these products and services. After all, a city does not only have various functions and definitions but also multiple identities depending upon the beholder (Zukin, 2011). As Gilboa et al. write, "a city may be perceived differently by the unemployed in comparison to a business executive; by those who live in centre-city versus those who live in the outskirts and rural areas" (2015: 51).

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[3] Retrieved November 15, 2018 from https://www.ama.org/resources/pages/dictionary.aspx. Last consulted on April 23, 2019 on which the page was unfortunately no longer available.

Place marketing managers thus have to deal with numerous divergent target groups, complex and related products, as well as different social and political settings in which marketing decisions are made (Braun & Zenker, 2010: 3), making the branding of cities a 'multi-faceted' subject (2010: 1). Braun and Zenker (2010) have attempted to define the place brand as "a network of associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design" (2010: 5). Although the definition of the place brand and product brand have similarities that can't be overlooked, the way in which places are perceived by people is proven to be different from that of products or companies. The variety of intended and unintended communication of places leads to inequality of the way we perceive places compared to commercial brands and products (2010: 4-5). As Kavaratzis (2005) states, "everything a city consists of, everything that takes place in the city and is done by the city, communicates messages about the city's brand" (337). In addition, place branding is a subject of political decision-making and therefore has to do with municipal administrative organizations and policy-making procedures, which means that the decision-makers have to deal with the political and administrative environment in which these decisions take place (2010: 5-6). The relevant literature recognizes that cities can in fact be seen as highly complex brands that are constantly changing and more difficult to manage than those in the corporate domain (Kavaratzis, 2005: 336; Braun & Zenker, 2010). Trueman et al. (2004) add that "it is possible to examine the city as a brand using conventional typologies for brand analysis, provided that sufficient weight is given to different stakeholders" (2004: 328). Which leads to the realization that the interests of corporations and cities are in some respect similar and increasingly overlapping (Olins, 2004).

1.1 Understanding Place Marketing through Corporate Branding

In line with the definition given by the American Marketing Association, companies and their customers in the marketing practice use the 'simple' understanding of a brand as a "designed visual identity which refers to the name, logo, slogan and the presentation of the company" (Anholt, 2005: 117). The more 'advanced' definition of branding includes the above-described definition but goes on to cover a wide area of corporate strategy, consumers and stakeholder motivation and behaviours, internal and external communications, ethics and purpose (Anholt, 2005: 119). This broader understanding also recognizes the fact that, in the experience economy of today, the physical products and services of a company become less relevant for the market while the image, reputation and 'halo of value and associations' around the brand become increasingly important – if not the ultimate deciding factor of success or failure (Anholt, 2005: 121).

As mentioned before, there are significant similarities between corporate brands and place brands, which bring the two concepts close and provide a starting point for a better understanding of place branding (Kavaratzis, 2005: 335). Knox and Bickerton (2003) state that a corporate brand is the "visual, verbal and behavioural expression of an organization's unique business model" (2003: 1013). Much like the city brand, the entity in

the corporate branding has a "higher level of intangibility, complexity and (social) responsibility", making it much more difficult to build a coherent brand like that of a product (Simões & Dibb, 2001). In addition, both corporate branding and place branding have to address multiple target groups and stakeholders, both have multidisciplinary roots and both have to deal with multiple identities (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 511). As Vermeulen et al. (2002) suggest, it is the place's image that needs to be planned, managed and marketed, and in this sense, corporate branding becomes the 'right' approach to place marketing in general. However, certain conditions first need to be met. Firstly, this theory demands a treatment of the place brand as 'the whole entity of the place-products'. In other words, the place brand and its products must come from the same idea, and in that sense are inextricably linked to each other, in order to achieve consistency of the message sent. In addition, it is important to associate the place with 'stories' that 'make' the place. They need to be 'built in the place' and be communicated through the more general attitude of the place and, finally, also through promotional activities (Kavaratzis, 2005: 336). Precisely because place and corporate marketing have many similarities, it becomes difficult for many marketing developers and consultants to distinguish what the differences are and how place marketing should be implemented differently from corporate marketing (Kladou, et al., 2017; Stevenson, 2012; Kavaratzis, 2005).

The problem can be found in the discrepancies between theory and practice. In the primary approach, place brands are understood in a rather static way – failing to acknowledge that places are not formed through one-way message transmission and cannot be subjected to manipulation in the same sense as a commercial product or corporation (Kladou et al., 2017: 427). Consequently, marketing authorities and most consultants advocate only one element of branding in the context of places - namely promotion - and thereby neglect the wider branding requirements (Kladou et al., 2017: 427). In addition, there seems to be a lack of clarity about the difference between place branding and the promotion of a country's individual assets or products, such as tourism, inward investment, culture and exports. The important distinction is that components of a place can be promoted and sold, but the country, city of region cannot. This is because a place is unlikely to have a single target market or a single offering, and in such conditions promotion becomes difficult (Anholt, 2005: 118). For the same reason, corporations which produce a number of different products tend not to promote themselves directly, but rely on good governance and brand management to build their corporate brands (Anholt, 2005: 118). In 2017, the British-Dutch transnational consumer goods company Unilever announced their new brand strategy which consisted of five C's: consumers, connect, content, community and commerce. The head of marketing Keith Weed advocates for a more inclusive, informative and qualitatively better marketing strategy in which advertising is being renewed: "the empowered consumer is looking for purposeful brands,

brands that have meaning, brands that matter".[4] But while advertising their products, they indirectly advertise for their brand as well. The focus only lies on the needs and wants of the consumers, instead of advertising the brand itself. Even the way that the products are advertised is adapted to the way consumers expect and want it to be. On this topic, Weed comments that "people don't hate advertising. They hate bad advertising. As an industry we have a responsibility to […] seek out content which specifically appeals to people's needs or passions. This is a huge shift in the way we tell stories and build our advertising".[5]

Evidently, countries, regions and cities can best be promoted in the same way: by practicing a harmonized, indirect and strategically informed approach to the promotion of their products and 'sub-brands', and let their reputation speak through their actions and behaviour, which in turn are guided by the same logic (Anholt, 2005: 119). In concrete terms this means that the components of a country, city or region – like tourism and culture, nature and leisure – can be promoted directly to the target groups, while the place itself isn't. According to this theory, it is assumed that good promotion with the focus on the attributes of a place instead of the place itself would automatically ensure a harmonious and authentic promotion of the place itself.

1.2 Measuring City Image and identity

What is being sold in city marketing strategies is not simply the physical spaces of the city, but also its symbolic spaces, including "how the city feels, what it means and what it looks like" (Stevenson, 2012: 145). Place identity is formed by the way a city, region or nation chooses to identify itself towards its public, whereas the image is the perception of this identity by the public (Foster et al., 2011: 440) – i.e. the set of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person holds regarding a place (Kotler, 1997: 607). In other words, a city's identity may easily be different from its image (Gilboa et al., 2015: 50). Image studies have repeatedly shown that images projected deliberately by place marketing organizations merge with many more images that are outside of the control of marketers, such as representations in the news, films, novels, documentaries, the internet or popular culture (Kladou, et al., 2017: 428; Zukin, 2011: 164). The study by Munar (2011) on Tourist Created Content, which is user generated content by tourists, has found that visitors in Greece and France do not actually incorporate 'formal brand elements' (i.e. identity marketing) in their narratives and interactions, especially over the internet. The elements, such as taglines, slogans and logos, are virtually non-existent as part of tourist created content (Munar, 2011: 302). Kladou et al. (2017) confirm this, as their study shows "a clear indication of the relatively lower significance of these elements within the branding effort and the rather limited potential that these elements have to make a big difference in the final evaluation of the place brand" (Kladou et al., 2017: 433). However, Foster et al. (2011) revealed that both image and identity are strong determinants of loyalty towards a city, albeit with differences. The strength of the relationship is significantly

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[4] Tan, E. (2017). Retrieved November 16, 2018 from https://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/unilever-marketing-boss-weed-reveals-5c-brand-strategy/1445575.
[5] Ibid.

higher for how the brand image affects the loyalty toward the city compared to that of the brand identity (2011: 441). In the end, of course, cities that have a positive image and identity are better able to meet the demands of their stakeholders, whether they are residents, business owners, or visitors (Gilboa et al., 2015: 51).

1.2.1 City Identity

Braun (2010) claims that a city brand is "not the communicated expression or the 'place physics', but the perception of those expressions in the mind of the target group(s)" (2010: 4). He found that 'external target audiences', such as tourists and visitors show a much more common and stereotypical association set with a place, while the 'internal target audience', such as residents and investors, have a more diverse and heterogeneous place brand perception (2010: 5). Braun argues that "it is inevitable that there are potential conflicts and synergies between the needs and wants of different target groups. Therefore, brand communication for the city's target groups should be developed with these factors in mind" (2010: 6). According to Gilboa et al. (2015) communication can be significantly improved for the purpose of reinforcing positive identities when one understands how target audiences, such as residents, city stakeholders and future or returning tourists, perceive a city (55). In order to develop a marketing strategy that targets the city's identity, the brand should be communicated based on the image that consumers have, rather than simply on what they think of the brand (Foster et al., 2011: 441). Therefore, the application of place marketing is largely dependent on the construction, communication and management of the city's image, because "encounters between cities and their users take place through perceptions and images" (Kladou et al., 2017: 443). As stated by Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005), managing the place brand becomes an attempt to "influence and treat those mental maps in a way that is deemed favourable to the present circumstances and future needs of the place" (507).

The limits of the brand construction are, therefore, the activities of the managing company on the one hand and the perception of the consumer on the other (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 508). The brand becomes the interface between these two, with a number of elements at each end of the brand construct. For brand owners, in this case city marketing managers or authorities, these elements are the advantageous features that imbued the brand, which they can add value to by stressing symbolic, experiential, social and emotional benefits, creating the brand identity (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 508-509). From the consumer's side, central to the concept of the brand is the brand image, which includes perceptions of quality and values, as well as brand associations and feelings (2005: 509). The method of measuring the success of brand management is the increase in brand equity, which is the "extra benefit enjoyed by the consumer above the bare utility value of the product" (2005: 509). Equity, in turn, is composed of two elements: brand value, which are the associations that a brand evokes to its consumers, and brand awareness, which is the recognition of such associations (2005: 509). In this line of thought, brand identity can be defined as "the creation of a relationship between

the brand and the customers with a value proposition that consists of functional, emotional, and self-expressive benefits" (2005: 509).
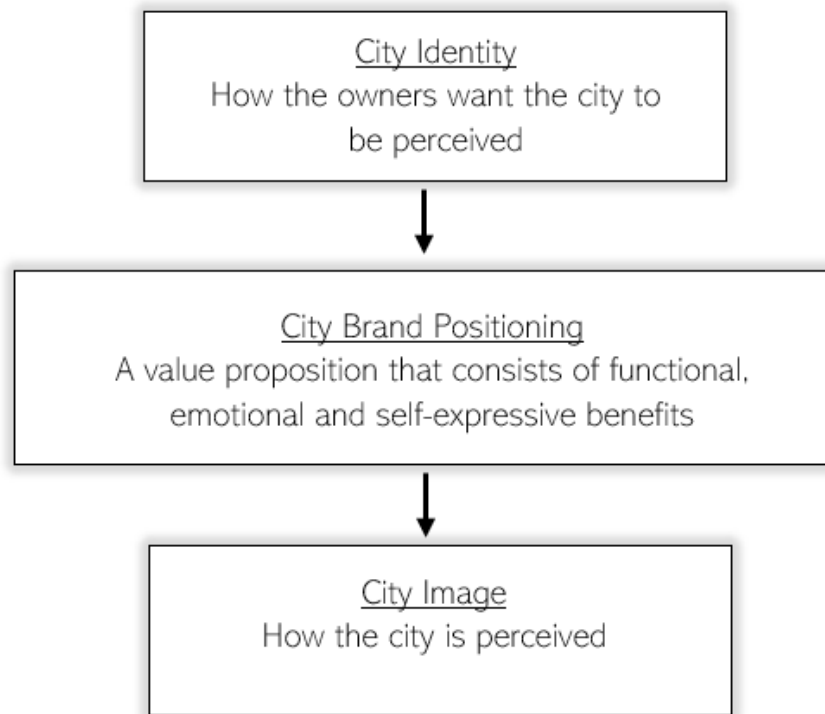
```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│        City Identity        │
│   How the owners want the   │
│      city to be perceived   │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│    City Brand Positioning   │
│ A value proposition that    │
│ consists of functional,     │
│ emotional and self-expressive│
│ benefits                    │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│         City Image          │
│   How the city is perceived │
└─────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 1: Relation brand identity, image and positioning
(Based on Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005)

1.2.2. City Image

As revealed above, city image is an important concept for the practice of city marketing. It indicates to what extent the current residents are satisfied, and offers opportunities to underline aspects of it so that the city becomes more attractive to newcomers. It is also an indicator of city identity, which must be built on the basis of the image as it already exists. However, in order to analyse city image it is necessary to be able to conceptualize the construct. Given the fact that place brands are not material phenomena that can be directly measured like products or corporations, a measuring scale that is suitable for measuring something as abstract as the image of a city is often developed for this purpose (Sevin, 2014: 48). Many scholars have designed scales that can measure certain attributes or characteristics of a city, which then give an indication of how well a city 'scores' on certain subjects. These subjects are often chosen by means of quantitative research on what appears to be an attractive city – for as diverse an audience as possible (Anholt, 2005; Kavaratzis, 2005; Braun & Zenker, 2010; Gilboa et al., 2015). Anholt (2006), for example, identifies six dimensions of city image in his City Brand Index (CBI): presence, place, prerequisites, people, pulse and potential. The results showed which cities scored highest in these categories, which were then listed in a reputation ranking. However,

this study is about the image of famous cities among a general sample of respondents from around the world and is therefore potentially invalid or inapplicable for lesser-known cities. In an effort to prevent lack of representation, Gilboa et al. (2015) used a three-stage data collection and analysis model for the development of a summated rating scale. The scale was developed based on samples of residents and tourists in three different cities: Rome, Trieste and Jerusalem. Using scale items that were the most frequent descriptors of city image out of 39 studies on this topic, they attempted to make this scale as inclusive as possible. Yet, this study also had its limitations. In the first place, the study mainly dealt with the tangible aspects of a city, leaving possibly significant intangible aspects out of focus. Secondly, the developed scale was composed of items derived from previous studies, which makes it possible that not all relevant items were included in the initial list. And, like in Anholt's study, the data collection took place in large and major cities making the scale impractical for smaller and less important cities (Gilboa et al., 2015: 50).

As Gilboa et al. (2015) have noticed, the main problem of this field of research is "the multiplicity of city image conceptualizations, with each scale corresponding in some aspects to previous ones but differing in other aspects" (2014: 51). Critics also recognize that the validity of these measurement scales is questionable as it is not possible to argue that they can exhaustively capture the whole of social reality (Sevin, 2014: 49; Dinnie, 2010; Kavaratzis, 2005). The complication lies within the data collection methods, which are often rich but not representational of the whole population (Sevin, 2014: 50). Another reason to question validity of these measuring tools is the lack of acknowledgement of history, culture, associations and other intangible attributes that can significantly contribute to a city's brand image (Sevin, 2014: 49; Stevenson, 2012: 10). Moreover, the access to information on methods and surveys is often limited, due to the fact that the outcome of such research – in the case of Anholt's study, for example – is often of commercial value (Sevin, 2014: 49). Such shortcomings in statistical validation limit the generalizability of the research, and makes it inoperative for cities that are not included in the studies. Inadequate research risks diminishing the importance of good thought-out city marketing, whereby marketing strategies are implemented without a clear picture of its consequences, which can eventually have a negative impact on the urban economy and prosperity of a city. Inadequate research risks reducing the importance of good city marketing and this, in turn, can cause marketing strategies to be implemented without a clear picture of what the consequences are. Such investments can have a negative impact on the urban economy and prosperity, and weakens the credibility of further research in this field.

1.3 Conclusions

The past century has been an important one for the development t of place marketing theory. The emergence of this scientific branch is due to key developments within the marketing discipline, financial crises after the de-industrialization, growing involvement and power of residents and visitors and the rising number of international talents and investors. This demanded a restructuring of cities and thus stimulated the search for the new role

for cities. The answer to this question was partly found in the development of city branding. Research found that the development of a city brand is beneficial to a city's national and international position, the local economy and consequently its livability. Nevertheless, many scholars had to admit that translating contemporary insights and methods of branding into the context of places can be a major challenge because of their diverse and complex nature. Moreover, marketers also have to take into account the numerous divergent target groups, complex and related products, as well as different social and political settings in which marketing decisions are made. However, in borrowing from the science of product and corporate branding, there lies an opportunity to better understand cities as brands and to apply the branding practice on cities – provided that enough weight is given to all stakeholders.

As proof of this claim, there are striking similarities between city branding and corporate branding: both have to address multiple target groups and stakeholders, both have a certain level of intangibility, complexity and social responsibility, both have multidisciplinary roots and both have to deal with multiple identities. Moreover, research has shown that it is the city image that has to be planned, managed and marketed primarily. This makes corporate branding the ideal starting point for the proper execution of the city branding practice. However, the translation from corporate branding to city branding still proves to be problematic. Places are not formed through one-way message transmission and cannot be subjected to manipulation in the same sense as commercial products or corporations. In addition, a place is unlikely to have a single target market or offering. Therefore, cities can be best promoted by practicing a harmonized, indirect and strategically informed approach to the promotion of their city-products and 'sub-brands', and let the city's reputation speak through actions and behaviour that are guided by the same logic.

Place identity is how the owner chooses to identify and promote a place, while place image is the way in which the place is perceived by the target audience. However, place image proves to be much more valuable then place identity. City identity is one side of the city brand construct, and consists of the features that are advantageous for the brand owners. The city's image, however, is the other side of the city brand construct and its purpose is to promote the interests of consumers, i.e. the residents, visitors and investors of the city. Identity building begins by analysing the existing image of a place. The communication of the city brand identity should therefore be based on the image that is perceived by the target groups. This way, influencing this image through communicated identity is much more effective. The relation between the two is therefore brought together through brand positioning: the communication of the intended brand identity in which consumer values such as function, emotion and self-expression are particularly stressed.

As a lot of scholars have already attempted and realized, conceptualizing city image is a rather complex procedure. The most frequently used method is creating measuring scales than can measure attributes of the city which in turn give an indication of how much effect these attributes have in the perception of city image.

However, many faults have been found in studies that use variations of this method. Such a method cannot possibly cover the entire reality and is in most cases not usable in all cities in a region because cities are simply too complex to use a single template. It is evident that place branding is a concept that has become very popular in practice, but where the underlying theories are still unclear. This results in each city using its own approach, and although this is logical given the complexity and uniqueness of each city, this contributes to the confusion of terms, theories and constructions. In addition, inadequate research risks diminishing the importance of good city marketing, whereby marketing strategies are implemented without a clear picture of its consequences, which can eventually have a negative impact on the urban economy and prosperity of a city.

2. Creative Industries and Clusters

Innovation, economic growth and the creative class

The creative industries are often defined as the producer of symbolic meaning or entertainment value. A number of reasons can explain why creative industries have become so popular within city marketing. Since Richard Florida's argument about the creative class, there is widespread belief that creativity is the driving force behind economic growth. The creative industries are understood to be a source of innovation, knowledge and opportunity as well as drivers of city regeneration and they seem to provide more and better employment in the growing international sector. These statements affect the choices that city developers make around their creative industry policies, and the decisions that city marketing managers make to implement the creative industries in their marketing strategy. In the following sections, these statements are examined more critically on the basis of relevant literature, in order to ultimately determine to what extent they represent the reality of city marketing practice.

The introduction of the concept of creative industries to cultural policy first took place at the leftwing Greater London Council from 1983 until 1986, after which the British conservative government abolished the council. The policy thinking of the Greater London Council was directed against elitist and idealist notions of art, but was also a challenge for those policy makers and activists that have tried to include more groups into the field of art subsidy (Hesmondhalgh, 2012: 166). A second major element to the Greater London Council strategy was the use of investment in cultural industries as a means of economic regeneration. In the late 1980's and 1990's, policy strategies that were directed towards the boosting of tourism and retail in an area and making areas attractive as a location for businesses, boomed and spread across the world (Hesmondhalgh, 2012: 167). In 1998, the Creative Industries Task Force of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport established one of the first definitions of creative industries as "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (Department for Culture, Media and Sports, 1998). The American economist Richard Caves introduces a more inclusive and detailed version of this definition as "industries that supply goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value. They include book and magazine publishing, the visual arts (theatre, opera, concerts, dance), sound recordings, cinema and TV films, even fashion and toys and games" (2002: 1). A cultural definition of creative industries would have a greater emphasis on the nature and meaning of the product of the industries, rather than its economic value. As Hesmondhalgh (2012) describes, the creative industries are the production of 'symbols', or 'social meaning' (2013: 16). Although several areas and industries may belong to this category, the creative industries are especially characterized by this because they primarily deal with the production and circulation of texts

(narratives, performances, songs) and are therefore the most occupied with producing 'symbolic meaning' (Hesmondhalgh, 2012: 16).

The influential work of Richard Florida (2002)[6] strongly increased the amount of research into the significance of creativity as a driver of economic growth, especially with regard to the 'creative class', a class in which experts and creative workers are on the forefront of economic and social development: the 'avant-garde' of the new economy. In his work, Florida proposes three major factors in the relation between the creative class and economic growth. The first being *tolerance*, because the presence of a large creative class would lead to a social climate with a high acceptance of social minorities and minority points of view. Second, the presence of creative class would improve the attractiveness of an area as a place for highly educated people to live, which in turn attracts *talent*. Social diversity, talent and creativity would make an area attractive for (high-tech) companies and facilitate innovation, thus representing the final factor *technology* (Florida, 2002; Stam et al., 2008: 119). Furthermore, creative industries are often seen as a source of innovation, knowledge and opportunity (Bagwell, 2008: 31). Bagwell (2008) states that creative industries provided employment for over 1.9 million people in the United Kingdom (about 3% of the workforce) and accounted for 8% of Gross Value Added of the country's economy. As the creative industries in the UK has proven to be for some of the minority ethnic groups, it is important in providing opportunities for moving into 'higher value-added areas', away from the 'less profitable sectors' with which they would be traditionally associated with (Bagwell, 2008: 31-32). Lastly, the creative industries are often at the forefront of place-based regeneration and marketing strategies, contributing, through the creation of cultural quarters or city generation campaigns, to the regeneration and renewal of redundant buildings and depressed urban areas (Bagwell, 2008: 32; Florida, 2002). In a more recent study, Boix et al. (2010) claim that creative industries amount for a significant share of the employment in the European countries France (5%), Italy (8,8%) and Spain (5,8%). However, of course, these numbers depend on one's definition and classification of creative industries. In the research that was commissioned by the Dutch statistics bureau (CBS) creative industries are defined as the arts and cultural heritage, media and entertainment and creative business services (Braams and Ulrings: 2010). The results showed that in 2010 more than 43.000 companies in the Netherlands were active in creative industries. Accordingly, the creative industries amount to a share of 5% of Dutch businesses. These creative companies usually operate on a small scale (Braams and Ulrings: 2010). The vast majority (66%) consists of companies with one or less employees, most likely because sales on a large scale are hard to achieve through labour intensive creative production (Stam et al., 2008: 122). A relatively large share of the employees in creative industries in the Netherlands

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[6] In the meantime, a revisited version of Richard Florida's well-known *The Rise of the Creative Class* has been published in 2012. Here, however, the 2002 version is used because it is still regarded as the reference book on which many other studies that are mentioned in this study are based. It is also true that the revised version does not offer much new information, but rather a revaluation of the original edition.

work part-time, which suggests that work in this domain often does not constitute the primary source of income. Creative industries have a reputation for consisting of many entrepreneurs that are more oriented towards artistic values instead of business values (Stam et al., 2008: 122). Nevertheless, the growth of the creative industries in terms of number of companies is over 19% in the period 2006-2009, thereby making creative industries the most exponentially growing sector in the Netherlands of this timeframe (Braams & Ulrings, 2010: 9; Stam et al., 2008: 122). While this sounds promising, there are still those who doubt the ability of the creative industries to provide significant employment and economic growth, and argue that further research into the significance of these figures is needed to find out whether the creative industries are indeed prosperous or if there are any other reasons causing these results, such as the classification issue of creative occupations. This forces urban developers and governments to think carefully about whether or not to invest in this 'new' economy.

2.1 Creative Industries and Clusters

The rapid growth of this industry and the increasing scholarly attention it has received over the past years has stimulated the development of, and research into, creative clusters. Creative clusters originated from so-called 'business clusters', which are the result of a process that enables "a geographic concentration of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, associated institutions and companies in related industries", as Micheal Porter (1998) defines it. Clusters emphasize the importance of location and networks to productivity, which is particularly important in the context of cities, and can lead to a number of advantages for both companies and regions, such as increased competitiveness, higher productivity, new company formation, growth, profitability, job growth and innovation (Bagwell, 2008: 32-33). Creative clusters are simply the result of a cluster development within cities and places where the established industry demands a high level of creativity and innovativeness. A famous example is Silicon Valley, a region in Northern California in the U.S.A., which is now a global centre for high technology, innovation and social media. The unique confluence of the university, venture investors, tech talent, and great quality of life make it the ideal 'creative hotspot' (Florida, 2002; 2012). The idea that such a creative hotspot ensures innovation, inclusiveness, productivity and a strong economy has convinced many policy makers and urban managers to pursue this, and has become the accepted wisdom more quickly than any other major idea in this field in recent years (Simmie, 2006: 184). A number of different strategies to support creative clusters can be found across the globe. Initiatives such as workplace provision, business advice and training, grants and loans and the development of various physical and soft infrastructures highlight the significant amount of funding that has recently been spent on cultural projects to boost the development of clustering (Bagwell, 2008: 34).

Boix et al. (2010) assert that creative industries tend to spatially concentrate across countries as well as co-locate near each other in urban areas, due to the richness and thickness of personal networks and other

infrastructures that can be found in densely populated urban spaces (2014: 4). Stam et al. (2008) also indicate that creative industries in general are often concentrated in (metropolitan) cities (2008: 122). The same is true for the Netherlands, as most creative industries are concentrated in the Western part of the country, where all major cities are located. Amsterdam is the metropolitan city that contains the most creative industries in terms of companies and individuals (Stam et al., 2008: 123). However, despite their considerable advantages, it is not necessarily the big cities and regions that also attract creative *talent*. In fact, a number of smaller regions have some of the highest concentrations of creative workers, such as university towns or highly functioning creative clusters (Florida, 2002: 19). To illustrate, the rural South-Western region in the Netherlands, known as the Gooi region, actually has the highest concentration of 'creative class' in the country with an employment share of the creative industries of 22%, due to the broadcasting industry that is located there (Stam et al., 2008: 123). But that doesn't mean that a traditional working class city like Eindhoven can't also be a place where creative activity manifests itself. A similar example on a larger scale is the city of Chicago that is traditionally a city in which working class people are a relatively large share of the population, while simultaneously ranking among the top 20 large creative centres in the U.S.A. The city has managed to do this by integrating members of the creative class in their politics and culture and treating them as essentially just another 'ethnic group' that needed sufficient space to express its identity (Florida, 2002: 20). In addition, research shows that clusters that are built on former cultural facilities or part of mixed regeneration schemes that are more integrated with city plans and with multiple stakeholders, seem to be stronger, healthier and better to achieve (Evans, 2009: 1007). Places that attract lots of creative talent are also those with greater diversity, many employment opportunities and higher levels of quality of life. This is because members of the creative class choose their location based to a large degree on their lifestyle interests, and these go beyond the standard amenities that most experts consider to be important (Florida, 2002: 20; 2012). According to Florida more and more businesses understand the 'ethos' and are making necessary adaptations to attract and retain creative class employees. After all, Florida claims, "places that succeed in attracting and retaining creative class people prosper; those that fail don't" (Florida, 2002: 17).

Although the theory of cluster formations appears to reflect a natural reform of cities, work, life and economic growth, it becomes clear from the practice that these objectives are not yet being fully realized. Despite the fact that most designated creative clusters are not conventional business clusters and additional factors are crucial to their development and form, creative clusters are found to be primitive and undeveloped in many conventional business cluster evaluations. They are predominantly neighborhoods and a small areas, even where they are part of the sub-regions of the city – they show poor connectivity in the field of labor market movements and markets. (Evans, 2009: 1013). Most identified clusters are emergent and still dependent on public investment for subsidy, acquisition and promotion and on larger firms and institutions for clients (Evans, 2009: 1013). For some reason, large regions and cities that have the potential to become creative centres

are unable or unwilling to do the things required to create an environment or habitat attractive to the creative class. One explanation for this is that of the economist Mancur Olson (1984), which called this 'institutional sclerosis'. This takes place when an institution (or nation) can change effectively in some areas but is unable adapt to changes in other areas. Places that grow up and prosper in one area find it difficult and often impossible to adopt new organizational and cultural patterns, regardless of how beneficial they might be (Florida, 2002; Olson, 1984). The cultural and behavioural norms of the industrial age became so powerfully integrated in these places that they did not allow the new norms associated with the new 'creative age' to grow, diffuse and become generally accepted. "This process, in turn, stamped out much of the creative impulse, causing talented and creative people to seek out new places where they could more readily plug in and make a go of it," Florida interprets (2002: 23).

It thus appears that the idea of the creative cluster as a solution for a declining economy within cities and city regions has some shortcomings. Many researchers express concern for the rapid implementation of creative industries and clusters in city policy plans. Evans (2009) asserts that many cities risk the inevitable downfall of the policy if they do not take into consideration the impact of other cities and regions, large facility investments, risk assessment around the sustainability and the opportunities to cooperate with larger or more successful cities and regions (2009: 1008). According to Evans, the promotion of 'creative cities' and 'creative spaces' is now a global phenomenon based on quasi-scientific policy reasons which are strongly dependent on proxies, but light on theory or hard evidence (2009: 1005). As described in the previous chapter, research on creative cities is often done on the basis of comparative methods. By means of comparisons between cities, it can be stated what effects the creative industries have had on different facets of a city. Many policy and empirical studies focus on creative industries rather than on people in specific professions, because data on the level of individuals is difficult to obtain (Stam, et al., 2008: 120). However, Evans argues that "in contrast to the rich or 'thick' case study, comparative [analysis] is at risk of a 'thin' and one-dimensional description of what are obviously complexities with plural not universal causations" (2009: 1006). A few other researchers have come to the same conclusions. A study by Jayne (2005), for example, states that "current creative-industries policy is overly dominated by an inadequate cluster agenda (and its evidential base) that fails to elaborate fully how the creative industries operate and fails to account for the ways in which people consume products and services" (Jayne, 2005: 554). Reasons for this statement can be found in failures by policy makers that, for instance, neglect the importance of consumption in sustainable new economies while emphasizing the production and infrastructure (Evans, 2009: 1016). In a study of creative strategies adopted by a number of world cities, it has been found that creative strategies are being used to serve several different, and potentially contradictory, goals (Bagwell, 2008: 34). Because of these different and contradictory goals, there often are tension between city-regional authorities that promote creative and knowledge city status through economically managed cultural policy and local authorities and municipalities that are devoted to

cultural developments and accessible objectives for their art and cultural policies and programs (Evans, 2009: 1012). This may deter investors, because they are looking for a more coherent 'investment landscape'. Therefore, creative initiatives need to be better connected to send out a more consistent message about their goals and objectives (Nesta, 2005). However, one policy to stimulate all facets of creative industries will be less effective than more specific policies tailored to the nature of specific domains and layers of the industries (Stam et al., 2008; Boix et al., 2014; Bagwell, 2008). Moreover, the spatially concentrated nature of creative industries would suggest that for effective policy, a place-based approach is to be preferred to an industry-based approach (Boix et al., 2014: 4-5). In conclusion, policy makers and urban managers need to realize that a creative city cannot be founded like a 'cathedral in the desert', Pratt (2008) explains, "it needs to be linked to and be part of an existing cultural environment. We need appreciate complex interdependencies, and not simply use one to exploit the other" (2008: 35).

2.2 Economic growth and innovation

As shown in previous research, creative industries are increasingly regarded as the means to heal economic weaknesses on the level of the city and region. An important factor which maintains this belief is Florida's theory which claims that the creative class maintains a style of living and working that benefits the place where it settles. There is more innovation, more productivity and more creativity (Florida, 2002; 2012). Due to these progressive work and living conditions, there is more room and opportunity for diversity, to which talent from the highest level is attracted and therefore more likely to stay. All this would enumerate to a stronger economic system in which there is a vibrant centre where these creatives come together and deliver better results through innovation, productivity and better living rationality. Many of the relatively small innovating firms in creative industries are important sources of innovation for large corporations that 'subcontract' the creation of radically new products to them (Stam, et al., 2008: 120). In case of the Netherlands, results of the research by Stam et al. (2008) show that SME's (small and medium enterprises) that are active in creative industries are indeed more innovative than the average SME in other industries. This would be because, unlike other SMEs, creative industries are used to investing and being involved in innovative practices. It appears that these companies also better document and keep track of their innovation plans, engage in more innovative collaborations and often employ specialists for innovative purposes (2008: 125). This will improve the position of a city or country in economic terms and will allow them to compete in the word market of 'creative cities'. Moreover, this development exposes that the creative industries are increasingly associated with the knowledge economy, the system of consumption and production that is based on intellectual capital, to such an extent that the same results – if not even better – in terms of economic growth and innovation are expected. Subsequently, the term 'creative economy', an economy that is based on people's use of their creative imagination to increase an idea's value, has come into play and is increasingly being used to explain the economic force behind creativity (Evans, 2009: 1011).

Employment rates in creative industries within regions or cities, as mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, are often small percentages (generally between 5 and 10 per cent). The potential for economic and employment growth in creative clusters relies on a number of local actors and 'hubs', such as art and design university or specialized college, cultural venues and some retail activity to form the basis of a visitor economy, and underused industrial buildings for workspace (Evans, 2009: 1015). Moreover, cluster and innovation growth require connectivity with established producers and intermediaries, and with markets and consumers or visitors from a wider area (2009: 1015-1016). Yet, the potential to create employment within the creative industries themselves lack evidence and credibility (Evans, 2009; Bagwell, 2008; Stam et al., 2008). Evans (2009) argues that although the number of creative industry firms has increased in recent years, overall employment in the sector has decreased due to merges, acquisitions and out-sourcing in both micro-enterprises and larger firms (Evans, 2009: 1016).

Despite the decline in employment within the creative industries, there has been a significant growth in 'creative jobs' in the past few decades. According to the statistics of The Creative Industries Federation UK, for example, creative jobs have increased by 28,6% since 2011 (n.d.: 'Statistics'). This confusing representation can be explained by the way that creative jobs or 'creative occupations' are defined as and associated with. Not every job in the creative industries is 'creative' and many jobs outside the scope of the creative industries, however one chooses to define them, are clearly very creative. Examples are knowledge or economic sectors such as ICT and creative functions within companies that do not necessarily belong to the creative industries, such as car and engine designers (Evans, 2009; Bagwell, 2008). Within the creative sector there is a high concentration of employment in the audio-visual/digital media, print and publishing and software activities, and much less in the 'traditional' arts and cultural activities (Evans, 2009: 1023). The UK based foundation NESTA (National Endowment for Education, Science and the Arts), among others, began to explore this area, coming to the conclusion that the number of creative jobs in 'non-creative' industries is probably greater than the number of creative jobs within the creative industries (NESTA, 2003; 2013). By extending the creative to the knowledge economy, ICT overtakes the creative industries and is more widely spread than the creative cluster (Evans, 2009: 1023). Although Florida believes that the creative economy is driven by "the logic that seeks to fully harness – and no longer waste – human resources and talent" (2012: 5), Duxbury (2004), on the other hand, argues that "cultural and heritage activities and resources are recognized and valued insofar as they attract the scientists, and other knowledge workers the city is recruiting. However, cultural activities are not seen as part of the knowledge and innovation milieu itself" (2004: 1). Evans adds that "talking-up and conflating the creative into knowledge economies and occupations […] is increasingly problematic and counter-productive – as the rationales and evidence become strained and an economic downturn takes effect, unevenly. This weakens the credibility within government economics and investor communities, as this version of the new economy is seen to produce hollow promises for residents communities and enterprises" (Evans, 2009: 1031).

It became apparent to policymakers that it isn't effective to focus on the economic value of the creative industries in isolation from their social and cultural value. An United Nations report, published in 2008, points out that "the interface between creativity, culture, economics and technology, as expressed in the ability to create and circulate intellectual capital, has the potential to generate income, jobs and exports while at the same time promoting social inclusion, cultural diversity and human development. This is what the emerging creative economy has begun to do" (UNCTAD., 2008). However, in fact, the implementation of the creative industries in urban policy is still carried out inappropriately in terms of the scale and capacity of cities and with few of the conditions needed to develop and sustain a significant and competitive creative economy. Employment growth within creative industries that is caused by policy interventions has also proven to be fragile, as "public-sector interventions to encourage economic development and growth are not contributing to the social regeneration objectives, even though these are explicit rationales for public investment and political support for such policies" (Evans, 2009: 1016). Without clear definitions and reliable economic statistics, policymakers risk missing the most important sources of employment and growth and it becomes much harder to maintain a coherent policy framework or track the progress of one.

Jobs within the creative industries are not so much growing, but the creative industries itself are. Both in number of firms and the popularity of the term – the use of 'creativity' as a value-adding element – is growing in many metropolitan cities. This ultimately results in the creation of more jobs with the label 'creative'. However, this term may indicate a wide range of jobs, which may or may not belong to the creative industries. One plausible reason for this is that more and more jobs are automated or being outsourced, making the jobs that need human skill the most, i.e. creativity, irreplaceable. But because many of these jobs belong to other sectors – instead of the creative industries – it becomes difficult to generate a realistic representation of the economic power of the creative industries. The implementation of creative industries in urban policy alone is therefore unlikely to boost employment. In order to have a better understanding of employment development within the creative industries, it is necessary to clearly define which jobs fit within the definition. However, as NESTA concludes in their 'Manifesto for the Creative Economy' (2013) "defining and measuring the creative economy is not straightforward. Not only does it require data to be consistently gathered over time, but the definitions must also be capable of responding to genuine structural shifts in the composition of the creative economy" (NESTA, 2013: 26).

2.3 The Creative Class

 "So many of the thing that seemed shockingly new and outlandish when I first wrote about them – and that sent my critics into such a lather – are now seen as the norm", Florida writes in the introduction of his revisited *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2012). His theory of the emergence of the creative class, a new class that is going to define the new economy, became the most talked-about concept in the field of urban development of

the early 2000's. In a review of Florida's original publication, Erick Schonfeld from *TechCrunch* writes "In a time of high unemployment when traditional skills can be outsourced or automated, creative skills remain highly sought after and highly valuable. We all want to be part of the creative class of programmers, designers, and information workers. The term used to mean artists and writers. Today, it means job stability."[7] The Harvard professor of urban economy Edward Glaeser also writes in his predominantly critical review that "creativity is becoming a more important part of the economy. The market value of creative people has risen and large industries have tried to adapt to the rising importance of idea-creation. Florida is not becoming popular by spewing nonsense about the evils of globalization—he is becoming popular by telling the world things about itself that are fundamentally true" (Glaeser, 2004).

The creative class' distinguishing characteristic is that its members engage in work whose function is to create 'meaningful new forms'. The 'super-creative core' of this new class includes professions from all kinds of industries, but which are almost always influential positions or 'opinion-makers'. Members of this super-creative core produce new forms or designs that are readily transferable and broadly useful (Florida, 2002: 18; 2012: 38). These people also engage in creative problem-solving, drawing on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems, which requires a higher degree of formal education and therefore a higher level of 'human capital' i.e. the collective skills, knowledge, or other intangible assets of individuals that can be used to create economic value (2002: 18-19; 2012: 39). "What they are required to do regularly is think on their own," Florida describes, "they apply or combine standard approaches in unique ways to fit the situation, exercise a great deal of judgement, perhaps try something radically new from time to time" (2002:18; 2012: 39). Florida (2002) also believes that the creative class contribute more than intelligence or computer skills. They add creative value. Creativity is increasingly valued by firms and organizations for the results that it can produce and by individuals as a route to self-expression. "As creativity becomes more valued, the creative class grows" Florida predicts (2002: 18). Cities and regions that attract lots of creative talent are also those with greater diversity, many employment opportunities and higher levels of quality of life. This is because members of the creative class choose their location based to a large degree on their lifestyle interests, and these go beyond the standard amenities that most experts think are important (Florida, 2002: 20). Florida mentions the 'robust debate' around the definition of the creative class since his book was originally published in 2002. According to him, one common misconception was that the creative class is "just another way of counting people who have college degrees" (Florida, 2012: 40). Instead, he claims, although the creative class and degree holders may overlap, they are hardly the same. Across the USA, nearly three-fourth of adults with college degrees are

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[7] Retrieved May, 2019 from https://techcrunch.com/2011/12/14/creative-class/?guccounter=1&guce_referrer_us=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLm5sLw&guce_referrer_cs=Jvxua5wVK6lPgDjHAcxzww

members of the creative class, but less than 60% of creative class members have college degrees (Florida, 2012: 40).

A better explanation for the economic prosperity measured in creative clusters might therefore be found in the economic power of the creative class. Research has found that the creative class that is located in urban areas, rather than the creative industries, are more likely to boost employment and economic benefits, whereas the service businesses within the creative industries are more likely to promote innovation, as it is an intrinsic part of their daily activity (Stam et al., 2008). As mentioned earlier, firms in the creative industries are hired by firms from other industries with the specific assignment to develop innovative products for them. It also seems that, in the service businesses within the creative industries, innovation is an implicit part of daily operations and less often regarded as something that requires explicit actions (Stam et al., 2008: 126). Employment, however, does not grow with the number of creative companies, but is much more influenced by the presence of the creative class. In the Netherlands, Amsterdam is the only city where creative industries make a significant difference in employment, although the creative class has a greater effect on this. When Amsterdam is removed from the calculation, the creative industries have almost no effect on the employment rates of other cities in the Netherlands (Stam et al., 2008: 127). In the United States, the number of jobs in the creative industries has tripled since 1980. That makes up for almost 30 per cent of the entire country's workforce by the turn of the 21st century. The average salary of a member of the creative class was twice as large as that of a working class member and even more compared to a service class member in 1999 (Florida, 2002: 18). What is more, the creative class may be enabled to grow more easily in a booming economy as "economic growth correlates with higher incomes and, because the creative class is often involved in producing luxury goods and services, their presence will grow in such circumstances" (Stam et al., 2008: 119).

However, a couple of requirements first need to be considered for the creative class to flourish in a city or region. Florida (2002) states that the importance of industries having 'low entry barriers', so that new companies can easily enter and keep the industry 'vital' (2002: 20). This applies not only in a business sense, but also in a social sense. The environment where one wants to attract the creative class to must be one that is open to social differences, and which accepts newcomers quickly into all sorts of social and economic arrangements (2002: 20-21). Florida refers to this feature of environments or companies as 'plug-and-play communities' (2002: 20-22). The most important factor is that a member of the creative class is able to effortlessly connect and be accepted, so that their talents can be optimally used within this environment: "the plug-and-play community is one that somebody can move into and put together a life – or at least a facsimile of a life – in a week," as Florida further illustrates (2002: 20). In his research, Florida has found that the creative class is attracted to a specific kind of environment which they associate with open-mindedness and diversity, not only in social terms but also the number of choices and options that they can chose from. A

number of amenities that attracts the creative class, according to the outlined profile, are the following (Florida, 2002: 20-21):

- Mix of influences (in food, music, people etc.)
- Nightlife with a wide mix of options
- 'Real' experiences in the 'real world'
- Active, participatory recreation
- Indigenous street-level culture
- Stimulation
- Authenticity and uniqueness
- Unique and original experiences

This could also be summarized within the concepts that are often referred to in studies of the creative class, namely openness, diversity and bohemianism. The latter is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "a gipsy of society; one who either cuts himself off, or is by his habits cut off, from society for which he is otherwise fitted; especially an artist, literary man, or actor, who leads a free, vagabond, or irregular life, not being particular as to the society he frequents, and despising conventionalities generally."[8] Florida has proven that a certain class that fulfils a creative function, in society and on the labour market, is indeed attracted to a location that can offer these conditions. Many urban policy plans with the prospect of economic growth ensure that these conditions are achieved within their city limits, with the aim of attracting the creative class that provide job and economic growth through a vibrant creative centre. However, from a study based on Glaeser's (2004) doubts about Florida's argument that it is the creative class and their bohemian way of life that provide economic growth, it appears that the correlation between creative people and economic growth does indeed exist, but that a bohemian lifestyle has nothing to do with this. The fact is that skilled people end up in higher positions and prefer this more luxurious lifestyle, but does not necessarily translate to a 'creative' workspace or fancy, industrially furnished flats. "I've studied a lot of creative people. Most of them like what most well-off people like—big suburban lots with easy commutes by automobile and safe streets and good schools and low taxes. After all, there is plenty of evidence linking low taxes, sprawl and safety with growth." Glaeser argues (2004: 4).

In addition to Glaeser, more critics have written about the misconceptions that occur in Florida's theories, mainly the assumptions about the creative class and its correlation with economic growth. Perry (2012) describes three types of criticism following the explanation of urban economic success as a result of the arrival of the creative class: the appropriateness of seeking human capital explanations of regional development; the

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[8] Retrieved September 23, 2018 from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/bohemian

particular interpretation of human capital in the creative class approach; and the effectiveness of the public policy recommendations. In his critical review he writes that economic growth has never been dependent on human capital to this extent, and that people do not ensure that companies grow or which location they are located in, but that these processes are in fact inextricably linked to each other and economic growth and human movement constantly affect each other. In addition, Perry also refutes Florida's theory that the creative class is attracted to a bohemian lifestyle and that they settle and flourish in cities that can offer this, which in turn would trigger economic growth. Correlating labour movement to the contemporary features of urban areas such as the quality of their amenities, climate or population profile assumes that people are free to move. It also assumes that decisions to move or stay are made independently of the availability of income-earning opportunities and that accumulating concentrations of creative workers will of itself stimulate creative interaction. "Both assumptions are questionable," Perry asserts, "it seems implausible that labour force participants move without regard to their income and career prospects or that enterprise growth can be explained without reference to organizational strategies, resources and business opportunities" (2012: 331).

Many of Florida's critics admit that what he states about the new economic class known as the creative class is simply 'telling the world things about itself that are fundamentally true'. Members of this class and its super creative core engage in work whose function is to create meaningful new forms of design which are readily transferable and broadly useful (Florida, 2002: 18; 2012: 38). The creative class is therefore believed to have a certain economic power, which translates itself to innovative new products, attracting firms from all industries to settle in areas where this creative class flourishes. The unique attribute that distinguishes this class from others is their ability to not only have excellent intelligence and computer skills, but also add creative value (Florida, 2002: 18-19; 2012: 39). As creativity is increasingly valued by firms and organizations for the results that it can produce, this trait is increasingly being sought after in many cities and regions and by many industries.

However, it seems that the creative class can only really settle in areas where the industry is already alive and thriving, the access to it is relatively easy, and the environment is an socially open and accepting one. According to Florida, a member of the creative class is attracted to very different aspects of daily life than previously thought to be the standard. They like a lively nightlife, lots of options and possibilities and 'real' experiences (Florida, 2002: 20-21). With this knowledge many policy makers have written urban development plans that contain these elements, as to attract as many of the talented members of the creative class as possible to their city. However, as Glaeser indicates, the lifestyle of this class is not much different from that of other 'well-off' people. The environment and the circumstances desired by these groups are most likely the result of what they are used to in their social class. It is therefore not the case that the creative class cannot flourish in a less dressed and luxurious environment, but that they prefer this lifestyle as a result of how they are appreciated by the industry and overall society (Glaeser, 2004: 4). Another fallacy is, according to Perry, the notion that

members of the creative class have the free choice to move and settle where they want. This is a misconception because it has been proven that many more factors are involved in the decision to live or work in a particular city or area, such as family, income and language (Perry, 2012: 331-335). The correlation found between the arrival of the creative class and economic success may well exist, but attracting this class is more complex than simply creating the conditions in the hope that they will move en masse to this area.

2.4 Conclusion

One of the first definitions of the creative industries was established in 1998 by the Creative Industries Task Force of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. A more elaborate definition was later given by Richard Caves, which included the whole industries that are associated with cultural, artistic and entertainment value (Caves, 2002: 1). Adding the cultural definition, the creative industries also deal primarily with the production and circulation of texts and thus are the producers of symbolic meaning (Hesmondhalgh, 2012: 16). The significance of creativity has already been widely accepted by various industries, and once again confirmed by the work of Richard Florida. Creative industries and firms are already growing in striking rates, and jobs in the sector are becoming more and more popular. Creative industries initiatives are often at the forefront of place-based regeneration and marketing strategies, contributing to the regeneration and renewal of redundant buildings and depressed urban areas.

The idea of a creative cluster, a creative centre where creativity and innovation are generated, is quickly accepted by many policy makers and urban developers. The concept of clusters that comes from the economist Micheal Porter promises increased productivity and interconnectivity, which ultimately leads to efficient economic growth with the help of creativity as the driving force behind development and innovation. Nevertheless, the development of creative clusters is still in an immature phase, because the clusters developed in response to the trend are still small-scale and often rely on subsidies and external support. Cities and regions that do have the potential to grow into successful clusters somehow don't have the means or the motivation to realize this. This could be due, for example, to the fact that these regions are still attached to old habits and business models, which do not correspond with the philosophy of creative clusters, or the 'creative economy'. This 'institutional sclerosis', as Olson (1984) calls it, extinguished the creative fire so that many members of the creative class went elsewhere to find a place where they could integrate more easily. In addition, scholars have doubts about the scientific base of creative cluster development. According to Simon Evans (2009) the promotion of creative cities and spaces has become a global phenomenon that is based on 'quasi-scientific policy reasons' instead of hard evidence. Furthermore, scholars are concerned that current creative industries policy is dominated by a cluster agenda that fails to elaborate how the creative industries operate. This results in creative strategies that are used for different and often contradictory goals. This not only causes tensions between city-reginal authorities and local authorities as they have different objectives in mind, but also causes

investors to mistrust this inconsistent message. Because the creative industries is a complexed and layered one, multiple policies should be developed to tailor to the nature of specific domains and layers of the industries.

The idea that creative industries are the driving force behind economic growth is receiving increasing attention from scholars, policymakers and urban developers. It is believed that the knowledge economy that applies today will increasingly involve creativity as one of the most important skills. As creativity is an essential ingredient for innovation, many of the relatively small innovating firms in creative industries are important sources of innovation for large corporations that 'subcontract' the creation of radically new products to them. For these companies in the creative industries, innovation is a daily activity, and they are actually more innovative than similar companies in other sectors. Because innovation is one of the pillars for a better position on the world market as a city or country, this might prove that the creative industries can actually provide economic growth. However, the potential to create employment within the creative industries lack evidence and credibility, according to several critics on this subject. Although the creative industries are growing, overall employment is decreasing due to merges, acquisitions and out-sourcing. What is more, not every job in the creative industries is creative, and many jobs in different industries are clearly very creative. Because jobs in, for instance, ICT are included as creative jobs, the definition of creative jobs is dominated by jobs outside of the creative industries. These indeed create employment and economic opportunities, but not necessarily within the creative industries themselves.

In his work, Florida proposes various factors in the relation between the creative class and economic growth, such as social tolerance, attracting talent and the development of (high) technology. The 'super-creative core' of this new class includes professions from all kinds of industries, but which are almost always influential positions or 'opinion-makers' looking for diverse and open access 'plug-and-play' communities in which they can flourish. Although positive effects can be seen in employment and innovation when the creative class settles somewhere, this has more to do with external factors than with the economic strength of these members themselves. For example, economic growth has a stronger correlation with higher incomes and because members of the creative class often design and produce luxurious products and services, their presence will grow in such circumstances. In addition, the bohemian lifestyle that is a characteristic of the creative class is due to the reason that people with a higher income prefer a more luxurious life, rather than an requirement of them to settle somewhere. Finally, assuming that a number of makeable conditions will cause a group of people to move to a city or area is to ignore many more factors that make people decide to settle elsewhere, such as career prospects and income.

The most frequently mentioned positive effects of creative industries in cities are the social and economic benefits. In a social sense, a creative urbanization ensures that there is more openness and inclusiveness, because these are apparently the desired circumstances for attracting creative and talented people, or the

'creative class'. It is also considered important by many urban developers that new talent is brought in, and this in turn provides for a diverse, international population of new residents. In an economic sense, the creative class, with their entrepreneurial spirit and innovative approach, ensures that employment is created and economic growth takes place. This process can ensure that a city gets a higher status on the market, and in this way can better compete on the global market of investors, tourists, entrepreneurs and innovative initiatives. The question is whether participating in the race of creative cities creates a better city image. On the one hand, it is a logical decision taking into account the advantages of implementing creative industries in urban environments. On the other hand, it can be argued that when assumptions are made about possible positive effects without a strong, evidence-based ground, a city risks to hasten plans that do not fit within their economic model, the identity of its inhabitants or the city in the general. This can actually lead to a lot of negative effects, such as failed regeneration areas within the city, disagreements between stakeholders due to confusing and contradictory goals, and eventually decline in the city's economy.

3. The city image of Eindhoven and its relation to creative cluster Strijp S

The case study of Strijp S, Eindhoven

In the previous chapters, the concepts of urban and place marketing have thoroughly been discussed, such as the various factors that contribute to city marketing and the currently used strategies for incorporating creative industries into urban policy. In addition, the second chapter dealt with the phenomenon of creative industries, the emergence of creative clusters and the economic and social contribution of both the industry and the creative class. In this chapter the case of Eindhoven is used to analyse to what extent the creative industries, particularly in the Strijp S district, have influenced the city image of Eindhoven and how this manifests itself. For this, it is first establishes how the image of Eindhoven is presented by the city marketing agency Eindhoven365. In addition, it is being investigated how Strijp S came into being and what urban policies influenced its development. Subsequently, it will be analysed to what extent Strijp S has made a contribution to the city image of Eindhoven and which parties have influenced these decisions.

Eindhoven, the municipality and city that is located in the southern province of the Netherlands, has a population of over 229.637 (May 31, 2018) on a surface of 88,84 km².[9] Eindhoven has been the fifth largest municipality in the Netherlands for many decades. The municipality is part of the Eindhoven Metropolitan Region (MRE) [10] and the BrabantStad urban network, and as such, it has good accessibility by train and airways at national and international level (Maldonado & Romein, 2013: 4-5). In spite of its eccentric location within the Netherlands, Eindhoven forms an important node in the national road network, which connects it with Germany and Belgium.

The city of Eindhoven is often characterized as a 'company town'; a settlement that is build and operated by a single business (Havermans et al., 2008: 6). The origin of Eindhoven's industrial development dates back to the late 19th century. As a result of industrial development, the Eindhoven factories around 1900 attracted more and more employees. These included the textile factories (Elias, De Haes and the Bara), tobacco processors (Mignot & De Block, Henri van Abbe and Lurmans), steam leather factory Gebroeders Keunen, the Royal Match Factory Mennen & Keunen, cigar box maker Brüning and eventually the Philips light bulb factory from 1891. The city's economy benefited significantly from the factories and manufacturers (Schippers, 2009: 24). In the beginning of the 20th century, the city went through another period of explosive industrial growth

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[9] Retrieved January 10, 2019 from https://eindhoven.incijfers.nl/jive.
[10] The Eindhoven Metropolitan Region is the administrative cooperation between 21 municipalities in the southeast of the province of Noord-Brabant.

which was mainly driven by Philips Electronics – today one of the largest Dutch multinationals. After the Second World War, Eindhoven gradually developed into the most important industrial centre in the Netherlands and the leading city of Southeast Brabant. In addition to electronics, Eindhoven was also the location of a number of other companies such as DAF (automotive), Campina (food processing) and ASML (advanced systems for production of microchips and integrated circuits). In the late 20th century however, de-industrialization caused great job losses in the city and its region. In the early 1990s, both Philips and DAF went through a difficult period and had to reorganize dramatically, again at the expense of jobs. Thanks to a series of policies – by both the public and private sector – the Eindhoven region gradually overcame its employment problems during the late 1990s, becoming the main node of the Dutch knowledge-based manufacturing industry (Maldonado & Romein, 2013: 5-6).

The knowledge base that characterized Eindhoven today dates back to 1947, when the Academy for Industrial Engineering (AIVE), now known as the Design Academy, was established. The Eindhoven University of Technology (TU/e) was actually founded later, in 1956. And what is now known as FONTYS University of Applied Sciences first was the Polytechnic School of Eindhoven until 1996. These institutes have trained a varied knowledge base: by 2000 their total number of approximately 24,000 students were divided into technical disciplines (44%); economy (23%), health care and welfare (18%); and other disciplines, including design (16%) (Van den Berg, et al., 2007). Eindhoven is also the location of the large-scale collaborative platform 'Brainport', a joint venture between municipalities in the Eindhoven Metropolitan Region, companies
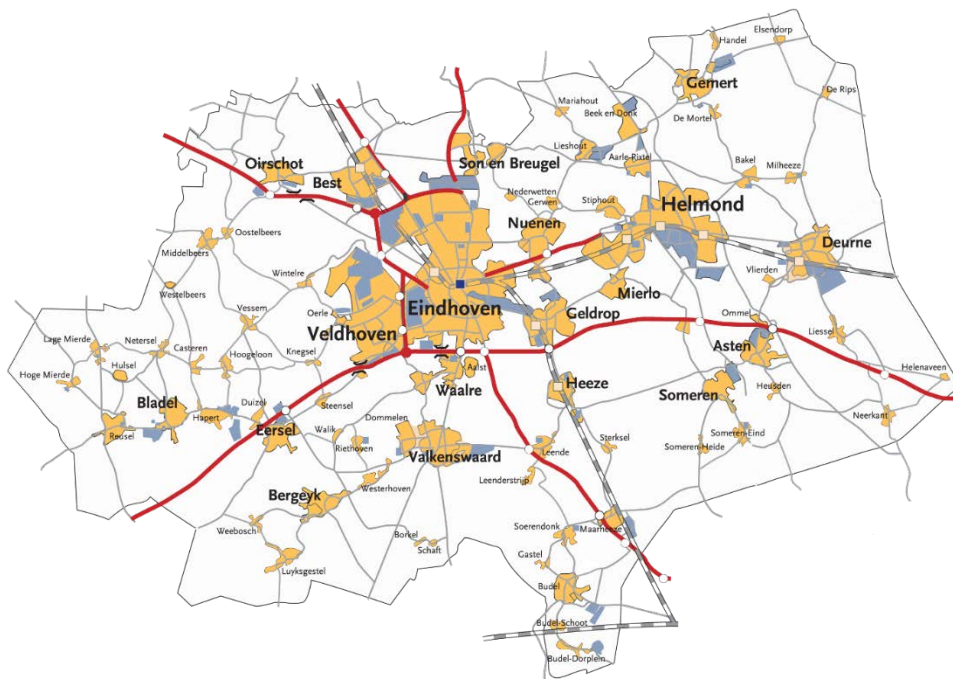
The Brainport Region, Brainport Eindhoven, 2019.

and knowledge institutes that are active in the Southeastern and Middle East Brabant region. On the official website of Brainport, on which it is explained that they 'succeed' especially in the fields of technology and design, they clarify that "golden hands in the manufacturing industry provide innovative hardware, clever heads at IT companies come up with smart software (High Tech Systems) for more efficient, flexible and qualitative development of products and creative designers guarantee the human - technology interaction (the attractiveness and user friendliness) of those products" (Brainport Eindhoven, 2009).

Maldonado and Romein (2013) distinguish between cities with a typical 'people climate' and cities with a typical 'business climate'. In order to attract talent to the city, it is important to have a people climate that can support the needs of these talented people. Despite the fact that this concerns the choices made by the city marketing and implementation, this is also influenced by the characteristics of the urban area. One of the main issues is Eindhoven's provincial image and the lack of an attractive and well-preserved historic centre which characterizes most Dutch cities. This is partly because its reconstruction after destructive air raids during the Second World War has been done with very little regard for its historical heritage. Therefore, Eindhoven has more of a business-like city image than a 'bubbling' city image for students and young knowledge-workers (Maldonado & Romein, 2013: 13). Although Eindhoven is a student city, they are a small proportion of the population (3%) who lives scattered across the city. Most places where they meet – faculties, sports accommodations, student associations – are located at the TU/e campus, which has also a Grand Café, good sports accommodations, and a cinema (Maldonado & Romein, 2013: 13). However, people with a less urban lifestyle, appreciate the inherited 'village-wise' pattern of residential environments that still characterized the region (Urban Affairs and VHP, 2007). Moreover, although Eindhoven does not have the most typically Dutch, historically rich environment, the city has a number of top amenities; in particular sports facilities are one of the best in the Netherlands, such as its indoor swimming pool that organized the European championships in 2008. Eindhoven's premier league soccer team, PSV, has its stadium near the centre of Eindhoven. (Maldonado & Romein, 2013: 14-15). But these facilities are not explicitly oriented at knowledge-workers or students.

A second obstacle that can get in the way of realizing a typical people's climate in Eindhoven is the housing market. The number of houses available in the city centre, where many creative people and bohemians like to settle, as it caters most to their environmental desires, is only a small percentage of the entire housing market in Eindhoven and therefore very limited. Recently graduated student meet a dual problem: a limited availability in the social housing sector and a limited affordability of private sector houses of the size that they need. This also partially explains why Eindhoven has difficulties to retain students after graduation (Maldonado & Romein, 2013: 15).

As a consequence, the Architecture Centre Eindhoven (in collaboration with Brainport) published the concept of 'Eindhoven SUPERvillage' – by means of an exhibition, meetings and publications – to discuss the most adequate residential environments to make Eindhoven a successful region at international level. The conclusion and recommendation, stated in 'Eindhoven SUPERvillage' is to strengthen the historic characteristic of the regional landscape, which typically combines urban and rural environments in a network of medium-sized towns and villages (Architectuur Centrum Eindhoven, 2005). In their publication, they state that "most knowledge workers are not so much looking for highly dynamic urban environments, but rather for a quiet, safe and green living and working environment.

Eindhoven SUPERvillage Plan de Campagne, Architectuur Centrum Eindhoven, 2005

 Creativity in for example the nanotechnology appears to be rarely associated with a socially exuberant and cultural dynamic life. Many beta creatives have extremely traditional living requirements and prefer a more introverted and domestic lifestyle in relatively low-stimulus surroundings" (Architectuur Centrum Eindhoven, 2005: 10). However, Maldonado and Romein (2013) express their concerns for Eindhoven's quality of space, finding it to be "modest at best", considering that it constitutes a liability to attract precisely those groups that are considered strategic in the knowledge economy - creative people, young people and high-skilled foreigners (2013: 20). Despite the region's organizational quality, which has been a main driving force of the reinvention of Eindhoven as a knowledge-based industrial region and recently also as a creative design destination, Maldonado and Romein believe that the lack of buzz and a lively and attractive urban scene and the difficulties

to provide access to the type of housing these groups demand has caused constraints for Eindhoven's regional development (2013: 21-22).

3.1 City Marketing Strategies and Image Construction: Eindhoven

Place branding can be a challenging field, taking into account that translating contemporary insights and methods of branding into the context of places is not as easy. Peter Kentie, the managing director of the marketing agency of Eindhoven, admits that the science of place marketing is a very immature field which is still in the making. "There is a lot of academic theory that is almost at odds with practice, seen from my experiences so far. [...] There is no fixed logic of how it should be done and how it should be carried out"[11] he adds (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). Marketers have to consider the numerous divergent target groups, complex and related products, as well as different social and political settings in which marketing decisions are made (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006: 511). Moreover, both place identity and place image are strong determinants of loyalty towards a city (Foster et al., 2011: 441), where place identity is formed by the way a city, region or nation chooses to identify itself towards its public, and place image is the perception of this identity by the public (Foster et al., 2011: 440) Although brand elements like physical products and services are of importance for a brand's image, it is now known that the image, reputation and 'halo of value and associations' around a brand are increasingly becoming more important (Anholt, 2005: 121). As is clear from the first chapter of this study, cities can be best promoted by practicing a harmonized, indirect and strategically informed approach to the promotion of their city-products and 'sub-brands', and let the city's reputation speak through actions and behaviour that are guided by the same logic (Anholt, 2005: 119).

"Eindhoven is not generally regarded as the prettiest girl in the class. In the Netherlands alone there are many cities that are more beautiful, such as Den Bosch, Breda, Utrecht, The Hague and Amsterdam. Old cities with magnificent architecture, both old and new. But Eindhoven is the most unusual or the most exciting girl in the class. The girl that surprises and amazes you and invites you to participate in prototyping the future" (Kentie et al., 2016: 5). This is how Eindhoven is described by the city marketing agency Eindhoven365 that took on the task to shape and preserve the identity and image of Eindhoven after the economic crisis of 2009. They believe that the most crucial condition for the future well-being of Eindhoven, as is described in their strategy document, is "the attractiveness to, the presence and the method of 'absorption' of talented people" (Kentie et al., 2016: 14). Kentie has been the managing director of Eindhoven365 since 2009, and explains that the reason for the reform and its focus on talent is mainly an economic one. They believe, like Richard Florida and many others, that attracting talented people to an area can eventually lead to economic growth for that area. However, he acknowledges that in order to attract talents, people should be aware of the existence of the city:

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[11] "Er is heel veel academische theorie die bijna haaks staat op de praktijk, gezien uit mijn ervaringen tot nu toe. […] Er is geen vaste logica van hoe het moet en hoe het uitgevoerd moet worden."

"before you can work on your image, you must first be known"[12] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). Since 2014, the agency has built a brand for Eindhoven that is based on the formula 'Unconventional x Collaboration = Energy', with its three brand pillars *Technology*, *Design* and *Knowledge* (TDK). These brand pillars have been chosen in cooperation with the city's residents, and are imbedded in the city's 'DNA' (Kentie et al., 2016: 5; Kentie, personal interview, 2018). In order to give depth to the mentality as a supplement to the TDK story the agency has also established brand 'values', which are *Imagine*, *Experiment* and *Realise*. The brand values represent the city's ability to 'imagine the future', to 'dare to look into the future' and to 'achieve dreams in a 'hands-on' way'. "We have found that this story resonates really well and underpins the Eindhoven brand in making the right activation choices," they explain in their strategy plan for 2016 to 2020 (Kentie et al., 2016: 5).

The proposition of Eindhoven365 is that Eindhoven must be able to improve the quality of public spaces, cultural activities, leisure time, tourist amenities and entrepreneurship to a international level. Secondly, it must show this to the rest of the world in order to continue to attract new talent to the city (Kentie et al., 2016: 10). The way the marketing agency wants to achieve these goals is by fulfilling three types of tasks. The first task is to be the 'Custodian of the Brand', which means 'borrowing' the brand to do good things and to guard against negative influences. Secondly, they want to ensure that existing propositions in the city become better, more beautiful or more effective. The third task that they take on is to tell the best stories to relevant target groups, by which they mean channel and media management (Kentie et al., 2016: 10-11).

Eindhoven has a open-source visual identity, build around a logo and font that are designed by a selected team, or 'virtual studio', made up of architecture, design and creative agencies from Eindhoven. The definition of an open-source visual identity is that it can be used not only by the marketing agency and municipality, but by anyone who is interested in using it for a good purpose. Because the logo and font are easily adaptable, this could range from companies and institutions to private use by city residents. The team – which includes design studio Raw Color, creative agency Scherpontwerp, graphic designers Edhv and Eric de Haas – has designed the visual identity that will be applied to signage, stationery, public spaces and communications. "We picked the best talent from a diverse group and asked them to work together. It was like assembling a national football team; using the best players from different clubs that usually compete, and asking them to work together." Kentie explains.[13] Together the team came up with a simple grid of lines to create the logo, which comprises three thick zig-zag shapes spaced on top of each other to form an abstract letter E.

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[12] "Voordat je aan imago kunt werken, moet je eerst bekend zijn."
[13] Steven (2013). Retrieved January 30, 2019 from https://www.creativereview.co.uk/eindhovens-new-identity/?mm_5b03dcda6c185=5b03dcda6c227&nocache=true&adfesuccess=1.

The Official Eindhoven Brand Logo, www.eindhoven.nl, 2019

According to the graphic designer studio Edhv, the logo was selected after a thorough sketching process as the virtual studio was "looking for something that would express the energy of the city and would have the potential to become an iconic logo."[14] The grid behind the logo means the angular sections can be filled in different colors and shades, making it adaptable for companies or sectors across the city. A red graphic on a white background is used for the starting point as the city's historic colors, which are also the colors of the official city flag.[15]

The team has also created a font called Eindhoven to accompany the logo, formed in a similar style but without sticking to the grid. "[The font and logo] have the same kind of edginess, the typography also gives you the feeling that its not completely finished, like a work in progress" Kentie says.[16] The font has a course look and is based on duct tape lettering, to represent the feeling that it is still under construction, while simultaneously being highly recognizable.

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[14] Ibid.
[15] Howarth (2013) Retrieved January 30, 2019 from https://www.dezeen.com/2013/10/22/open-source-visual-identity-for-eindhoven-by-virtual-design-agency/.
[16] Ibid.

Kentie says it has been a conscious choice to focus on curiosity and make Eindhoven feel like a city where people do not know what is going on, but that something always seems to happen (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). This also applies to the city experience of Eindhoven. The strategy to make visitors return is to make people feel that they have not seen everything, so that their visit always feels unfinished (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). With an underlying grid structure and basic shapes, the new identity can be easily customized. Unlike many other cities, Eindhoven has chosen to use one adaptable visual identity for all of the communication channels that the city uses: "the municipality of Eindhoven also uses that logo, and we use the same logo in our marketing communication. That crazy resident uses that logo again to make

tattoos with it. [...] This way we have a very broad identity, a kind of ambassadorship"[17] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). This is how Eindhoven tries to differentiate itself from its competitors, which is precisely the purpose of a brand as defined by the American Marketing Association (AMA Dictionary; Kladou et al., 2017: 427).

The target group that Eindhoven365 focusses on are talented people, or the creative class, encouraged by Florida's theory on this class and the correlation with urban economic success (Kentie et al., 2016: 22, Kentie, personal interview, 2018). In addition, the IT sector is also included in this target group (Kentie et al., 2016: 22). Potential candidates should ideally be between 20 and 40 years old. The reason for choosing an age category that is slightly higher than what Florida has set as the average age of members of the creative class is due to the fact that, according to Kentie, many technological entrepreneurs are simply a little older (Kentie et al., 2016: 24; Florida, 2002; Florida, 2012). Since Eindhoven has a fairly masculine profile, female candidates are preferred for their ability to look at social issues better than men (Kenite et al., 2016: 24). More specifically, Eindhoven365 focuses on *Innovators* and *Early Adapters* that fit within the categories: City Explorers, Bright Talents or Tech Starters. "We think the City Explorer is more design driven, the Tech Starter is mainly technology driven and the Bright Talent connects these two" (Kentie et al., 2016: 24-26). The description of the three types of 'talent' they are looking for is strongly reminiscent of the profile of the members of the creative class that Florida outlines (Florida, 2002: 20-21). The Bright Talents, for example, being "innovators who have been technologically and conceptually trained and are fascinated by creative innovation" and the Tech Starters being "vigorous perfectionists with a drive to bring innovative products to the market with disruptive and sustainable value" (Kentie et al., 2016: 23). In addition, The City Explorer functions more as the 'influencer' that can lead others to visit the city. They are described as people who have "an affinity with innovation or creativity and their aim, as an Early Adopter, is to gain inspiration, to subsequently develop new insights" (Kentie et al., 2016: 24).

What can be concluded from this is that Eindhoven wants to influence the image of the city by creating a strong and broadly supported identity, so that it attracts the right target groups, namely the creative class in the high-tech industry. Brand identity is one side of the city brand construct, and consists of the features that are advantageous for the brand owners, which in this case is the marketing agency Eindhoven365. The city's image, however, is the other side of the city brand construct and its purpose is to promote the interests of consumers, i.e. the residents, visitors and investors of the city other (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006: 508). As Foster et al. (2011) have revealed, both image and identity are strong determinants of loyalty towards a city,

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[17] "Dus de gemeente Eindhoven gebruikt ook dat logo, en wij gebruiken hetzelfde logo in onze marketing communicatie. Die gekke inwoner gebruikt dat logo weer om er tatoeages mee te maken. Dan heb je een heel breed gedragen identiteit. Dan krijg je daardoor een soort ambassadeurschap."

albeit with differences. The strength of the relationship is significantly higher for how the city image affects the loyalty towards the city compared to that of the brand identity (2011: 441). Eindhoven uses the method of highlighting a number of topics that clarify the city's character, namely Technology, Design and Knowledge: "we really wanted to go for these brand pillars […]. We are going to celebrate those pillars. By actively celebrating and activating them, we bring them to life. That is why we have a Dutch Design Week[18] and a Dutch Technology Week[19]. During these events, we demand the maximum attention from both companies and residents who see it, and from the media that picks it up. This way we have a pretty clear story. Thus when I ask you what the city of technology, design and knowledge is, you will answer: 'that can only be one city, the city of Eindhoven'"[20] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). On the basis of these characteristics they also dress other marketing communicative activities with the same logic. In this way they hope to put the right things in the 'shop window' in order to attract the target groups concerned, but also to show the 'outside world' that it is a conscious choice to attract precisely this target group, because that is a favorable position to take as a city in the current market climate. "Of course we also have a fun fair and a carnival and sports, but we will never put them in the shop window to acquire talent," Kentie says, "what we do is very emphatically an acquisition strategy. These are very sharp choices that Eindhoven has made. [...] We see city marketing as an economic activity. In principle, this reinforces the positioning and the change of image of your city. Consequently, it enables us to attract companies and talents to us"[21] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). Thus, the brand identity that Eindhoven365 creates with this strategy is to attract talent, because that benefits the positioning of Eindhoven on the city market by increasing the economic relevance of the city. This has advantages for the brand owners, the municipality and Eindhoven365, because it causes economic growth once the talent is drawn to the city. But at the same time, this strategy also ensures that the city's image is improved by adding value to the brand identity by stressing symbolic, experiential, social and emotional benefits, as well as brand associations and feelings. Investors become interested in the growing international reputation of the city, and residents and visitors benefit from the growing offer of facilities and activities in the city, made possible by an improved economy and the arrival of talented designers and innovators. Kentie believes that, in regard to the brand identity construct, a city that is better at presenting itself to the outside world can also

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[18] Dutch Design Week (DDW) is an annual event in Eindhoven which presents the work of national and international designers in over 110 location in the city, in order to strengthen the position and meaning of Dutch designers.
[19] Dutch Technology Week (DTW) is a annual event in which innovative and technological events are hosted in the city of Eindhoven, with the aim of reinforcing the relevance of the high-tech industry.
[20] "Wij wilden echt op merk pijlers gaan zitten, […]. Die pijlers gaan we vieren. Door ze te vieren, te activeren, brengen we tot leven. Daarom hebben we een Dutch Design Week, een Dutch Technology Week, en kunnen we in een bepaalde periode de maximale aandacht voor zo'n thema vragen. Zowel van de bedrijven als van de bewoners die het zien, en de media die het oppikt. Dan heb je een best helder verhaal. Als ik tegen jou zeg: wat is de stad van technologie, design en kennis, dan zeg je 'dat is één stad en dat is Eindhoven.'"
[21] "Natuurlijk hebben we hier ook een kermis en een carnaval en sport, maar die zullen we nooit in de etalage zetten om talent mee te acquireren. Wat wij doen is heel nadrukkelijk een acquisitie strategie. Dat zijn hele scherpe keuzes die Eindhoven gemaakt heeft. […] Wij zien city marketing als een economische activiteit. Die versterkt in principe de positionering, de imagoverandering, van jou stad. Daardoor ben je in staat om bedrijven en talenten naar je toe te trekken."

provide more committed and enthusiastic residents, which in short summarizes the brand identity and image construct: "when residents become more self-confident, they start doing more. That one resident of Eindhoven who was always cheering with his hands in his pockets, is becoming more and more proud. […] You can never be sure which factors have brought success, but it depends on what you put in the shop window"[22] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018).

3.2 Creative Industries and Clusters: Strijp S

Strijp S is a neighborhood in Eindhoven which has a surface of 27 hectares (0,3 % of Eindhoven's entire surface) and a population of 1438, the majority of which is between 20 and 35 years old (CBS, 2018: 'Strijp S in Cijfers'). According to Statistics Netherlands, which determines urbanity on the basis of human activities based on the average environmental address density, Strijp S is 'very strongly urban' (CBS, 2018: 'Strijp S in Cijfers'). Strijp S is strategically located between the city centre of Eindhoven and the green run-out area De Wielewaal. The area is located within the inner ring of Eindhoven and is therefore easily accessible, both by public transport and by bicycle and car. Both the location and accessibility and the buildings to be maintained should be able to make an important contribution to the future identity of the area (Grootscholte, 2006: 158). The area was originally part of the Philips company, which had established its industrial estate there from 1891 until the beginning of 2000.

The Philips Company was founded in 1891 by Gerard Philips (1858–1942) and his father Frederik (Frits) Philips (1830-1900) as a family company for the production of carbon-filament lamps and other electro-technical products. In 1895, Gerard Philips younger brother Anton (1874–1951) was brought in to manage the commercial side of the business (Aussems & Horsten, 2018: 123). Over the years, however, he had become part of the company's hard technical core, and by 1916 had founded a small factory for the production of light bulbs in Eindhoven. In the ten years that followed, the Philips company had produced more than 1.5 million light bulbs, extending the area, materials and labor to continue production. In order not to be dependent on suppliers, Anton Philips had more factories built on Strijp S, which provided the Philips factories with glass, cardboard and gas. The Physics Laboratory (NatLab) was build soon after for the development of new technologies. From 1928 the Philips company developed rapidly at Strijp S with the construction of the Klokgebouw, followed by the device factories on the Hoge Rug. With the industrial area on Strijp S, Philips has become completely self-sufficient; from raw material to the end product and transport to the consumers. The Philips site grew tremendously due to the arrival of new technological inventions such as radio and TV. The expansion required new industrial areas, like Strijp-R and Strijp-T, on the other side of the ring road. When Philips closed its factories and left in 2000 due to various financial declines, the first discussions to redevelop

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[22] "De inwoner zijn zelfvertrouwen neemt daardoor ook toe, en dan gaat die meer ondernemen. Die Eindhovenaar die altijd met zijn handen in zijn zakken stond te juichen, die begint steeds trotser te worden. […] Je kunt nooit zeker weten aan welke factoren het succes heeft gelegen, maar het ligt eraan wat je in de etalage zet."

the area took place. The area got its nickname 'Forbidden City', because it used to be surrounded by fences and barriers to which one could only enter with a valid pass (Aussems & Horsten, 2018: 127). In 2002, Strijp S was officially sold to development company Park Strijp Beheer. Park Strijp Beheer has a central role as area developer and owner. The company acts as public-private partner between the construction company Koninklijke Volker Wessels Stevin (VolkerWessels) and the municipality of Eindhoven. Since 2006, serious plans have been made for the redevelopment of Strijp S, especially in the creative sector and around cultural events.
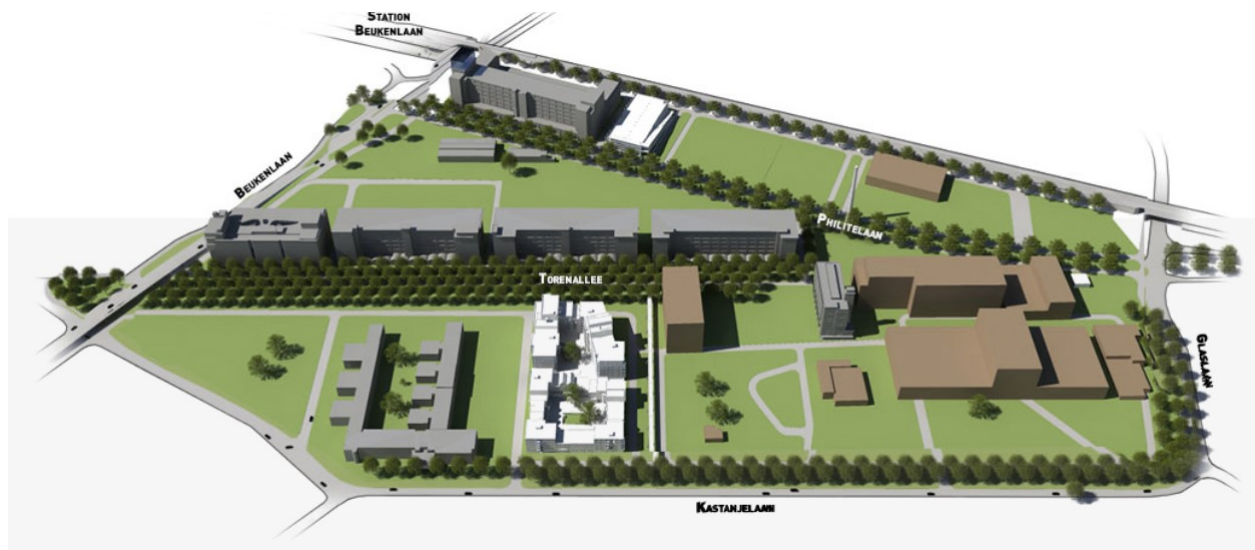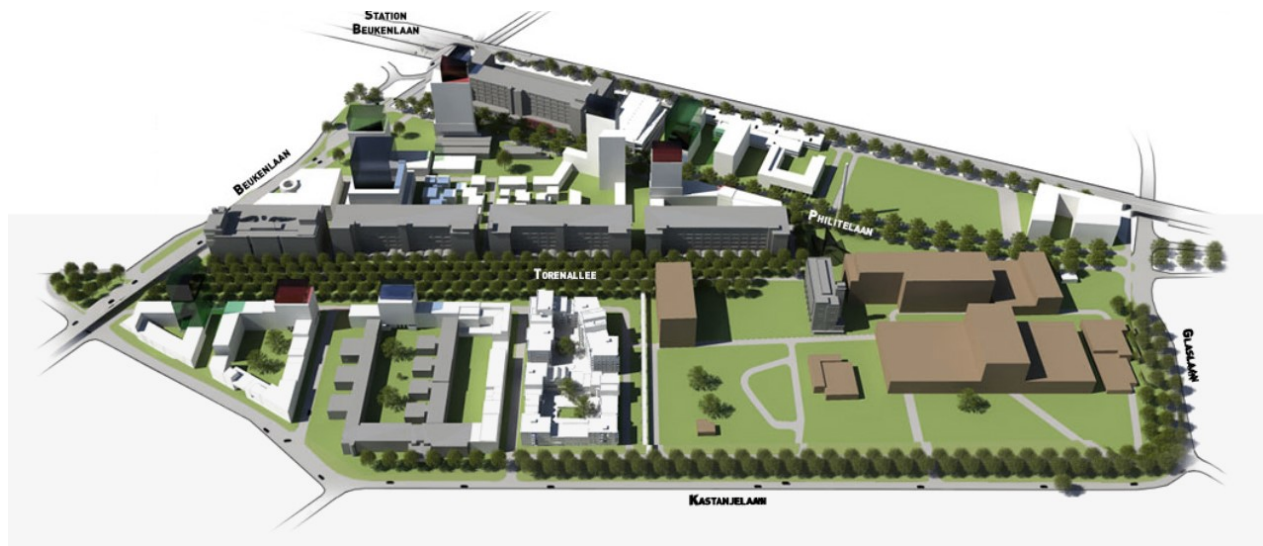

Strijp S of 2014, www.strijps.nl

The intention of the municipality was to have Strijp S included in the 'urban fabric' of Eindhoven. Ideally, the site would become a lively area, with a distinctive, creative and cultural identity. The creative industries would play a supporting role in creating this identity and liveliness (Grootscholte, 2006: 4). "Strijp S is seen as the location that meets the need of Eindhoven for a still lacking urban environment, thus forming a spearhead in the strategy that should make the city attractive for internationally oriented knowledge workers and creatives. Thus the goal is to create living and working conditions to bind this target group to Eindhoven", the municipality of Eindhoven writes in their priority papers of 2005 (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2005: 11). Although the municipality, as well as the construction company VolkerWessels, is the risk bearer of the redevelopment project and has the main responsibility for the execution, various plan developers, construction companies and housing corporations are involved in the realization of the comprehensive multi-year plan. Within this system, the municipality mainly focuses on the main goal of the project, while the various developers are engaged in the concrete implementation of the redevelopment. The involved party West8, the international office for urban design and landscape architecture, is the designated supervisor of the project. Within the project area, 30,000 square meters will be facilitated for cultural activity alongside homes, offices and catering establishments

(Devreese et al., 2011: 3-4). In the definitive urban development plan 'Strijp S Eindhoven - a bustling hub for Eindhoven'[23] established by the city council in September 2004, the development of Strijp S was described as the pursuit towards a "creative city" (KuiperCompagnons, 2007: 85).

West 8 describe on their website how he former industrial and business complex is transforming Strijp S into a new public/urban domain to 'live, work and play'. A 60 meter wide urban axis runs through the heart of Strijp S throughout the entire complex. The 'Torenallee' is densely planted with greenery and has a number of public spaces, street decor such as decorative lighting and furniture, ornamental kiosks and two sculptures. Parallel to the Torenallee are two urban boulevards that serve as high-quality addresses for new residential areas. Next to the boulevards is a square surrounded by various restaurants and bars, and a multifunctional lawn. The Trudo, the Driehoek and the Anton van Diederen Dirrix, three major lots within the urban renewal plan, were completed in 2013.[24] This milestone was nationally acknowledged when Strijp S won the Dutch Gulden Feniks (Golden Phoenix) award in the 'Area Transformation' category.

Strijp S of 2018, www.strijps.nl

Strijp S is characterized by the use of the combination of existing buildings and new estates, which is also a typical feature of redeveloped creative city districts.. By now, Strijp S is transformed into an urban sub-centre with a diverse program combining living, working, culture and various facilities, which is carried out in various buildings across the site (KuiperCompagnons, 2007: 85). Jack Hock, former managing director of Sint Trudo and current organizational manager of Strijp S, has been responsible for completing a part of Strijp S. "Before

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we started, we organized a lot of debates, talks and events. We discussed with the city and professionals, the university and the business community (ASML, DAF), in fact all companies that originated in Eindhoven from the old Philips"[25] says Hock (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). According to Hock, many talented graduates leave the city as soon as their studies at the technical university, the design academy or the university of applied sciences have been completed, because they can't find a 'living and cultural climate' in Eindhoven where they can thrive and feel at home. In addition, Eindhoven hardly offers affordable, inspiring workplaces (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). According to Hock, Eindhoven is a city with two kinds of populations: the labor force that emerged from the Philips era and the national and international 'whiz kids' who develop new technologies in the high-tech industries. Sint Trudo has mixed these two lifestyles with the development of Strijp S: "We thought this was an excellent opportunity for the city to stand out"[26] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). This distribution of the area is no surprise. Sint Trudo has long had aspirations to make the development of innovative living concepts with a striking cultural signature one of its core tasks (Zwart, 2007: 43).

3.2.1 Strijp S as a creative cluster

Strijp S has been chosen as the location for the development of a strongly urban environment that Eindhoven still lacks, as this is one of the leading points in the strategy that is directed towards the international oriented knowledge workers and creatives (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2005: 11). Hans Dona, former director of Park Strijp Beheer, blames the lack of international knowledge workers and creatives in Eindhoven on the missing urban environment. "On the one hand, of course the city does not really have a strong urban centre. This also has to do with the fact that Eindhoven was formed out of a combination of villages. On the other hand, Eindhoven has incredible economic potential, but that's just not visible from the cityscape" (Zwart, 2007: 67). Strijp S would therefore become the centre that realizes this potential as a strongly urban residential and working area where producer and consumer frequently meet each other, in order to eventually stimulate international talent to settle there and thereby helping it grow into a crucial part of the city.

Clusters emphasize the importance of location and networks to productivity, which is particularly important in the context of cities, and can lead to a number of advantages for both companies and regions (Bagwell, 2008: 32-33). With its favorable location and collection of different industries, Strijp S meets the condition for a well-connected area with a high network level. In addition, there are several developers and shareholders attached to the project, who jointly bear the risk, in which one deals with the realization of the area and the other tries to create the perfect possible circumstances in which the creative class can thrive (Hurk, 2009: 66). This

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[25] "Voordat we eraan zijn begonnen hebben we heel veel debatten, gesprekken en evenementen georganiseerd met de stad. Debatten met professionals, de universiteit en het bedrijfsleven (ASML, DAF). Eigenlijk allemaal bedrijven die in het Eindhovense voortgekomen zijn uit het oude Philips."
[26] "Wij dachten dat dit een uitgelezen kans is voor de stad om zich te onderscheiden."

means that there is a higher success rate for Strijp S, as the study by Evans (2009) shows that clusters that are more integrated with city plans and with multiple stakeholders, seem to be stronger, healthier and better to achieve (Evans, 2009: 1007). The municipality of Eindhoven therefore motivates private parties to participate in the Strijp S project, but because they have to guarantee the quality of Strijp S, they remains reasonably dominant in its implementation (Hurk, 2009: 67). The idea of Eindhoven being a successful creative city is in itself not entirely unbelievable in view of the extent to which the city meets the proposed success criteria, which Richard Florida himself agrees with when he remarks in 2005: "authenticity and credibility is what I find in Eindhoven. You have a spectacular chance of success here."[27] With its technical university, high-tech business and design spin-off, Eindhoven scores high on the innovation, high-tech and talent indices of Florida's research team and, according to Dutch standards, is an above-average creative region (Zwart, 2007: 46).

However, despite these notions and the fact that that Strijp S possesses the characteristics of a successful creative cluster, creative clusters are found to be primitive and undeveloped in many conventional business cluster evaluations. They are predominantly neighborhoods and a small areas, even where they are part of the sub-regions of the city – they show poor connectivity in the field of labor market movements and markets. (Evans, 2009: 1013). Kentie says that the coming together of creative industries in Eindhoven is very powerful and that certainly contributes to the city's brand, but their share of the economy is smaller than that of big corporate, which have much more economic impact and power to create jobs. He adds that "the creative industry is often dependent on the mainstream industry. […] It is a cyclical economy. We must all be careful not waste our chances on one company, like we used to do, but to spread it more widely"[28] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018).

It is often argued that 'culture' can bring about real changes in a deserted or inactive part of the city. What is meant by this is that the creative class independently cause interventions in the economic, social and physical structure of an area (Zwart, 2007: 49). Cultural institutions are left out of this consideration because they are expected to have a more transcendent influence on local development, according to policy makers. However, in his research into the role of city branding in the repurposing of Strijp S, Zwart (2007) states that "although culture in this narrow sense is mainly qualified as a marginal influence, the assumption that housing artistic activities will stimulate beneficial effects on the public sphere remains unchanged during the Strijp S development process" (2007: 49). For the acquisition of visitors and publicity, Strijp S focuses on annual events and pop-up-like organizations, instead of culture in the traditional sense. For example, Sint Trudo has

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[27] Announced by a reporter from the Eindhovens Dagblad (11-11-2005) during a Richard Florida lecture at Strijp S (Zwart, 2007: 47).
[28] "De creatieve industrie is vaak afhankelijk van de mainstream industrie. […] Het is een cyclische economie. We moeten met zijn alle goed opletten dat we niet alle kaarten op één bedrijf zetten zodat dat vroeger ging, maar dat dat breder verspreid moet worden."

organized and funded five different, annually recurring festivals, which he believes have formed the beginning of the new identity of Strijp S. According to Hock, this is what caused Strijp S to be put on the map: "you really need to have these kind of big festivals between art and technology, culture and music, to do that. There is no innovation otherwise. […] It is also important for us to keep looking for that innovation and to remain open towards new things"[29] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018).

The responsibility for quality of housing and living at Strijp S is ultimately still the responsibility of the municipality. While the municipality wants to build a qualitatively sound Strijp S, its realization is entirely in the hands of the companies affiliated with VolkerWessels (Zwart, 2007: 65). Thijs van Dieren, project director of Strijp S, emphasizes the relevance of Strijp S within the city policy of Eindhoven: "Strijp S should not become an ordinary residential area, but rather a vibrant heart with facilities. It has been agreed that Eindhoven specializes in innovation, design and technology. Within Eindhoven, the agreement has been made that Strijp S will play an important role. With 27 hectares of land in a unique location, close to the centre and enclosed by national roads, Strijp S is the ideal place to strengthen the position of Eindhoven" (Zwart, 2007: 66). Sint Trudo has its own approach aimed at attracting talent and the creative class, with the associated environments and atmosphere, and are always looking for "something crazy that exactly refers to that other lifestyle"[30] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). Sint Trudo has published script titled *Old Buildings, New Ideas* in 2010 for the development of 'De Driehoek', the area in the middle of Strijp S, that is assigned to them (Aussems & Hock, 2010: 9). "Transforming De Driehoek is the fascinating story of trying and experimenting, adventuring and learning, steering and letting go," they write in the script that itself also has precisely that appearance. The book consists of images, sketches, handwritten notes and atmospheric impressions. Hock says that this is exactly the intention of the developing area: "this is how we look at the area and have defined it. We at Sint Trudo do that according to this unfulfilled idea. […] This is what I think of when I think of what kind of development I would like and why"[31] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). The title of the book is inspired by Jane Jacobs, an American-Canadian publicist and city activist who famously noted in her work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*: "Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings" (Jacobs, 1961). In line with this philosophy, Sint Trudo has drawn inspiration from various examples around the world, involving both professionals and ordinary city dwellers. Jacobs has visited Strijp S twice during the development of the area to inspire and think about further development ideas. "We have looked around a lot to see how people around the world deal with these type of issues. […] So we looked around us a lot,

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[29] "Je moet eigenlijk dit soort grote festivals hebben tussen kunst en technologie, cultuur en muziek, om dat te doen. Anders hou je de vernieuwing er niet in. […] Het is voor ons ook belangrijk om die innovatie te blijven opzoeken, te blijven openstaan voor nieuwe dingen."
[30] "Iets mafs! Iets mafs wat weer precies refereert aan die andere leefstijl die je hebben wil."
[31] "Maar wij bij Trudo doen dat volgens dit, onuitgewerkte, idee. Zo kijken wij naar het gebied en hebben wij het gedefinieerd. […] Hier denk ik aan als ik denk aan wat voor soort ontwikkeling ik zou willen en waarom."

talked a lot with people here in the city, but also with global urban planners," Hock explains, "We organized many meetings with those kind of professionals, in which people from the city could participate. We have also organized competitions in which the winner was offered free housing at Strijp S, for example, so that they would think along"[32] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018).

The development of De Driehoek, although designed for a particular interest, seems very liberal, raw, open and inclusive. It tries to capture the free spirit of creative cities in housing and urban design, down to the last detail. However, the municipality of Eindhoven and its shareholders have a different view of the area with the vision of a more futuristic and modern urban area. "This is the story of Eindhoven municipality and shareholder VolkerWessels: a completely different story. It all becomes a very static image. It's all about big and beautiful towers. What is lively about that?"[33] Hock says with some concern while referring to images from the intended building plans on Strijp S which have been developed by the municipality (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). The philosophy of Sint Trudo, who aims to get Strijp S worldwide recognition, is being very consistent and persistent. "And that means you can not avoid discussion, because that is all too easy"[34] Hock says. Building houses, although that would be the most obvious investment, is 'too easy' for Sint Trudo's perspective of Strijp S. The challenge is precisely in thinking about the design and architecture of the houses, which target groups are going to take the houses, and what those target groups would want. "The people that are here from the very beginning, the artists and creatives, are my ambassadors. I would be stupid if I did not listen to them."[35] Hock adds (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018).

3.2.2. Strijp S as creative class location and generator of economic growth

A large part of the Western cities seek salvation in the concept of a knowledge-based economy, within a facilitating urban environment. In contrast to other economies, the presence of entrepreneurship or capital goods (companies), raw materials or manual labor is not the leading aspect. In a knowledge-based economy, the collection and retention of creative human capital is the main production factor (Zwart, 2007: 38; Florida, 2002). Moreover, this development exposes that the creative industries are increasingly associated with the knowledge economy to such an extent that the same results in terms of economic growth and innovation are expected. Subsequently, the term 'creative economy', an economy that is based on people's use of their creative imagination to increase an idea's value, is increasingly being used to explain the economic force behind creativity

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[32] "We hebben veel rondgekeken om te zien hoe men wereldwijd omgaat met dit type vraagstukken. […] We hebben dus veel om ons heen gekeken, veel gesproken met mensen hier in de stad, maar ook wereldwijde stedenbouwkundigen. We hebben veel bijeenkomsten georganiseerd met dat soort professionals, waar mensen uit de stad vaak aan mee konden doen. We hebben prijsvragen georganiseerd, zoals 'het beste idee mag een jaar gratis wonen op Strijp', zodat ze zouden meedenken."
[33] "Dit is het verhaal van gemeente Eindhoven en aandeelhouder VolkerWessels, dan krijg je een heel ander verhaal. Heel statig beeld allemaal. Het gaat allemaal om grote torens, mooie torens. Ja, wat is hier nog swingend aan?"
[34] "En dat betekent dat je geen discussie uit de weg mag gaan, want dat is allemaal veel te makkelijk."
[35] "Die mensen van het eerste uur, de kunstenaars en creativelingen, dat zijn mijn ambassadeurs. Ik zou wel stom zijn als ik daar niet naar luister."

(Evans, 2009: 1011). It is widely believed that the development of creative clusters is able to trigger such a knowledge-based economy on a small scale, so that it also extends its effect to larger areas such as cities and even entire regions. In Eindhoven too, this philosophy is to a certain extent applicable to the city marketing strategy.

As is assessed by Evans (2009), the potential for economic and employment growth in creative clusters relies on a number of local actors and 'hubs', such as art and design university or specialized college, cultural venues and some retail activity to form the basis of a visitor economy (2009: 1015). Moreover, cluster and innovation growth require connectivity with established producers and intermediaries, and with markets and consumers or visitors from a wider area (Evans, 2009: 1015-1016). As described in the previous section, Strijp S is known as a popular location for many cultural events, organized by Sint Trudo and smaller organizations at Strijp S, or by external cultural organizations such as Dutch Design Week and GLOW. "The festivals that we organized […] were suddenly given a huge international boost: journalists, visitors, participants from all over the world came and were pleasantly surprised by what they saw on the site"[36] says Hock (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). A study by the independent research agency Dynamic Concepts showed that the annual festival Dutch Design Week actually has a significant economic impact on, for instance, employment.[37] "That's interesting," says Kentie, "because that means that a creative company receives assignments, as clients report on the Dutch Design Week looking for talent and employees, agencies, jobs and distribution for their products. That is the beauty of such an event, it brings together supply and demand and that simultaneously improves the image as a whole"[38] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). Subsequently, the festivals and events reach a larger audience through what Eindhoven365 calls 'influencers'. Influencing is a form of marketing where a person or group is used to influence the behaviour of the target group. An influencer is someone with a large presence on social media, which they make frequent use of. They advertise for their own brand, which they often embody themselves. In this way they influence a large audience without making them aware of it. It can therefore unconsciously give a brand a huge boost, for example through the places they visit and the activities in which they participate. Eindhoven365's strategic plan describes that influencers are of great importance to the image construction of Eindhoven. Eindhoven365 wants to use this to investigate which "bright talents" are

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[36] "De festivals die we hadden […] kregen plotseling een enorme internationale boost. Overal kwamen journalisten, bezoekers, deelnemers, van *all over the world* hiernaartoe en waren aangenaam verrast door wat ze hier zagen op het terrein."

[37] Although the research itself can not be obtained, much has been written about it in media surrounding the annual event, for example in Eindhovens Dagblad (2018), as well as in documents such as the 'Council Proposal for Continuity and Safeguards Dutch Design Week' (2014) of the municipality of Eindhoven, for structurally securing the Dutch Design Week where the continuity of the event is no longer strictly dependent on external parties, after their financial relapse in 2012.

[38] "Dat is interessant want die creatieve industrie krijgt ook opdrachten weer, omdat ook opdrachtgevers zich melden op de Dutch Design Week op zoek naar talent en werknemers, bureaus, klussen, distributie voor producten. Dat is het mooie aan zo'n evenement, je brengt vraag en aanbod bij elkaar en dat werkt tegelijkertijd enorm imago verbeterend."

influenced and by whom, so that they can consciously use similar recourses to attract that talent (Kentie et al., 2016: 36).

According to Tom Aussems, former co-director of Sint Trudo, Eindhoven also has considerably rich educational offer with the Technical University, the Fontys University of Applied Sciences, the regional training centre (ROC) and the Design Academy. The only problem is that the majority of graduates seems to leave the city (Hurk, 2009: 67). Hock's solution to this is clear: "to ensure, as soon as possible, that talents who come to Eindhoven can get an affordable place. And by trying to realize that Strijp S stands out from the rest of the city in the sense that there is a different kind of lifestyle here where a different kind of people feels at home"[39] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). All the more reason for the city to try to attract that 'different kind of people' – to get the creative class back into the city. By Florida's definition, members of the creative class are "people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content" (2012: 21). Florida goes on to describe it as someone who can contribute creative value, a quality that is increasingly valued in the current economy (2002; 2012). Nevertheless, there is still disagreement in Eindhoven about the limits of the definition of creative activities. "It's a matter of definition. But what belongs to the creative industries? What is design? It is not very clearly defined"[40] says Kentie (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). This disagreement can be explained by the way creative jobs are associated. Not every job in the creative industries is 'creative' and many jobs outside the creative industries are certainly creative. Eindhoven365 clearly prefers creativity that can mainly be found in (high)tech industry, particularly talented IT professionals who come up with creative solutions and innovative, new ideas. They primarily do this because of economic reasons: "the uniqueness of Eindhoven is that there is a very large creative industry, but also a very large tech industry. […] Both worlds strengthen each other. Yet, from an economic viewpoint, the tech world is creating the jobs and the economic climate, and the creative industries such as graphic design, perhaps with the exception of the digital side which is now emerging and growing faster, does not do so,"[41] Kentie says, "[…] that is because they are not nearly as meaningful as a tech starter, the creative companies grow from 3 to 5 people, in which they do a great job, but a tech company grows from 3 to 500 people. That has a far greater impact" (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018).

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[39] "Door zo snel mogelijk te zorgen dat talenten die naar Eindhoven komen, dat die een betaalbare plek kunnen krijgen. En laten we daarnaast proberen te realiseren dat Strijp S zich in die zin onderscheidt van de rest van de stad dat er hier een ander soort leefstijl is, dus andere mensen voelen zich hier thuis."

[40] "Het is ook een definitie discussie, wat valt nu onder creatieve industrie? Wat is design? Het is allemaal niet erg hard omschreven"

[41] "Maar we zien ook dat het unieke van Eindhoven is, dat er een hele grote creatieve industrie is, en ook een hele grote tech industrie. […] Het hebben van beide werelden versterkt elkaar, maar economisch gezien schept de tech-wereld de banen en creëren het economisch klimaat. De creatieve industrie, misschien met uitzondering van digital die nu opkomt en wat harder groeit, maar de grafische industrie, dat gaat niet zo hard. […] Dat heeft de reden dat die economisch lang niet zo betekenisvol zijn als een tech starter. De creatieve bedrijven groeien van 3 naar 5 mensen, doen ze geweldig, maar een tech bedrijf groeit van 3 naar 500 mensen. Dat heeft een veel grotere impact. "

As the research by Stam et al. (2008) points out, the creative class that is located in urban areas, rather than the creative industries, are more likely to boost employment and economic benefits. Economic growth has a strong correlation with higher incomes, and because the creative class often design and produce luxurious items and services, their presence grows in such circumstances. Kentie adds that "the creative industry is already quite autonomous by nature, quite stubborn types, but they also realize that if the bigger picture improves, they also improve"[42], meaning that if the economic circumstances of the industries as a whole advance, they also profit from it, regardless of whether they work independently or for a company (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). However, in the Netherlands, Amsterdam is the only city where creative industries make a significant difference in employment, although the creative class has a greater effect on this. When Amsterdam is removed from the calculation, the creative industries have almost no effect on the employment rates of other cities in the Netherlands (Stam et al., 2008: 127). The population in the declining parts of the city centre of many cities have started to grow, particularly due to the arrival of cultural clusters and redevelopment plans with a cultural point of view. However, according to Evan's study, most population growth and employment growth occur in the outer metropolitan areas (2009: 1017). Eindhoven has long been aware of this fact, since they have already worked out the aforementioned plan for a SUPERvillage more than a decade ago. Here too it is stated that many companies in the knowledge sector are dependent on the workers potential and are increasingly guided by the residential preference of (future) employees when choosing a location. The success of a knowledge region is therefore indirectly and increasingly determined by the 'quality of life' during, but especially outside working hours (Architectuur Centrum Eindhoven, 2005: 10).

What is clear is that the creative industries in Eindhoven in isolation are not capable of being of great economic importance to the city. It is of greater importance that international companies and investors are aware of the creative class that is live and work here. This will increase the chances that companies choose to settle in Eindhoven. Kentie agrees when he states that "here, companies can see that the fuel of the future are creative, good people. If you have a large pool of them, you become interesting as an employer. In this way, the creative industries, if you so name it, are almost a sort of establishment quality"[43] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). The creative class at Strijp S thus indirectly provides employment and economic growth for Eindhoven. Policy developers and urban authorities have started to realize that focusing on the creative industries purely for the economic effects is less effective when it is not taken into account that these industries and the people who work within them can also fulfill social functions within cities, such as stimulating more openness, diversity and inclusiveness (UNCTAD., 2008). "Yes, [creative class members] are mentally important," Kentie says

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[42] "De creatieve industrie is van nature al best wel autonoom, best eigenwijze typetjes allemaal, die zien ook wel in dat als het met het grote geheel beter gaat, het ook bet gaat met hun."
[43] "Hier ziet dat bedrijf de brandstof van de toekomst zijn creatieve goede mensen. Als je daar een grote pool van hebt, wordt je als werkgever interessant. Dan is je creatieve industrie, als je het zo benoemd, bijna een soort vestigingskwaliteit"

eventually, "that you just 'have' them for the particular living environment they contribute, and the sense of life that they create. So if you take that as a goal, they are very important. Those kind of game changers are very important, because they help to strengthen the image of the city. […] Talents emerging from the community of Eindhoven do not only think about the aesthetics, but also about the function and societal challenges involved. A designer in the creative industries tries to challenge socially. We are primarily looking for those kinds of people, because they fit very well in what Eindhoven stands for"[44] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018).

3.3 The positioning of Strijp S within the city image of Eindhoven

The industrial heritage of Strijp S - or rather the industrial heritage of Eindhoven at Strijp S - is an important link in understanding the position that the development site occupies between the future and the past. The identity of Eindhoven, like that of many other Dutch cities, is strongly connected to the (industrial) background, geographical location and historical identity of the city within the history of the Netherlands. Likewise, from the moment it became a recognized, Eindhoven owes its identity to the Philips industry that arose there in the beginning of the 20th century. This dependency went exceptionally far and one could even say that there is no (Dutch) city like Eindhoven that derived its identity from local businesses so directly and on this scale. Strijp S was, as the centre of the Philips industry, Eindhoven's core of developments. With the disappearance of these activities on the site, an empty spot has been created in the urban fabric of Eindhoven: the city has lost its most important identification mark. It can therefore be argued that the way in which the city wants to present itself internationally to the intended 'quartermasters' of the creative knowledge economy is also the strategy that is used internally to rediscover Eindhoven's city image. "Completing this empty space in the self-consciousness of the city is of a completely different nature than selling the area as a location for a new – and in part still to be discovered – economy, although the same brand will be used" says Zwart. (2007: 37). The brand around Strijp S is therefore not only in service of the image, but also of the (local) identity of Eindhoven.

At the beginning of the development of the plans for Strijp S, the parties involved were aware of the image that prevailed about Eindhoven. "The city still has a rather village-like character in a number of places, and it also exudes something village-like. It does not have the allure of the big city that she really wants to be. So there was a very clear wish, now that the situation arose and there already is a very strong urban area – because the core of Strijp S is of course extraordinarily urban with large buildings of a size that you see relatively little in The Netherlands – to create that strong urban environment that also does justice to the ambition of the city as Brainport location and as the fifth city of the country. Strijp S is definitely, and very consciously, an exponent of

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[44] "Ja, ze zijn mentaal belangrijk. Dat je ze gewoon 'hebt', voor het bepaalde leefklimaat wat ze bijdragen, een bepaalde reuring creëren. Dus als je die als doel pakt, zijn ze erg belangrijk. Ze helpen ook mee met het imago van de stad. […] Uit de gemeenschap van Eindhoven komen talenten die niet alleen nadenken over de esthetiek maar ook over de functie, maatschappelijke uitdagingen. Die proberen als ontwerper in de creatieve industrie uit te dagen, aan maatschappelijke uitdagingen. Dat soort mensen zoeken wij ook vooral, omdat die heel goed passen in waar Eindhoven voor staat."

those ambitions" says Hans Dona (Zwart, 2007: 67). Of course Eindhoven is now recognized for other things, such as innovation and design that take place in the large technological industry of this city. It is a leader in technical innovation and rapidly developing technologies. Hock adds that there is, however, a kind of paradox in Eindhoven: "On the one hand the city is a huge step ahead when it comes to technical innovation, intelligence and creativity and on the other hand it is as dull as it can be!" (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). Former artistic director of Sint Trudo Brigitte van der Sande argues that Eindhoven, for non-residents, is "simply not a place you would like to go". That is, according to her, because not much more than a decade ago, the image of Eindhoven was that of an "ugly provincial city, where there was no connection and where almost no interesting things happened" (Zwart, 2007: 69). All parties involved had placed their hopes on Strijp S to revive this rather dusty image of Eindhoven, and ensure a different offer that attracts people 'from outside' (Zwart, 2007: 67-69). "In any case, Strijp S will contribute to the image of the city, even though the urgency is always relative. Of course it can never be measured, that is the misery with these kind of things. It cannot be measured whether in five years Strijp S really contributed to an improvement of the image of Eindhoven in terms of design and technology. But there is a certain urgency," says Jos Goijaerts, the current director of investments at Sint Trudo, "if it wants to be a success - an area with this enormous density, with all those expensive square meters - it has to distinguish and profile itself" (Zwart, 2007: 68).

The development and interpretation of Strijp S, as described earlier in this chapter, has never been clear or unilateral. However, ever since the first discussions about the development of Strijp S, it has been established that culture and creativity are paramount. Many developers have therefore made an attempt to make the district interesting by means of culture, including Sint Trudo. Hock says that he never took inspiration from urban planners, because "they have one big disadvantage and that is their limitation, and that is that they can only think in exact architecture, the makeability of society and in final images".[45] He preferred to be inspired by sociologists, because according to Hock they are much more concerned with the emergence of societies, working relationships and encounters and try to translate that into urban developments (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). To a certain extent, this philosophy has been successful, since the many cultural activities and events in the area have certainly led to a lot of commotion about the district and Eindhoven as a whole. Kentie gives the example of STRP Festival, a festival around creative technology, "STRP festival was Sint Trudo's assignment to realize a creative quarter through culture and creative industry. People came to this

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[45] "Stedenbouwkundige hebben één groot nadeel en dat is hun beperking. Ze kunnen alleen denken in tekentafelarchitectuur, de maakbaarheid van de samenleving en in eindbeelden, eindplaatjes"

festival about robots and music and they thought 'so, this is Strijp S'. […] This way, culture is used as a quarter creator"[46] (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018).

Meanwhile, Strijp S has adopted a distinctive profile. Hock describes the current atmosphere on Strijp S as: "every time you get there, Strijp S should surprise you. There must be places that you do not program in advance, but simply leave there every time. Raw and rough are important concepts at Strijp S. It doesn't always look very good: it's allowed to be unfinished – it is alive."[47] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, this profile is not completely agreed upon by all the parties involved. The municipality, for example, has other ideas about the appearance and housing of certain areas on Strijp S with a completely different character than what Sint Trudo has outlined in *Old Buildings, New Ideas*. Moreover, there seems to be disagreement about the integration of Strijp S into the city marketing of Eindhoven. "It is kind of a tough love, even though that might be too heavily expressed. It is not a symbiosis by nature"[48] says Hock about the cooperation between Sint Trudo and the city marketing agency Eindhoven365 (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). Research in previous chapters has shown that there is often tension between city-regional authorities that promote creative and knowledge city status through economically managed cultural policy, as Eindhoven365 does to a certain extent, and local authorities that are committed to cultural developments and accessible objectives for their art and culture policy and programs, which Sint Trudo and other organizations are working on at Strijp S (Evans, 2009: 1012). According to Hock, the reason for this tension is the idea that Strijp S would draw the attention away from the (inner) city of Eindhoven. "That is very strange to me, and I still do not understand why, but from the start it was thought that we would draw too much [attention] to us and would organize too much here, and that this would be at the expense of the city centre," Hock says, " […] that meant that if Peter Kentie received requests for an event, he would have the tendency to say 'no way! You only do it on Strijp [S]. If you want money from us, then it's a condition that you start programming in the city centre'"[49] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). In terms of content, Kentie says nothing about the tension, but mentions several times that the creative industries at Strijp S are not necessarily part of their city marketing strategy. According to him, the district can better be used as a tourist attraction or as a smaller part of larger events, instead of a destination in itself. "Strijp S is an example of a

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[46] "Een voorbeeld is bijvoorbeeld STRP festival, als opdracht van Trudo om door middel van cultuur, creatieve industrie, een gebied te kwartier maken. Mensen kwamen op een robot/muziekfestival en die dachten **"zo, dit is dus Strijp S"** […] Je gebruikt dus cultuur als kwartiermaker"

[47] "Strijp S moet je, iedere keer als je er komt, verrassen. Er moeten plekken zijn die je niet van tevoren programmeert maar gewoon iedere keer laat staan. Rauw en ruw zijn belangrijke concepten op Strijp S. Het mag gewoon onaf zijn, en mag het er bij wijze van spreken niet uitzien – het leeft"

[48] "Het is een soort, harde liefde, al is dat te zwaar uitgedrukt. Het is niet een symbiose van nature."

[49] "Dat is heel raar, en ik snap nog steeds niet goed waarom niet, maar er heeft vanaf het begin af aan iets gezeten dat Strijp S de aandacht van de stad wegtrekt, en dat wij teveel naar ons toetrokken en teveel hier programmeren en dat dat ten koste zou gaan van de binnenstad. […] Dat betekende dat als er aanvragen binnen kwamen bij Peter Kentie van een festival, dan had die de neiging om te zeggen: 'niks ervan! Jullie doen het allemaal op Strijp, en als jullie van ons geld willen hebben, dan is een voorwaarde dat jullie in de binnenstad gaan programmeren.'"

place that has been transformed into a creative place where we would like to send tourists. There are now two parts of the city: the city centre for its restaurants, catering and shops, and Strijp S for the more creative exhibitions and events. [...] Of course, Strijp S is also a brand [...]. But we sell Eindhoven as a whole, so during the Dutch Design Week, for example, Strijp S is a hotspot. Just like, for instance, Campina"[50] says Kentie (Kentie, personal interview, May 18, 2018). Yet, Hock is convinced that Strijp S certainly has an influence on the image of the city, and that this also benefits the city's international position: "Eindhoven365 does a fantastic job for the city, but Strijp S also contributes enormously to the image of the city. In every international magazine Strijp S is mentioned in relation to Eindhoven. I think it's a shame that Eindhoven365 does not recognize this, but it is true. However, we do not really cooperate. That has never been the case"[51] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018). However, this tension remains unnoticed, because from an outsiders perspective, Eindhoven is regarded as a whole, according to both Hock and Kentie. After all, Hock is aware that a creative cluster like Strijp S could not have existed without a city like Eindhoven. The city has provided the right environment, for example because it concerns the Brainport area, and the 'right people', because it has many inhabitants with technical knowledge and expertise. Although the 'bohemians' are a relatively small group, it is important that interaction and cooperation develops between them and the so-called 'whizz-kids'. According to Hock, that is what can and should be found at Strijp S. "Of course, Strijp [S] without the city had not become Strijp [S], then we would have been an enclave – we would never have been so successful internationally"[52] (Hock, personal interview, May 30, 2018).

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[50] "Strijp S is een voorbeeld van een plek die getransformeerd is tot creatieve plek waar we graag toeristen naartoe willen sturen. Er bestaan nu twee delen van de stad, Strijp S en de binnenstad. De binnenstad met horeca en restaurants, winkels, en Strijp S voor de meer creatieve exposities en evenementen. [...] Strijp S als merk [...] is er natuurlijk ook. Maar wij verkopen Eindhoven als geheel, dus tijdens bijvoorbeeld de Dutch Design Week, is Strijp S een hotspot. Net zoals bijvoorbeeld Campina."

[51] "Eindhoven365 doet fantastisch werk voor de stad, en Strijp draagt enorm bij aan het imago van de stad. Lees internationaal, alle bladen, het is iedere keer Strijp wat genoemd wordt in relatie tot Eindhoven. Ik vind het jammer dat dat door Eindhoven365 niet zo erkent wordt, maar het is wel zo. Maar echt samenwerken doen we dus niet. Dat is vanaf het begin af aan niet."

[52] "Maar tuurlijk, Strijp zonder de stad was Strijp niet geworden, dan waren we hier een enclave geweest. Dan hadden we nooit internationaal zo op de kaart gestaan"

Conclusions

In this thesis, research was done into the role of creative industries and creative clusters in the development of urban identity and image. The basic research question was formulated as follows:

♦   In what ways is the creative cluster Strijp S used to shape the city image of Eindhoven?

To answer this question, a number of sub-questions were prepared which are discussed in the first two explanatory chapters, and finally also in the final analytical chapter that mainly deals with the case study. The sub questions were formulated as follows:

- How is urban image and identity constructed and what is their function?
- In what ways can the creative industries and creative clusters contribute to the image of a city?
- What is the intended effect of Strijp S on the urban image and what actions have been taken to achieve this by those involved?

The sub questions answered in the first chapter relate to the way in which city identity and image are defined and the research methods used for analysing this. In addition, questions were answered about the phenomenon of place marketing and how it is used by urban developers in the current urban business climate. The second chapter deals with how creative clusters were created and how they can contribute to shaping the urban image. The way in which creative industries operate and the social and economic benefits they bring with them are examined in depth. In the third chapter, the case study of Eindhoven and Strijp S is carefully analysed and compared to the current state of affairs regarding creative clusters and urban image formation that became clear in the first two chapters.

Research method
Qualitative research is an approach to investigating and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups assign to a social or human problem. The research process raises new questions and requires new procedures to be able to answer those questions. It therefore requires a constant evaluation of the results. The approach of this research is a similar one. It starts with an exploratory chapter in which *place marketing* as a broad subject is investigated in order to subsequently bring the concept of *image* into context. Hereafter the same thing is done with the concept of *creative clusters*, in which the *creative industries* in general are first discussed with the focus on structural components that apply to creative clusters. Concepts are defined in various contexts in order to indicate a framework that is as complete as possible of the situations in which these concepts play a role and, in addition, to emphasize the importance of rendering the complexity of the situation. The last chapter refers back to the definitions around the context that was formed in the first two chapters. In this way,

the case study is structurally analysed on the basis of what is known from current science with regard to the various topics that relate to the correlation of creative clusters and urban image formation. The in-depth interviews hereby serve as a recent expert source from, on the one hand, the marketing efforts of the city brand of Eindhoven and, on the other hand, the goals and visions for the creative cluster Strijp S.

Summary of findings

Place marketing is part of the marketing practice that focuses on the promotion of specific places, cities, regions and countries. The growing focus on place marketing of the past century can be explained on the basis of a number of key developments within the marketing discipline. The financial crises, the growing involvement of residents and the increasing number of international talents and investors led to a redesign of cities and urban areas. Marketing a city appears to be beneficial for the city's national and international market position, the local economy and the quality of life. However, place marketing appears to be quite complicated to implement due to the complexity and diversity of places. When developing a place brand, a large number of target groups and products must be taken into account, and political and economic considerations always play an essential role.

Place identity is the way the owners of a brand, such as the municipality or marketing agencies, want to identify and promote a place. The elements of a place identity are therefore often advantageous for the brand owners, and are therefore primarily aimed at causing more tourism, international recognition and commercial relevance. Place image is the way in which a place is perceived by a target group. These are the emotions, associations and beliefs that a target group relates to a place. Place image can be unrelated to the place identity as it can also be influenced by factors that may be beyond the control of the brand owners, such as associations related to personal connections or specific events. Moreover, place image appears to have a stronger influence on the loyalty of residents and visitors to a city than place identity.

The way in which the urban image is measured in most research cases is by means of a scale on which a number of factors are tested. The indicators are often derived from residents and visitor surveys or from similar empirical studies. However, this method appears to be problematic because it can never encompass the total reality of a city. In addition, because the scales are often modeled on the basis of one city or region, it will provide unusable results for cities with completely different values than those included in the index, as a result of which the results will deviate or does not necessarily provide correct information. This makes the scale unreliable to be able to use on a larger scale.

After the industrialization of society, creativity took on an increasingly important role. As fewer jobs became dependent on human labor, due to the growing number of jobs taken over by automatized technologies, more jobs were created in which creativity played the key role. The importance of creativity, and the positive connotations that the word carries, led to a rapid growth in the number of policy plans in which the creative

industries were included. It has become one of the most obvious solutions for place-based regeneration and marketing strategies, contributing to the regeneration and renewal of redundant buildings and depressed urban areas. In addition, there appears to be a widespread belief that creative industries are causing economic growth by creating employment in all kinds of branches of the industry.

The concept of creative clusters originated from business clusters, which are businesses in similar industries that unite in a relatively small part of a city or area, creating better connectivity and higher productivity. As has been proven, a cluster, in combination with creativity, also generates innovation, which is considered to be priceless in the current urban economic climate and is simultaneously inextricably linked to the nature of creative industries. However, there is some noticeable doubt among researchers in this field who claim that many cluster policies do not pay enough attention to the complexity of the functioning of creative industries, and therefore fear that failed attempts will lead to the loss of interested investors and stakeholders. In addition, the argument that creative industries would cause employment is also being questioned. This has to do with the fact that a single definition of creative occupations has never been agreed upon, so that many jobs with a creative element are immediately labeled as creative occupations, and creative jobs outside the creative industry might not always be viewed as creative occupations, even if they are. Because jobs in ICT are included as creative jobs, the definition of creative jobs is dominated by jobs outside of the creative industries. These indeed create employment and economic opportunities, but not necessarily within the creative industries themselves. This ensures that there is no clear statistic for creative occupations, which therefore makes claims about employment therefore less valid.

In a social sense, however, a creative urbanization ensures that there is more openness and inclusiveness, because these are apparently the desired circumstances for attracting creative and talented people, or the 'creative class'. It is also considered important by many urban developers that new talent is brought in, and this in turn provides for a diverse, international population of new residents. In an economic sense, the creative class, with their entrepreneurial spirit and innovative approach, ensures that employment is created and economic growth takes place.

Since the 19th century, Eindhoven has always had a rich history of industrial growth. At the beginning of the 20th century, the city's economy was taken over by Philips Electronics, and at the same time it became its most famous identification feature. In addition, Eindhoven is still very much geared to the working inhabitants. With a lot of green area around it, it is difficult for the city to get rid of its village-like character. With the departure of many graduated talents, it becomes clear that the circumstances in Eindhoven are currently reducing the likelihood for it to become a creative centre.

It is clear from the interview with Peter Kentie that they have opted for a strategy that wants to turn this existing image of the city into a new, trendy and timely concept. The main purpose of city marketing is to attract national and international talent in the field of new technology, innovation and creativity. In addition, Eindhoven has developed a visual identity in which the purpose and function come together, because the appearance of the visual identity can easily be associated with the key concepts they have incorporated into their extensive visual strategy: technology, design and knowledge. Strijp S is a district of Eindhoven that was built on the former industrial site of Philips. In the policy documents for the development of this city district it is called the 'Creative City', and the intention is clearly to realize a creative, strongly urban centre. Such a strongly urban centre was still missing in Eindhoven, and that gave it a backlog in the competition for international talent and investors. Because the transformation of Strijp S was the responsibility of a large number of developers and supervisors, the rules and conditions that apply to, for example, living and organizing were fairly open. Sint Trudo, one of the housing corporations that is part of the project, had the vision to make Strijp S a meeting place between workers in the creative industries and workers in the technological industries. It is also a place for cultural expressions, art exhibitions and countless musical and technological events. Sint Trudo and other stakeholders see the solution for the identity problem in Eindhoven in Strijp S, where highly trained talent can live, work and interact. The Eindhoven365 marketing agency sees no benefit in the creative industries, according to the interview with Peter Kentie, except as an attraction for outside talents. In itself, the creative industries, and therefore also Strijp S, have too little economical impact and so they are neglected in the urban image strategy.

The Strijp S area can be interpreted as a scar that remains from what Eindhoven has been for decades: a single company city. After the departure of Philips, a gap has been created in the city's urban fabric. Strijp S is therefore not only a strongly urban area or a creative centre, but also serves as a sign that Eindhoven is changing as a city. It has become the core of the entire identity crisis of Eindhoven from the beginning of the 21st century. The fact that Eindhoven is still searching for a clear identity and is trying to find it in the development of a strongly urban area that follows the trend of the creative clusters also makes it comprehensible that there is tension between the urban marketing of Eindhoven and cultural organizers at Strijp S. The city marketing agency of Eindhoven is aware that although the creative industries can mean a lot to attract visitors to the city, it does not bring much to the city in terms of employment or economic growth. City marketing is aimed at attracting talent to the city, in which talent is an equivalent of the creative class, but would prefer to use this in the technology sector to stimulate innovation and in this way make Eindhoven end up higher on the list of top cities to invest, live, work and study. Eindhoven therefore uses creative talents from the creative industries to make Eindhoven an interesting city for attracting talent in the high-tech industries, in order to compete in the world market of cities more successfully.

Discussion

A city's image is part of the entire brand that a city wants to present to residents and tourists as well as investors and companies. The image is the impression that prevails among these target groups about their understanding of essence, emotions and feelings towards a city. Because city marketing is a complex concept to which several target groups and perspectives are linked, it is not obvious that the image of a city is a calculated model that is in the interest of the city. An image can be heavily influenced by, for example, media images, assumptions among the resident population, or the history of the city. Research into the image of a city is therefore almost always incomplete, because one can hardly measure all the factors that play a role, and if one could, it will never be the same for every city. So, a measurable image is unlikely to exist. What is measurable, however, is the identity of a city. In this research the process of identity construction has been approached from a marketing perspective. The city's identity is a curated image, often by a city marketing agency or composed by city authorities. By curating the identity of a city, an attempt is made to promote the interests of the city, with its inhabitants, visitors and businesses, according to a conscious strategy.

Urban identity and urban image can therefore be considered as two parts of the presentation of a city, in which the identity is formed by conscious choices about recognizable patterns and images of the city, and the image is an uncontrollable process that can be influenced by countless internal and external factors and processes. However, urban image and identity can also influence each other. Successful communication of the (new) identity of a city can ensure that the image also changes with it. The image of a city can in turn cause a new identity formation to take place, because the current image may have a negative impact on the city. The city's profile and its presentation ultimately serve the prosperity of a city. A positive image ensures economic growth through the arrival of more tourists, new residents, and companies that decide to settle or invest in the area.

The arrival of creative clusters arose from the concept of business clusters and can partly be explained by the 'natural' work ethics of the creative industries. Clusters are the formation of small districts in which business connections and interactions take place in a network of companies from similar industries. For the creative industries especially, many benefits can be gained from close collaborations with companies from the same industry. It appears that these companies, more than in other industries, are better acquainted with producing innovative products for clients, and that developments in this area are better documented than in other industries. In addition, it appears that such breeding grounds for the development of new, creative products often bring social benefits. The most recognizable type of employee in these industries is the member of the creative class: a new class of people dedicated to innovation and unique problem solving through "creative" processes. It has been found that individuals with this attitude create a more open, inclusive, and socially safer environment. In addition, they represent the interests of underrepresented creator groups such as traditional

artists and craftsmen more often than is done in other industries. This is also why it is believed that the creative class ensures a better quality of life in the city where they settle.

Creative industries and clusters, on the other hand, yield relatively little in financial terms, and are therefore not considered to be the most relevant industry in urban economies. However, with the advent of the knowledge economy, the creative worker is becoming of increasing importance. Firstly, in rapidly growing industries such as new technology, more and more emphasis is placed on human creativity, because more and more processes are being automated, making human labor less and less important. Secondly, it is believed that creative knowledge workers involve a certain aura that can convince companies and investors to become interested in a city or area. This means that the creative industries, and especially the creative class, are economically relevant to a city when investors and other groups that can cause economic growth are aware of the presence and success of this 'class' in a city. The realization of this interaction depends on the appearance of a city, which in turn is partly dependent on the image – and thus the identity formation – of the city.

The case study of Strijp S showed that the reform of the old part of the city had a clear goal from an early stage. This goal was to make Strijp S an attractive cultural centre for companies and residents that fits the profile of a creative cluster that is already a trend in other cities. The city centre of Eindhoven has not proved successful in being a strongly urban centre. The cause might be based on the fact that Eindhoven is made up of a number of smaller villages, so that the intersection of these villages was not necessarily designed as an urban centre. The goal of Strijp S in the early phase was therefore to actually serve as a (new, or replacing) strongly urban centre of Eindhoven. Later, in the development of Strijp S, the ideas were born for a centre that allows meetings between the creative class and talents from the technology industry of Eindhoven, as well as a meeting point for many other groups in the city, such as families, young people, ethnic minorities and the elderly. The realization of a well-functioning creative centre in the former Philips industrial area Strijp S is certainly achievable, as Richards Florida himself admitted. Strijp S has sufficient connected authorities, residents and entrepreneurs, and just the right location and buildings (abandoned factories) to become a functioning and attractive creative cluster. The parties involved therefore see it as an opportunity to attract creative talent from outside and to retain talent emerging from Eindhoven itself. However, it remains to be seen whether the creative cluster will be successful in attracting outside talent and whether it will function as a productive creative centre. In addition to the city's contribution to education and entrepreneurship, the geographical location and time period must also be appropriate. In any case, the image of the city and the Strijp S district is of great importance for all factors that determine success, because before it can be successful, it must first be recognized.

In summation, the ways in which Strijp S is used to form Eindhoven's image can be cited on the basis of three larger developments. Firstly, after the departure of Philips, the image of Eindhoven was affected due to the

sudden loss of its biggest identity marker. A new interpretation was needed for the abandoned districts, as well as for the identity of Eindhoven. Strijp S can be perceived as part of an identity reform of Eindhoven, which is presented today as the city of Technology, Knowledge and Design. It becomes clear that Eindhoven was holding on to its old technological characteristic, originating from the industrial developments around Philips in the 20th century, but also wants to add a creative element, namely Design, and perhaps more importantly, Knowledge. In this way Eindhoven clearly participates in the creative knowledge economy and radiates this by following the trend of creative clusters, of which Strijp S is the result.

Secondly, the marketing strategy that is used in Eindhoven to attract 'talents' to the city is very similar to the strategy that is being used worldwide to attract the creative class. Nevertheless, the emphasis in Eindhoven is on creative talent within innovative and new technology sectors, rather than on the creative class. The purpose of this strategy is to fuel economic growth by recruiting creative, knowledge-based workers who provide innovative new products and services. Part of this strategy is to use Strijp S as an attractive attraction for these workers and other investors of the city, but the creative industry that is located here or elsewhere in the city as well as the Strijp S district is not necessarily included in this strategy.

The third effect of Strijp S on the urban image is making the outside world aware that Eindhoven is an interesting and progressive city ahead of many Dutch cities when it comes to international recognition. Strijp S alone has already won a number of prizes for the successful transformation of an abandoned industrial site to a vibrant creative heart. In addition, Eindhoven itself has already received a lot of recognition as the city has been awarded by several agencies, and ranks high on the lists of international cities with 'potential'. The ways in which Strijp S is used for the urban image of Eindhoven are therefore primarily directed to attracting international attention and recognition, with the ultimate prospect of better positioning itself in the global market of cities and the overarching knowledge economy.

Limitations

This qualitative research into the ways in which Strijp S is used in shaping Eindhoven's image can be more broadly based on the 'use' of creative industries or clusters in cities for brand recognition and international success. However, this research field is relatively new and many researcher criticize certain views and assumptions that are becoming quite popular around this topic. This research could be influenced by the same views and assumptions, although it is handled with a critical attitude.

In addition, no quantitative or empirical research has been conducted for this research. This research was based solely on public documentation and looked at precisely the ways in which a creative cluster could be used and how the marketing agency and the other authorities would or would not want to use the creative cluster. It has not been investigated how target groups feel about the image of the city, as their experience was of less

importance for answering the research question. Of course, however, it could have enriched the investigation if the city image would have been studied more specifically on the basis of target group experiences and beliefs.

In addition, the investigation could have gained more depth if more than two experts in the field were interviewed. After all, two interviews are not representative of all the information about the current state of affairs regarding the developments in Eindhoven and Strijp S. For this, more interviews would have to be conducted to be able to pinpoint the precise intentions of the parties involved. This would require more interviews to be conducted with interview candidates from other perspectives, such as entrepreneurs, residents or specific departments of the municipality of Eindhoven.

Finally, this research focuses specifically on the situation in Eindhoven, which is just one city in a large number of varying cities that include creative industries in their marketing strategy. If this research was conducted on other cities, different results might arise. Although the results of this study can apply to some aspects, it is difficult to draw general conclusions about the influence of creative industries and clusters on urban image and identity.

Recommendations for follow-up research
As the limitations of this study indicate, it is possible to expand this study by further investigating a number of aspects that have been discussed. It is interesting, for example, to add a third perspective to this study: that of the consumer. The consumer of the city is the resident, visitor and to a certain extent also the investor. Further research could therefore add the perspective of the consumer in order to get a better and more confidential picture of the image of Eindhoven and how it was actually affected by marketing efforts and other forms of visibility of the creative industries. In addition, it is of certain value to be able to conduct the same research into a different city. Precisely because it is a young and underdeveloped field of research, it may be relevant to make the same analysis of more cities, and to then investigate whether there are any patterns in the results that could indicate an actual effect of the creative industries on urban image.

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