



Jeannette Nijkamp

Counting on Creativity

The Creative Class as Antidote
for Neighbourhood Decline:
the Case of Rotterdam

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UNIVERSITY OF
APPLIED SCIENCES

Counting on Creativity

The Creative Class as Antidote for Neighbourhood Decline: the Case of Rotterdam

Inzetten op creativiteit

De creatieve klasse als remedie tegen het verval van wijken: de casus Rotterdam

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For my father, Wim Nijkamp († 27-04-2007)

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In 2009 I organised a programme for a delegation of researchers from the University of East London who came to visit the Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences. Part of this programme was a visit to a number of projects and activities in which Rotterdam University was involved, including the Creative Factory. Since 2008 this former grain warehouse has accommodated creative entrepreneurs, and until 2013 Rotterdam University was one of its sponsoring partners. Rotterdam University had furnished a space on the seventh floor where students could work on projects for the entrepreneurs, or on the start up of their own businesses. The visitors from London were very enthusiastic about the concept of the Creative Factory, as well as about the dynamics inside the building. After the visits to the projects, a brainstorming meeting took place about opportunities for cooperation between the University of East London and Rotterdam University, resulting in the outline of the research project 'Everybody on board'. This project, which was financed by the SIA RAAK-International programme, included a comparative study of the Creative Factory and the Chocolate Factory, an enterprise centre for creative entrepreneurs in London. It was agreed that I would do the research concerning the Creative Factory. In 2010 my work for this project resulted in the research proposal for my PhD thesis.

For this thesis, I investigated the Creative Factory and subsequently another initiative, Freehouse, which aims at stimulating the creative talents of neighbourhood residents. In both initiatives a considerable number of people participated with a lot of enthusiasm and commitment. Many of these people contributed to my research by answering my questions, participating in meetings or giving me background information, and I am grateful to them all. Without their help this dissertation could not have been written.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Dinner in the Rotterdam Afrikaanderwijk

In June 2013 two days of workshops took place in Rotterdam as part of an international project. This project was aimed at exchanging knowledge about possible contributions of the creative industries to the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods. The participants of these workshops were from the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Denmark. The theme of the first workshop was the financial sustainability of incubators, breeding grounds and enterprise centres for entrepreneurs working within the creative industries, many of which are located in deprived neighbourhoods. This workshop took place in one such initiative, namely the Creative Factory, which accommodates about 70 creative entrepreneurs (see figure 1.1). The Creative Factory is located at the intersection of the Rotterdam Afrikaanderwijk and two other neighbourhoods and offers a splendid view of the neighbourhood from the Sky-lobby on the seventh floor. All day long, we had been discussing ways to realise financial sustainability and the opportunities and drawbacks of being located in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. The Creative Factory is situated in an outstanding building, which is highly visible from a distance. However, there is also a lot of existing creative talent among the population of the Afrikaanderwijk which is not so visible. Therefore the central theme of the workshop on the second day was stimulating creativity and creative entrepreneurship among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Scheduled was a visit to several projects of Freehouse, a foundation located in the Afrikaanderwijk that aims at stimulating existing creative skills and talent of the local population and making these more prominent (see figure 1.2).



Figure 1.1: The Creative Factory
Source: Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences



Figure 1.2: Project of Freehouse

After the first day we had dinner at a Turkish restaurant at the Afrikaander square. As the weather was lovely, we were eating on the terrace in front of the restaurant. Suddenly, the peaceful atmosphere was disturbed. Several young Turkish men came running around the corner, one of them carrying a big piece of wood and looking as if he were about to administer a beating, and another man with his arm bleeding profusely. All diners arose from their chairs quickly and jumped backwards. The young men entered the restaurant and came out

a short time later, only to disappear around the corner again. Almost immediately, about ten police vans raced into the neighbourhood with blasting sirens, followed by a helicopter circling above our heads. The owner of the restaurant explained to every diner what had happened: at the fast food take-away around the corner, someone had been stabbed and the young men entering the terrace were looking for the offender. The owner excused himself extensively for what had happened. However, one of the guests sitting close to us remarked dryly that this took place here every week.

Stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods

The Afrikaanderwijk is a dynamic neighbourhood in South Rotterdam, which borrows its name from the street names based on South Africa. The Afrikaander square, where the market takes place every Wednesday and Saturday, is located in the centre of the neighbourhood. The Afrikaander market attracts residents from the wide surroundings, the majority of whom are of non-Dutch origin. The Afrikaanderwijk is bounded by a rail yard to the northeast, a street to the south and the harbour and subway to the west. Partly because of the presence of the rail yard, until recently the neighbourhood was isolated and had only limited connections with the adjacent neighbourhoods. The Afrikaanderwijk is one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, with an ethnically very diverse, relatively young, population, compared to the rest of Rotterdam. In this neighbourhood households have a relatively low income, one in five living on state benefits. Further, there is a high rate of school drop-outs and the quality of the housing stock is poor. Relatively often people feel unsafe and there is little social cohesion (Deetman & Mans, 2011).

Rotterdam has a considerable number of deprived neighbourhoods. The majority of the most deprived neighbourhoods are located in South Rotterdam. Over time, numerous initiatives have attempted to diminish the level of deprivation of these neighbourhoods. Some of these initiatives aimed at stimulating the creative industries, because since the 1980's the use of creativity and creative entrepreneurship for the benefit of urban regeneration has become more and more popular. Entrepreneurs and other professionals belonging to the creative industries, who are called the 'creative class' by Florida (2002), are supposed to be indispensable for the economic development of a city; therefore cities try to attract and retain these creative professionals. Florida considers creativity the most important source of economic growth, and therefore everybody's creativity should be used.

In order to stimulate creative entrepreneurship in and near the Afrikaanderwijk, several initiatives have been undertaken. One of these is the establishment of the Creative Factory, which offers accommodation to about 70 creative entrepreneurs and is located in the Maassilo, a former grain warehouse at the border of the Afrikaanderwijk. The Creative Factory mostly attracts creative entrepreneurs from outside the Afrikaanderwijk. However, there is also a lot

of creativity already present among the residents of the Afrikaanderwijk, an important part of which is not easily visible to outsiders. The Freehouse foundation aims at stimulating this creative talent and making it more prominent in order to strengthen the economic position of the residents and to increase their social-cultural self-awareness. Freehouse initiates several projects aimed at stimulating the development of creative entrepreneurship by tapping local creativity and bringing local skills together in collective production.

Problem statement

An important assumption often underlying projects stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods is that the presence of creative entrepreneurs contributes to the regeneration of these neighbourhoods. Besides contributing to the economic development of the neighbourhood (Florida, 2000), creative entrepreneurs are also assumed to bring more 'buzz' to the neighbourhood, which has a positive effect on the establishment of new cafés, restaurants and shops (Landry, 2000). This is supposed to be important for the quality of life of present and future inhabitants, as well as for attracting visitors, new inhabitants and new enterprises (Montgomery, 2007). However, there is a lot of ongoing debate if initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship actually contribute to urban regeneration.

Two case studies: the Creative Factory and Freehouse

This thesis will contribute to this debate by investigating the effects of two initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in the Rotterdam Afrikaanderwijk, namely the Creative Factory and Freehouse. As will be described in more detail in chapter 3, the Creative Factory is mainly aimed at stimulating economic activity in the area by attracting creative entrepreneurs to the neighbourhood. Opposed to this initiative, the projects initiated by Freehouse aim at improving the economic position of the residents of the Afrikaanderwijk and increasing their social-cultural self-awareness.

Research objectives

The first objective of this research is to get a thorough insight into what is going on within the two initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship and what effects these initiatives have on the regeneration of the neighbourhood. A second objective is to give more insight, by choosing two completely different initiatives, into possible effects of initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods, although this can only be a partial insight, as there may be other possible effects beyond the effects that will emerge by means of investigating these two initiatives.

Composition of the thesis

The next chapter contains a review of relevant literature pertaining to the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration. The aim of this review is to get more insight into the possible

contributions of creative entrepreneurs to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods. At the end of this chapter, the research questions will be specified and the methods used in order to collect data will be clarified. The third chapter elaborates on the history of urban development policies in the Netherlands in order to get a good understanding of the context of the two initiatives studied in this thesis. In this respect attention will also be paid to the policies concerning the development of the creative industries. First, the relevant national and urban developments will be outlined, followed by a zoom into the developments in South Rotterdam in general and in the Afrikaanderwijk in particular. Further, a short description will be given of the two initiatives that constitute the case studies of this thesis, namely the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse. The chapter will be finished by an explanation of how the fieldwork and the analysis of the data were conducted. Chapters 4 to 6 contain the analysis of the research results. Chapter 7 at last contains the final conclusions, a discussion of the broader implications of this research and some recommendations.



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Chapter 2

**The role of the creative industries in
urban regeneration**

This chapter contains a review of literature pertaining to the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration - in other words, in 'the transformation of a place – residential, commercial or open space – that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline' (Evans, 2005). The aim of this review is to provide an insight into the possible contributions that creative industries make to the regeneration of neighbourhoods in which they are located. At the end of the chapter, the research questions are specified and the methods used in order to collect data are clarified.

The terms 'cultural industries' and 'creative industries' are often used either interchangeably or together as 'cultural and creative industries' (Foord, 2008). The label 'creative industries' was coined in Australia to indicate the growing interface between commercial cultural activity and the emerging new media driven by technological change, and to draw attention to the entrepreneurial characteristics of these activities (risk-taking, self-starting, ideas-driven, lifestyle-based) and their resonance with the new knowledge economy (Cunningham, 2002; Foord, 2008). In the United Kingdom, the term 'creative industries' was extended in the 1990s to stress the economic contribution of commercial cultural productions, leisure activities and entertainment, as well as the economic potential of many subsidised cultural activities (DCMS, 1998). The creative industries were defined then as 'those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property'. They consisted of thirteen sub-sectors: advertising, architecture, the arts and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, and television and radio (DCMS, 1998).

Although this definition of the creative industries is widely acknowledged, several countries and cities have amended and supplemented the coverage of sub-sectors, particularly concerning IT/computing/software, non-specified content (intellectual property rights/copyright) industries and the retention of cultural activity (i.e. the subsidised/mixed-economy arts sector), which was largely excluded by the DCMS (Evans, 2009a). In the Netherlands, the following definition of TNO is most often used: 'The creative industries are a specific form of activities that yield products and services resulting from individual or collective creative labour and entrepreneurship. Content and symbolism are the most important elements of these products and services. They are purchased by consumers and commercial customers because they evoke a meaning. On this basis an experience arises. In this way the creative industries play an important role in the development and maintenance of lifestyles and cultural identities in society' (Rutten, Manshanden, Muskens & Koops, 2004: 19-20).

Three sub-sectors of the creative industries are distinguished: the media and entertainment industries, the arts and cultural heritage, and creative business services. The creation, production

and exploitation of symbolic material are counted as part of the creative industries, as meaning, entrepreneurship and creativity play a central role in these activities. However, the distribution and consumption of symbolic material are excluded. This implies that according to the TNO-definition software and computer services do not belong to the creative industries, contrary to the DCMS-definition (Rutten et al., 2004). Another difference is that the TNO-definition includes the subsidised arts sector, while the DCMS-definition largely excludes this sector.

The TNO-definition is an operational definition that goes with a list that indicates exactly which activities are part of the creative industries. In this list the activities are coded according to the standard classification of economic activities used in the Netherlands. This definition with accompanying list of activities is often used in research into the creative industries in the Netherlands, in particular for measuring the number of companies and the number of people employed. The international revision of the classification system of economic activities in 2008 was the cause of a reconsideration and adaptation of this list (Rutten, Koops & Roso, 2010).

In this thesis the TNO-definition is also used. However, the research of this thesis is not aimed at a quantitative analysis, as exact as possible, of specific sub-sectors of the creative industries, but at getting a thorough insight in a range of activities aimed at creative production, which takes place within the two examined initiatives, together with their accompanying effects. Therefore, the accompanying list of activities is not used. Instead of excluding a priori certain activities from the definition of the creative industries, for both initiatives it is investigated which activities the initiators mean by creative entrepreneurship. These activities are included in the definition of the creative industries that is used in this thesis. Furthermore, in this thesis entrepreneurs belonging to the creative industries are referred to as creative entrepreneurs.

2.1 PERSPECTIVES ON THE USE OF CREATIVITY IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

During the last few decades, the growing and increasingly multifaceted importance of creativity in urban development policies can be observed. From the 1990s onward, cultural planning has been high on the agendas of many urban policy makers (Kloosterman, 2013; Mommaas, 2004). Cultural planning can be defined as ‘the strategic and integrated planning and use of cultural resources in urban and community development’ (Evans & Foord, 2008: 72). In urban planning after the Second World War, several different strategies for incorporating culture can be distinguished (Evans & Foord, 2008; Kloosterman, 2013). Until about the mid-1970s, culture was seen as a merit good. Making culture available to everyone was considered to be an important public task. Civic cultural centres and neighbourhood facilities became very popular (Evans & Foord, 2008; Kloosterman, 2013)).

In the mid-1970s, culture changed into an economic resource for increasingly entrepreneurial urban governments. The rise of entrepreneurialism coincided with the need for urban governments to overcome the deep urban crisis that followed deindustrialisation, which had been accelerating for roughly a decade by that time and was causing a decline in employment. It also fit into a fundamental restructuring of urban government that was taking place concurrently, the result of which was a decline in significance throughout the 1980s of regulation in a largely top-down manner by national to local governments as redistributive subunits of its welfare and equal development policies (Heeg, Klagge, & Ossenbrügge, 2003). Instead, local policies increasingly pursued locational competition strategies with the aim of improving their economic performance. The main focus of urban cultural planning in these strategies was on constructing flagship amenities such as museums, theatres, and conference centres, with the aim of strengthening the image of cities and therefore their competitiveness at attracting tourists, professional workers and firms (Evans & Foord, 2008).

Around the turn of the twenty-first century, a new orientation of urban policy entered the stage: the creative city thesis. Partly replacing and partly supplementing the leading approach in the previous two decades, this thesis has since become a major guideline for urban policy. It was launched by urban theorists like Landry (*The Creative City*, 2000) and Hall (*Creative Cities and Economic Development*, 2000), and made increasingly popular among urban policy makers by Florida (*The Rise of the Creative Class*, 2002). In this thesis, creativity is considered as one of the main currencies of a city (Landry, 2000) and the most important source of economic growth (Florida, 2002). As people are a city's most crucial resource, cities must attract and foster talent in order to mobilise ideas, talents and creative organisations (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000). However, according to Florida, the key to economic growth lies not just in an ability to attract interesting people, but to translate that underlying advantage into creative economic outcomes in the form of new ideas, new high-tech businesses and regional growth.

Florida calls the people with creative talents who need to be attracted and retained 'the creative class'. The core of this creative class includes 'people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content' (Florida, 2002: 8). Around this core, the creative class also includes a broader group of creative professionals, consisting of knowledge-based workers in fields like business and finance, law, and health care. These people engage in complex problem solving, for which they need a great deal of independent judgement and high levels of education or human capital. In order to attract creative people, generate innovation and stimulate economic growth, cities need to offer 'the 3 T's of economic development', namely technology, talent and tolerance (Florida, 2002: 249). According to Florida, the creative class prefers to establish itself in cities with appropriate technological facilities and a great number of talented creative people. Moreover, creative people prefer places that are diverse,

tolerant and open to new ideas. Hence places that are diverse are more likely to attract different types of creative people with different skill sets and ideas. Florida's prescriptions for successful urban growth and development based on attracting the creative class soon became guidelines for local politicians and policy makers in many cities around the world.

With the creative city perspective, the focus of urban planning moved away from physical infrastructure and flagship projects and towards local cultural infrastructure, including both small-scale and alternative cultural amenities. This caused quality of place and especially of culture to become more and more of an issue in urban planning (Kloosterman, 2013; Trip, 2007). Cultural amenities are considered as a more integral part of the production milieu that can, together with shops, cafés and restaurants, create a particular atmosphere of urbanity, diversity and tolerance, which is supposed to attract creative producers and talent in general (Florida, 2002; Kloosterman, 2013). Thus, they can contribute not only to the physical regeneration of a neighbourhood, but also to its economic and social regeneration. Alongside this people-oriented approach Foord (2008) distinguishes six broad categories of practical interventions to support creative enterprises, namely property and premises strategies; business development, advice and network building; direct grants and loans schemes to creative businesses; fiscal initiatives; physical and IT infrastructure; and soft infrastructure.

The economic rationale remained prevalent in urban development policies aiming at stimulating the creative industries. Overall, these policies combine business and people-oriented approaches, aiming in particular at supporting creative industries as generators of innovation and economic growth and at improving quality of place (e.g. Bandarin, 2011; Foord, 2008; Trip & Romein, 2013). In an international survey of public policies and strategic plans to support and promote creative industry development, Foord distinguishes eight other primary policy rationales alongside or interwoven with economic development and employment: infrastructure; education and training; tourism/events; city branding; social/access; amenities/quality of life; heritage; and last but not least urban regeneration. Moreover, many of these had different and arguably contradictory strategic goals, some of the most important goals being social inclusion; development of social capital; community cultural programming; and creation of tourist venues and visitor economies (Foord, 2008: 92). These different strategic goals include economic, social and physical developments.

In existing literature, several dimensions of initiatives that use culture and creativity for urban regeneration have been described, four of which are summarised below. These four dimensions, which offer different perspectives on the initiatives, respectively concern: integrating creativity at different levels in urban regeneration processes, stimulating creative production or creative consumption, the aim of cultural democratisation or cultural democracy, and targeting particular areas or its residents.

2.1.1 Levels of integration of creativity in urban regeneration

Creative city policies incorporate creativity into urban regeneration processes to different degrees. Evans (2005: 967-70) has distinguished three models of the integration of cultural activities. In the first model, *culture-led regeneration*, cultural activity is considered an engine of regeneration and functions as a catalyst. It is frequently cited as a sign of regeneration that creates distinctiveness and causes excitement in places. It often has a high public profile, as for instance with the redevelopment of eye-catching buildings for new uses, the reclamation of open spaces for festivals and events, or the introduction of programmes to rebrand a place. Contrary to non-cultural regeneration activities, like mainstream housing and office and retail developments, these activities claim uniqueness. The second model, *cultural regeneration*, integrates cultural activity into area regeneration strategies on a more equal standing with other activities in the environmental, social and economic spheres. Finally, in the third model, *culture and regeneration*, cultural activity is not fully integrated into urban regeneration strategies at all. Often, a cause of this is that the responsibilities for cultural provision and for regeneration are divided among different departments, or no department takes the lead.

2.1.2 Creative production and consumption

The objective of using culture in urban regeneration strategies can be either the stimulation of 'cultural production' or of 'cultural consumption' (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Colomb, 2011). This distinction between the production perspective and the consumption perspective also applies to the creative industries in general (Romein & Trip, 2012). Strategies focusing on production are business-oriented and aim at encouraging the spatial clustering of the creative industries that are seen as generators of jobs and money. Strategies for consumption are people-oriented and focus on the promotion of artistic, cultural, leisure and entertainment facilities, which are used to attract investors, firms, tourists and the creative class in an inter-city competition. In practice, cultural regeneration strategies often combine both approaches (Colomb, 2011). The supposed economic and social benefits of these strategies for urban regeneration can be divided into three strands: the exploitation of cultural resources to brand the city; the contribution of 'creative quarters' and the creative industries to the city's economy; and the contribution of culture to social cohesion and urban identity (Bassett et al. 2005; Colomb, 2011).

2.1.3 Cultural democratisation and cultural democracy

Investments in culture have been increasingly justified using their supposed contributions to social objectives. Meanwhile, traditional social policies have also started to integrate culture, as participation in cultural activities has been deemed to increase people's self-esteem and individual skills, to encourage the establishment of social networks, and to form the basis for participation in economic activities that lead to economic growth (Bassett et al., 2005; Colomb, 2011). Two models of cultural regeneration for social purposes can be distinguished. The first

focuses on 'cultural democratisation', which concerns making conventional culture more accessible through outreach activities. The second model aims at 'cultural democracy', taking as a starting point the community itself and seeking to facilitate arts practices in order to increase the self-confidence of communities and individuals. The latter recognises the validity of indigenous cultures and seeks to empower those cultures by providing them with a springboard from which they can discover their own creativity (Bailey, Miles, & Stark, 2004; Colomb, 2011).

2.1.4 Area-targeted and people-targeted projects

For a number of years the designation 'area-targeted' has been used by various municipalities to indicate their way of working. The municipality of Rotterdam also works in this way, whereby the board of Rotterdam formulated the following definition in 2008: 'Area-targeted working is working based on the issues of the neighbourhood, cooperating with citizens, entrepreneurs and all partners that are active in the neighbourhood, in order to develop, execute and implement policies fitting in with the specific characteristics and issues of the concerning neighbourhood and the target groups within that neighbourhood' (Rekenkamer Rotterdam, 2012).

Before as well as after the introduction of working in an area-targeted way, numerous projects were launched aimed at the improvement of the socio-economic conditions in Rotterdam's deprived neighbourhoods. Ouwehand and Van Meijeren (2006) distinguish two different types of such projects: projects aimed at the retention and/or attraction of enterprises in a neighbourhood and projects aimed at improving the economic position of the residents of a neighbourhood. The first type of projects is targeted at the area, the neighbourhood being the geographical domain where economic activity is stimulated or retained. The second type of projects is targeted at the people in the area. In those projects the neighbourhood is considered as a set of residents needing above average support to extend their employment opportunities. Some projects are targeted at both the area and the people to more or less the same degree (Ouwehand & Van Meijeren, 2006).

Ouwehand and Van Meijeren divide both the area-targeted and the people-targeted projects into physical and non-physical projects. Area-targeted physical measures are taken in the first place to reinforce economic activities in a certain area. These measures are either not aimed at the economic emancipation of the residents of a neighbourhood or are less aimed in that direction. Examples include the construction or renovation of shop-premises and the reuse of old buildings. Area-targeted non-physical measures comprise initiatives to reinforce economic activities in a certain area without physical intervention, for instance projects aimed at improving the image of the area. The category people-targeted physical measures contains among other things initiatives that create conditions for people-targeted non-physical projects to stimulate the economy, like the realisation of accommodation for courses and the construction of a fibreglass network. Finally, people-targeted non-physical measures, for example the

provision of internships or coaching of entrepreneurs, offer residents of a neighbourhood a better perspective on the labour market.

Relevance for this thesis

From the preceding text it becomes clear that various policy rationales for stimulating creative entrepreneurship can be distinguished, one of which is urban regeneration. Generally initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship aimed at urban regeneration have other policy rationales at the same time, with different, often contradictory, goals. Further, these initiatives have several dimensions, offering different perspectives on the initiative. In such initiatives various stakeholders are involved, with all of these stakeholders looking at the initiative from their own perspectives, related to their own interests. Usually stakeholders involved in one and the same initiative have diverse interests in the initiative, resulting in multiple, often conflicting, goals and motivations for being involved. In this thesis the interests, motivations and goals of the stakeholders involved in the two initiatives studied, namely the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse, will be investigated.

2.2 RESOURCES

The planning and use of creative resources in urban development differs across places (Kloosterman, 2013). An obvious difference is that in many European countries the state has a much larger role than in the US. However, in these European countries this role of the state has also changed over time. Until about the mid-1970s, the emphasis pertaining to the use of creativity was laid on providing cultural amenities, like civic cultural centres and neighbourhood facilities (Evans & Foord, 2008: 71), which were usually funded by the state (Kloosterman, 2013). Since the 1970s and 1980s, culture and creativity were considered as economic resources and various shifts took place in the nature of public support. On the one hand funding by non-governmental agencies such as civic associations, foundations and public-private partnerships more and more complemented public funding (Scott, 2006). On the other hand the role of municipal authorities and other local agencies in stimulating creative entrepreneurship has increased, for example by providing specialised infrastructures like research laboratories and design centres, or subsidizing specialised education and training activities (Scott, 2006). Instead of emphasising the provision of basic services, infrastructure and welfare, local governments have put an increasing emphasis on place branding and security, often by means of public-private partnerships (Catungal, Leslie, & Hii, 2009; Peck, 2005). Pratt (2011) remarks that as culture and creativity are often used for economic and social purposes, the money spent on cultural projects mainly comes from regeneration or social inclusion budgets, as 'intrinsic culture is very low on the agenda, or usually appears as "icing on the cake"' (Pratt, 2011: 127).

However, because of the financial crisis after 2010 a phase of austerity was entered, in which governmental spending had to be reduced drastically. This resulted in a retreat of the state from the field of urban planning (Kloosterman, 2013; Peck, 2012), including the stimulation of creative entrepreneurship. Several authors warn against the consequences of this withdrawal. Donald, Gertler and Tyler (2013) found that although the creative industries have traditionally been dominated by riskier forms of work than other sectors, national and regional institutions are important in order to mitigate the effects of a downturn. Based on their research they challenge the commonly held view that liberal market economies provide a stronger institutional context for stimulating entrepreneurship, innovation and risk-taking among creative professionals. According to Kloosterman (2013) even in an age of austerity investing in cultural amenities is useful, because these amenities are important for the quality of place and the related attraction and retention of high-skilled workers. Moreover, EU policy rules forbid many other growth-stimulating policies such as direct subsidies to firms.

Relevance for this thesis

In this thesis it will be investigated where the resources used by the Creative Factory and the projects of Freehouse come from. Which stakeholders contribute to these initiatives and in which ways? Special attention will be paid to the role and contribution of the local government and whether and how this contribution has changed over time. Further, attention will also be paid to public-private partnerships, as well as partnerships among private organisations.

2.3 SPATIAL SCOPE OF CREATIVITY IN URBAN REGENERATION

Creative clusters have become a prominent element of many national, regional and local development strategies, as these clusters are considered to contribute to urban regeneration and economic development (De Jong, 2014; Musterd, Bontje, Chapain, Kovács, & Murie, 2007). In the literature different cluster concepts can be distinguished (De Jong, 2014; Musterd, 2007). The creative cluster or quarter usually is a local and well-defined physical entity and space where creative enterprises are located in a specific building or neighbourhood. On the contrary, the cluster concept introduced by Porter (1998) generally is wider in space, relating to an industrial district (Musterd et al., 2007). According to Porter, 'Clusters are geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field. Clusters encompass an array of linked industries and other entities important to competition' (Porter, 1998: 78). Examples of these other entities are suppliers of specialised inputs and infrastructure, customers, manufacturers of complementary products and governmental and knowledge institutions.

Landry (2000) uses the concept of a creative milieu, which he defines as a physical place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region – 'where a critical mass of

entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success' (Landry, 2000: 133). In order to establish such a creative milieu, he considers the clustering of talent, skill and support infrastructures essential.

Mommaas (2004) identifies several possible rationales for the creation of cultural clusters, including stimulating the local cultural democracy and diversity, a stronger positioning of cultural amenities and urban quarters, the revitalisation and renewal of art and culture, finding a new use for cultural heritage and stimulating the cultural economy. He stresses that these different rationales ask for different clustering strategies and support structures.

Clusters are expected to stimulate the development of trust, knowledge, inspiration, exchange and innovation in an environment characterised by high levels of risk and uncertainty (Banks, Lovatt, O'Connor, & Raffo, 2000). Co-location of sector-related firms is supposed to have a positive influence on their competitiveness and innovativeness, as it facilitates access to collective resources like specialized labour markets and infrastructure and provides a stimulating mix of competition and collaboration (Fromhold-Eisebith & Eisebith, 2005). Physical proximity between enterprises facilitates mutual cooperation offering advantages including informal and formal economies of scale, spreading risk in R&D and information sharing through networks (Evans, 2009b). This mutual cooperation is supposed to lead to a reduction of transaction costs, an acceleration of the circulation of capital and information and a reinforcement of transactional modes based on social solidarity (Scott, 2000). These clusters can work both as an informal, lifestyle environment and as a 'brand', promoting trust amongst potential clients, which is especially important for smaller creative entrepreneurs, as larger enterprises can do without both (Mommaas, 2004). Moreover, clusters can stimulate learning and knowledge creation based on linkages of co-located firms and their interaction with education, R&D and other organizations nearby (Fromhold-Eisebith & Eisebith, 2005).

However, in practice creative clusters often do not exploit cluster benefits, as they simply co-locate creative entrepreneurs, without realising much collective self-governance and intracluster exchange (De Jong, 2014; Mommaas, 2004). In order to take advantage of these cluster benefits, spacial concentration has to be supported by the establishment of collaborative networks of interaction and exchange, this being especially important as the nature of the activities of creative enterprises is closely related to innovation and knowledge creation (Comunian, 2012; De Jong, 2014; Sacco, Ferilli, Blessi & Nuccio, 2013a; Scott, 2006). The creation of a truly participatory culture at the start of the cluster, with dense, solid networks allowing local actors to join forces around a shared developmental vision improves its chances to be successful (Sacco, Ferilli, Blessi & Nuccio, 2013b). An important aspect of a cluster is the degree

of embeddedness of its entrepreneurs (Musterd et al., 2007), where embeddedness can be defined as 'the incorporation of firms into place-based networks involving trust, reciprocity, loyalty, collaboration, cooperation and a whole raft of untraded interdependencies' (Taylor, 2005: 70). Besides the strong ties provided by the networks in which the creative entrepreneurs are embedded, they also need weak ties consisting of much looser relationships among various networks (Granovetter, 1973). Weak ties provide the entrepreneurs with a much wider range of information and signals than strong ties do, but this information is usually less consistent and reliable. Weak ties are very important for a creative city, because they enable the rapid entry of new people and the quick absorption of new ideas (Florida, 2002: 277). Concentrations of diverse mixes of people with a lot of weak ties are more likely to generate new combinations, to speed the flow of knowledge and to lead to higher rates of innovation, high-technology business formation, job generation and economic growth. The ideal network environment for creative entrepreneurs therefore, is 'one that involves some balanced mix of strong and weak ties so that individuals on the reception side are likely to pick up an extremely varied mix of stimuli' (Scott, 2006: 5). Further, there is a need for talented and charismatic persons who can act as initiators and offer leadership, ensure the governance of the process and realise effective decision-making (Musterd et al., 2007; Sacco et al., 2013b).

In the past, entrepreneurs relied heavily on so-called 'hard location factors' in order to choose their location. Examples of such hard factors are rent levels, the availability of office space, accessibility, local and national tax regimes, and other regulations and laws affecting the functioning of enterprises (Musterd et al., 2007). Although these hard location factors are still very important for choosing locations, soft location factors have gained in importance during recent decades. These include, for example, the attractiveness of the residential environment, the tolerance of alternative lifestyles and ethnic diversity, and the availability of meeting places for business and leisure purposes (Musterd et al., 2007). Various authors have stressed different soft location factors. Landry (2000) has emphasised the institutional context, elements of which are research institutes, educational establishments, cultural facilities and other meeting places. Florida (2002) has focused on the quality of place, which 'refers to the unique set of characteristics that define a place and make it attractive' (Florida, 2002: 231). According to Florida, quality of place has three dimensions: 1) what is there? (a combination of the built and natural environment); 2) who is there? (the diverse kinds of people and their interactions); and 3) what is going on? (the buzz caused by the street life, café culture, arts, music and people participating in outdoor activities) (ibid.: 232). Notwithstanding their different accents, both Landry and Florida stress that spaces where people can meet are important for a city to attract talented people (Musterd et al., 2007). Further, alongside the importance of a good atmosphere, Landry stresses the importance of a good balance between global orientation and local authenticity. A combination of 'local buzz and global pipelines' helps develop an overall culture of entrepreneurship, because 'a vibrancy fostered by a local talent pool generates learning processes embedded

within a community, and channels of external communication built to reach selected outsiders speed up knowledge and technology transfer' (Landry, 2008: xxiii)¹.

Based on a literature review and empirical research, De Jong (2014: 53) identifies five soft factors that are critical for the well-functioning of a creative cluster, namely facilitating a learning infrastructure by programming networked and individual learning events; selecting enterprises in such a way that the diversity concerning life phase, discipline and attitude is balanced; ensuring business support and easy access to experts; ensuring presentation possibilities; and contributing to a collective identity, facilitated by internal and external communication and social media.

There are different spatial scopes of the use of creativity in urban regeneration. Some examples are presented in the text below.²

Art spaces

Art spaces are an example of small-scope creative institutions. With a case study of art spaces in the Dallas – Fort Worth area, Grodach (2011) has investigated how these spaces can support community and economic development. He describes art spaces as institutions that 'present a more eclectic range of work from traditional folk art to the experimental, often do not possess a resident company or permanent collection, and frequently work closely with local artists' (Grodach, 2011: 74). Their most important contribution to community development is serving 'as a conduit for building the social networks and social capital that contribute to both community revitalization and artistic development' (ibid.: 75). He identifies four types of art spaces (ibid.: 77):

1. Artist cooperatives: established, managed and owned cooperatively by artists;
2. Arts incubators: offer various kinds of cheap assistance and space to arts organisations, arts-related businesses or artists;
3. Ethnic-specific art spaces: display art, history and culture from a specific ethnic group;
4. Community arts or cultural centres: maintain a place-based service area and focus more on arts consumption and participation than on artistic production.

Moreover, from previous research Grodach also identifies five ways in which various types of art spaces may contribute to urban regeneration, in particular community and economic development (ibid.: 76, 78-81):

1. By functioning as neighbourhood anchors that boost local tourism and consumption and improve locals' quality of life. This can be done by inhabiting vacant buildings, by

¹ Landry mentions this explicitly in the overview chapter that has been added in the 2nd edition of his book 'The creative city. A toolkit for urban innovators' (Landry, 2008). Apart from this addition and a few minor updates, the text of the 2nd edition is the same as in the original edition (Landry, 2000).

² These examples have been described before in Romein, Nijkamp and Trip (2013).

saving historical structures from demolition, or by attracting artists and audiences from outside the area with active exhibition and presentation schedules;

2. Providing forms of community outreach. These include arts education programmes in the neighbourhood and occupational development projects, which are often aimed at offering opportunities for active participation in the arts to groups who normally have limited access to these activities, and occasionally at supporting these groups in starting their own cultural business;
3. Incubating new talent to stimulate their creativity by providing work and display space, shared office services and equipment, and support in developing their artistic and business skills;
4. Providing space in a community centre for artists to display their work in an environment where they can take advantage of mentoring, peer review, and discussion;
5. Building up social capital. For individuals, this may reinforce social networks that offer them access to new resources and opportunities that encourage interaction and collaboration across cultural sectors.

Creative business incubators and enterprise centres

Grodach (2011) has mentioned the arts incubator (2.) as one of the kinds of art spaces that may contribute to neighbourhood regeneration. The arts incubator can be considered as a specific kind of the enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs that are mushrooming everywhere. These creative enterprise centres are managed workspaces that combine aspects of the old artists' studio space with the serviced office space model for desk-based micro-businesses, and make available suitable meeting rooms and facilities (Montgomery, 2007). These managed workspaces are normally concentrated in single buildings, from large and distinct obsolete factories and warehouses to vacant schools, office buildings, railway stations, army barracks, and police and fire stations. In his discussion of best practice case study examples of managed workspaces for creative businesses in the UK, Ireland, Europe and Australia, Montgomery mentions several business models, including the creative business incubator. He concludes that creative 'managed workspaces and incubators are closely linked to local regeneration strategies, often playing a pivotal role in attracting other types of activity and changing perceptions of the area' (Montgomery, 2007: 616). Besides quantifiable outputs like space for work and for cultural and community use, and like jobs, training places and visitor numbers, they can also generate outputs which can not easily be quantified, as for instance the 'buzz' and sense of excitement of a place (Montgomery, 2007).

Creative and cultural quarters

A tendency in policy aimed at stimulating cultural and creative activities (i.e. artists, firms, and supporting services) is to cluster these activities in distinct areas that hence come to contain a high concentration of such activities (Evans, 2009b; Mommaas, 2004; Tremblay & Battaglia,

2012). Tremblay and Battaglia typify cultural quarters as spaces with a high level of historic preservation and conservation and that are identified as festival and cultural centres. Creative quarters show more mixed uses, with diversity and design qualities in terms of buildings, facilities and urban landscapes. Often, cultural and creative features are present in the same quarter, which then develops a multi-dimensional identity and multi-functional uses (Tremblay & Battaglia, 2012).

The synergy of complementary cultural experiences in close proximity is also deemed to be advantageous for the city as a whole, as it boosts the number of visitors. However, the policy shift towards creating spaces, quarters and milieus for culture and creativity does not only aim at attracting more visitors, but also at urban regeneration. Due to the spatial size and diversity of activities, but also to the social networks and commercial linkages that develop both within the quarter and with the urban surroundings, cultural and creative quarters have more impact on urban regeneration than do single artists or designers spread across different neighbourhoods.

Based on research in Raval (Barcelona) and Mile End (Montreal), Tremblay and Battaglia (2012: 66) mention several characteristics that a cultural quarter should have in order to contribute to the regeneration of an area in the city:

1. Improve the regeneration of a geographical area;
2. Cluster, as a physical and creative hub, cultural, social and economic activities;
3. Act as a catalyst for the production and consumption of cultural services;
4. Facilitate the participation of local communities;
5. Support and maintain artists' galleries and studios, while at the same time protecting the quarter from intensive gentrification and real estate interests;
6. Improve the quality of life for people living and working in the quarter;
7. Reinforce local development through partnerships between local institutions and other economic and productive sectors.

Relevance for this thesis

In this section it has become clear that creative clusters can offer considerable advantages. However, in order to fully exploit these cluster benefits, several conditions have to be fulfilled, an important condition being that the spatial concentration of enterprises is supported by the establishment of collaborative networks of interaction and exchange. Further, it has been shown that both hard and soft location factors are considered by creative entrepreneurs when deciding where to locate. Finally, some examples of different levels of spatial scope of creativity in urban regeneration have been given.

In the Creative Factory and in the projects initiated by Freehouse, creative entrepreneurs and neighbourhood residents with creative talents respectively are co-located as will be elaborated in chapter 5. However, the two projects have different levels of spatial scope, the scope of the Creative Factory being limited to one building, whereas the scope of the projects of Freehouse is wider. In this thesis it will be investigated how the people involved in both projects cooperate and what role physical proximity plays in this cooperation.

2.4 CONTRIBUTION OF THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES TO URBAN REGENERATION

An important issue when assessing the contribution of the creative industries to urban regeneration is the question of who within the neighbourhood benefits from this regeneration. Many authors have criticised Florida's (2002) creative city thesis for aiming primarily at creating favourable urban environments to attract a new urban elite, rather than improving problematic living conditions of the current residents of deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. Jarvis, Lambie, & Berkeley, 2009; Peck, 2005). Based on research on Baltimore, Ponzini and Rossi (2010) conclude that the creative city policy generates an uneven distribution of power, in which '...cultural actors can either be losers or winners...; the political élites and their more closely associated institutional partners can opportunistically benefit from these strategies...; the less affluent communities of urban-dwellers are those not gaining any direct and immediate benefit from a creative class policy and are those who are...affected by the rise in housing prices and living costs that spatial revitalisation brings on the local level' (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010: 1053-1054).

Looking at the role of place-making strategies in the making of Liberty Village, a creative hub in Toronto's inner city, Catungal et al. (2009) have argued that, by nature, place-making leads to displacement of particular images, peoples and behaviours from an area in order to forge a unique identity for that space. They conclude that the creative city in actual practice is often limited to corporate, firm-based creative industries. This becomes apparent in the fact that creative city initiatives that succeed in contributing to inner-city renewal and the formation of business clusters actually fail to address accompanying urban problems like inequality, working poverty, racial exclusion and gentrification (Catungal et al., 2009). Gentrification refers to the issue that the process of regeneration can improve a specific neighbourhood, while at the same time leading to the expulsion of its inhabitants in favour of new, rich arrivals (Tremblay & Battaglia, 2012). Gentrification may be detrimental to neighbourhoods, including their creative entrepreneurs and artists (Zukin, 2010), as it comes at the expense of both authentic symbolic values and affordable real estate.

In an effort to relate the socio-spatial structure of cities to indicators of economic performance, Musterd (2006) found no evidence that cities that are more socially integrative are performing better in economic terms, or are more attractive for employees who are working in the city's businesses. Although people working in the creative sector prefer typically urban locations, characterised by functional and physical variety and having a socially and culturally relatively mixed population, 'the pressure on these areas results in a tendency for those who can afford most to take over these areas' (Musterd, 2006: 1338).

Cheshire (2009) argues that policies aimed at realising mixed communities, which were originally formulated based on a firm belief in improving peoples' lives by improving the built environment, are mainly faith-based. He concludes that 'evidence of any significant additional negative effects of living in deprived neighbourhoods (compared to the fact of poverty and the factors which tend to make someone poor in the first place) is very elusive' (Cheshire, 2009: 372). On the contrary, living in specialized neighbourhoods with other complementary and similar households seems to provide welfare as well as productivity benefits, the latter because of better labour market networking and matching. As the fact that disadvantaged people are concentrated in poor neighbourhoods does not demonstrate that poor neighbourhoods are a cause of disadvantage, Cheshire pleads for policies aimed at reducing income inequality in society; these policies are what Ouwehand and Van Meijeren (2006) call people-targeted measures. Income inequality should be reduced instead of building mixed communities or improving the built environment in such communities, which are area-targeted measures which may displace poorer people to even less attractive neighbourhoods: 'Policies should help people and people who are effectively helped have an increased probability of moving away from the poor neighbourhoods in which they currently live. This, in turn, is likely to make the indicators for those poor neighbourhoods worse rather than better, but that does not mean that the policy was not a success' (Cheshire, 2009: 373).

Jarvis et al. (2009) on the contrary do promote physical regeneration. They argue that stimulating the creative industries is not a panacea for economic regeneration because such a policy can result in polarised and unstable economic development (Oakley, 2004). Another important issue is the sustainability of such policies. Concerning the supposed contribution to social inclusion, Jarvis et al. (2009) note that the creative industries are promoting diversity in terms of the variation of the cultural backgrounds of the people employed, while at the same time resulting in the employment of an almost exclusively graduate level workforce. Another risk is that particular cultures will become dominant within the creative industries (Landry, 2000). Jarvis et al. (2009) found that the creative industries can play an important role in improving the liveability of a neighbourhood; therefore they plead for supporting initiatives which improve the quality of place (Florida, 2002) by fostering links between the creative industries and physical regeneration, either in terms of public art or physical developments. Further, instead

of considering the creative industries as a generic tool for economic regeneration and job creation, they suggest that it is probably more effective to focus on particular niches within the creative industries which 'can be harnessed to stimulate physical redevelopment and to promote an area as a vibrant and innovative place to do business. This in itself will help to foster growth' (Jarvis et al., 2009: 373).

The term 'trickle-down effect' is used in the urban regeneration discourse to refer to the effects that cultural investments, e.g. in flagship projects and events, are supposed to have on a deprived area and its residents (Colomb, 2011). Several authors suggest that although it is often assumed that culture-led regeneration has a trickle-down effect enhancing the quality of life of the wider community, this may be most successful in situations where it engages with a pre-existing collective sense of local identity (Bailey et al., 2004; Jarvis et al., 2009). Based on the results of investigating cultural policies in North East England, Bailey et al. (2004) suggest that the success of these policies may partly be attributed to the fact that 'they sought simultaneously to promote both the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy: to in effect trickle-down and trickle-up' (Bailey et al., 2004: 61). Consequently, they hint at an alternative model to that of culture-led regeneration that is far more flexible and puts culture back at the heart of cultural policy.

While analysing cultural regeneration strategies in Roubaix in France, Colomb (2011) found that strong and proactive forms of political and public intervention at various scales are essential in order for cultural investments to trickle down to deprived populations. Further, she concludes that culture-led or cultural regeneration projects 'are limited by their inherent instrumentalisation of culture as a tool to make up for the failures of the labour market, of the educational system and of the welfare state. Using culture for urban regeneration purposes can only be one element in a larger puzzle of policy interventions in the fields of housing, education, training, employment and welfare, many of which are beyond the remit of local planning, urban regeneration and urban development professionals' (Colomb, 2011: 95).

Relevance for this thesis

In the preceding text various possible effects of creative city initiatives on urban regeneration have been distinguished. However, evidence of these effects supplied by the relevant literature is not univocal and often contradictory. Further, it has become apparent that not all people involved in creative city initiatives benefit from these initiatives equally, as these initiatives often fail to improve problematic living conditions of the current residents of deprived neighbourhoods. In this thesis the effects of the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse will be investigated, whereby attention will be paid to the different types of effects that can be distinguished. The focus will be on the effects concerning the economic and social development of the residents of the Afrikaanderwijk as well as on the effects on the quality

of place of the neighbourhood. Further, when investigating the effects of different urban regeneration strategies, both Cheshire and Jarvis distinguish between what Ouweland and Van Meijeren (2006) call people-targeted and area-targeted initiatives (Cheshire, 2009; Jarvis et al., 2009). Although their findings concerning the contributions of both types of projects to urban regeneration are partly contradictory, especially with regard to the effectiveness of physical interventions, this appears to be a useful distinction for both of them. The expectation is that this distinction will also be fruitful for this thesis, leading to a variety of possible effects of initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods becoming visible, which is one of the main objectives of this research. Therefore this distinction between people-targeted and area-targeted initiatives has also been used as a criterion for the selection of the two initiatives that are investigated in this thesis.

2.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

As was mentioned previously in the first chapter, an important assumption that is often underlying initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods is that the presence of creative entrepreneurs contributes to the regeneration of those neighbourhoods. However, from the review of the relevant literature summarized in this chapter it becomes clear that there is a lot of ongoing debate concerning the question of whether this assumption is valid, and if so, under which conditions. This thesis will contribute to this debate by investigating the effects of two initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in the Afrikaanderwijk in South Rotterdam, namely the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse.

Research questions

Based on the literature review the following four research questions are formulated:

1. What are the interests, motivations and goals of the stakeholders involved in the two initiatives?
2. Which stakeholders contribute to these two initiatives financially or in kind, and in which ways do they contribute?
3. How do the creative entrepreneurs cooperate within the two initiatives and what is the role of physical proximity in this cooperation?
4. What are the effects of the two initiatives on the regeneration of the neighbourhood?

The effects of the two initiatives will be investigated and described from the perspective of the stakeholders involved in the initiatives. The two initiatives will be investigated by means of an ideographic case study consisting of two cases, as in this type of case study the emphasis is on a detailed description of a phenomenon in order to get a better understanding of that phenomenon ('verstehen') (Braster, 2000). This ideographic case study will result in an in-depth

description of the two initiatives in order to get a better understanding of the effects of both initiatives. Not only will the facts and behaviours be described, but also the opinions and motivations of the different stakeholders will explicitly be included and interpreted. This will result in what Geertz (1973) refers to as a thick description, in which not only the human behaviour is explained, but its context as well, in order for this behaviour to become meaningful to an outsider.

Methods

In order to acquire rich data from a range of perspectives, multiple methods are used for data collection, namely literature review, document analysis, in-depth interviewing, focus groups, participatory observation and informal conversations. Triangulation of methods and data is used in order to get as balanced an insight as possible.

Different types of data are collected in order to achieve the following three objectives:

1. Review of relevant literature pertaining to the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration; this has been presented in the preceding chapter;
2. Thick description of the context of the two initiatives, consisting of a historic overview of urban development in the Netherlands in general and in South Rotterdam and the Afrikaanderwijk in particular, together with a summary of creative industries policies on different levels; these will be presented in chapter 3;
3. Thick description of the two initiatives, including an analysis of the opinions and motivations of the stakeholders involved, their contributions to the initiatives, the way in which they cooperate and the effects of the initiatives on the regeneration of the neighbourhood; this thick description will be presented in chapters 4 to 6.

Choice of the two initiatives

As was mentioned before, Rotterdam has a considerable number of deprived neighbourhoods, which are mostly located in South Rotterdam. Huge socio-economic problems exist in the seven most deprived of these neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam, one of which is the Afrikaanderwijk. Although those problems also occur in deprived neighbourhoods in other big and medium-sized Dutch cities, the scale of the problems causes South Rotterdam to fall behind these other cities (Deetman & Mans, 2011). Therefore South Rotterdam provides a particularly interesting case for studying the effects of creative entrepreneurship on deprived neighbourhoods. In the terminology of Patton (1990) the choice of South Rotterdam is a case of purposeful sampling, where South Rotterdam can be considered more as an extreme case than as a typical one. However, as these socio-economic problems do also occur in other big and medium-sized Dutch cities, albeit on a smaller scale, it is not that extreme a case.

As it turns out from the literature review and the introduction in the first chapter, many initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship have been started in deprived neighbourhoods

in miscellaneous cities within and outside the Netherlands, including Rotterdam and South Rotterdam in particular. The two initiatives that are studied in this thesis have been strategically chosen by means of mixed purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990), implying both theory-based sampling³ and sampling of politically important cases⁴. For this sampling the following four considerations have been taken into account:

1. Both initiatives aim at stimulating creative entrepreneurship.
2. Both initiatives are physically situated in South Rotterdam, in or at the border of the same neighbourhood.
3. One of the initiatives is area-targeted, whereas the other initiative is people-targeted. This criterion is theory-based on the distinction of Ouwehand and Van Meijeren (2006) between people-targeted and area-targeted initiatives, which was used by both Cheshire and Jarvis et al. for investigating the effects of different urban regeneration strategies (Cheshire, 2009; Jarvis et al., 2009). The expectation is that this distinction will also be fruitful for this thesis, leading to a variety of possible effects of initiatives aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods becoming visible, which is one of the main objectives of this research.
4. Both initiatives are politically important.

This has resulted in the selection of the Creative Factory and Freehouse. These two initiatives aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship are located within and at the border of the Afrikaanderwijk respectively. The Creative Factory is mainly aimed at stimulating economic activity in the area by attracting creative entrepreneurs to the neighbourhood. Opposed to this area-targeted initiative, Freehouse is a mainly people-targeted initiative, aimed at improving the economic position of the neighbourhood residents. Both initiatives are politically important, which is demonstrated by the fact that they have both attracted significant political attention during the years, which will become clear in the following chapters.

In this chapter a review of relevant literature pertaining to the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration has been presented. This review will be used to direct the analysis of the effects of the two initiatives. In order to get a thorough understanding of these initiatives, it is also important to gain insight into the context of the initiatives. Therefore, in the next chapter a historic overview of urban development in the Netherlands in general and in South Rotterdam and the Afrikaanderwijk in particular will be presented, including a summary of creative industries policies on the national as well as the local level.

³ Theory-based sampling implies finding manifestations of a theoretical construct of interest in order to elaborate and examine the construct (Patton, 1990).

⁴ By sampling politically important cases attention is purposefully drawn to these cases (Patton, 1990).



N.V. GRAANSILOM



CREATIVE
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Chapter 3

**Policies concerning urban
development and creative industries**

As was already mentioned in chapter 1, the Afrikaanderwijk is one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, with a relatively young, ethnically very diverse population, as compared to the rest of Rotterdam. In this neighbourhood households have a relatively low income, one in five living on state benefits. Further, there is a high rate of school drop-outs and the quality of the housing stock is poor. Relatively often people feel unsafe, and there is little social cohesion (Deetman & Mans, 2011).

The current situation in the Afrikaanderwijk came into existence through the years and relates to developments in the Netherlands on the national as well as on the urban level. In order to get a clear understanding of the context of the two initiatives aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship that are studied in this thesis, in this chapter a historical overview will be given of the policies implemented for the purpose of urban development. Attention will be paid in particular to the policies pertaining to the development of the creative industries. First, the relevant national and urban developments will be outlined, after which attention will be paid to South Rotterdam in general and the Afrikaanderwijk in particular. Further, a short description will be given of the two initiatives that constitute the cases studied in this thesis, namely the Creative Factory and Freehouse. The chapter will be finished by an explanation of how the fieldwork and the analysis of the data were conducted.

3.1 URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

As the knowledge base Platform31 describes, urban development in the Netherlands in the twentieth century can be seen as a sequence of different waves of extension and renewal⁵. During the process of industrialisation in the second half of the nineteenth century, human labour was replaced by machine labour, and productivity rose quickly. Death rates declined, causing a rapid increase of the number of inhabitants of the Netherlands. Many redundant farmers' sons left for the city, where they tried to find a job as factory workers. This exodus from the countryside caused the cities to grow quickly. In this period, large-scale building of new houses took place in the cities in order to accommodate population growth. Due to a lack of sufficient affordable housing, the new residents often ended up in slum dwellings. In order to bring the rental of bad houses to an end and to promote the construction of houses of good quality for the citizens, in 1901 the Housing Act was passed.

⁵ See <http://www.platform31.nl/wat-we-doen/kennisdossiers/stedelijke-vernieuwing/overzichten/stedelijke-vernieuwing-rijksbeleid-door-de-jaren-heen-tot-nu>.

During the Second World War many buildings and infrastructure were destroyed or damaged. After the war the rebuilding commenced. Because of the serious housing shortage, within a short period many houses were built and renovated on a small budget. In the 50's and 60's new large-scale neighbourhoods with high-rise buildings were built at the borders of the cities. However, from the end of the 60's these neighbourhoods with high-rise buildings corresponded less and less with the desires of many home seekers, who as a result of the social movement to a more individualistic and free society, valued privacy and a human dimension more and more. Therefore, families who could afford it moved massively from the post-war gallery apartments and older neighbourhoods to new residential areas, causing the population number of the big cities to decline. In the same period the arrival of large groups of non-Western labour migrants in the Netherlands took place. This caused a considerable change in the composition of the population of the urban post-war residential areas. Vacancies rose, and the houses that were rented out were tenanted with increasing frequency by people with little choice on the housing market, namely poor working-class families and the new migrant families from mainly Surinam, the Antilles, Morocco and Turkey.

Simultaneously with the construction of large-scale neighbourhoods consisting of high-rise buildings in the 50's and 60's redevelopment took place in the inner cities, during which slum dwellings and obsolete houses were demolished. Residents had to move to suburbs, expansion areas or other redevelopment areas. On a large part of the freed space in the inner cities office buildings and shops were built. In order to prevent a further exodus of residents, in the 70's and beginning of the 80's renewal of these old residential areas took place. The emphasis was on 'building for the neighbourhood', in order to enable the current residents to continue to live in their neighbourhood after the renewal. This way of renewal, which largely aligned with the existing urban structure and building height, is called 'urban renewal'.

However, during the following economic recession in the 80's a number of urban neighbourhoods fell behind in socio-economic matters. In addition to post-war residential areas, a number of pre-war urban renewal districts were, despite their physical renewal, also affected. In these so-called 'problem accumulation areas' efforts were made to increase the social and economic participation of the residents by establishing all kinds of projects and employment initiatives. This policy is called 'social renewal'. In the same period various inner city areas, such as old harbour areas or railway yards that had lost their old functions became vacant. In these areas new economic activities or building of more upscale homes were initiated, often taking into account the cultural-historical value of these areas. The 'Kop van Zuid' in Rotterdam, where the old harbours used to be, is an example of this.

Since the 80's a decentralisation of social policies took place because of a fundamental restructuring of the local government (Heeg et al., 2003), as has already been mentioned in section

2.1. Over the years, municipalities became responsible for various tasks in the field of welfare, preventive health care and housing as part of this decentralisation. Moreover, from the 80's onwards, the national government more and more withdrew as a financier of social housing. In 1983 a mutual guarantee fund was set up that enabled housing associations to borrow money on the capital market against a lower rent. From 1994 on the housing associations were liberalised, putting an end to the funding and subsidising of housing by the government. Subsequently the tasks of the housing associations were further extended, so that these associations also became engaged in preserving the liveability of neighbourhoods⁶. Directors of housing associations were encouraged by the government to become entrepreneurs and to aim at financing an ever growing range of things not directly related to social housing, like schools, community centres and playgrounds.

Although by the beginning of the 90's the economic crisis was over, the housing and social-economic problems continued to exist within the problem accumulation areas, which were more and more referred to as 'deprived neighbourhoods'. The problems in these deprived neighbourhoods are most urgent in the four biggest cities of the Netherlands, namely Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Some of these problems exist on the urban level, like a higher unemployment rate and a lower education level compared to national averages and the exodus from the cities of people with middle incomes and large companies. Therefore these four cities advocated for a broad vision, which should be accompanied by the bundling and increase of governmental financial resources. In 1994 this resulted in the big cities policy for these four cities. In 1997 the number of municipalities involved was extended to 25. During the first period of this big cities policy, the policies were distributed among three 'pillars'. The physical pillar pertains to the built environment (houses, business areas, public space, infrastructure). The economic pillar consists of support for small and medium enterprises and stimulating favourable conditions for establishing businesses in the city. Finally, the social pillar relates to domains like social cohesion, safety, preventing unemployment, health care, welfare, youth policy and later also integration. The underlying thought is that cities and their deprived areas can be revitalised by deploying the three pillars simultaneously and in a mutually coordinated way.

From 1997 onwards various plans of an especially physical nature were executed: houses were renovated, the public space was upgraded and urban regeneration by means of large-scale demolition and building of new houses was initiated. However, as these physical measures did not lead to a reduction of the social and economic problems, after 2000 there was more and more attention paid to increasing the social and economic opportunities of neighbourhood residents. It became more and more evident that it was not easy to bring back the middle

⁶ See http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woningcorporatie#Corporaties_in_de_21ste_eeuw.

incomes to the old urban neighbourhoods, as the image of many neighbourhoods was too bad. Therefore the focus of the urban renewal shifted more and more to the retention in the neighbourhood of societally successful residents by offering them career prospects on the housing market in the neighbourhood. Further, a clear focus arose on the neighbourhood as the dominant level of scale for urban renewal. In 2007 the '40 neighbourhoods approach' was introduced. This approach focused on the regeneration of 40 deprived neighbourhoods in 18 cities, including replacement of rented houses by bought houses, selling of social houses, improvement of the public space, granting aid to households with problems and realising broad schools and multifunctional community centres. Alongside investments by the national government, the housing associations were supposed to contribute 750 million euros a year.

Moreover, following the example of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands also embraced the creative city perspective, in which the creative industries were considered important to give an impetus to economic growth. Around 2005 initiatives were taken on the national level as well as in various larger cities to support the creative economy. These initiatives resulted in national and local policy programmes, in which various instruments were used, including the preparation of specific financing schemes, investments in business premises, building up of network functions and special attention for starting creative entrepreneurs (De Kleijn, Wils, & Harteveld, 2011).

In 2008 it became clear that the financial crisis that started in the United States had global economic consequences. A few years later the Dutch national government as well as the local governments decided to economize because of the crisis. This led to drastic budget cuts in various policy areas, including the stimulation of the creative industries. Despite these budget cuts, stimulation of the creative industries was still considered very important. This is illustrated by the fact that the creative industries are designated as one of nine knowledge-intensive and export-oriented top sectors that are supposed to make an important contribution to prosperity and employment in the Netherlands. The national government aims at utilising the earning capacity of both large companies and small and medium enterprises within these internationally active top sectors and at strengthening the Dutch competitiveness as much as possible. In order to make the best possible use of scarce resources, enterprises, researchers and the government cooperate in Top consortia for Knowledge and Innovation⁷. Meanwhile a shift took place from a focus on the contributions of the creative industries to economic growth towards a focus on their possibilities of functioning as a catalyst for innovation and tackling societal issues. In 2011 the Topteam Creative Industries, consisting of representatives of the business sector, knowledge institutions and the government, was asked for advice concerning a sector agenda that will enable the Dutch creative industries to belong to the world league in 2020.

⁷ See <http://topsectoren.nl/over-topsectoren>.

The main ambition is that in 2020 the Netherlands will be the most creative economy of Europe. In its recommendations the Topteam Creative Industries focuses on the need to strengthen the innovative capacity of the Netherlands in order to find innovative and creative solutions for grand societal problems. Its main recommendation is to strengthen the relationships between the creative industries and other crucial stakeholders. In order to facilitate this, the Topteam formulated five bullet points. One of these bullet points is the stimulation of entrepreneurial skills of creative entrepreneurs through planning for the education sector and stimulating incubators for starting creative entrepreneurs, in which housing, funding, cooperation and hands-on support will be offered in an integrated way. Another bullet point concerns the stimulation of cross-sectoral collaboration through matchmaking and identification of market opportunities. However, these recommendations do not involve substantial financial means being made available for the implementation of every bullet point. The Topteam only provides direction and leaves the implementation of the measures as much as possible to the stakeholders who are directly involved (Topteam Creatieve Industrie, 2011).

Dutch politics is highly interested in new forms of cooperation over sectors in order to solve bigger and more complex problems. Within these new forms of cooperation, also called crossovers, the creative industries work together with experts and stakeholders on social and complex issues⁸. One of the crossovers of which much is expected is a combination of the top sector Creative Industries and the top sector Life Sciences & Health that aims at increasing health and prosperity for society and the economy by realising and accelerating cost-effective health care innovations. The value of the possible role of the creative industries in finding solutions for various grand societal challenges is also recognised on the European level. In its research and innovation programme Horizon 2020⁹ the EU asks for attention for the development of inclusive and reflective societies, among other things.

In this section insight has been provided in the policies implemented through the years for the purpose of urban development on the national as well as the urban level. Attention has also been paid to the policies pertaining to the development of the creative industries. The next section elaborates on the meaning of these national and urban developments for South Rotterdam.

⁸ See <http://www.clicknl.nl/crossovers/>.

⁹ See <http://www.horizon2020.info/wat-is-horizon2020/>.

3.2 URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH ROTTERDAM

Until the opening of the Nieuwe Waterweg (in English: New Waterway) in 1872, the city of Rotterdam as well as the Rotterdam harbours were entirely located on the north bank of the Nieuwe Maas river. The Nieuwe Waterweg provides Rotterdam with a direct connection to the sea. From that moment the development of the harbours on the south bank started. During the following period the harbours grew explosively, leading to the construction of ever bigger harbours. In 1905 the Maas harbour was completed. In 1910 the oldest part of the Maassilo was built on the southeast corner of the Maas harbour. This outstanding building is twenty meters high and was at the time the biggest grain warehouse in Europe. As soon the capacity of the grain warehouse became too small, it was extended to a complex consisting of various warehouses, industrial premises and grain elevators that are built adjacent to each other (Bongers & Visser, 2012).

The development of the harbours attracted many labourers. In order to accommodate these labourers, in South Rotterdam various residential areas with cheap houses were built, including the Afrikaanderwijk. A lot of harbour and industrial labourers moved into this neighbourhood, many of whom originated from the districts south and south-east of Rotterdam. During the Second World War many buildings and infrastructure in Rotterdam were demolished by among other things the bombing of 1940. After the war the harbour was rebuilt first. In order to combat the housing shortage new neighbourhoods with tenement houses were built at the border of South Rotterdam.

From the middle of the 50's the harbour was extended more and more in the direction of the sea. In 1962 Rotterdam was the biggest port in the world. There were plenty of jobs, and labourers from the wide surroundings came to work in the harbour. However, from that moment employment declined. The ongoing containerisation caused the harbour to shift more and more in the direction of the North Sea. Further, at the end of the 60's and the beginning of the 70's important employers disappeared from South Rotterdam, caused by the collapse of the ship-building sector. The subsequent oil crisis marked the start of the high unemployment of the 70's and 80's. Many people who found a job or a better house elsewhere left South Rotterdam. In their place migrants from Spain, Turkey, Morocco, the Dutch Antilles and Surinam with few choices on the housing market established themselves in South Rotterdam. This led to tensions and segregation, as well as to increases in poverty and a decline in social cohesion and safety. This caused a downward spiral in South Rotterdam (Nationaal programma Kwaliteitsprong Zuid, 2011).

In order to counteract further deterioration, as part of the urban renewal between 1975 and 1990 a substantial part of the dilapidated privately owned houses were replaced by social housing, in many cases tenement houses, with rents as low as possible. Simultaneously however, in some centres of urban development around Rotterdam, namely Spijkensisse and Capelle aan den IJssel, new houses were built that were an attractive alternative to the tenement houses in South Rotterdam. Consequently, this urban renewal unintentionally led to a new exodus of the middle class from South Rotterdam and to the advent of mainly deprived newcomers, attracted by the low rents.

From the 90's various large interventions took place in South Rotterdam, which have been successful. The Erasmus bridge, connecting the northern and southern banks of the Nieuwe Maas river, was constructed. With the building of the Kop van Zuid district, nicknamed 'Manhattan at the Maas', the oldest harbour areas of South Rotterdam, formerly disused, got a new function. Rotterdam also put itself on the map by organising big sports and cultural festivals, among other things as part of Rotterdam Cultural Capital 2011. Further Katendrecht, a neighbourhood adjacent to the Afrikaanderwijk, was transformed into a popular area. However, despite various positive results in a number of areas the socio-economic problems in many neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam continued to exist. Therefore, in the programme for the period from 2002-2006 the Board of Rotterdam invested heavily in a cleaner and safer Rotterdam (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2002). In order to tighten this policy, in 2003 the municipality launched the action programme 'Rotterdam persists. Heading for a balanced city' (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2003). This action programme, which ran from 2005 to 2008, resulted in the 'Law special measures for urban problems' and the establishment of enterprise zones. Enterprise zones aim at contributing to the revitalisation of old urban neighbourhoods by diminishing governmental regulation, tackling problem properties and stimulating entrepreneurship (EDBR, 2005; Kloosterman, Van der Leun, & Rath, 1997). Between 2005 and 2008 in various neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam enterprise zones were established. In the enterprise zones the 'Entrepreneurial regulation enterprise zones' applies, enabling entrepreneurs investing an amount between € 4.000 and € 100.000 to get a grant of the same amount. At the same time, various premises owned by the Rotterdam City Development Corporation (in Dutch: Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam, OBR) were redeveloped for new economic functions, paid from the budget for enterprise zones. One of these premises is the Maassilo, which was adapted to make it suitable for the accommodation of creative entrepreneurs.

Around 2005 Rotterdam also embraced the creative city perspective, as indicated by the Economic Vision Rotterdam 2020 (EDBR, 2005), which was established in 2005. This vision contains among other things the bullet point 'The creative city'. One of the main targets concerning this bullet point is the extension of the creative clusters, especially those containing architecture, technical and graphic design, audiovisual enterprises and new media, in Rotterdam in order to

create more jobs. The implementation programme Economy Rotterdam 2006-2009 focused on three economic clusters derived from this Economic Vision, namely the port and the industrial complex, the medical cluster and the creative cluster (OBR, 2005). Subsequently, the Rotterdam City Development Corporation launched a programme for the creative economy for the period from 2007-2010. This programme, which refers to Florida (2002), especially aimed at facilitating creative activities and stimulating entrepreneurship in the creative sector (OBR, 2007). It indicated that Rotterdam is an international leader in architecture and nationally is an important player in the field of design. Initially the programme aimed at the creative industries in general, but since 2008 the focus has been on four sub-sectors that are considered important to Rotterdam: architecture, design, media and music (De Kleijn et al., 2011).

In 2006 the City of Rotterdam, the three boroughs of South Rotterdam (Feijenoord, Charlois and IJsselmonde) and five housing associations concluded the 'Pact op Zuid' (in English: Pact of South Rotterdam), in which they agreed upon a joint additional investment of 1 billion euros until 2016 in the social, economic and physical qualities of South Rotterdam in order to regenerate this area. The Pact op Zuid connects to existing initiatives, like the enterprise zones. The execution of the Pact op Zuid aimed at retaining middle income residents and offering prospects for residents and entrepreneurs (Spierings & Meeuwisse, 2009). However, the impoverished and cheap houses in the middle of South Rotterdam continued to attract the most deprived people, also from other European countries. Therefore, at the request of the minister of public housing, Deetmans and Mans analysed the situation in South Rotterdam in 2011. They summarise the problems as follows: 'South Rotterdam knows an extensive piling of socio-economic problems in the weakest part of the housing market in the Netherlands. The extent and intensity of this piling are unprecedented on the Dutch scale' (Deetman & Mans, 2011: 7).

The nature of the socio-economic problems in South Rotterdam is not unique, as these problems also occur in deprived neighbourhoods in other big and medium-sized Dutch cities. However, the scale of the problems causes South Rotterdam to fall behind these other cities. It is established that the problems are most extensive in seven neighbourhoods including the Afrikaanderwijk; these seven neighbourhoods are designated as 'focus neighbourhoods' (see figure 3.1).

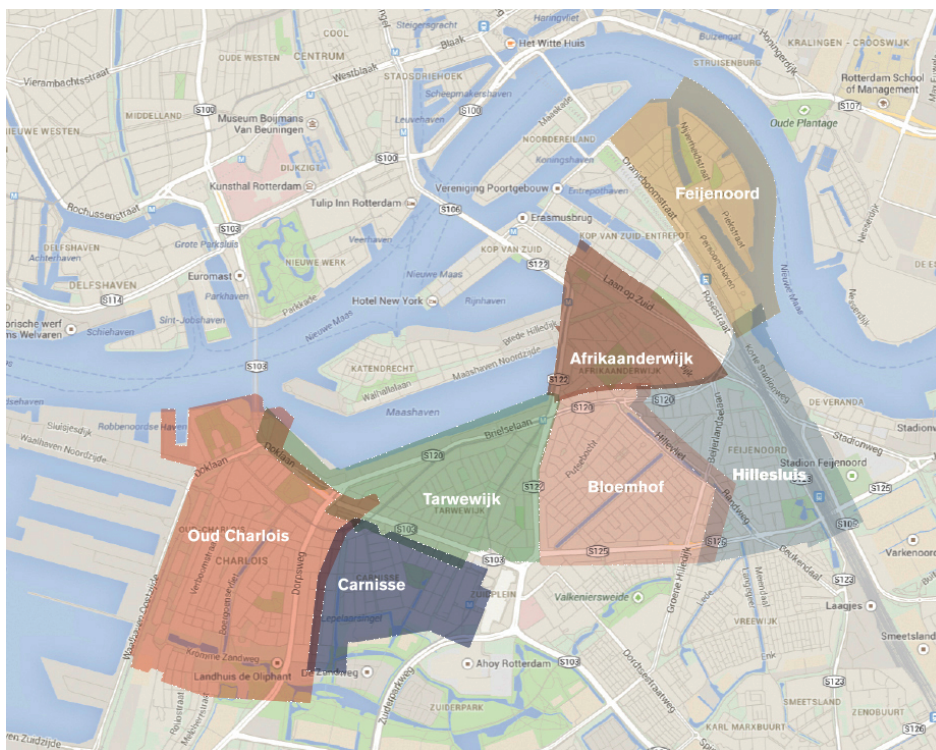


Figure 3.1: Focus neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam

Source: Centre of Expertise Social Innovation, Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences

Deetman and Mans (2011) concluded in their final recommendation that a national programme is needed to tackle the problems. This recommendation led to the National Programme South Rotterdam (in Dutch: Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid, NPRZ), in which the national government, the City of Rotterdam, the Rotterdam housing associations and various other local parties committed to longterm, integral and focused cooperation aimed at the improvement of the quality of South Rotterdam. The NPRZ is the continuation of the Pact op Zuid and aspires to eliminate the disadvantages of South Rotterdam compared to the average of the four big Dutch cities by 2030. The first implementation programme started in 2012 (NPRZ, 2012).

During this period the Rotterdam programme for the creative economy ended. The evaluation of the programme shows that between 2006 and 2009 the Rotterdam City Development Corporation contributed to the opening of at least thirteen enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs with approximately 60.000 m², partly on a temporary basis. One of these locations is the Maassillo, where the Creative Factory has been established since 2008. Further, many smaller scale initiatives have been undertaken aimed at facilitating meetings of and exchange among

creative entrepreneurs, such as network meetings, workshops and relationship management (De Kleijn et al., 2011).

The evaluation also shows that in the period from 2006-2010 the number of locations of creative entrepreneurs in Rotterdam increased 37.6 per cent, while the growth of the number of people working in the creative sector amounted to 10.2 per cent. Compared to other sectors, this is an above average increase of employment. Compared to the national level the growth of the creative economy in Rotterdam in the period from 2005-2009 however is smaller than in the rest of the Netherlands (De Kleijn et al., 2011).

Subsequently the Economic Development Board Rotterdam advised the City of Rotterdam not to continue its efforts aimed at stimulating the creative sector, with the arguments that the creative sector does not let itself be guided and is an area which favors bottom-up development of activities (EDBR, 2011). The City of Rotterdam, wanting to reduce expenditures because of the economic crisis, adopted this recommendation. In the years that follow, the City of Rotterdam economizes considerably in a number of fields, including stimulating creative entrepreneurship, art and culture, and also welfare.

In this section the developments in South Rotterdam have been described. The next section focuses on the developments in the Afrikaanderwijk.

3.3 URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN THE AFRIKAANDERWIJK

As mentioned before, the Afrikaanderwijk is one of the seven focus neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam in which the socio-economic problems are most extensive. From the beginning of the 70's the number of allochtone inhabitants increased steadily, causing the Afrikaanderwijk to become one of the first neighbourhoods in the Netherlands where the majority of the population is of allochtone origin. In 2010 79 percent of the population consisted of non-western immigrants¹⁰ of approximately 75 different nationalities.

Through the years, in the Afrikaanderwijk as well as in the other deprived neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam all kinds of projects have taken place aimed at diminishing disadvantages. Since 2006 many of these projects have been executed under the auspices of the Pact op Zuid, which in 2011 was transferred to the National Programme South Rotterdam. Housing association Vestia, which owns the vast part of the real estate in the Afrikaanderwijk, plays a major role

¹⁰ See <http://rotterdam.straatinfo.nl/buurtgegevens/Afrikaanderwijk+-+Gemeente+Rotterdam/>.

in these projects. Vestia not only invests in the improvement of its own housing stock, but also in all sorts of projects aimed at improving the socio-economic position of the residents and the liveability of the neighbourhood, as is clear in Vestia's annual reports. The annual report for 2009 contains a long list of projects to which Vestia contributes financially, including the Creative Factory as well as Freehouse (Vestia, 2010).

In the regional vision for 2011-2014 for the Afrikaanderwijk and its adjacent neighbourhoods of Bloemhof and Hillesluis, which was established by the borough of Feijenoord in 2010, the Afrikaanderwijk is positioned as a market place, especially because of the Afrikaander market that takes place twice a week at the Afrikaander square. The catchment area of this market highly extends beyond the Afrikaanderwijk (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010). Further, a continuous shop front consisting of around 70 shops, catering establishments and service companies surrounds the Afrikaander square and its immediate vicinity. Its catchment area is particularly the Afrikaanderwijk and the surrounding neighbourhoods. In the regional vision economy is considered an important indicator of the identity of the neighbourhood, which is defined as multicultural, young, vibrant, and entrepreneurial. Hence the ambition is to develop the Afrikaanderwijk – like a number of other neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam – as a central city neighbourhood, causing the centre of Rotterdam, which is located on the north bank of the Nieuwe Maas river, to be extended to the south bank. Improving the connection of the Afrikaanderwijk to the urban network by means of a number of physical interventions is intended as a stimulant of economic development which will have spin-offs for the surrounding neighbourhoods. The spin-offs are supposed to come from a number of facilities of an urban or supralocal nature, which are located just outside the Afrikaanderwijk. Some of these facilities aim at fostering small-scale creative entrepreneurship, like, for instance, the Deli square in the adjacent neighbourhood of Katendrecht, which offers premises for restaurants, shops, studios and galleries. Another example is the Creative Factory, established in the Maassilo in 2008, which accommodates creative entrepreneurs.

The regional vision stresses the importance of the creative industries in improving the economy as a whole. It states that the contribution of the creative industries to the economy not only increases in Rotterdam as a whole, but also in the borough of Feijenoord, of which the Afrikaanderwijk, Bloemhof and Hillesluis are part. It is clear that the art and cultural sector is increasing its visibility in the Afrikaanderwijk. For the development of this sector further opportunities are available, particularly in and around the Gemaal op Zuid, a former waterpump station in the Afrikaanderwijk, where exhibitions and other cultural activities have taken place since 2007.

The preceding three sections have offered insight into the policies concerning urban development and stimulation of the creative industries that have been developed on various levels

through the years. The last section focused on the Afrikaanderwijk. The two initiatives aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship which are studied in this thesis, namely the Creative Factory and Freehouse, are located at the border and in the middle of the Afrikaanderwijk respectively. In the next section these two initiatives are elaborated on.

3.4 INTRODUCTION OF THE TWO CASE STUDIES

This section contains a short introduction to the Creative Factory and Freehouse. A short description is given of the development and content of both initiatives.

The first case study: the Creative Factory

As already described in section 3.2 the Maassilo is located in the south-east corner of the Maas harbour, at the intersection of the Afrikaanderwijk and two other neighbourhoods, Tarwewijk and Bloemhof. From the 60's the ongoing containerisation caused the harbour to shift more and more in the direction of the North Sea. This caused a decrease of the use of the Maassilo, which since then had been used only as extra storage for grain. In 2003 the use of the Maassilo as storage ended, and the grain warehouse was sold to the Rotterdam City Development Corporation. Although at that moment the Rotterdam City Development Corporation did not have a clear use for the building, it bought the building because of its location and cultural-historic



Figure 3.2: Event in the Creative Factory

value. First, demolition was not excluded, but as demolition would be very expensive because of the thick concrete walls, redevelopment for new use was preferred. In various phases parts of the complex were renovated and put into service. In May 2004 the Maassilo Events location opened its doors. From May 2004 until December 2006 the Maassilo was also the residence of the nationally and internationally known dance club Now & Wow. In 2007 Now & Wow moved, and the Maassilo continued to exist as an event location (Bongers & Visser, 2012).

In the meanwhile in 2005 the area around the Tarwewijk was designated as the first enterprise zone of Rotterdam, followed later by other areas, including the Afrikaanderwijk. The creation of enterprise zones aimed at contributing to the regeneration of old urban neighbourhoods by diminishing government regulation, tackling problem properties and stimulating entrepreneurship (EDBR, 2005; Kloosterman, Van der Leun, & Rath, 1997). In the enterprise zones various premises owned by the Rotterdam City Development Corporation have been redeveloped for new economic functions as part of this regeneration. One of these premises is the oldest part of the Maassilo, which is located at the border of the Tarwewijk.

One of the entrepreneurs who was responsible for Now & Wow conceived a plan to establish the Creative Factory in this part of the Maassilo complex. The original business plan was to attract 'streetwise' youngsters from the neighbourhood to the Creative Factory to be trained in creative entrepreneurship, but in the end this business plan was not implemented. Subsequently, a young entrepreneur, who would later become the director of the Creative Factory, wrote a new business plan, which was approved by the Rotterdam City Development Corporation (Creative Factory, 2006). According to this plan the Creative Factory would function as an incubator for starting creative entrepreneurs. Moreover, the Creative Factory would also offer space to the creative enterprises as they develop. From the budget for enterprise zones the City of Rotterdam set aside 6 million euros for the intensive renovation of the Maassilo. Thereafter the grain warehouse was transformed into the Creative Factory.

In May 2008 the Creative Factory opened its doors. The interest of creative entrepreneurs is great; initially there are five times as many applicants as the number of 70 available workplaces. The building is rented from the Rotterdam City Development Corporation and in turn workplaces are rented to the creative entrepreneurs. The Creative Factory is aimed at a mix of starting and established businesses, enabling the starting entrepreneurs to take advantage of the experience of the established enterprises. A starting entrepreneur is supposed to be able to stand on his own feet within three years. Subsequently his company can stay within the Creative Factory as an established business or grow further outside the Creative Factory. Established businesses are supposed to play an important role in the professionalisation of starters by providing them with orders and growing opportunities.

The creative entrepreneurs work dispersed across six floors. Most enterprises do not have their own offices, but rent one or more workplaces in a big open space. Entrepreneurs who are in the Creative Factory only a part of the week can also rent a flexible workplace. The Creative Factory supports the entrepreneurs by offering coaching and matchmaking, connecting creative entrepreneurs to other entrepreneurs and organisations within and outside the Creative Factory in order to enlarge their networks. Besides content support the Creative Factory also offers a number of general services, such as a central reception area and facilities for meetings and events (see figure 3.2). A number of organisations become a partner of the Creative Factory, including Pact op Zuid. Some of these partners sponsor the Creative Factory financially, while the other partners contribute in kind by their networks and expertise.

The second case study: Freehouse

Freehouse was founded in 1998 as a non-profit research foundation. The founder and driving force of Freehouse is Jeanne van Heeswijk, a visual artist who works on socially committed art projects for public spaces. Since 2004 Freehouse has developed a model in West Rotterdam. This model aims at stimulating creative production and economic independence by setting up spaces where local entrepreneurs, young people and artists can come together to exchange knowledge, experiences and ideas. The objective is on the one hand to strengthen their economic position and on the other hand to increase their social-cultural self-awareness.

In 2008 Freehouse relocated its activities to the Afrikaanderwijk, an important reason for this being that housing association Vestia, because of its involvement in the Pact op Zuid programme aimed at the regeneration of South Rotterdam, is interested in the activities of Freehouse. Moreover, Freehouse got a grant from the Fund for visual arts, design and architecture. Freehouse started in the Afrikaanderwijk with the project 'Tomorrow's Market', which aims at making the market on the Afrikaander square more vibrant and using it to show existing skills in the neighbourhood that are not well-known. Subsequently, Freehouse initiated several projects in which artists and designers were linked to neighbourhood residents with creative talents. As part of these projects, a number of assignments have been granted to artists and designers, several of which concern the production of fashion in cooperation with local seamstresses supplied by Freehouse. When in 2009 housing association Vestia offered Freehouse a small business premise free of charge, Freehouse founded the Neighbourhood Studio and brought the seamstresses together in this building.

Freehouse also initiated a project in which a food designer is connected to residents of the Afrikaanderwijk with different cultural backgrounds who can cook. This results in the foundation of the Neighbourhood Kitchen in 2010. This Kitchen is housed in the Gemaal op Zuid, a former water pump station that faces the Afrikaander square where the market takes place twice a week. In the Neighbourhood Kitchen groups of neighbourhood residents, mainly women

from various cultural backgrounds, prepare dishes with ingredients bought from the market (see figure 3.3). The Kitchen runs a catering service in the Gemaal as well as on location (see figure 3.4). Further, on market days meals are served in the Gemaal or on the terrace behind the Neighbourhood Kitchen. Moreover, the Kitchen has developed its own product line, to which various people contribute. These products are sold in various Rotterdam shops, among which is the Neighbourhood Shop, which is also set up by Freehouse.



Figure 3.3: The Neighbourhood Kitchen



Figure 3.4: Catering in the Gemaal

In the beginning of 2013 Freehouse opened the Neighbourhood Value Store in the Gemaal. This Store was open for almost a year and functioned as a showcase for everything that is produced and for sale in the neighbourhood, besides providing a stage for a diverse range of activities, varying from talk shows and debates concerning neighbourhood values to dancing lessons. During this year Freehouse worked on the preparation of the Afrikaander Cooperative, which was founded in November 2013. During the closing symposium of the Neighbourhood Value Store in January 2014 the Afrikaander Cooperative was launched as a network organisation for individual residents, entrepreneurs and organisations. This Cooperative aims at stimulating local production, cultural development and knowledge exchange within the Afrikaanderwijk, in order to facilitate access to education, paid work or entrepreneurship¹¹.

Area-targeted versus people-targeted initiatives

In the preceding sections a historical overview has been given of the policies implemented through the years for the purpose of urban development. After having outlined the relevant national and urban developments attention has been paid to South Rotterdam in general and the Afrikaanderwijk in particular. The overview offers insights into the emergence of the

¹¹ See Statuten Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie.

deprived neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam, including the Afrikaanderwijk, and into the policy measures that have been taken through the years in order to attempt to diminish the disadvantages in these neighbourhoods.

Around 2005 the creative city hype also reached Rotterdam and policies were developed aimed at stimulating the creative industries. This resulted in the programme for the creative industries for the period from 2007-2010 that was developed by the Rotterdam City Development Corporation and aimed at facilitating and stimulating creative entrepreneurship. In the meantime from 2005 onwards various enterprise zones were established in South Rotterdam, aimed at contributing to the regeneration of the designated areas by stimulating entrepreneurship. A part of the budget for enterprise zones was used to develop some premises owned by the Rotterdam City Development Corporation for new economic functions. One of these premises is the oldest part of the Maassilo, which was adapted to accommodate creative entrepreneurs. With the realisation of the Creative Factory in the Maassilo the policy aimed at regenerating South Rotterdam is connected with the policy concerning the development of the creative industries.

In 2006 the City of Rotterdam, the three boroughs of South Rotterdam and five housing associations conclude the Pact op Zuid, in which they joined forces in order to revitalise South Rotterdam in the social, economic and physical spheres. Vestia is one of these housing associations. At that moment Freehouse was developing a model in West Rotterdam for stimulating creative production in order to reinforce the economic position of neighbourhood residents and to increase their social-cultural self-awareness. Because of its involvement in the Pact op Zuid Vestia is motivated to stimulate Freehouse to become active in the Afrikaanderwijk. When subsequently in 2008 Freehouse got a grant from the Fund for visual arts, design and architecture to implement the developed model in the Afrikaanderwijk, Freehouse actually transferred its activities to the Afrikaanderwijk. Through these activities Freehouse also contributed to a connection between the policy aimed at revitalising South Rotterdam and the policy for stimulating creative entrepreneurship.

From the above it can be concluded that both the Creative Factory and Freehouse linked with the policies aimed at urban regeneration and stimulation of the creative industries, which were developed at various levels in the previous years. Furthermore, both initiatives attracted political interest as demonstrated by the involvement of Pact op Zuid. Despite these similarities there are also big differences between the two initiatives. As mentioned before in section 2.5 an important difference consists of the target groups of the two initiatives. The Creative Factory is an area-targeted initiative (Ouwehand & Van Meijeren, 2006), which intends to perform an incubator function for starting creative entrepreneurs, while also aiming at offering accommodation to creative enterprises in the longer term. The Creative Factory focuses on starting

and established creative entrepreneurs, who are not only from South Rotterdam, but also from the rest of Rotterdam and beyond. On the contrary, Freehouse aims at stimulating creative production in order to improve the economic position of the residents of the Afrikaanderwijk and to increase their social-cultural self-awareness. Freehouse focuses on residents of the Afrikaanderwijk with creative talents and therefore is a people-targeted initiative (Ouwehand & Van Meijeren, 2006). As has been elucidated in section 2.5 the choice of an area-targeted initiative on the one hand and a people-targeted initiative on the other hand was a deliberate one. The expectation is that this choice will allow a variety of possible effects of initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods to come to the fore, which is one of the main objectives of this research.

In addition to the method of sampling of the two initiatives, the research questions and the methods used have already been described in section 2.5. In the next section the collection of the data will be elaborated, followed by a description of how the data were analysed in section 3.6.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION

For each of the two initiatives data were collected using various methods, as will be explained below. Part of this data collection concerning these two initiatives took place as part of two international research projects, namely *'Everybody on board'*¹² and *'An examination of the contribution of creative enterprise centres to the development of more sustainable communities'*¹³. Moreover, as part of these two projects several international meetings took place during which more general data were collected.

In April 2012 the international closing symposium of the project *'Everybody on board'* took place. Part of this symposium was a discussion in six focus groups on possibilities and ways to use creativity and creative entrepreneurship in order to contribute to a more resilient society.

¹² The project *'Everybody on board'* ran from 2010 to 2012 and was financed by the SIA Raak International program. In this project the Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences cooperated with the University of East London. Part of this project was a comparison between the Chocolate Factory (an enterprise centre for creative entrepreneurs in London) and the Creative Factory, in order to develop knowledge of possible ways in which creative enterprise centres can have an effect on the surrounding neighbourhoods. This knowledge was shared during an international closing symposium.

¹³ The project *'An examination of the contribution of creative enterprise centres to the development of more sustainable communities'* ran from 2012 to 2013 and was a partnership between the University of East London, Erasmus University Rotterdam and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, financed by AHRC/NWO. During workshops varying stakeholders from six countries exchanged knowledge about the contribution creative entrepreneurs can make to the development of deprived neighbourhoods.

One of these focus groups was moderated by me. Participants were policy makers, researchers, creative entrepreneurs and representatives from various cultural organisations and housing associations in London and Rotterdam. Furthermore, in 2012 and 2013 four international workshops took place about the contribution creative entrepreneurs can make to the development of deprived neighbourhoods. These workshops were part of the project 'An examination of the contribution of creative enterprise centres to the development of more sustainable communities'. Three of these workshops focused on enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs. Subjects that were dealt with included the effects of enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs on the neighbourhoods they were located in, opportunities and problems of being located in a disadvantaged neighbourhood and ways to stimulate financial sustainability. Participants varied according to the subjects that were under discussion and included managers from various creative enterprise centres in six countries¹⁴ including the Creative Factory, alongside researchers from Dutch and English Universities, including me. Contrary to the first three workshops, the fourth workshop focused on initiatives stimulating creativity and creative entrepreneurship among neighbourhood residents. During this workshop discussions took place among Dutch and English initiators of such projects, including Freehouse, and Dutch and English researchers, including me.

Creative Factory

Data collection concerning the Creative Factory took place in the period from October 2010 to June 2013. During this period Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences was one of the sponsoring partners of the Creative Factory; therefore I got assistance from the manager of the Creative Factory on several occasions during my research, especially in initiating contacts with the creative entrepreneurs. I started with analysing policy documents, minutes of the meetings of the sponsoring partners of the Creative Factory, information on the website and annual reports. Further, I conducted a short orienting survey among the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory. The questionnaire contained questions concerning their backgrounds, their reasons for moving into the Creative Factory, cooperation with other entrepreneurs and their degree of satisfaction with the Creative Factory. All of the 55 enterprises that were established in the Creative Factory at that moment got an e-mail with an invitation to participate in the research and a unique code which could be used to fill in the questionnaire online. In order to increase the response, a student assistant of Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, who worked in the Creative Factory in order to arrange internships, visited every entrepreneur personally to distribute a paper copy of the questionnaire with the request to be completed. Notwithstanding these efforts the questionnaire was completed by only 16 of the 55 enterprises, i.e. 29 percent, therefore the results could not be considered as representative for all entrepreneurs in

¹⁴ These six countries are the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Denmark, Spain, Italy and Slovakia.

the Creative Factory. However, they gave some useful insights into issues that were important to the entrepreneurs.

Further, I conducted seven semi-structured orienting interviews with some of the people most involved in the Creative Factory, namely the director of the Creative Factory, the coach, several sponsoring partners and one of the creative entrepreneurs. These interviews took place between October 2010 and February 2011. Table A1 in Appendix A gives an overview of the respondents. Topics discussed included their motivations for being involved in the Creative Factory, their vision concerning the goals and strategy of the Creative Factory, their contributions to the Creative Factory and their opinions concerning the effects of the Creative Factory on the entrepreneurs and on the neighbourhood. One of the things that became clear in these interviews is that the opinions of the various stakeholders concerning what were desirable and actual effects of the Creative Factory differed substantially.

Further, from July 2011 to February 2013 I conducted participatory observation during the meetings of the sponsoring partners of the Creative Factory that took place every two months. As Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences was one of the sponsoring partners, I was able to participate in these meetings. A list of the participants in these meetings can be found in table A2 in Appendix A. During these meetings, strategies and financial issues were discussed, as well as activities and events organised by the Creative Factory, or in which the Creative Factory participated. On several occasions, I presented my action plan or interim results of my research. More than once this resulted in a discussion concerning the desirable and actual effects of the Creative Factory and improvements the Creative Factory could make in order to achieve the desirable effects. Besides participating in the partner meetings, I also joined some of the events organised by the Creative Factory, including the Christmas lunch and the So-You-Wanna-Be-Your-Own-Boss-Contest, in which starting entrepreneurs got the opportunity to pitch their business plan in front of a jury. The three best plans were rewarded with a free flexible working place in the Creative Factory for one year. During these events I was able to have informal conversations with entrepreneurs and sponsoring partners.

In order to get more insight into which possible and actual effects of the Creative Factory were considered important by the creative entrepreneurs, in September 2011 I organised a focus group discussion with eight entrepreneurs established in the Creative Factory. In order for me to be able to learn about as many different opinions and perspectives as possible, these entrepreneurs were purposely selected by means of maximum variation sampling (Patton, 1990). This was done in order to get a sample with maximum variation concerning one variable, namely the sector in which the entrepreneur is active, while at the same time also obtaining variation concerning three other variables, namely cultural background, level of experience and length of stay in the Creative Factory. In order to recruit entrepreneurs for this focus group, I put

out a call in the weekly newsletter of the Creative Factory. Some of the selected entrepreneurs responded to this call. However, the set of entrepreneurs that responded was too small, not varied enough concerning the sectors and included mainly starting entrepreneurs. Therefore additional entrepreneurs were contacted personally by the manager of the Creative Factory in order to get a more diverse sample. This resulted in a sample with maximum variation concerning the sectors in which the entrepreneurs are active, whereby entrepreneurs were included with different cultural backgrounds, levels of experience and length of stay in the Creative Factory. Table A3 in Appendix A contains an overview of the eight participating entrepreneurs. The discussion concerned the effects of the Creative Factory on the creative entrepreneurs as well as on the neighbourhood.

Further, in October and November 2011 I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with eight creative entrepreneurs in order to assess their mutual cooperation and their effects on the economic and social development of neighbourhood residents and on the neighbourhood. For these interviews I invited the same eight entrepreneurs who joined the focus group. Although choosing other entrepreneurs than the ones who participated in the focus group might have added additional perspectives, the decision to interview the same entrepreneurs was a deliberate one. First, the discussion in the focus group was centered around the effects of the Creative Factory as a whole, whereas the focus of the interviews was primarily on the effects of the individual entrepreneurs. Second, during the focus group discussion it became clear that the participating entrepreneurs had varying opinions concerning the desirable effects of the Creative Factory, both on themselves and on the neighbourhood. Although the focus group was useful to take stock of these differences and to discuss them in some depth, the group was too large to discuss every detail. In order to get more in-depth information concerning these issues I added some additional topics to the topic list that I used for the interviews. This topic list was based on an existing topic list that was developed in 2002 by the Middlesex University Business School and the New Economics Foundation and aimed at interviewing small entrepreneurs in deprived neighbourhoods in order to assess their economic and social impacts (Lyon et al., 2002). This topic list was adapted to make it suitable for interviewing creative entrepreneurs in an incubator or enterprise centre¹⁵. Further, I added some topics that resulted from the focus group discussion.

Freehouse

Data collection concerning the projects initiated by Freehouse took place between May 2013 and October 2014. I studied the website of Freehouse, including several research and background articles from various authors about its projects. In June 2013 part of an international workshop involving initiators of projects stimulating the creativity of neighbourhood

¹⁵ This part of the research was a component of the project 'Everybody on board'.

residents and researchers from Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences and the University of East London¹⁶ took place in the Gemaal op Zuid, where the Neighbourhood Kitchen, one of Freehouse's projects, is located. During this meeting Freehouse presented its projects, after which a discussion took place about its activities and their effects on the people involved as well as on the Afrikaanderwijk.

Further, in order to get a thorough insight into the projects initiated by Freehouse, I conducted eighteen semi-structured in-depth interviews from February until October 2014, as well as informal conversations. For each of the interviews I used a topic list that was adapted to the role of the interviewee within the projects of Freehouse. Topics on the list were derived from the topic list and results of the case study of the Creative Factory. Further, during the process of interviewing I added topics that turned out to be important during preceding interviews. Topics discussed included interests and motivations for being involved, contributions to the projects, cooperation among the people involved and desirable and perceived effects of the projects. I started with interviewing some of the people who were most involved in Freehouse's projects and selected further interviewees by means of snowball sampling, asking every interviewee at the end of the conversation who else would be relevant to be interviewed (Patton, 1990). This resulted in a varied sample, consisting of co-workers of Freehouse, coordinators and other volunteers of the projects, members of the advisory board of the Afrikaander Cooperative that was initiated by Freehouse, entrepreneurs from the neighbourhood and representatives of organisations cooperating with Freehouse. I stopped recruiting new interviewees when a saturation point was reached, where the last interviews did not result in new information. All interviewees were approached by me except the volunteers at the Neighbourhood Kitchen, who were approached by the coordinator. Table B in Appendix B contains an overview of the respondents.

Besides the interviews I also joined one of the activities that Freehouse organised in the Gemaal as part of the Neighbourhood Value Store, namely a debate concerning the opportunities and disadvantages of using alternative currencies. Further, although Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences is not directly involved in the projects initiated by Freehouse, it frequently makes use of the catering service of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and regularly rents the Gemaal for events and meetings. I participated in several of these meetings in the Gemaal, during which the Neighbourhood Kitchen provided the catering. Both the debate organised by Freehouse and the meetings of Rotterdam University offered me an opportunity to observe and have informal conversations with the people involved in the Neighbourhood Kitchen, as

¹⁶ This workshop was part of the project 'An examination of the contribution of creative enterprise centres to the development of more sustainable communities'.

well as with co-workers of Freehouse and other people who are stakeholder or interested in the projects of Freehouse.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH QUALITY

In this section I will first describe how the data were analysed. Subsequently I will deal with the rigour of my research. In order to assess this rigour, the framework presented by Gibbert, Ruigrok and Wicki (2008)¹⁷ will be used. This framework contains four criteria for assessing the rigour of case studies, namely internal validity, construct validity, external validity and reliability. Moreover, for every criterion this framework gives a list of research measures or actions that case study researchers may take in order to increase the extent to which the criterion concerned is met. However, as internal validity refers to the causal relationships between variables and results, this is not a relevant criterion for this research. Since this research involves an ideographic case study consisting of two cases in which creative entrepreneurship in a deprived neighbourhood is stimulated, the emphasis in this research is on a detailed description of the two cases in order to get a better understanding, instead of on investigating causal relationships (cf. Braster, 2000). Therefore, the criterion of internal validity will not be used. On the contrary, the other three criteria are relevant and will be addressed below.

Data analysis

All semi-structured interviews as well as the focus group discussions and the international meetings were recorded and fully transcribed. All transcriptions were analysed by thematic coding, supplemented with open coding. The codes used for the thematic coding were derived from the topic lists that were used for the interviews. After this, axial coding took place, where the codes were validated by comparing all pieces of text with the same code (Boeije, 2014). For the coding process I made use of ATLAS.ti, a program for qualitative data research. Further, during or just after the observations took place, notes were taken, which were analysed afterwards.

Construct validity

Construct validity deals with the extent to which research investigates what it claims to investigate. In order to guarantee the construct validity of this research, various research measures or actions have been undertaken. In order to look at the two initiatives from different perspectives, triangulation of data and methods has been used. As has been described before in section 2.5, both new and existing data have been collected through various methods, namely literature

¹⁷ This framework is based on the framework for assessing the rigour of field research developed by Cook and Campbell (1979), which was later adapted to the case study methodology by Yin (1994).

review, document analysis, in-depth interviewing, focus groups, participatory observation and informal conversations.

Furthermore, in order to increase the validity of the results, member checks took place in various ways. In the first place, the transcriptions of the interviews were returned to the interviewees, often with complementary clarifying questions. The interviewees were asked to check if the text was correct and to answer the questions. Their comments have been incorporated into the data. Second, after the focus group discussion with eight creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory, I presented a summary of the results during a meeting of the sponsoring partners. This was done in the first place in order to verify if these results were recognised by the partners. Moreover, this resulted in a discussion during the meeting concerning the desirable and actual effects of the Creative Factory on the entrepreneurs as well as on the neighbourhood and improvements the Creative Factory could make in order for the desirable effects to take place. As a result of this discussion the partners decided to include more often a discussion with some of the creative entrepreneurs as one of the agenda items for the partner meetings, in order to mutually elucidate what has been done and to strengthen the network of partners and entrepreneurs¹⁸. Third, based on the results of the focus group and the interviews with eight creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory, a research article has been written, which was included in a publication on the cooperation of the University of Applied Sciences and the Creative Factory (Nijkamp, 2012). The concept of this article has been presented to the director of the Creative Factory with a request to verify the facts. His comments have been processed. In the fourth place, based on the results of the interviews with stakeholders of the projects initiated by Freehouse, another two articles have been written, namely an article for a magazine about art and culture in Rotterdam (Nijkamp, 2014) and a peer-reviewed research article (Nijkamp, Kuiper, & Burgers, 2014). The concept of these two articles has also been presented to the co-workers of Freehouse, and their comments concerning the correctness of the facts have been taken into account.

Another problem with the construct validity of a research project consists of participants being at pains to provide socially desirable answers. This might have played a role in the focus group discussion and the interviews with the entrepreneurs of the Creative Factory. It is possible that the entrepreneurs did not want to express certain critical comments in a focus group or a non-anonymous face-to-face interview, as they might have associated me with the management of the Creative Factory and therefore did not want to be too critical because of fear of the possible consequences, in particular termination of their rental contracts. They all had a contract with a clause requiring an annual evaluation, after which the contract would be renewed or not. However, this turned out to be no problem, because the entrepreneurs were all rather critical.

¹⁸ This decision has been incorporated in the minutes of the partner meeting of October 28th 2011.

Moreover, it appeared from the focus groups and the interviews that at the time of my research much more effort than before was required to attract sufficient tenants to fill the Creative Factory space, which further reduced the possible risk of termination of their rental contracts.

As with the Creative Factory, it is also possible that some respondents who are involved in Freehouse's projects gave answers they thought I wanted to hear. This holds especially for the neighbourhood residents who are involved in the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Neighbourhood Studio. Some of them might have associated me with Freehouse and therefore could have been afraid that if they would be too critical, they would not be allowed to volunteer in the Kitchen or Studio any more, in which case they would receive no volunteer fee. This might have been aggravated by the fact that I am a native Dutch person, while most of the interviewed volunteers are not. However, this fear did not play a big part in my research, as it turned out that the Kitchen and the Studio were in search of additional volunteers all the time. Further, some of the interviewed volunteers had a paid job elsewhere and therefore were not dependent on the Kitchen or Studio. Another reason for giving socially desirable answers might be that the volunteers did not want to utter criticism to an outsider, especially not concerning their mutual cooperation. During the interviews I experienced indeed that some of the volunteers did not say much concerning their mutual cooperation, only that 'everybody is friendly and we understand each other; it goes well'. However, other volunteers were more critical, one of them mentioning explicitly 'misunderstandings among us when we are too busy and people getting easily irritated'.

Another possible problem with the construct validity has to do with the sampling of the people who participated in the focus group and the interviews. The creative entrepreneurs who participated in the focus group discussion and the interviews had been purposely selected in such a way that the resulting sample of eight entrepreneurs contained maximum variation concerning one variable, namely the sector in which the entrepreneur is active, while at the same time also containing variation concerning three other variables, namely cultural background, level of experience and length of stay in the Creative Factory. The sampling was done in this way in order to be able to learn about as many different opinions and perspectives as possible. In order to recruit the entrepreneurs, I put out a call in the weekly newsletter of the Creative Factory. However, as the set of entrepreneurs that responded to this call was too small and not varied enough, additional entrepreneurs were contacted personally by the manager of the Creative Factory. Although this resulted in the desired variation concerning the four mentioned variables, chances are that the manager especially approached entrepreneurs who support the Creative Factory most. However, none of the entrepreneurs turned out to be hesitant to say critical things about the Creative Factory and the activities it undertakes. Further, it turned out that the entrepreneurs who participated in my research all feel involved in the Creative Factory to a certain extent. It is likely that entrepreneurs who feel especially involved responded to

the call in the newsletter, while less involved entrepreneurs did not. This is supported by my observation that the group of entrepreneurs participating in this research greatly overlaps with the groups of entrepreneurs participating in other activities organised by the Creative Factory. Further, during the interviews the entrepreneurs also declared that they are part of the small group of entrepreneurs that mostly participates in these activities. As even the entrepreneurs who participate in the activities organised by the Creative Factory are quite critical concerning the value of these initiatives for them, it can be expected that a considerable share of the non-participating entrepreneurs is even more critical about this value.

The same concerns about sampling and construct validity also apply to the research on Freehouse. I started with interviewing people who were most involved in Freehouse's projects and recruited further respondents by snowball sampling, whereby every respondent was asked to mention other people who might be useful to interview. By sampling in this way there is a risk that people who are in favour of Freehouse are mentioned and included, while potential respondents who are more critical are not. However, although this may have had some influence, the effect should not be exaggerated. As I encouraged all respondents to mention several other persons who were involved in different ways and with different levels of intensity, I was able to interview a diverse range of people, a considerable part of whom did not appear to hesitate to be critical. Further, all respondents have been approached personally by me, except the volunteers of the Neighbourhood Kitchen, who have been approached by the coordinator of the Kitchen, who is also a volunteer herself. According to her, not every volunteer was willing to cooperate. Here again chances are that she especially approached volunteers who are most in favour of the Kitchen. This did not turn out to be the case, as some of the volunteers I interviewed were quite critical. Like the total population of Kitchen co-workers the interviewed volunteers differed in education level, cultural background and period during which they were involved in the Kitchen.

External validity

External validity refers to the generalisability of the results to other settings. It has to be remarked that this does not concern statistical generalisability, as case studies do not allow for this, but analytical generalisability, which refers to the generalisation of empirical observations to theory, instead of to a population (Yin, 1994). From the literature review in chapter 2 it turns out that since the publication of Florida's *'The rise of the creative class'* in 2002, many initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship with the aim of urban regeneration have been started in miscellaneous cities and countries. These initiatives concern on the one hand area-targeted initiatives like the Creative Factory, and on the other hand people-targeted ones like Freehouse. So it can be established that the two initiatives that are studied in this research fit in with the international literature.

Furthermore, some of the data of this research have been collected as part of two international projects. During these projects, an international symposium and various workshops took place, in which representatives of various initiatives concerning creative enterprise centres in several cities and countries participated. As every initiative has its own context, the insights and conclusions of this research cannot immediately be generalised to the other initiatives. However, there may be a certain amount of transferability of some results to certain other initiatives, as apart from all the differences in context, the initiatives may also have some things in common. In chapter 7 I will come back to this.

Reliability

Reliability of research concerns the question of whether subsequent researchers would arrive at the same insights if they would conduct a study along the same lines again. The key words here are transparency and replication (Gibbert, Ruigrok, & Wicki, 2008). In order to attain transparency, a case study protocol has been constructed. This protocol specifies how the research has been conducted, including the research questions, the way of sampling, a description of the fieldwork and the topic lists. Moreover, in order to facilitate replication, a case study database has been put together, with primary and secondary research data, including interview transcripts, field notes and documents.

Continuation of this book

When combining the review of relevant literature pertaining to the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration, which was described in chapter 2, with the analysis of the results of my research, it becomes apparent that three themes are especially relevant for both initiatives, namely 1) the role of creative talent within the initiative; 2) the formation and use of social networks and 3) the contribution of the initiative to the regeneration of the neighbourhood. Consequently, in this thesis these three themes are used as a framework for describing the research results. In chapter 4 the role of the use of creative talent in both initiatives is analysed. Chapter 5 elaborates on the development of social networks within both initiatives and the use of these social networks. In addition, the contributions that both initiatives make to the regeneration of the neighbourhood are discussed in chapter 6. Finally, chapter 7 contains a summary of the results and the final conclusions. Moreover, the broader implications of this research are discussed and some recommendations are made.



N.V. GRAANSILOM



CREATIVE
FACTORY

TAA

Chapter 4

Role of creative talent

'The grain warehouse as a "creative landmark" in Rotterdam will grab people's imagination as a place of new opportunities and creative success. Such a vital, economic environment in its turn will draw like a magnet successful businesses and entrepreneurs that would otherwise flee to other cities, particularly Amsterdam' (Creative Factory, 2006: 4).

'We wondered, if we talk about creative cities and about creative enterprises, what could that mean for a city like Rotterdam that is very much based on labour activities? Freehouse came into being because it wanted to look for a match between skill-based creativity and more high-end creativity, between arts and crafts, but also to look at creativity as a means of taking part in a genuine society and that creativity is something that is of all of us, not of a happy few' (founder Freehouse).

The Creative Factory as well as the projects initiated by Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk aim at stimulating creative entrepreneurship for the purpose of economic growth. At the basis of both initiatives is the premise that creative talent should be stimulated, because it is the most important source of economic growth (cf. Florida, 2002). Further, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, both initiatives intend to contribute to the development and regeneration of the surrounding deprived neighbourhoods.

The roles that creative talent is supposed to play within both initiatives differ considerably however, as is also demonstrated in the two quotes¹⁹ above. The Creative Factory especially aims at the creation of a place where creative talent is stimulated and developed and in doing so attracts companies from within as well as outside Rotterdam. Freehouse on the contrary particularly aims at using the hidden creative talents of neighbourhood residents and making these talents visible.

This chapter contains an analysis of the ways in which the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse deploy creative talent with the aim of stimulating creative entrepreneurship in the neighbourhood. First, the intended role of creative talent at the start of both initiatives is described, followed by an analysis of the kind of creativity at which both projects aim. Subsequently, it is analysed how creative talent is used and made visible within both initiatives. One of the themes that will be addressed is the use of creative talent for the purpose of the development of innovative solutions for social issues. Dutch politics has a lot of interest in this topic. This becomes evident in Dutch top sectors policy, in which much is expected from sector-overarching cooperation, the so-called crossovers, between the top sector Creative Industries and experts and stakeholders from other top sectors, including the top sector Life Sciences and

¹⁹ Apart from the international meetings that were part of the two international research projects, the other meetings and all of the interviews were in Dutch, so almost all of the quotes are translations.

Health, of which the health- and wellbeing sector is part²⁰. At the end of this chapter conclusions are drawn concerning the actual role of creative talent in both initiatives.

4.1 INTENDED ROLE OF CREATIVE TALENT

Many national and local governments including the City of Rotterdam launched their creative city policy with reference to Florida's creative city thesis (2002). According to this thesis creativity is the most important source of economic growth, and therefore cities should strain themselves to the outmost to attract and retain creative professionals. The vision of the Creative Factory, which was developed in 2009, is inspired by this creative city thesis (Creative Factory, 2009). According to this vision young and creative entrepreneurs are supposed to be essential for 'the growth of neighbourhoods, cities, countries and continents'. The Creative Factory aims to attract these creative entrepreneurs and stimulate their development by offering accommodation and services that are tailored to the desires of starting creative entrepreneurs and established businesses willing to cooperate with these starters. The Creative Factory uses the slogan 'Creative Factory. Connecting Creative Communities'. By connecting creative and business communities the Creative Factory intends to benefit not only neighbourhoods and cities, but also larger areas, by the strength of these communities.

In this way the Creative Factory also aims to contribute to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods. Because of its establishment in the outstanding Maassilo, the Creative Factory is supposed to function as an icon, which attracts businesses from within and outside Rotterdam. In this way the Creative Factory is supposed to be an example of what Evans (2005: 967-70) calls 'culture-led regeneration', in which cultural activity is seen as catalyst and engine of regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Because of its functioning as an icon, the Creative Factory is supposed to become the symbol of the creative and especially the economic development of the surrounding neighbourhoods. As was already mentioned in section 3.4, because of this intended contribution to the regeneration of the environment the policy concerning the stimulation of the creative industries could be connected with the policy for urban regeneration, as a result of which the rebuilding of the Maassilo could be financed from the budget for enterprise zones. This method of financing aligns with Pratt's (2011) observation that 'as culture and creativity are often used for economic and social purposes, the money spent on cultural projects mainly comes from regeneration or social inclusion budgets'.

²⁰ See <http://www.clicknl.nl/crossovers/>.

Freehouse has been developed as a model that is inspired by the medieval free house, which offers a place to outsiders who do not possess the social, cultural and economic infrastructure to participate in formal political and social life, but nonetheless operate within the informal economy (Van Heeswijk, 2011). Since 2004 the Freehouse model has been developed in West Rotterdam. It aims at stimulating creative production and economic independence by setting up spaces where local creative entrepreneurs and people with creative talents, young people and artists can come together to exchange knowledge, experiences and ideas. The aim is on the one hand to strengthen their economic position and on the other hand to increase their socio-cultural self-awareness. In 2008 Freehouse started its activities in the Afrikaanderwijk. Many residents of this multicultural neighbourhood are deprived of, among other things, education and work. Freehouse wants to use the creative talents of these residents and make them visible. Therefore, Freehouse looks for hidden creative talents, as indicated in the following quote from the founder of Freehouse:

'We started to knock on doors, trying almost to smoke out the kind of creativity that exists. To go to all kinds of neighbourhood activities and just look for existing skills and creative qualities and start bringing them together....' (founder Freehouse).

By these activities Freehouse intends to insure that the Afrikaanderwijk also can take advantage of the major projects that take place in the adjacent neighbourhoods, which are designed among other things to turn Rotterdam into a creative city. Freehouse connects designers and artists with neighbourhood residents with creative talents. By realising these connections Freehouse intends to employ the creative capabilities of creative professionals in order to make use of the creative talents of residents. Hence Freehouse aims at the development of creative talents of residents in the first place, and not necessarily on the stimulation of creative professionals. On the other hand, the Creative Factory exclusively aims at attracting and stimulating creative professionals. The vision of the Creative Factory is inspired by Florida's creative city thesis (2002). Although the premise that creativity is the most important source of economic growth also underlies the projects initiated by Freehouse, Freehouse can be considered a counter-reaction to this creative city thesis, which intends to attract creative professionals. The founder of Freehouse shares the views of many authors who have criticised the creative city thesis for aiming primarily at creating favourable urban environments for attracting a new urban elite, rather than improving the problematic living conditions of the current residents of deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. Jarvis et al., 2009; Peck, 2005). Therefore she wants to provide a counterbalance through Freehouse by using the creative talents of neighbourhood residents and stimulating their economic independence.

4.2 CULTURAL DEMOCRACY VERSUS CULTURAL DEMOCRATISATION

Freehouse handles a broad definition of the concept of creativity²¹, namely

'everything with which people express their own cultural identity' (founder Freehouse).

Hence for Freehouse creative production can relate to all kinds of activities and sectors. This definition fits in with what Bailey et al. (2004) call 'cultural democracy', which takes as a starting point the community itself and seeks to empower people by providing them with the springboard from which they can discover their own creativity. In the original business plan the Creative Factory was ascribed a function as a springboard for youngsters from the neighbourhood as well. However, in the adapted business case from 2006 there is no question of this anymore. This business case states that the Creative Factory is intended to accommodate businesses belonging to five sectors: media, design, music & events, fashion and business services (Creative Factory, 2006). In addition to four creative sectors, according to the director of the Creative Factory a deliberate choice has been made to add business services, in order to create an interplay, causing on the one hand the creative entrepreneurs to make the business services more creative and on the other hand the creative enterprises to become more commercial because of interaction with the business services.

There are no traces of the original purpose of cultural democracy in the amended business case. Instead of performing a springboard function for youngsters from the neighbourhood, the creative entrepreneurs housed in the Creative Factory are ascribed a role model function for residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods by, in particular, the housing association Vestia:

'It is a breeding ground for young, creative entrepreneurship and that actually is a group that we are seeking for the neighbourhoods, in order to show the current residents, who are somewhat stuck in a rut: "Gee, this can also be achieved!"' (representative Vestia).

Hence Vestia does not think of the Creative Factory as a means to help neighbourhood residents develop their own creativity, but rather as a way to make neighbourhood residents acquainted with other forms of creativity that are new to them. Vestia hopes that this will inspire neighbourhood residents to develop in ways that differ from what is usual within their social network. In fact, many deprived residents of the Afrikaanderwijk and other neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam only have a very limited social network that is very locally oriented, causing them to come mainly into contact with people who are in the same situation as they are. The

²¹ Freehouse itself uses here the word 'culture', but as mentioned in the introduction of chapter 2, in this thesis a broad definition of the creative industries is used, which comprises culture. Because of the use of this broad definition 'culture' has been replaced by 'creativity'.

presence of creative entrepreneurs in the nearby Creative Factory offers them the opportunity to come into contact with a different type of people, who do different things for a living than what they are used to. The fact that Vestia thinks of the creative entrepreneurs as role models for the neighbourhood residents implies that Vestia considers the Creative Factory an example of cultural democratisation (Bailey et al., 2004), aimed at making the forms of creativity which are present within the Creative Factory more accessible, especially related to the four above-mentioned creative sectors.

At the start of the Creative Factory five times as many entrepreneurs applied as the number of workplaces available. The initial intention was to accommodate a balanced representation of entrepreneurs from the five targeted sectors, at the same time aiming for cultural diversity. At the opening all of the 70 available workplaces were occupied by entrepreneurs and co-workers of 47 businesses from the five mentioned sectors. Most of these entrepreneurs came from outside South Rotterdam and some from outside Rotterdam. Table 4.1 gives a summary of a few characteristics of these businesses. This table is based on information from the magazine about the Creative Factory that was published at the official opening in May 2008 (Creative Factory, 2008)²².

Table 4.1: Characteristics of businesses in the Creative Factory (May 2008)

Sector	N° of businesses	N° of businesses with only indigenous entrepreneurs	N° of businesses consisting of 1 entrepreneur without employees
Design	14	10	10
Fashion	2	2	2
Music & events	8	1	2
Media	13	8 ¹⁾	5 ¹⁾
Business	10	7 ²⁾	4 ²⁾
Total	47	28	23

Source: magazine about the Creative Factory (Creative Factory, 2008)

¹⁾ unknown for 2 businesses

²⁾ unknown for 1 business

At the opening the design cluster and the media cluster were the largest, while the fashion cluster was the smallest, as the workplaces are too small to accommodate a sewing studio; moreover a sewing studio would cause too much noise. The music & events cluster was also relatively small, consisting mainly of record labels and studios for recording music²³. In most clusters the vast majority of the entrepreneurs have an indigenous background. However, in

²² This magazine contains two pages of information for every business that is established in the Creative Factory at the moment of the opening. For most businesses the text is based on an interview with the entrepreneur(s) of the business.

²³ See Directieverslag Creative Factory 2008.

music & events most entrepreneurs come from the Caribbean. The entrepreneurs of the other four clusters who are not indigenous come from various countries in mainly Europe and Asia. Further, the last column of this table shows that approximately half of the entrepreneurs are freelancers.

The level of education of the entrepreneurs is not included in the table, as for a lot of entrepreneurs this is not known. The Creative Factory magazine supplied the most information about the level of education of the design entrepreneurs; the entrepreneurs of at least 9 out of the 14 businesses in this cluster had at least finished higher vocational education, mostly art school. Further, most of the entrepreneurs in the media and the business clusters for whom the level of education is known had finished higher vocational education or university. It is striking that the text does not explicitly state educational levels for any of the entrepreneurs in the music & events cluster. A number of texts suggest that the music & events entrepreneurs do not have higher education and are autodidact in the field of music. Some of them have been involved with music since their youth. Further, some of the entrepreneurs in this cluster first took on a profession of a very different sort, like bookkeeping, before they became professional musicians.

At first glance the sectors the Creative Factory chose seem much more demarcated than in the case of Freehouse. The five designated sectors are used internally as well as externally to communicate about the businesses that are established within the Creative Factory. The five sectors also take shape in the logo that the Creative Factory has used since the opening. This logo consists of five interlocking cogs, where every cog represents one of the sectors and has its own colour. However, in practice this explicit classification turns out to be inconvenient, as there are many overlaps between the sectors. For instance, a company with a sound studio where music and sound are composed and produced for, among other things movies, commercials and games, can be included in the media cluster as well as in the cluster music & events.

Because of this overlap the subdivision into the five mentioned sectors turned out not to be convenient. From 2011 this subdivision is no longer used. Subsequently, the five colours in the logo with the cogs were replaced by grey. The abolition of the five subdivisions mainly has practical consequences; it does not reflect any explicit change in the profiling of the Creative Factory. As one undifferentiated list of businesses is not deemed clear, the businesses were subdivided into the categories Architecture/Interior, Photo/Video/Audio, Graphic, IT/Online, PR/Communication and Events/Other on the Creative Factory website.

In the years since its opening the Creative Factory has been completely full, apart from friction vacancy, notwithstanding the fact that entrepreneurs leave the Creative Factory regularly. Nonetheless, the composition of the group of entrepreneurs that is established in the Creative

Factory has changed. This is caused among other things by the fact that because of problems with poor payers the selection policy has been adapted to alleviate this problem as much as possible:

'I am surely into risk taking, but there has been a period during which we had so much hassle with poor payers and the like, who unfortunately always came from the Caribbean indeed, that you become more careful in this' (director Creative Factory).

As described in section 3.5, in 2011 a focus group discussion and interviews took place with eight entrepreneurs established in the Creative Factory. At the time of the discussion and interviews with these entrepreneurs, almost all record labels and music studios had left the Creative Factory. Of the original 47 businesses only one in three was still established in the Creative Factory. Although at the start of the Creative Factory the majority of the entrepreneurs were indigenous, there was also a group of entrepreneurs of allochtone origin, as described above. However, a large part of this group of allochtone entrepreneurs fell within the sector music & events, so after the departure of the record labels and music studios the number of allochtone entrepreneurs decreased further. At the time of the focus group discussion and the interviews about twenty per cent of the businesses still had an allochtone owner. Although accordingly the Creative Factory has become much 'whiter' than at the opening, there is still some diversity concerning cultural backgrounds. However, there is hardly any diversity concerning the levels of education. Although the level of education has never been a selection criterion for the entrepreneurs, from the opening a large part of the entrepreneurs have finished higher education. The less educated entrepreneurs mainly belonged to the sector music & events. The departure of almost all record labels and music studios also led to the departure of the vast majority of these less educated entrepreneurs. Consequently it can be concluded that although from the start the selection policy of the Creative Factory aimed at stimulating cultural diversity, it resulted in the housing of 'an almost exclusively graduate level workforce' (cf. Jarvis et al., 2009).

For the focus group and the interviews eight entrepreneurs were selected with various cultural backgrounds, from different sectors and varying in terms of years of experience and length of stay in the Creative Factory. Table 4.2 contains an overview of a number of characteristics of these entrepreneurs and their businesses. Three of the entrepreneurs lived in South Rotterdam, whereas the other entrepreneurs lived elsewhere in Rotterdam, or outside Rotterdam. Moreover, none of the three entrepreneurs who lived in South Rotterdam lived in the Afrikaanderwijk, or in one of the other two deprived neighbourhoods surrounding the Creative Factory. Two of them lived in one of the neighbourhoods at the border of South Rotterdam, where, in addition to renovation, there is a lot of new construction resulting from the extension of the city centre of Rotterdam to the south. Almost all entrepreneurs finished higher education. Further, the table shows that at the time of the interviews some of the entrepreneurs housed in the

Creative Factory did not have much connection to the five sectors designated at the opening, for example an entrepreneur who specialises in the improvement of scaffolds. Apparently other unrelated businesses were also admitted into the Creative Factory. As one of the entrepreneurs suggested, this may be a cost-covering measure, with more importance being attached to a full facility than to the fostering of these five sectors. Indeed, in the years after the opening of the Creative Factory other enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs have also been opened in Rotterdam, making it more difficult to keep the Creative Factory fully tenanted.

Table 4.2: Characteristics of the interviewed entrepreneurs and their businesses

Business		Entrepreneur					
Business activities	N° of entrepreneurs	Education	Cultural back-ground	Domicile	Experience as entrepreneur (in years)	Years in Creative Factory	
1 Talent development for youngsters	1	Higher vocational	Surinamese	South Rotterdam	3	2	
2 Construction and real estate management	1	Higher vocational	Indigenous	Rest of Rotterdam	<1	<1	
3 Sound design for media	4	Higher vocational	Indigenous	South Rotterdam	9	3	
4 Branding and marketing	1	Higher vocational	Indigenous	Rest of Rotterdam	1	1	
5 Online labour market communication	2	Higher vocational	Indigenous	South Rotterdam	3	<1	
6 Development of scaffolds	1	Higher vocational ¹⁾	Turkish	Rest of Rotterdam	1	<1	
7 Animation and visualisation design	4	Higher vocational	Indigenous	Rest of Rotterdam	6	3	
8 Online communication strategy	3	Higher vocational	Indigenous	Outside Rotterdam	5	<1 ²⁾	

¹⁾ not finished yet

²⁾ this entrepreneur recently merged with two other entrepreneurs who are in the Creative Factory since 2008

However, admitting businesses from other sectors contributed to a lack of clarity of purpose of the Creative Factory, externally as well as internally. This also became apparent in the interviews, in which several entrepreneurs said that they did not know at which kinds of entrepreneurs the Creative Factory aimed:

'I myself have no idea what kind of branch it is and what kind of things there are in the Creative Factory' (entrepreneur online labour market communication).

Neither is it clear for all entrepreneurs if and how they themselves fit in the Creative Factory:

'When I look at myself the question is of course how creative am I. I am indeed an entrepreneur and I surely try to be innovative within the construction sector, but I am not a webdesigner. I am not a visual designer' (entrepreneur construction and real estate management).

Most of the interviewed entrepreneurs hardly have any customers in South Rotterdam, apart from sometimes one or more customers within the Creative Factory. An exception to this is an entrepreneur who concerns himself with talent development of youngsters, by helping them organise and execute projects aimed at other youngsters, like for instance a football camp, a network meeting and a talent show. Some of these projects especially aim at youngsters in South Rotterdam, whereas other projects aim at a broader target group.

Most entrepreneurs focused on Rotterdam and environs, whereas the customers of others were more scattered across the Netherlands. Furthermore, a few entrepreneurs also had one or more customers abroad. The sectors within which most entrepreneurs operate, aim at a regional or national market instead of a local market. Further, most businesses aim at the business-to-business market instead of at private customers. Although none of these entrepreneurs found it necessary to have customers in the neighbourhoods that surround the Creative Factory, for some entrepreneurs it was certainly important that their business was housed not too far away from their customers. This holds for instance for an entrepreneur who produces sound for, among other things, movies and games:

'When you are into sound or audio, this is often the last stage of a project. We are used to working under much pressure of time and very last-minute and then it is much handier when it is nearby' (entrepreneur sound design for media).

As reported, the customers of most entrepreneurs were scattered across the region of Rotterdam, or across all of the Netherlands, so these entrepreneurs cannot establish themselves in close proximity to all their customers. Conversely, none of the interviewed entrepreneurs indicated that one or more customers had established themselves within the immediate proximity of the Creative Factory because of the presence of the business of this entrepreneur. As most entrepreneurs did not have any customers in the surrounding neighbourhoods, it was not imperative for their business that they made contacts in these neighbourhoods. Since most of the entrepreneurs did not live in these neighbourhoods either, there had not been much contact between the creative entrepreneurs and the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods. For this reason the entrepreneurs assumed that the Creative Factory is unknown to many of these neighbourhood residents:

'I think that a lot of people do not know the Creative Factory. I think that the Creative Factory is at quite a distance from the people who live here' (entrepreneur branding and marketing).

As mentioned in the preceding section, the Creative Factory aims at attracting creative entrepreneurs and stimulating their development. Because of its housing in the outstanding Maasillo, the Creative Factory is supposed to function as an icon, causing it to serve as a magnet for successful businesses and entrepreneurs, as mentioned in the first quote at the beginning of this chapter. At the start, the Creative Factory indeed held a significant attraction for creative entrepreneurs. Five times as many entrepreneurs applied as could be accommodated by the number of available workplaces. However, this demand had more to do with a lack of suitable premises for starting creative entrepreneurs and much less to do with the supposed iconic value of the Maasillo. Hence some years later, when other possibilities for accommodation became available, the appeal of the Creative Factory for creative entrepreneurs decreased. It then took much more effort to fill the Creative Factory completely. Further, the Creative Factory is unknown to many neighbourhood residents. Hence the supposed functioning as an icon and the supposed attraction for creative entrepreneurs do not appear to be present. Consequently, there is no question of culture-led regeneration, but at best of cultural regeneration, where activities aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship are integrated into area regeneration strategies on a more equal level with other activities (Evans, 2005).

According to the original business plan, the Creative Factory would contribute to cultural democracy by functioning as a springboard for youngsters from the neighbourhood. In the adapted business case of 2006 there is no longer any question of a contribution to cultural democracy. On the contrary, Vestia in particular designates the creative entrepreneurs as role models for neighbourhood residents. The entrepreneurs are supposed to contribute to cultural democratisation by making the forms of creativity that are present within the Creative Factory more accessible to these neighbourhood residents. However, it turns out that since the opening of the Creative Factory in 2008 there is little contact between the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods. Consequently, most entrepreneurs do not perform a role model function for neighbourhood residents. Therefore, it can be noted that from the perspective of these residents, in fact there is neither question of cultural democracy, nor of cultural democratisation.

4.3 SHOWING AND USING CREATIVE TALENT

The Creative Factory is supposed to be a place where new developments and trends arise and thus to be able to deliver added value to large companies. Therefore initially the idea arose to conclude partner or sponsor agreements with a number of well-known companies, which were

expected to result in a constructive interplay (Creative Factory, 2006). On the one hand, these well-known companies determined how they could contribute to the development of the Creative Factory. On the other hand, the Creative Factory was intended to provide opportunities for organising brainstorm sessions with the creative entrepreneurs and rooms that can be used for presentations and meetings with business relations or target groups. The companies that sponsor the Creative Factory are referred to as partners or partner organisations in Creative Factory communications, and that is how they are also referred to in this thesis. Between 2008 and 2012 miscellaneous organisations became partners, including housing association Vestia, Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, Rabobank and the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra. Four of these partners sponsor the Creative Factory financially, while the other organisations contribute in kind by their networks and expertise.

Every two months a partner meeting takes place in the Creative Factory, in which the partners, the director, the manager and the coach of the Creative Factory participate. During the partner meetings opportunities for cooperation are discussed, as well as activities to be initiated by the Creative Factory. It turns out that the positioning of the Creative Factory is not only sometimes unclear for the entrepreneurs, but also for the partners, as is shown by the following quote of one of the partners during a partner meeting:

'It took half a year until I understood everything the Creative Factory undertakes' (representative Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra).

Moreover, the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra is one of the few partners who became a partner because the Creative Factory houses creative entrepreneurs. The orchestra sees the benefits of involving creative entrepreneurs in for instance the fields of graphic design, online applications and the organisation of events in various of its projects. Besides, as the Creative Factory is filled with young people, the orchestra also sees the benefits of being able to use each other's networks, since the orchestra wants to reach a younger target group than it has heretofore. The motivations of the other partners for being involved in the Creative Factory appear to relate especially to stimulating the growth of the creative businesses and increasing their own clientele, or to contributing to the regeneration of South Rotterdam. The stimulation of the creative entrepreneurs mainly concerns the amelioration of their entrepreneurial skills and not the further development of their creative abilities. The fact that it concerns specifically creative entrepreneurs is of secondary importance to these partners. It turns out that in practice the partners hardly make use of the creative abilities of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory. This is expressed by several interviewed entrepreneurs, as the following quote illustrates:

'I do not feel that Rabobank assigns its creative projects within the Creative Factory. Nor do I feel that those organisations offer orders for websites or other creative things they are undertaking, or other questions, within the Creative Factory' (entrepreneur online labour market communication).

This subject was discussed several times during the partner meetings, after which the representative of Vestia took the initiative for a communications scan to be done, having creative entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory screen Vestia's communications and house style. After a briefing from Vestia on the current situation in the field of communications, a brainstorm meeting took place with a number of creative entrepreneurs. Subsequently, these entrepreneurs could pitch their proposals to optimise the communications of Vestia, which could possibly lead to an order. However, this communications scan did not result in one or more orders for the creative entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs perceived Vestia's request as very general and abstract, causing the underlying need to be unclear for them. Consequently they found it very hard to present a suitable pitch.

Unlike the Creative Factory, Freehouse aims in particular to display and use the creative talents of residents of the Afrikaanderwijk. In 2008 Freehouse started in the Afrikaanderwijk with the project 'Tomorrow's Market', aimed at the revitalisation of the Afrikaander market. Although the Afrikaander market has a key function in the area, it doesn't function well any more, which is made clear by an attenuation of the supply and decreasing sales. Freehouse wanted to showcase locally produced products and skills existing in the neighbourhood. It also wanted to show the opportunities the market offers for selling locally produced products on a small scale. According to the founder of Freehouse, during a period of two years Freehouse made more than 300 small-scale interventions in the market in order to show local production and local creativity.

'We used a lot of these existing skills that normally you do not see on the street. For instance, there are a lot of stalls on the market that sell shawls and there is a group in the area that is called 'A Special Shawl' that actually has a kind of Tupperware party in homes to show the latest fashions for hijabs from Dubai to Morocco. Of course, they never do that in public, but it is interesting, so we ask these people to also demonstrate how they do that in public. Not only does it create a lot of attention and discussion, but also it starts showing entrepreneurial aspects and creative entrepreneurship in the area of the market, because they make a living from it' (founder Freehouse).

These interventions included the restyling of market stalls and the development of new market stalls, the development of new products, and the addition of services and performances, with the intention of giving the market more appeal. In each of these interventions an artist or

designer was linked to a market trader. Further, Freehouse initiated several projects in which artists and designers were also linked to neighbourhood residents with creative talents. Several of these projects concerned the production of fashion in cooperation with local seamstresses supplied by Freehouse. In the project 'Suit it Yourself' one of the involved designers was tasked with finding ways to use materials from the Afrikaander market to develop products that could be produced and sold by residents of the Afrikaanderwijk. Besides stimulating creative production using the creative talents of neighbourhood residents, a secondary objective of this project is to promote social inclusion of neighbourhood residents, and especially of allochtone women, by reducing their isolation. The Afrikaanderwijk indeed has a very multicultural population that mostly has limited education, resulting in many neighbourhood residents being unemployed and many allochtone women rarely leaving their homes, causing them to lead an isolated life. This social isolation is considered a societal challenge, which this project was designed to overcome. The involved designer described this project:

'It had to be very accessible and easy to make. So I had boleros that I made from shawls. You double fold the shawl, you sew sleeves in it and thread a ribbon through it, resulting in a bolero which can be worn in miscellaneous ways, for instance as a headscarf, but also as a shawl' (designer).

Subsequently she started making these boleros with several already existing sewing groups in a mosque and a community centre, followed by the production of other products like bags. These were sold in a market stall, which was staffed by the seamstresses, together with Freehouse co-workers. This did not proceed without difficulties.

'Especially around such a mosque, where tradition reigns and the men pass by the market and talk about the fact that your wife is in the market stall, this indeed led to problems. And yet, the women who eventually continued, grew into this. And you cannot do this without a Freehouse foundation and that is why I also say that it is good when creative professionals cooperate with those socio-professionals, because in this way you really settle things. You are really building a more dynamic society and reducing the isolation of the women' (designer).

When in 2009 housing association Vestia offered Freehouse a small business premises free of charge, Freehouse founded the Neighbourhood Studio and brought the seamstresses together in this building, where, in addition to the production of fashion and accessories like bags, sewing lessons are offered for a small fee. In the Studio, sample collections are produced, as well as orders for (interior) architects, museums and enterprises. For instance, the co-workers of the Neighbourhood Studio worked on orders for fashion students from the Rotterdam art school, who had their final examination collection sewed here. They also produced a corset by

order of the well-known fashion designer Jean Paul Gaultier, which subsequently was exhibited in several museums, among which was the Rotterdam Kunsthall. Further, they produced the fashion for various catwalk shows, as well as the uniforms for the porters of a museum. The cloth for these uniforms was especially designed and woven for this order. Each of these orders is unique, and in every order specific embroidering and sewing techniques are used, which are mastered by one or more women from the Afrikaanderwijk. Every order has a certain artistic value; no standardised production work is done.

In addition to the fashion projects, Freehouse also initiated a project in which a food designer was connected to residents of the Afrikaanderwijk with different cultural backgrounds who can cook. These residents, who are mostly women, are encouraged to turn cooking into their profession and to sell on the market home cooked food with locally bought ingredients. This project resulted in the foundation of the Neighbourhood Kitchen in 2010, where the residents were brought together to prepare multicultural dishes. It is housed in the Gemaal van Zuid, a former water pump station that faces the Afrikaander square, where the market takes place twice a week. The Kitchen runs a catering service, in the Gemaal as well as on location. Further, on market days drinks and lunches are served in the Gemaal, or on the terrace behind the Neighbourhood Kitchen. Moreover, the Kitchen developed its own product line, to which various residents involved contribute. This product line consists of diverse products, for instance chutneys with Pakistani herbs and Moroccan cookies. These products are sold in various Rotterdam shops, including the Neighbourhood Shop, also set up by Freehouse. This Neighbourhood Shop is a concept store with products from mainly young designers from South Rotterdam and surroundings. It sells varying products, ranging from unique garments produced in the adjacent Neighbourhood Studio to ceramics, designer toys and multicultural food.

The Kitchen employs approximately ten neighbourhood residents on a regular basis with additional residents contributing occasionally. For realising assignments the Studio can draw from around fifteen residents. From the start of the Studio and the Kitchen the residents involved worked as volunteers. They get a volunteer fee for their efforts. Most of them are women, but some men are also involved. The neighbourhood residents who are involved in the Kitchen and the Studio have miscellaneous cultural backgrounds, including Pakistani, Moroccan, Peruvian, Surinamese and Turkish. In addition, some of the people involved have a Dutch background. From the interviews with volunteers and other stakeholders of the projects initiated by Freehouse, it becomes clear that most volunteers have limited educations. However, there are also some highly educated co-workers, like the coordinator of the Studio, who finished fashion school in Brussels, and one of the co-workers of the Kitchen, who has been educated as a head cook. Most of the volunteers do not have a paid job and are on benefits, but there are also some volunteers with a paid job. Before joining the Kitchen or the Studio, most volunteers stayed at home. Most of them come from the Afrikaanderwijk and the surrounding neighbourhoods, but

a few live farther away. From the start there has been a constant turnover; time and again new volunteers are recruited. Most neighbourhood residents who join the Kitchen or the Studio are recruited by other involved residents or the coordinator, but also some neighbourhood residents have presented themselves.

'For instance I did not have a Turkish cook and then at a certain moment I looked at Facebook and within my network, and then a Turkish woman presented herself. Sometimes you search for people and sometimes people just enter' (coordinator Neighbourhood Kitchen).

Unlike the Creative Factory, the use of creative talent certainly plays an important role in the motivations of various stakeholders of the projects initiated by Freehouse. According to the founder of Freehouse, a big contemporary problem is that many people cannot connect to the shaping of their daily environment, leading to a feeling of exclusion. This motivated the founder to use her skills as a visual artist to reconnect people with the shaping of their daily environment, by in her words:

'always using my skill-set as an artist, namely the ability to depict things, to serve groups of people who feel excluded' (founder Freehouse).

The motivation of the designer involved in the project 'Suit it Yourself' for cooperating with Freehouse also relates to the use of her own creative abilities in order to contribute to solving societal problems:

'My mission in life is that I as a creative can contribute to these kinds of social processes. And that in this I have an added value compared to socio-professionals, because I work on other things than the problems, in which way maybe the problems can be solved' (designer).

According to this designer, when tackling societal problems, creative professionals have an added value compared to professionals from the social sector who work as creative therapists. These creative professionals use their creative abilities to help people discover new perspectives, offering them new opportunities. A major difference with the way in which social professionals work is the importance that is attached to the design and quality of the products made. This is stressed by several interviewed people and is illustrated for instance in the following quote from the former director of Kosmopolis, which concerns the Neighbourhood Kitchen. She indicates that Freehouse as well as Kosmopolis were very much in favour of

'not only following a welfare line, because that is not what is meant by social design. This clearly also had an economic and a cultural pillar. This also demands something of the women concerning quality. So it is not to say that everything that you produce during this

afternoon is fine. No, this is the standard and we accompany you to attain that standard. This is the standard whereby eventually we can not only make a profit, but also in a sense be of importance for the neighbourhood as a catering business, and whereby indeed we make those talents manifest which we consider important to be brought to light. And you can see that now, there is a label 'Neighbourhood Kitchen' and there are our own recipes, like the potato sambal' (director Kosmopolis).

The coordinator of the Neighbourhood Studio stressed that the Studio also produces art:

'What we produce here is also art. For me it is something more than art. The fact that two different people from two different backgrounds with two different religions, who have a totally different vision on life and a different lifestyle, come together and exchange their ideas' (coordinator Neighbourhood Studio).

Further, one of the co-workers of the Neighbourhood Kitchen indicated that an important reason for her involvement is the fact that she can use her own talents and creativity. She was educated as a head cook and in the meantime found a paid job as a cook in a day care centre, but in addition she still works as a volunteer for the Kitchen.

'Those people have a lot of confidence in me, especially the coordinator, she knows what I can do and sometimes lets me develop and also execute ideas. For instance, the last time we organised a gluten-free dinner. Such things I cannot do everywhere. So what I get from this Neighbourhood Kitchen is the opportunity to use more creativity' (co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen).

Thus the projects, which Freehouse has initiated since its start in the Afrikaanderwijk, have been successful in displaying and using the creative talents of the involved neighbourhood residents. Hence these projects aim to increase cultural democracy (cf. Bailey et al., 2004) by enabling neighbourhood residents to further develop the creative talents they already possess. On the contrary, the stimulation of the creative entrepreneurs who are established in the Creative Factory does not aim at the development of their creative talents, but mainly at the increase of their entrepreneurial skills. The partners also hardly make use of the creative talents of these entrepreneurs.

4.4 FROM FREEHOUSE TO AFRIKAANDER COOPERATIVE: ACTS OF BALANCE

During most of 2013 Freehouse ran the Neighbourhood Value Store in the Gemaal. This Store functioned as a showcase for everything produced and for sale in the neighbourhood, besides

providing a stage for a diverse range of activities, varying from talk shows and debates concerning neighbourhood values to dancing lessons. In this period the foundation of the Afrikaander Cooperative was laid. In January 2014 a three-day conference took place in the Gemaal, closing the Neighbourhood Value Store. Although the Neighbourhood Value Store as well as the earlier projects initiated by Freehouse were aimed explicitly at showing the best the Afrikaanderwijk has to offer concerning talents of neighbourhood residents and products from the neighbourhood, the neighbourhood residents were almost invisible during this conference. The participants of this conference mainly consisted of creative professionals and experts from the Netherlands and abroad, who came from the Freehouse network and exchanged knowledge and discussed matters like new organizational forms and alternative economies. Apart from the co-workers who looked after the catering, hardly any co-workers of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio were present, nor were other neighbourhood residents:

'All kinds of people in the neighbourhood, who use their talents in favour of the neighbourhood, were hardly present and there was indeed a whole highbrow mood of culturally interested people, a whole cultural elite was there. And those two groups hardly combine' (representative organisation in Afrikaanderwijk).

Only when on the last day of the conference a discussion took place in groups on the meaning of the Afrikaander Cooperative for the Afrikaanderwijk did some residents of the Afrikaanderwijk participate; these were mainly co-workers of the Kitchen and the Studio. Although within various projects Freehouse realised connections between creative professionals and neighbourhood residents with creative talents, during the conference it turned out that a rather strict division existed between the two groups. The neighbourhood residents who participated in the activities of the Kitchen and the Studio aimed at creative production did not feel involved in the more philosophical discussions that attract creative professionals and experts from within the Netherlands and beyond.

As described in the preceding sections, over the years Freehouse indeed succeeded with various projects having creative professionals cooperate with groups of residents with creative talents on a small scale. As part of these projects Freehouse and the involved creative professionals invested a lot in developing relations with the neighbourhood residents. This cooperation also resulted in some nice results, like the production of the above-mentioned corset, which has been exhibited in several museums and the garments for various catwalk shows. However, despite these efforts, during the closing symposium of the Neighbourhood Value Store it turned out that there had been no success in really connecting the two groups. The neighbourhood residents have other interests and other cultural experiences than the group of creative professionals from the Netherlands and beyond who were there (cf. Bourdieu, 1984), causing little interaction and knowledge exchange to take place between the two groups. According

to Bourdieu, socio-economic differences are an important cause for these different cultural experiences. Paradoxically, although the activities of Freehouse were intended to counteract disconnection and to enable neighbourhood residents to shape their own environment, the closing symposium did not contribute to social inclusion, but on the contrary led to a feeling of alienation and disconnection. The neighbourhood residents did not feel at home at the symposium, and they were not attracted by the discussions. The starting point of Freehouse, as mentioned in the second quote at the beginning of this chapter, that creativity is for everybody instead of just for a cultural elite and its focus on cultural democracy in fact led to the emergence of two co-existing cultural democracies. One cultural democracy connected to the creative talents of the neighbourhood residents, while the other cultural democracy fit in with the interests of the creative professionals. Apart from through Freehouse hardly any interaction took place between those two cultural democracies, causing them to take little advantage of each other's knowledge and experience.

At the end of this symposium the Afrikaander Cooperative was launched. This Cooperative consists of several sub-coops. One of these sub-coops deals with the development of services like the shared purchase of energy. Another sub-coop facilitates all kinds of things for the purpose of the acquisition of paid work for residents of the Afrikaanderwijk. Further, the Cooperative invests in socio-cultural activities that will be of benefit to the Afrikaanderwijk. The paramount objective of the Cooperative is to promote the collective interests of its members by stimulating local production, cultural development and knowledge exchange within the Afrikaanderwijk, in order to facilitate access to education, paid work or entrepreneurship. The objective of the Afrikaander Cooperative and the objective of Freehouse have in common that both are aimed at stimulating economic independence as well as increasing socio-cultural self-awareness. However, where Freehouse explicitly aims at stimulating creative talent and creative production, the Cooperative aims at all kinds of entrepreneurship and also at access to paid work and education. So the Cooperative has a broader objective than Freehouse and especially aims at promoting economic independence; creative production no longer stands in the foreground. Most new services and activities that the Cooperative initiates, like the collective purchase of energy, have no direct link to creativity, and the Cooperative intends to further develop these activities that are not specifically aimed at stimulating creative talent.

At the start of the Afrikaander Cooperative, the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Neighbourhood Studio become members. Although creative production and creative talent do not play a central role anymore within the Cooperative, they still are prominently present within the Studio. The Studio regularly gets orders from designers. Often, the designers who approach the Studio are part of Freehouse's network of creative professionals within and outside the Netherlands. Also within the Kitchen creativity still plays a role, as demonstrated by the product line initiated by the Kitchen and developed further by its co-workers. Apart from this, the role

of creative production within the Kitchen is limited however, as the Kitchen is mainly aimed at the production of catering meals. Further, within the socio-cultural program of the Cooperative there is also an appeal for creative talent. An example of a socio-cultural activity that is part of this program is the event 'I Speak', which takes place on every last Friday of the month in the Gemaal. 'I Speak' offers a stage for youngsters who do something with spoken word, like comedians, poets and singers. The program is half professional and half amateur, based on the premise that the amateurs can develop their talents by taking advantage of the experience of the professionals. Also various cultural organisations from the Afrikaanderwijk became members at the start of the Cooperative with the underlying thought that in the future these organisations can be more closely involved in the Cooperative, for instance by having them fill a part of the socio-cultural program. However, all in all it can be established that although creative talent still plays a role within the Cooperative, this role has moved much more to the background.

Freehouse also became a member of the Cooperative with the intent of playing more of a monitoring role than an initiating one. Until the foundation of the Cooperative, connections between creative professionals from the Freehouse network and neighbourhood residents with creative talents almost exclusively passed through Freehouse. If the Cooperative wanted to keep using the creative abilities of creative professionals within the Cooperative, then maintaining connections with the network of creative professionals after the withdrawal of Freehouse was important. These connections were especially important for the Studio, in order to acquire new orders and to get new artistic impulses. Thus it was important that the Cooperative also paid attention to showcasing the role that creative talent plays within the Studio and to the value of the varying sewing and embroidering techniques mastered by the co-workers of the Studio. From the start of Freehouse Jeanne van Heeswijk utilized her own creative abilities in order to regularly showcase how creative talent is used and stimulated within the Studio and the other projects initiated by Freehouse. After the start of the Cooperative she continued to do this, for example during the exhibition 'The Value of Nothing' in the autumn of 2014, where work of artists who reflect on the current economies and value systems or who focus on alternatives to those systems was presented in an exhibition space in Rotterdam. For this exhibition Jeanne van Heeswijk created a piece of artwork that represents the Afrikaander Cooperative. It consists of a mobile with light boxes symbolising the different fields of force which have to balance each other within the Cooperative. One of the fields for which an equilibrium must be found within the Cooperative is the importance for the Cooperative of maintaining contacts with the network of creative professionals balanced by the differences in cultural experience between the neighbourhood residents and creative professionals. The text above indicates that contact between the two groups did not come about automatically. Therefore, in order to be able to keep utilising the creative abilities of creative professionals within the Cooperative, it is

necessary that people explicitly continue to take on the role of maintaining contacts with the network of creative professionals, even after Freehouse withdraws.

4.5 UTILIZING PROFESSIONAL CREATIVE TALENT FOR TACKLING SOCIETAL ISSUES

As demonstrated by quotes in this chapter from the founder of Freehouse as well as from one of the designers with whom Freehouse cooperated, it turned out that from the start Freehouse utilised the creative abilities of designers and artists not only to realise creative objectives, but also to tackle a societal issue, namely increasing the social inclusion of neighbourhood residents. Dutch politics also has a substantial interest in using the creative industries for the purpose of dealing with societal issues. This is illustrated by the Dutch top sector policy, where much emphasis is placed on sector transcending cooperation, the so-called crossovers, between the top sector Creative Industries and experts and stakeholders from other top sectors, among which is the top sector Life Sciences & Health, including the healthcare and wellbeing sector²⁴. The underlying principle concerning cross-overs between the creative industries and the healthcare and wellbeing sector is that the creative abilities and power of innovation of the creative professionals can be combined with the substantive knowledge and networks of the healthcare and wellbeing professionals. Creative professionals often look at societal issues in a different way than professionals from the healthcare and wellbeing sector. Consequently, the cooperation between professionals from both sectors is supposed to enable them to collectively develop innovative approaches to such issues.

Within the projects initiated by Freehouse before the foundation of the Afrikaander Cooperative, where creative professionals were connected to neighbourhood residents with creative talents, the creative abilities of these professionals were intensively utilized in order to stimulate creative production and at the same time tackle a societal issue, namely increasing the social inclusion of the involved neighbourhood residents. An example is the already mentioned project 'Suit it Yourself', where local seamstresses in cooperation with a designer make various products, which they sell in a market stall, thus reducing the social isolation of these women.

The first thing one notices about this project and other projects initiated by Freehouse is that the neighbourhood residents were intensively and actively involved. Cooperation actually took place between creative professionals and neighbourhood residents, where the creative abilities of the professionals as well as the creative talents of the neighbourhood residents were utilized. Although professionals in the healthcare and wellbeing sector recognize more and more the

²⁴ See <http://www.clicknl.nl/crossovers/>.

importance of using the knowledge and experience of the target group, often this does not yet happen in practice (Cardol & Hilberink, 2015). In terms of using the knowledge and experience of the target group, the projects of Freehouse are a positive exception.

Second it is also striking that often there was no cooperation with professionals from the healthcare and wellbeing sector within the projects that Freehouse initiated before the foundation of the Cooperative. Instead of cooperating Freehouse initiated projects and activities that were completely independent of institutions for healthcare and wellbeing. This differs from the approach that emphasises crossovers, where cooperation between professionals from the creative sector and the healthcare and wellbeing sector enables them to look at a societal issue in a creative way and to develop innovative solutions. In the Freehouse projects however, connections between the creative and social domain did not so much take place by means of cooperation between professionals of both sectors, but rather through the pursuit of both creative and socio-economic goals within each project.

As described before in this chapter, since the foundation of the Afrikaander Cooperative economic objectives have taken priority. The Cooperative is aimed in the first place at providing access to education, paid work or entrepreneurship. Socio-cultural development and therefore the role of creative talent receded to the background. Stimulating creative talent continues to play a role within the Cooperative. However, apart from the Studio, this mainly involves activities within the socio-cultural program, like 'I Speak'. 'I Speak' offers youngsters the possibility to develop their creative talents, but in this initiative there is no question of stimulating entrepreneurship or access to paid work.

Often creative professionals look at societal issues in a different way than professionals from other disciplines. This became evident during the international closing symposium of the research project 'Everybody on board', which has already been mentioned in chapter 2. Participants in this symposium, which took place in April 2012, were, among others, creative entrepreneurs, policy makers and researchers from London and Rotterdam. During this symposium a focus group discussion in six groups about the possible contribution of the creative sector to the realisation of a resilient society took place. During this discussion, one of the things that became clear is that the various stakeholders did not speak the same language and that as long as they could not come to an agreement on what the problems and objectives were, they could not cooperate and use the creative potential to resolve issues. Therefore, a greater effort should be made to understand each other and to understand the different ways of working, thinking and seeing. Concerning the lack of cooperation, a London policy maker said:

'I think one of the reasons that that doesn't happen is because we are living in a culture of output-led decision-making, which is reactive and not responsive to need or situation. And

so, as an artist you are applying for something which says: "We want an outcome that looks and tastes like this". But maybe we should ask: "We as a city have this problem. We see young people who need a new focus on developing their talent, youth employment, whatever. What can we do and what can you do to solve the problems?"" (London policy maker).

According to this policy maker, there is a recognition among bureaucrats that they don't have the solution all the time. Therefore, it is useful to engage the creative sector in order to make a paradigm shift. This is important, because people get trapped in thinking in a particular way. However, there isn't a role for art-based design in public sector service development as yet.

Within the Afrikaanderwijk Cooperative people also struggle with the utilisation of the contributions of creative professionals. Contacts between the creative professionals and the neighbourhood residents with creative talents are not established automatically because of the different cultural experiences of the two groups. Furthermore, various stakeholders find it difficult to combine the economic objective of the Cooperative with the objective concerning the development of socio-cultural self-awareness. A co-worker of Labyrinth, a research and consultancy office that supports Freehouse in establishing the Cooperative, indicated:

'I think it is dangerous, you know, such a double objective. What do you consider more important, those people or those awarenesses and how do you link that to that money that you also have to earn?' (co-worker Labyrinth).

The interim director of the Cooperative also found it difficult to combine the different objectives. He acknowledged that the utilisation of creative talent plays a role within the Cooperative. At the same time he sometimes considers the association of the Cooperative with art difficult:

'Apparently there is art-dna in the Neighbourhood Kitchen as well as in the Studio, so you have to do something with that. But I also notice that, especially when it revolves around entrepreneurs, sometimes it can also work just to your disadvantage. For instance they do not understand such an exhibition, so then they think: "Was this financed on our backs?" I think that when in the future we have members who are all entrepreneurs, then it will probably become more difficult indeed to keep that art in' (interim director Afrikaander Cooperative).

Although some of the people who were involved in the Cooperative indicated that they consider it difficult to combine economic and socio-cultural objectives, nonetheless within the Studio the creative abilities of creative professionals were still utilized for both stimulating the creative talents of neighbourhood residents and putting an end to the isolation of these residents. Within the rest of the Cooperative hardly any use was made of the abilities of creative

professionals in dealing with societal issues, and this was also the case at the Creative Factory. Apart from a few individual entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory, notably one of the interviewed entrepreneurs who facilitated the organization of activities for and by youngsters for the purpose of talent development, the other entrepreneurs did not deal with societal issues. Further, the partners of the Creative Factory made little use of the creative talents of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and certainly not for the purpose of tackling societal issues. Only the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra explicitly indicated its willingness to involve the creative entrepreneurs in for instance the fields of graphic design, online applications and the organisation of events in various of its projects. However, these projects did not seem to use the innovative brainpower of the creative entrepreneurs to ameliorate societal issues. Rather it was more a matter of ordering previously specified products, as noted by the London policy maker.

Consequently, only the projects that Freehouse initiated before the foundation of the Cooperative, including the Studio, utilized the abilities of creative professionals for the purpose of dealing with a societal issue, namely the social inclusion of neighbourhood residents. However, in this respect these creative professionals did not cooperate with professionals from the healthcare and wellbeing sector.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed ways the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse deployed creative talent with the aim of stimulating economic growth in the neighbourhood. From this analysis it turns out that these two initiatives aim at contributing to economic growth through stimulating creative talent in three ways: 1) attracting companies from within and outside Rotterdam; 2) functioning as a role model for neighbourhood residents and 3) realising creative production through neighbourhood residents. The first two ways relate to the Creative Factory, while the third way concerns the projects initiated by Freehouse. These ways of contributing to economic growth are based on the following three assumptions:

1. The presence of creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory attracts companies from within and outside Rotterdam.
2. Creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory can function as role models for neighbourhood residents.
3. The stimulation of creative talents of neighbourhood residents within the projects initiated by Freehouse can result in creative production.

Concerning these three assumptions the following three conclusions can be drawn. The first conclusion is that the Creative Factory hardly attracts businesses, despite the fact that because of its housing in the remarkable Maassilo, it is supposed to function as an icon and to attract

companies and entrepreneurs who are successful. In the beginning, the Creative Factory was indeed significantly attractive to creative entrepreneurs, but this turned out to be the result of a shortage of suitable accommodation for new creative entrepreneurs. Some years later, when there were other housing options, the attractiveness of the Creative Factory to creative entrepreneurs decreased. Further, the Creative Factory was found to have no success in attracting other companies. The clients of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory are scattered across the Rotterdam region and beyond and do not establish themselves in the proximity of the Creative Factory.

In the second place it can be concluded that most entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory do not fulfil a function as a role model for the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods. At the start of the Creative Factory housing association Vestia in particular supposed that the creative entrepreneurs made the forms of creativity present within the Creative Factory more accessible for neighbourhood residents, inspiring them to do other things for a living than what is common within their social network. However, since there is little contact between the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods, this was not the case.

The third conclusion is that the projects that Freehouse initiated from its start in the Afrikaanderwijk fostered the emergence of the creative talents of the involved neighbourhood residents, which were used for the purpose of creative production. However, in the Afrikaander Cooperative the role of creative talent was de-emphasized, and much less use was made of the creative talents of neighbourhood residents for the purpose of creative production.

Summarizing, it can be concluded that the Creative Factory and the Cooperative did not substantially deploy creative talent with the aim of stimulating economic growth in the neighbourhood. However, within the projects that Freehouse initiated before the foundation of the Cooperative, creative talent of neighbourhood residents was substantially stimulated in order to contribute to economic growth. Furthermore, in addition to using the creative talents of neighbourhood residents and making these talents more evident, the talents of designers and other creative professionals were used as well. These creative professionals were linked to neighbourhood residents with creative talents in order to stimulate their creative production. Moreover, there was a secondary objective for deploying their creative talents, namely contributing to the societal challenge of increasing the social inclusion of these residents by reducing their isolation, a task in which these creative professionals did indeed succeed.

Although the Cooperative does not focus on using creative talent for stimulating economic growth, for the Cooperative it is still relevant to continue to use the creative abilities of creative professionals. On the one hand, these creative professionals can contribute to innovative

solutions for societal issues. On the other hand, contacts with these creative professionals are still very important for the Studio because of the acquisition of new orders and the importance of artistic impulses. However, from the analysis of this chapter it is clear that within the Cooperative contacts between the network of creative professionals and the neighbourhood residents with creative talents do not come about automatically because of the differences in cultural experience between the two groups. Therefore it is necessary that there are people who explicitly take on the role of maintaining contacts between the network of creative professionals and the network of neighbourhood residents with creative talents after Freehouse withdraws. Only when there are people taking on this role connections between these two social networks can continue to be established, enabling the people involved to take advantage of each other's network. In the next chapter the establishment and use of social networks within the projects initiated by Freehouse as well as within the Creative Factory will be examined.



N.V. GRAANSILOM

CREATIVE
FACTORY

TAAT

Chapter 5

Social networks

'From the start there always was a group of about ten people who were willing to cooperate and to participate in projects. I have the impression that at this moment a big part of the entrepreneurs do not know about each other's existence. At the beginning this was better. You had a new building, you know, exciting. It is logical that it becomes more and more an office building. If you do not want this to happen, then you have to invest a lot of energy' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

'First you have to convince the shop owners that the Cooperative can offer something better. After that, it still takes a while before you really have that confidence so that they sign an authorization for the energy supplier to look into their energy consumption. Subsequently the Cooperative has negotiated the energy price with several suppliers' (co-worker Afrikaander Cooperative).

The Creative Factory was designed to cluster creative entrepreneurs in one building so that they could cooperate and reinforce each other. Further, the two projects initiated by Freehouse, namely the Neighbourhood Studio and the Neighbourhood Kitchen, housed in the Gemeaal van Zuid, also bring people together within one building in order to facilitate their mutual cooperation. The Afrikaander Cooperative aims at the whole Afrikaanderwijk and therefore has a focus broader than just one building, but also within this Cooperative physical proximity plays an important role. Furthermore, both the Creative Factory and Freehouse encourage the establishment of social networks in order to further stimulate mutual collaboration and reinforcement within the initiatives. This emphasis on the development of social networks is based on the assumption that the presence of strong social networks is an important precondition for optimally exploiting the advantages of physical proximity within a cluster (cf. Comunian, 2012; De Jong, 2014; Sacco et al., 2013a; Scott, 2006).

However, as the two quotes above illustrate, both initiatives struggled with the development as well as the use of these social networks. In this chapter, the development and the use of social networks within both initiatives is analysed. First, attention is paid to public-private cooperation within the Creative Factory and Freehouse, as well as to the other social networks that were established and fostered by the two initiatives. Subsequently, the use of the established social networks is analysed. Attention is paid to the mutual cooperation of the people involved and to the role of physical proximity in building and maintaining social networks. Further, this chapter examines the need for support in establishing and using social networks in relation to the actual provision of support as well as the importance of own responsibility of the people involved for the realisation of this support. At the end of the chapter conclusions are drawn concerning the establishment and use of social networks within both initiatives.

5.1 PUBLIC-PRIVATE COOPERATION

The Rotterdam City Development Corporation played an important role in the start of the Creative Factory. From 2007 it actively conducted a policy aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurs, in particular by facilitating them in finding business accommodations. The City Development Corporation contributed to the opening of various enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs in Rotterdam, including the Creative Factory. As mentioned before in chapter 4, the Creative Factory is supposed to function as an icon, attracting other businesses. This fits in with the observations of Catungal et al. (2009) and Peck (2005) that local governments have put an increasing emphasis on place branding, which often goes hand in hand with the establishment of public-private partnerships. Such a public-private partnership is also realised within the Creative Factory. From the budget for enterprise zones the City of Rotterdam invested 6 million euros in order to make the oldest part of the Maassilo suitable for the accommodation of creative entrepreneurs. Subsequently, the Creative Factory came into private hands, while the City Development Corporation remained the owner of the building. Further, various organisations were attracted as partners. Four of these partners sponsored the Creative Factory with a financial contribution. From 2009 these three semipublic organisations, namely housing association Vestia, Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences and Pact op Zuid, and a private organisation, Rabobank, each adopted a room on the seventh floor of the Creative Factory and financed its renovation. This resulted in the Vestia Skylobby, the Rabobank Viewpoint, the Pact op Zuid Thinktank and the Rotterdam University Unit. These rooms are used for a variety of meetings and events. Further, in the Rotterdam University Unit fifteen students can work on their own projects and on orders for the creative entrepreneurs. In addition, students are encouraged to start their own creative enterprises. To facilitate the establishment of contacts between the creative entrepreneurs and the various courses, Rotterdam University appoints a coordinator, who is present in the University Unit several days a week. Although the City of Rotterdam and the borough of Feijenoord themselves are not a part of the group of partners of the Creative Factory, since 2009 they are represented indirectly through Pact op Zuid, which is a collaboration of the City of Rotterdam, the three boroughs of South Rotterdam and several housing associations.

Alongside the partnership agreements with these four paying partners, the Creative Factory also concluded agreements with various organisations that contribute in kind through their networks and expertise. One of these organisations is the Albeda College, a regional institute for intermediate vocational education. Since the opening in 2008, the Albeda College has supported the Creative Factory by providing trainees, in particular for reception. Another partner is KPMG, a company that offers financial and accounting services. KPMG became a partner in 2009, with the aim of advising quickly growing businesses in the Creative Factory about corporate issues and international business. KPMG also advises the Creative Factory on its own

financial concerns. In 2009 a partner agreement was also concluded with communications agency ARA, for the purpose of coaching the creative entrepreneurs in the creative and commercial field and supporting the Creative Factory with its communication strategy. Further, in 2010 a partnership agreement was concluded with real estate company MVGM, which took on the administrative control of the Creative Factory. Another new partner is HOPE, which is a collaboration of the Rotterdam Erasmus University, the Technical University of Delft and the University of Leiden. HOPE aims at supporting and coaching students who are close to graduation and who have a good idea for starting their own business. The partnership agreement was concluded in order to connect the mutual networks for the purpose of accelerating the growth of young entrepreneurs. In 2010 Online Department also became a partner. Two of the three entrepreneurs from Online Department established themselves in the Creative Factory after its opening in 2008 and subsequently merged with a third entrepreneur into Online Department. This business was responsible for the website of the Creative Factory in collaboration with other creative entrepreneurs, and also re-designed its house style. As a partner Online Department offers advice and graphical services in the field of online communication. At the end of 2011 the Creative Factory also concluded a partnership agreement with the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra.

The motivation of most partners for their involvement in the Creative Factory is mainly their willingness to contribute to the growth of creative enterprises and to increase their own clientele. The motivations of the semipublic partners Vestia, Pact op Zuid and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences also relate to contributing to the regeneration of South Rotterdam. Rabobank intends to use the Rabobank Viewpoint as an approachable place to advise starting entrepreneurs on finance and insurance. Furthermore, the creative entrepreneurs can use the Viewpoint for free, for instance for meetings with clients or product presentations. Alongside a societal interest Rabobank also has a commercial interest, namely the increase of its market share in the environment (OBR, 2009). The representative of KPMG indicated during the first partner meeting in which he participated that he saw much potential in

'starting up a creative business school with the Creative Factory in order to accelerate the growth of businesses. The creative business school can be a complete professionalization trajectory, aimed at the whole Rotterdam region, but firstly the focus is on the Creative Factory and the growth of the businesses inside. The expertise of the partners can be used for instance for selecting at the door and for deciding on whether or not to renew the rental contracts of the entrepreneurs' (minutes partner meeting April 17th, 2009).

For Online Department the advantage of the partnership lies in the extension of its networks coupled with new opportunities for orders:

'For me the fact that we are a partner is a nice stepping-stone to developing the online resources and by doing so getting a bit of exposure' (representative Online Department).

Further, the involvement of the educational institutes in the Creative Factory is mainly aimed at arranging internships and increasing the quality of the courses. The Albeda College started the collaboration with the Creative Factory especially because many students struggled with finding an internship. Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences plans to improve the hands-on part of its courses by introducing students to creative entrepreneurship and offering them the opportunity to work on orders for the creative businesses. Moreover, as mentioned previously, Rotterdam University wishes to contribute to the regeneration of South Rotterdam by stimulating creative entrepreneurship.

Unlike the Creative Factory, Freehouse is a private initiative. Freehouse was founded in 1998 by Jeanne van Heeswijk, a visual artist who works on socially committed art projects for public spaces. In this foundation the City of Rotterdam plays no role. Further, neither the City of Rotterdam, nor the borough of Feijenoord had a direct influence on the decision of Freehouse to transfer its activities to the Afrikaanderwijk in 2008, contrary to housing association Vestia, which actively encouraged Freehouse to come to the Afrikaanderwijk. As partner of Pact op Zuid Vestia not only invests in the improvement of its own housing stock, but also in all kinds of projects aimed at improving the socio-economic position of the neighbourhood residents and the liveability of the neighbourhood. Kosmopolis Rotterdam was also interested in the coming of Freehouse to the Afrikaanderwijk. Kosmopolis is an organisation subsidised by the City of Rotterdam that aims at connecting people by means of art and culture, stimulating cultural innovation and preserving cultural heritage. From the start Freehouse cooperated intensively, until Kosmopolis had to stop because of budget cuts. The former director of Kosmopolis explained its interest in cooperating with Freehouse as follows:

'For me connecting people absolutely means that what people do also gives a kind of impulse to some liveliness in the neighbourhood. And then culturally as well as socially and also economically, and that indeed was a related objective with Freehouse. So actually from the beginning that we came here, we collaborated with Freehouse' (director Kosmopolis).

Freehouse initiated several projects in the Afrikaanderwijk where designers are linked to local seamstresses, as well as a project in which a food designer cooperates with neighbourhood residents who can cook. From these projects the Neighbourhood Studio and the Neighbourhood Kitchen result, where the involved residents are clustered. At the start of the Studio in 2009 and the Kitchen in 2010 Vestia put free business premises at their disposal. Further, during the first years the borough of Feijenoord as well as Vestia supported some of Freehouse's projects financially. Although there is no official partnership with Freehouse, there certainly

is public-private cooperation, where Vestia, the borough of Feijenoord and Freehouse work together on a common objective, namely the economic development of the Afrikaanderwijk.

Contrary to the Creative Factory, at the start of Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk there was no integration with the local government policy concerning urban regeneration. The projects of Freehouse take place alongside activities that occur as part of the current policy of the municipality of Rotterdam. Admittedly, gradually on the local level some integration takes place between the projects of Freehouse with the local government policy. This is demonstrated by the fact that 'Tomorrow's Market', which was already mentioned in chapter 4 and which aims at the revitalisation of the Afrikaander market, is included in the Action plan South/Feijenoord, that the municipality, the borough of Feijenoord and two housing associations, including Vestia, devised with the aim of improving the quality of some neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam (Municipality of Rotterdam, deeltgemeente Feijenoord, Woonstad Rotterdam, & Vestia, 2009).

When implementing this market project, Freehouse regularly encountered market regulations. These regulations had been tightened considerably in preceding years, as part of the local government policy enacted in 2002, and aimed at making Rotterdam cleaner and safer (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2002). Consequently it is not allowed to do two different things in a market stall, like for instance selling fruit and vegetables on the one hand and processing these to smoothies on the other hand.

'We unravelled almost 100 conflicting forms of regulation that stifled the area instead of making it vibrant. For instance, there is a law that in the market stall you can only do one thing. Preparing fruit and vegetables is a different licence than selling fruit and vegetables, so market stall holders have two licences, but you can only operate one in the stall. So you can never make a fruit salad from the remaining fruits' (founder Freehouse).

In the project 'Suit it Yourself', which has already been described in the preceding chapter, where a designer gets to work with neighbourhood residents in order to produce boleros and other products like bags, this strict regulation likewise has an impact. Originally the intention was that these products would be sold in the same market stalls where the fabric of which they are made is also sold. In this way customers can choose a pattern together with a fabric. However, the market traders are only allowed to sell fabric and no bags, because otherwise they would compete with the seller of bags. Hence eventually Freehouse bought its own market stall, which on market days is put in front of the Neighbourhood Studio, facing the market. As this strict regulation is obstructing, rather than stimulating creative solutions, from 2008 on Freehouse requests an experimental status for a period of several years. During this period the current regulations could be made more flexible, allowing experimentation with the regulations. In consultation with the market traders, the local government and other relevant stakeholders for

a number of years Freehouse worked on preparing the legal framework in order to make this possible. However, in 2012, when this was almost finished, elections for the local government took place in Rotterdam, after which the new Board developed plans to liberalise the markets in Rotterdam (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2012). This caused this initiative of Freehouse to come to a halt. Thus it can be established that despite the fact that the project 'Tomorrow's Market' is included in the Action plan South/Feijenoord, the public-private cooperation that took place as part of this project eventually was not productive.

5.2 WEAK AND STRONG TIES

From its opening the Creative Factory aimed at a mix of starting and established businesses, enabling the starting entrepreneurs to take advantage of the experience of the established entrepreneurs. The established businesses were supposed to play an important role in the professionalization of the starters, by placing orders and providing opportunities for growth. The creative entrepreneurs worked dispersed over six floors. Most businesses did not have their own office, but rented one or more work places in a big open space. Within every space four to eight businesses were clustered. The underlying thought is that this clustering stimulates mutual cooperation (Creative Factory, 2006). The entrepreneurs could use the services of a coach hired by the Creative Factory for free. Furthermore, various professionalization trajectories were offered in cooperation with, among others, Syntens, the innovation network for small and medium enterprises, that some years later merged with the Chamber of Commerce. The Creative Factory also supported the creative entrepreneurs by bringing them into contact with other entrepreneurs and organisations within and outside the Creative Factory, with the aim of increasing their networks. To that end, the Creative Factory organised various network events and get-togethers, including the weekly Friday afternoon get-together.

The Creative Factory positioned itself with the slogan '*Creative Factory. Connecting Creative Communities*'. By bringing together, facilitating and joining creative and commercial communities the Creative Factory wanted to accelerate development in Rotterdam and also in the rest of the Netherlands and beyond. Hence the Creative Factory not only aimed at functioning as an incubator for the creative entrepreneurs in the building, but also at playing a stimulating role within the neighbourhood as well as on a national and international level. The director of the Creative Factory took the initiative to establish the Dutch Creative Residency Network²⁵, a partnership of a number of Dutch enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs. This network started in 2010. Furthermore, the director established an international network of creative

²⁵ See <http://www.dcrnetwork.nl>.

enterprise centres: the European Creative Business Network²⁶. The primary objective of both networks is the exchange of creative entrepreneurs among the enterprise centres. As part of both networks various events were organised within and outside the Netherlands. The Creative Factory sent a delegation of entrepreneurs to participate in every event. An example of such an event was the launching of the Dutch Creative Residency Network during the Dutch Design Week in Eindhoven. About 25 entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory went there by bus. They met other creative entrepreneurs, and they were able to present their own businesses.

The Creative Factory also undertook action to strengthen relations with the surrounding neighbourhoods. At the start meetings took place with entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory and neighbourhood residents to brainstorm about what they could mean to each other. Several times the Creative Factory also organised the So-You-Wanna-Be-Your-Own-Boss-contest, where starting entrepreneurs got the opportunity to pitch their business idea before a jury. The three best ideas were rewarded with a free flexible workplace in the Creative Factory for one year. This contest was intensively promoted within the surrounding neighbourhoods and beyond. As a result, the Creative Factory also succeeded in attracting some participants from South Rotterdam. Further, from September 2011 on, a two-year project was initiated by one of the creative entrepreneurs: films and animations about what was happening within the Creative Factory, as well as information about the surrounding neighbourhoods, were projected on the front and part of the side of the Maassilo daily from 20.00 to 22.00 o'clock.

Freehouse also invested in the development of social networks. From its arrival in the Afrikaanderwijk Freehouse spent a lot of time building good relations with entrepreneurs and residents. Freehouse started in the Afrikaanderwijk with the project 'Tomorrow's Market', aimed at the revitalisation of the Afrikaander market. For this project Freehouse wanted to link artists and designers to market traders. Therefore Freehouse invested a lot of energy in involving these market traders:

'The market is not a very easy place to enter. Market traders often are a bit suspicious. So it took us quite some time. We just stood there also at seven o'clock, just continuing to talk with people' (co-worker Freehouse).

Furthermore, Freehouse, as well as the designers cooperating with it, also invested much time in approaching and involving neighbourhood residents with creative talents. For the project 'Suit it Yourself' the designer cited before in the previous chapter started looking for already existing sewing and embroidering groups in the neighbourhood. Subsequently, she invested

²⁶ See <http://ecbnetwork.eu>.

extensively in building a relationship with the participants in these groups, before getting to work with these groups to make boleros:

'I just joined them in sewing. I learned all kinds of Turkish embroidering techniques. And then they are all very curious. Then you start telling what you are doing and in this way you build confidence every week' (designer).

Freehouse worked with artists and designers from the neighbourhood, as well as with creative professionals from beyond. These professionals came from the network of creative professionals from within and outside the Netherlands that Freehouse maintains alongside the networks in the Afrikaanderwijk. According to the above-mentioned designer, making use of professionals from outside has the advantage that they can take a fresh look, because they do not know the area and can dive in enthusiastically. Freehouse linked various creative professionals to market traders, where these professionals introduced a new product. For instance, one cook offered soup 'puppets' made of vegetables that form the ingredients for the soup. These soup puppets were accompanied by a recipe. The creative professionals also worked on the restyling of market stalls.

Further, Freehouse used the network of creative professionals for acquiring orders for the Neighbourhood Studio and showcasing in a museum or exhibition hall the results of various projects. Freehouse also invited creative professionals to contribute to several meetings, including the closing symposium of the Neighbourhood Value Store in January 2014, where people discussed and theorized about opportunities concerning alternative economies and revenue models. During this symposium the launching of the Afrikaander Cooperative as a network organisation for the Afrikaanderwijk also took place. At the end of the symposium the first group of residents, entrepreneurs and organisations registered as members of the Cooperative. Among them were some entrepreneurs from the neighbourhood with whom Freehouse already had a good relationship for some time:

'I became a member because indeed I saw opportunities that when you unite with others, maybe this will enable you to expand activities. This can create a win-win situation for everybody' (entrepreneur in Afrikaanderwijk).

Also several organisations already established in the Afrikaanderwijk became members of the Cooperative at the launching. The representative of one of these organisations considered it important that the various organisations that are active in the Afrikaanderwijk support each other. He indicated that he became a member

'because I am fascinated by the opportunities that the Cooperative offers, the idea of which was that partners who are active in the Afrikaanderwijk actually support each other by making use of each other's added value. So it is good that all the initiatives grant and give each other just a bit more opportunities. Well, of this we are one of the partners' (representative organisation in Afrikaanderwijk).

Further, the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Neighbourhood Studio also registered, as well as a number of individual co-workers. According to the founder of Freehouse the ambition of the Cooperative is

'to set up a form of radical self-organisation and self-command, where the greater capital flows that enter the area are internally distributed in a different way, and to do that cooperatively' (founder Freehouse).

As a result of the economic crisis, but also because of legislation from the national government a process of scaling up took place. Enterprises and institutions increased their competitiveness by merging. Further, only enterprises with sufficient turnover and financial capacity were allowed to participate in public tenders for large contracts for the government and other public organisations. However, this scaling up resulted in many contracts for work within or around buildings of public organisations, like cleaning or catering, being executed by large regional or national enterprises, instead of by companies located near the building in question. This also happened in the Afrikaanderwijk. The founder of Freehouse noted that a lot of money entered the area for executing all kinds of work like cleaning and catering, but because there is an intermediate layer of all sorts of offices and executive agencies, a lot of money leaked away from the neighbourhood. The Cooperative aims at keeping cash flows that enter the Afrikaanderwijk within the neighbourhood, so that they benefit the neighbourhood. As remarked in the regional vision for the area (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010), the strength of the Afrikaanderwijk lies in small-scale entrepreneurship. Hence according to the founder of Freehouse it is important to scale up in the Afrikaanderwijk by linking all kinds of initiatives and networks. In this way the local small entrepreneurs, banding together under the auspices of the Cooperative, can reach the critical mass, which will allow them to participate in a tender:

'Then the canteen of the new municipal office for example could be run by the Neighbourhood Kitchen instead of by a catering enterprise from outside the neighbourhood (co-worker Freehouse).

The Cooperative worked among other things on building a network of the seventy entrepreneurs in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square. Although these entrepreneurs are established close to each other, they have little interaction. The Cooperative supports these entrepreneurs

by enabling them to reduce costs by working together, such as by the collective purchase of energy.

Thus Freehouse and the Creative Factory invested a lot in building and strengthening various social networks. According to various authors the presence of strong social networks is an important precondition for optimally exploiting the advantages of physical proximity within a cluster (Comunian, 2012; De Jong, 2014; Sacco et al., 2013a; Scott, 2006). The creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the neighbourhood residents with creative talents and entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk thus can have access to social networks of which they are actively a part or should be a part and to social networks of people with whom they would not likely readily have contact themselves, like the networks of enterprise centres with creative entrepreneurs and the network of creative professionals from within and outside the Netherlands. The Creative Factory and Freehouse posit that for the creative entrepreneurs of the Creative Factory and the residents and entrepreneurs of the Afrikaanderwijk, these weak ties are an important supplement to the strong ties developed through the networks of which they are actively a part (cf. Granovetter, 1973). Through these weak ties new ideas and other perspectives reach them, which is important for creativity and innovation (cf. Florida, 2002). As mentioned above this was also noticed by one of the designers who works with Freehouse.

5.3 COOPERATING AND LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER

As mentioned above the creative businesses in the Creative Factory are clustered in big open spaces in order to facilitate their mutual cooperation. The interviews with creative entrepreneurs revealed that most of them thought that the working environment in the Creative Factory was advantageous to their creativity and the establishment of social networks:

'At the start I didn't know any entrepreneurs and by establishing myself in the Creative Factory, I suddenly knew a lot of entrepreneurs' (entrepreneur branding and marketing).

For developing their own products or services, some of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory made use of the services of other businesses in the Creative Factory:

'I develop websites and web applications. Especially the technical part I do myself and the graphic design I have usually done by enterprises here, and sometimes also externally. Here you have text writers, copywriters, graphic designers, animation and film, so everything that might be useful for a website is here indeed' (entrepreneur web design).

Some creative entrepreneurs came to the Creative Factory as freelancers, but soon started to collaborate on orders with other entrepreneurs, for example, an entrepreneur who within a year started to cooperate with three other entrepreneurs that he met in the Creative Factory.

'I noted that there were some people in this building who were working in the same area as I. And then it was very natural to cooperate more, and this took more and more shape' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

Subsequently, the four collaborating entrepreneurs moved together to the same floor. After some time, they introduced a new business name, enabling them to be hired together, so that they could bid for larger assignments. However, at the moment of the interview, the interviewed entrepreneur had just accepted a job and decided to stop the undertaking. The most important reason for this decision is that in spite of the collaboration with the other three entrepreneurs, he did not succeed in getting enough work. In addition, the jobs that he did book, did not involve the kind of work he preferred. The other three entrepreneurs were willing to continue the collaboration. However, they decided to leave the Creative Factory and to look for another workplace.

Every floor accommodates a number of entrepreneurs. Various entrepreneurs have indicated that what kind of entrepreneurs share their floor is important. One entrepreneur shared a floor with others with whom there was friction. When the four previously mentioned collaborators moved into that space, working conditions, including opportunities for collaboration, improved significantly. However, when the four original collaborators left, the added fifth collaborator considered leaving unless any new occupants were a good fit:

'I regret that they leave. I still do not know by whom they will be replaced. But I also said to the management, suppose that you find some nice enterprises willing to establish themselves here, then maybe I will stay here for some more time' (entrepreneur sound design for media).

Shortly after the start of the Creative Factory a number of entrepreneurs established the 'Machine room'. This is a foundation that rents a big space on the seventh floor of the Creative Factory with the aim of executing complex orders collectively. The entrepreneurs who are part of this Machine room decide themselves which other new entrepreneurs they would like to join them. At the same time the foundation takes the risk of paying the rent in case of entrepreneurs leaving. However, some years later the occupants of the Machine room also left the Creative Factory. They moved collectively to business premises in the centre of Rotterdam.

In addition to the creative entrepreneurs who cooperated extensively with other entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory, there was also a group of entrepreneurs who did not collaborate. Some

of the interviewed entrepreneurs indicated that they had less need for cooperation within the Creative Factory, because, for instance, they already had a network outside the Creative Factory at the time when they entered the Creative Factory. As they kept using this external network, they were not looking for collaboration within the Creative Factory:

'Sometimes we do small projects beyond, for which sometimes we need ICT or other creative professionals. That part we still have done outside the Factory, because there we have a network. And therefore I am not looking for it [collaboration within the Creative Factory] and because it is not offered to me, I am not going to look for it either' (entrepreneur online labour market communication).

It was not clear to this entrepreneur what the others in the Creative Factory were doing. This was also true for other entrepreneurs as illustrated by the first quote in this chapter, which conveyed the impression that many of the entrepreneurs do not know of each other's existence. Most interviewed entrepreneurs indicated that they knew of only a few of the other entrepreneurs, in which sector they were active, and what they were doing. Some entrepreneurs knew this only for the entrepreneurs on their own floor, while others had a broader network within the Creative Factory. There were also entrepreneurs who did not cooperate with others in the Creative Factory, because they thought that the abilities that they needed were not present there. One reason mentioned for this is that the entrepreneurs who come to the Creative Factory are mainly just starting out and leave as soon as they start growing. Further, as one entrepreneur observed, from the beginning there were renters in the Creative Factory who did not collaborate with other entrepreneurs and were hardly seen. The coach of the Creative Factory agreed that he never saw some groups of entrepreneurs:

'Entrepreneurs of for instance the music sector I hardly ever speak with. That is indeed a different type of entrepreneur' (coach Creative Factory).

Next to formal cooperation on orders, informal collaboration also took place within the Creative Factory. Entrepreneurs gave each other advice or discussed ideas during informal meetings. One entrepreneur said:

'I connect them to other people and help them by advising them concerning marketing: with what can they earn money?' (entrepreneur branding and marketing).

Several entrepreneurs indicated that they used the experience of other entrepreneurs, especially entrepreneurs from their own department:

'Now and then we eat together and then we also talk about problems. Often, this results in good ideas' (entrepreneur development of scaffolds).

In the projects initiated by Freehouse that linked professional designers with neighbourhood residents with creative talents, the people involved also learned from each other. On the one hand the neighbourhood residents learned to look at their own work in a different way and to work professionally, in response to the designer's high standards. On the other hand the designers also learned from neighbourhood residents, because the residents who are involved in the Neighbourhood Studio have specific knowledge of materials and have mastered all kinds of embroidering and sewing techniques.

Because these neighbourhood residents cooperated with the designers in the Neighbourhood Studio, their knowledge and abilities were used and transferred. Within the Studio and the Kitchen the neighbourhood residents also learned from each other. The coordinator of the Studio, who is a graduate of the fashion school in Brussels, gave sewing lessons, in which a hundred residents participated until the foundation of the Cooperative. She also supported residents and designers who were working on orders.

The residents who worked for the Kitchen and the residents involved in the Studio had different cultural backgrounds and they all cooked according to their own food traditions, but within the Neighbourhood Kitchen they also learned to make each other's recipes. One of the residents involved was a certified chef-cook. She taught the others how to work in a professional kitchen:

'It is very important that they learn for instance why it is important that you put everything immediately where it should be and in the right packaging and with a lid, and not just with aluminium foil in the fridge' (co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen).

As the residents involved in the Kitchen and the Studio had all kinds of different cultural backgrounds, they spoke Dutch with each other. In this way the cooperation within the Kitchen and the Studio offered them an opportunity to learn Dutch from each other.

Thus it is clear that within the Creative Factory environment, intense mutual cooperation developed within an element of the creative entrepreneurs. Over time a number of entrepreneurs who entered the Creative Factory as freelancers started cooperating with others whom they did not know previously. In addition to formal collaboration, informal cooperation arose, with entrepreneurs advising each other and learning from each other. The neighbourhood residents involved in the Kitchen and the Studio also cooperated and learned from each other. Therefore it can be concluded that within the Creative Factory and the Kitchen and Studio physical prox-

imity had a positive influence on the establishment of intensive collaboration, or strong ties (Granovetter, 1973).

However, three criticisms can be made concerning this conclusion. In the first place, far from all entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory were involved in the realisation of intensive collaboration. Some of these entrepreneurs did not cooperate with other entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and had no need to do so. In the second place, the residents involved in the Kitchen and the Studio indeed cooperated intensively, but this collaboration tended not to be long-lived, because the volunteer turnover is large, as was already indicated in the previous chapter. In the third place, for the seventy entrepreneurs established in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square no positive influence of physical proximity on the development of collaboration was visible. As described in the previous section, until the moment that Freehouse started approaching these entrepreneurs, little interaction took place among them. Consequently it can be concluded that the stated positive influence of physical proximity on the development of collaboration within the two initiatives is only limited.

5.4 NEED FOR SUPPORT VERSUS PROVISION OF SUPPORT

Until the foundation of the Cooperative the co-workers of the Kitchen and the Studio worked as volunteers. They got a volunteer fee for their efforts. To the question of whether the foundation of the Cooperative could mean something to them, some co-workers, like one who had already worked for the Kitchen for four years, answered that they hoped that the Cooperative could contribute to the realisation of paid jobs:

'Because it is very long, four years. Then you have enough experience, so now there have to come jobs' (co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen).

However, from the interviews it also emerged that the co-workers of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio were not involved in the development of the Cooperative and therefore did not know if things would change because of the Cooperative. They took a wait-and-see attitude:

'I do not dare to tell, because I do not know these people myself and for me it is very important to have contact with the people and then I have an idea if I can believe them or not' (co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen).

The co-worker quoted above found that admittedly it was difficult for Freehouse to develop paid jobs, but that it could do more concerning education. Some of the co-workers had no education at all. Although they learned a lot from each other, they got no formal education.

...the purpose of the Neighbourhood Kitchen is that these women develop themselves and become independent. I am myself highly educated, hence I know how to reach something. But there are women who have no education, who are not even able to read or write and consequently have fewer opportunities. I do not say that they have to provide work, that is difficult for everybody. But maybe a training, or a short course about hygiene or catering' (co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen).

Unlike many co-workers of the Kitchen and the Studio, almost all of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory were highly educated, but also for them professionalisation was a relevant issue. From the start the entrepreneurs could make use of the coach hired by the Creative Factory for free. Further, the Creative Factory also initiated various professionalisation trajectories from the beginning, often in cooperation with Syntens. These trajectories consisted of a number of meetings for a group of about eight entrepreneurs, where various aspects of entrepreneurship were dealt with, such as contacts with clients and acquisition. Moreover, entrepreneurs willing to go into greater detail on a certain subject with a small group of entrepreneurs, for instance, on the further development of their mutual cooperation, could themselves agree on a trajectory with Syntens. These last trajectories had to be paid by the involved entrepreneurs. Some entrepreneurs indicated that they made use of the offered opportunities for coaching and professionalisation:

'I had seven intensive sessions with Syntens, I really benefitted a lot from these, especially concerning the establishment of collaborations and the like. And subsequently we immediately continued with the coach. From him I really learned most concerning entrepreneurship' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

Others did not use the offered professionalisation opportunities, because they thought that the coach of the Creative Factory could not be of any use to them. Further, one of the entrepreneurs indicated that indeed all kinds of trajectories had been initiated, but that for his business these were not so relevant, because his business had little common ground with most of the other businesses. This entrepreneur aimed at activities and events organised for and by youngsters with the purpose of talent development.

'I cannot remember that anything has been initiated from which we really benefitted. We are a bit like outsiders. Here there is a specific type of entrepreneur and if you want to support them, then you have to try to look for something that appeals a bit to all of them and often that will not apply for us' (entrepreneur talent development for youngsters).

Besides offering coaching and professionalisation trajectories the Creative Factory also organised various network events and get-togethers where entrepreneurs could meet other entrepreneurs, like the weekly Friday afternoon get-together. However, participation in these kinds of activities was far from universal:

'I think that ten to twelve organisations, including me, really are actively involved, really participate in activities like the Friday afternoon get-together' (entrepreneur development of scaffolds).

'I did not really join the get-togethers, but then you also notice that it is a bit "like knows like". Rather the entrepreneurs who are already here for some time.... It is not that everybody has a word with each other without obligation' (entrepreneur talent development for youngsters).

The interviews with the entrepreneurs revealed that admittedly they considered it important that the Creative Factory organised network meetings and they also saw that the Creative Factory offered various activities, but that these offerings did not link up with their perceived needs. Some entrepreneurs thought that the meetings that the Creative Factory organised did not have much to offer qualitatively. They asked for a limited number of qualitatively good meetings where all entrepreneurs would feel that they should absolutely attend. Another entrepreneur questioned the non-binding character of the meetings offered:

'Maybe you should turn this into a kind of obligatory meeting of the Creative Factory. In any case you notice that voluntary Friday afternoon get-togethers do not get off the ground' (entrepreneur construction and real estate management).

Beside the fact that entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory made little use of the opportunities organised by the Creative Factory to meet other creative entrepreneurs, they also had little contact with the partner network. They found the partners invisible, and for them it was not clear what was to be expected of a partner:

'Then if you say: "I am a partner of the Creative Factory", I do expect that you contribute something, that you behave proactively. I see it stated on a sign-board and I think: "Yes, whatever"' (entrepreneur sound design for media).

Nor were the motivations of the partners and the added value of the partnerships clear to the entrepreneurs:

'What I am interested in is why these partners are partners. Is that because of their point of view of corporate social responsibility, because they think they should join this, or do they think they can turn it into business?' (entrepreneur online labour market communication).

'Rotterdam University is obvious, with them there was perfect collaboration concerning interns. And ARA, they sometimes did something to coaching dialogues, but that was a bit meagre. According to me they did not really have the intention to really put energy in this. And besides that, you had Rabobank, well, they wanted to sell insurance policies here. Neither an enormous admission. And MVGM, they also wanted just customers. I only know them from the quick collection service' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

As mentioned before, the director of the Creative Factory founded the Dutch Creative Residency Network and the European Creative Business Network in order to facilitate the exchange of creative entrepreneurs between enterprise centres within and outside the Netherlands. The Creative Factory encouraged entrepreneurs to participate in events that were organised within the context of these networks. Some entrepreneurs indeed participated. One of the interviewed entrepreneurs was enthusiastic about the contacts with foreign entrepreneurs resulting from these events. However, another entrepreneur observed that most entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory did not notice the activities of these two networks:

'I now joined one or two meetings. I think that entrepreneurs here do not have any idea of what the Dutch Creative Residency Network and the European Creative Business Network are' (entrepreneur online communication strategy).

Although some entrepreneurs indicated that they did attempt to acquire foreign orders or had the ambition to do so in the future, most businesses put their energy into attracting Dutch customers, mostly in the Rotterdam region. Various entrepreneurs indicated that their establishment in the Creative Factory brought them little new business. One of the entrepreneurs did indicate that he carried out an order for other entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory several times, but according to this entrepreneur these orders were not the result of activities that the Creative Factory initiated in order to promote the concept of the Creative Factory. These orders were more a result of the physical proximity of a number of entrepreneurs:

'That you know: "Oh, there is still someone who can do that"' (entrepreneur sound design for media).

Several entrepreneurs indicated a need for support in acquiring orders. They were especially interested in network meetings and events that contributed to getting orders. However, the provided meetings and events were insufficient and they did not benefit from participation. Further, they considered it a task of the Creative Factory to acquire orders and to enable them to get orders in conjunction with other entrepreneurs, larger than what they could get by themselves as small enterprises. However, they felt that this hardly ever happened. This is consistent with the findings of previous research by the coach of the Creative Factory, which found that almost all entrepreneurs had the expectation that the Creative Factory would play an important role in the acquisition of orders, but that this expectation was not realised (Ruysbroek, 2009). For some interviewed entrepreneurs support in the acquisition of orders was all the more important because by the time of the interviews the consequences of the economic crisis had already become perceptible. This caused the entrepreneurs to have economic difficulties:

'Because of the recession that big customer said: "We are not going to have anything done externally anymore." Well, on this I earned 40.000 euros a year. Furthermore, just customers who did not pay, customers who went bankrupt. These are pretty hard knock-backs. And moreover we are active in a field where the saving starts immediately. So we really felt that strongly' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

This entrepreneur also reported difficulty recruiting new customers:

'We wanted to focus more on the port area, achieve things there. Yet we noticed that it was very difficult for us to get confidence there' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

Hence it can be established that for a number of entrepreneurs the support from the Creative Factory insufficiently linked up with their needs. Although the Creative Factory established various social networks and offered all kinds of opportunities to attend network meetings and events, the entrepreneurs especially had a need for support in acquiring orders and for network meetings and events that could contribute to this. They considered that the provided meetings and events were insufficient for this purpose.

Just like the Creative Factory, Freehouse also invested a lot in the establishment of social networks. The Cooperative was established with the purpose of functioning as an overarching network of initiatives and networks within the Afrikaanderwijk. Within the context of the Cooperative Freehouse invested a lot in building a network of the seventy entrepreneurs who were established in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square. At the launching of the Cooperative, the network consisting of the neighbourhood residents with creative talents who are involved in the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio became a member. Freehouse also invested in a

network of creative professionals within and outside the Netherlands. However, as described in the previous chapter, the network of residents with creative talents and the network of creative professionals within and outside the Netherlands were two separated networks. The interaction between these networks only took place through Freehouse. The residents of the Afrikaanderwijk on their own did not have a need to interact with the network of creative professionals.

Similarly the Cooperative made arrangements for group purchases such as the collective purchase of energy on the initiative of Freehouse, not on the expressed needs of the entrepreneurs. This is illustrated by the second quote at the beginning of this chapter. The quoted co-worker regularly went around the entrepreneurs in order to convince them of the advantages of (free) membership in the Cooperative. According to this co-worker the savings on the energy bills could be as high as one third. In spite of the fact that many entrepreneurs had difficulty surviving and therefore could benefit from lower costs, it took him a lot of time and energy to win the entrepreneurs' confidence, so that they were willing to consider means of lowering their energy costs. He found that although in previous years Freehouse had built a good relationship with many entrepreneurs, most of them deemed the Cooperative a complicated concept. In the course of 2014 the energy framework agreement was concluded. The Cooperative gets a payment from the energy supplier for recruiting the entrepreneurs as customers.

Some of the entrepreneurs with a good relationship with Freehouse indeed became members of the Cooperative immediately. However, even for these entrepreneurs after some months the advantages of the Cooperative were still not clear, nor did they see the way in which the Cooperative would take form:

'since I registered as a member I have not been busy with it. For me it is not really clear who is taking the upper hand. Maybe I should be that one myself. But it is not really clear how to go on' (entrepreneur Afrikaanderwijk).

The vagueness concerning the advantages of the Cooperative for the entrepreneurs was also mentioned by a member of the advisory board of the Cooperative:

'I do not have the impression that the shop owners by themselves think to be in enormous need of that Cooperative. I consider this an important issue that needs to be clarified by the executive board' (member of the advisory board of the Cooperative).

Despite the built relationships the founder of Freehouse reported:

'The first people who signed on were like: "Yes, for Freehouse I surely sign. But this I do not know. And how do I know that this is something that is good for me?"' (founder Freehouse).

Thus it can be concluded that for Freehouse and the Cooperative, as well as for the Creative Factory, the provided support in establishing social networks did not link up with existing needs of the residents and entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk, or the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory. Notwithstanding all the efforts that both Freehouse and the Creative Factory undertook to build social networks and to facilitate access in order to support the people involved and to stimulate their mutual collaboration and reinforcement, little advantage was taken of these networks. The entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk by themselves did not have a need for support through the Cooperative, despite the fact that a membership in the Cooperative gave them a financial advantage in the form of a lower energy bill. The entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory, on the contrary, indeed expressed a need for support. However, this was a different kind of support than the provided network meetings and events offered. These entrepreneurs especially had a need for support in obtaining orders. Some entrepreneurs carried out orders for other entrepreneurs several times, but these orders were mainly established informally as a result of the physical proximity of the entrepreneurs and not through the support provided by the Creative Factory. In this respect it cannot be excluded that the offered network opportunities, like the Friday afternoon get-togethers, indeed played a role. The entrepreneurs who started cooperating or passed orders to other entrepreneurs might have met for the first time during such a get-together. However, it can be established that the interviewed entrepreneurs did not feel that the provided network meetings played a big role for them.

5.5 SUPPORT VERSUS OWN RESPONSIBILITY

At the time of the start of the Creative Factory and the activities of Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk in 2008, stimulation of the creative industries was a priority of the municipality of Rotterdam. The policy of the local government especially aimed at facilitating starting entrepreneurs in finding business accommodation and encouraging meetings and the establishment of networks. In order to meet the demand for suitable accommodation, the City of Rotterdam contributed to the opening of various enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs, including the Creative Factory. The Creative Factory was not only supposed to provide accommodation for creative entrepreneurs, but also to function as an incubator, as a breeding ground for the development and realisation of creative ideas. Therefore, since the development of the business case much energy was spent on establishing social networks. The underlying thought was that just bringing the creative entrepreneurs together in a building was not enough to achieve cooperation. In order to optimally take advantage of the physical proximity this co-location had to be accompanied by the establishment of social networks for the purpose of cooperation and exchange (cf. Comunian, 2012; De Jong, 2014; Sacco et al., 2013a; Scott, 2006).

Notwithstanding these efforts, the municipality of Rotterdam did not develop a breeding ground policy, contrary to, for instance, Amsterdam. In Amsterdam the municipality established the Breeding Ground Office²⁷ because of a substantial shortage of affordable space for artists and other creative professionals. This was due to a request that collectives of squatters made to the city council in 1998, as they were confronted with evictions and threats of eviction of refuges as a result of building plans. The Amsterdam breeding grounds policy assumes that the artists and creative entrepreneurs who are looking for space decide for themselves where they want to locate and what they need to realise this. The Breeding Ground Office supports them and offers expertise concerning self-organisation, making a construction plan for premises, exploitation and management of premises and the permissions needed. The Breeding Ground Office also assists in obtaining funding for new breeding grounds. An example is the putting in place of the Guarantee Fund Breeding Grounds, where the municipality deposited a guarantee enabling initiators to borrow money at the bank for the reconstruction of premises for a breeding ground. Otherwise these initiators would not have any possibility for a loan because of a lack of security. If the rebuilding cannot be funded totally by means of a loan, sometimes a subsidy is procured. The Breeding Ground Office is still active, since creative professionals and artists in Amsterdam still have a need for new spaces. Often, vacant business premises are used for this purpose. Hence in Amsterdam groups of creative people have to take the initiative themselves. They are responsible themselves for the realisation of a breeding ground, including the funding, and the Breeding Ground Office supports them in this respect.

So the establishment of breeding grounds in the Netherlands is not new. The foundation of neighbourhood cooperatives is a more recent phenomenon in the Netherlands. Because of budget cuts by the national and local governments, citizens have become responsible themselves for various kinds of services and support that were provided previously by the government or by institutions for health care and wellbeing. As a result citizens have taken various initiatives aimed at providing varying services and support. This has led to the foundation of new civic organisations, like neighbourhood cooperatives. The Afrikaander Cooperative is an example of such a cooperative. It is not an isolated case, as within as well as outside Rotterdam various kinds of similar initiatives have arisen, like the Neighbourhood Cooperative North Rotterdam and the Neighbourhood Cooperative 030 in Utrecht. These Dutch initiatives have all been started during the last few years. However, some places outside the Netherlands have a longer tradition of neighbourhood cooperatives, including Mondragon²⁸, which is located in the Basque country in Spain.

²⁷ See <https://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisaties/organisaties/bureau-broedplaatsen/ontstaan-organisatie/>.

²⁸ See <http://www.mondragon-corporation.com/eng/about-us/>.

Although the neighbourhood cooperatives that have been founded recently in the Netherlands have all been established in their individual contexts, they also have much in common. The foundation of a number of neighbourhood cooperatives in the big cities, including the Afrikaander Cooperative, has been supported by Wijkcooperatie.nl, an organisation founded by the Utrecht research and consultancy office Labyrinth. The fact that they use the same support system is probably part of the reason why these cooperatives look so much alike. Wijkcooperatie.nl aims at joining forces in the neighbourhood and creating work and entrepreneurship without grants by having work that has to be done anyway done professionally and as much as possible by neighbourhood residents²⁹. Just as the Breeding Ground Office, Wijkcooperatie.nl also requires that the initiative should come from the people involved. The website of Wijkcooperatie.nl explains that it only provides support if residents or entrepreneurs are willing to take the initiative.

In spite of this policy, the initiative to found the Afrikaander Cooperative and to establish social networks in the Afrikaanderwijk was not taken by residents or entrepreneurs, but by co-workers of Freehouse. In the case of the Creative Factory the initiative for its foundation and the establishment of networks did not come from the creative entrepreneurs located there. Within both initiatives the initiators worked hard to establish various social networks, assuming that the target groups, namely the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the entrepreneurs and residents of the Afrikaanderwijk, would benefit from these networks. However, the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory looked at these efforts very critically and had other needs and expectations. According to several entrepreneurs it should be the task of the Creative Factory to support them in acquiring orders. Also with regard to facilitating access to the partners some entrepreneurs expected more initiative from the Creative Factory. As mentioned before, many organisations became partners because they wanted to stimulate the growth of the creative businesses. However, the interviewed creative entrepreneurs believed that the partners were invisible. Some entrepreneurs argued that the Creative Factory could do more to connect them to the partners:

'There should come for instance a kind of market place. The City of Rotterdam has a lot of printed matter. Why not make a link with a business in the Creative Factory that handles printed matter? The same thing applies to photography' (entrepreneur development of scaffolds).

Some entrepreneurs acknowledged that they were indeed offered opportunities to get into contact with the partners. However, they missed an incentive to participate:

²⁹ See www.wijkcooperatie.nl.

'There are some moments that are indicated in the newsletter, where you can meet the partners. They absolutely do things for this, but what is that trigger to participate? Everyone is busy, especially at the present time when you all have to fight for your living. Are you then going to participate in an informative conversation with a group of other entrepreneurs and a partner? I don't think so' (entrepreneur animation and visual design).

Although various entrepreneurs expected more initiative from the Creative Factory, there were also entrepreneurs who took the initiative themselves to organise things that were of general interest. One of the interviewed entrepreneurs took the initiative to revitalise the business club of the Creative Factory, which had been founded previously by some entrepreneurs to act as a common voice for the entrepreneurs, but which had become moribund over time:

'I notice that there is a lot of enthusiasm for this, many people want to participate' (entrepreneur branding and marketing).

Some other interviewed entrepreneurs affirmed this. However, a number of months later the enthusiasm of both the initiator and the other participants appeared to have diminished, mostly because none of the entrepreneurs wanted to be responsible for formal tasks like taking minutes. Several entrepreneurs indicated that the Creative Factory should facilitate such initiatives, as the entrepreneurs themselves did not have time for this:

'I think that there are a lot of people with a lot of good ideas, and that there really is readiness, but that there is not really a central organisation that ensures that these ideas are facilitated. Everybody's first thing is: "I just have to make business", and the other things always come in the second place. When there is nobody doing his best for it, then we leave it each time' (entrepreneur sound design for media).

'I have the idea that there is so much more potential in it than what now emerges. And on what does this depend? Momentarily I am too busy with my own business, but if I can contribute, then that's fine. But someone has to be leading in this, someone has to facilitate this' (entrepreneur online communication strategy).

So it turned out to be difficult to make entrepreneurs within the Creative Factory responsible for things beyond the direct interest of their own business. Within the Cooperative it was also a difficult trajectory to involve the entrepreneurs in things of general interest. Contrary to a number of entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory who indicated a need for initiative and leadership, this appeared not to be the case for many entrepreneurs in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square. Notwithstanding their physical proximity, they had little to do with each other. Although a membership in the Cooperative offered them a financial advantage in the

form of lower energy costs and although Freehouse spent much time on the establishment of relationships, these entrepreneurs did not really feel the need for the Cooperative and for collaboration. Various residents who were involved in the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio indeed saw a potential interest in the form of a greater chance for paid work, but they also took a wait-and-see attitude.

Hence for both the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the entrepreneurs and residents of the Afrikaanderwijk, it turned out that they took little initiative concerning things beyond their direct interest and took a wait-and-see attitude. An important cause for this is that the initiative for the foundation of the Creative Factory and the Cooperative respectively did not come from them, and they had not been intensively involved in the plans from the beginning. This caused them not to feel ownership of the Creative Factory or the Cooperative and so to be unwilling to take responsibility for things that were of general interest. They only felt responsible for their own business or activities. The entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory had not been involved at all in the realisation of the Creative Factory. The entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk indeed had been involved in various activities in the Afrikaanderwijk from the moment that Freehouse started to develop plans leading to the founding of the Cooperative. However, the involvement of these entrepreneurs had not included developing their future role within the Cooperative, but only participating in various projects. De facto, the Cooperative had been established by Freehouse and not by entrepreneurs or residents of the Afrikaanderwijk. This was also acknowledged by one of the members of the Advisory Board of the Cooperative, who is also the director of the research and consultancy office Labyrinth. As mentioned previously, Labyrinth established Wijkcooperatie.nl, which supported the Afrikaander Cooperative as well as other neighbourhood cooperatives. Notwithstanding the fact that Wijkcooperatie.nl believes that the initiative should come from the people involved, he indicated that for the Afrikaander Cooperative this was not the case:

'I really encountered the idealism and the passion and drive of people like Jeanne, who invested a lot in it herself, so that is fabulous, only, that is her and that is not the local leader' (member Advisory Board Afrikaander Cooperative).

He also acknowledged the importance of ownership and own initiative. According to him an important factor for the success of organisations like the Cooperative is that the people involved have fought for it themselves:

'First you have to make sure that one or more people really have an interest in it and also recognize the financial advantage to do it. Being willing to run hard for it. Otherwise, the risk is that the people of Freehouse take the neighbourhood with them like a kind of welfare workers, without them running for it themselves. I am afraid that unconsciously this

happens with some things and that indeed is a trap' (member Advisory Board Afrikaander Cooperative).

The fact that the Cooperative had not been founded on the initiative of entrepreneurs or residents of the Afrikaanderwijk made the start complicated according to him. Further, he noticed that this problem of ownership not only occurred within the Cooperative, but also within the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio:

'When you are put in place in this way, this is different than when you yourself have to get a loan at the bank from the beginning' (member Advisory Board Afrikaander Cooperative).

Ownership is also an important issue within the Creative Factory. This is illustrated by the course of events concerning the organisation of professionalisation trajectories for the creative entrepreneurs. In the beginning the Creative Factory organised all kinds of walk-in meetings aimed at professionalisation, but as the entrepreneurs felt little involvement and the attendance was low, it was decided to make the entrepreneurs themselves responsible for the organisation of these professionalisation trajectories henceforth and only provide support. Subsequently, the entrepreneurs organised intervision groups among other things. According to the coach this approach worked well:

'Then the ownership is with the entrepreneurs. They ensure that the group is complete and that there is a room and that kind of things, and subsequently Syntens leads this' (coach Creative Factory).

From the text above it appears that ownership and own responsibility of the people involved are important and that these are necessary preconditions for optimally developing and using social networks within initiatives like the Creative Factory or the Cooperative. So it can be concluded that support aimed at establishing and accessing social networks is not effective if the people involved do not feel responsible for these social networks. This explicitly also applies to the Creative Factory, notwithstanding the fact that the creative entrepreneurs indicated a need for support from the Creative Factory in, for instance, collectively acquiring complex orders. They argued that establishing and running their own company is their first priority, causing them to have little time for activities that exceed the direct interest of their own company. Only if the creative entrepreneurs feel themselves to be responsible for collectively acquiring orders can it be achieved that the ownership and responsibility of this process is and stays with the people involved and that the provided support is indeed supporting – nothing more and nothing less.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Both the Creative Factory and Freehouse made efforts to establish social networks in order to stimulate mutual collaboration and reinforcement within the initiatives. In this chapter the development and the use of social networks within the two initiatives have been analysed. Based on this analysis the following three conclusions can be drawn, all three relating to both initiatives. The first conclusion is that physical proximity had a positive influence on the development of intensive collaboration, although this influence is only limited. Within the Creative Factory intensive collaboration arose among some of the creative entrepreneurs. Further, neighbourhood residents who were active in the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio also cooperated intensively. However, in relation to this conclusion three points can be made. In the first place, only a few entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory were involved in the cooperation with other entrepreneurs. In the second place, it can be concluded that although the neighbourhood residents who were involved in the Kitchen and the Studio cooperated intensively, this collaboration was not long-lived, as the volunteer turnover was large. In the third place, it can be established that for the seventy entrepreneurs located in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square no positive influence of physical proximity on the collaboration was visible.

Secondly, it can be concluded that although a lot has been invested in stimulating the establishment of social networks and facilitating access to these networks, the people involved made little use of the offered opportunities for building social networks. The support provided did not link up with their needs. On the one hand, the entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk by themselves did not have a need for support through the Cooperative. On the other hand, the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory actually indicated a need for support. However, instead of the offered support in the shape of network meetings and events, they wanted support resulting in orders.

The third conclusion of this chapter is that support aimed at establishing and accessing social networks is not effective if the people involved do not feel responsible for these social networks.

At the end of the previous chapter it has been noted that for the Cooperative it has added value to be able to continue to make use of the creative abilities of creative professionals, even after Freehouse has withdrawn. However, connections between the network of creative professionals and the residents with creative talents are not established automatically because of the differences in cultural experience between the two groups. Therefore it has been established that it is necessary that there are people who explicitly take on the role of maintaining connections between the network of creative professionals and the network of the residents with creative talents. However, according to the third conclusion of this chapter, support in the establishment of social networks can only be effective if the people involved feel responsible for these

social networks and if the support provided is merely supporting. Consequently, this means that the Cooperative needs people who on the one hand play an initiating role in relation to the establishment of connections and on the other hand play a supporting role, without being ahead of the troops. Between these two roles a balance needs to be found. Preferably these two roles should not be played by people from elsewhere, but by people who are really part of the Cooperative as well as the Afrikaanderwijk. Further, it is important that these people work on establishing these connections together with other members of the Cooperative, not as leaders, but as *primus inter pares*.

Finally it should be noted that it is important for the Cooperative to ensure that it has enough staff. For the establishment of connections as well as for initiating activities the Cooperative needs people from the Afrikaanderwijk who on the one hand have a sufficiently large social network and on the other hand enough capacities and ambitions to contribute to the development of the Cooperative. Only with enough staff can the Cooperative initiate activities that can contribute to the development of the residents of the neighbourhood. This will be discussed further in the next chapter, in which the contributions to neighbourhood regeneration of the projects initiated by Freehouse as well as the contributions of the Creative Factory are analysed.



N.V. GRAANSILOM



CREATIVE
FACTORY

TAA

Chapter 6

**Contributions to the regeneration
of the neighbourhood**

'What you also have to take into account in the Afrikaanderwijk is that at some point there is not enough work for everybody. That we also have to reflect on that there will be people who will never work. And how do we deal with that? And how can we have those people also contribute in a valuable way?' (founder Freehouse).

'Originally the Creative Factory was meant to stimulate entrepreneurship in South Rotterdam, but rapidly the entrepreneurs came from everywhere. Further, in the meantime we have a network of other enterprise centres in Europe. Focus on the incubator programme is a logical line. The disadvantage is that a link with the neighbourhood is hard to realise' (conclusion of the director of the Creative Factory during partner meeting on February 7th, 2013).

From the beginning both the Creative Factory and Freehouse struggled with the ways in which they could contribute to the regeneration of their surrounding neighbourhoods and how they could shape these contributions, as illustrated in the two quotes above. This struggle became even more difficult when the consequences of the economic crisis were being felt. In this chapter the actual contributions of the two initiatives to the regeneration of the neighbourhood are evaluated.

First, for both initiatives the motivations for establishing a link between the initiative and the regeneration of the neighbourhood are investigated, as well as the motivations of the various stakeholders for participating in and contributing to the initiative. Subsequently, the funding of the two initiatives and whether these ways of funding have led to sustainability are examined. Furthermore, the economic and social effects of the initiatives on the residents of the neighbourhood and the effects on the quality of place of the neighbourhood are analysed (Florida, 2002: 232). The analysis is based on the effects as experienced by the people involved.

6.1 INVESTING IN NEIGHBOURHOOD REGENERATION: DELIBERATE VISION OR OPPORTUNISTIC CHOICE?

The original business plan for the Creative Factory is explicitly aimed at the development of youngsters from the surrounding neighbourhoods, including the Afrikaanderwijk. This business plan aims at attracting 'streetwise' youngsters from the neighbourhood to the Creative Factory. Stimulated by the creative and innovative character of the dance club Now & Wow, then also established in the Maassilo, these youngsters could receive training to become creative entrepreneurs. Further, they could also present their products in a room that would be developed especially for this purpose. More established entrepreneurs would also be recruited to serve as examples and boosters. This broad business plan for the combined exploitation of

workspaces and presentation rooms eventually was not realised, according to a representative of the Rotterdam City Development Corporation, because it was considered too risky:

'To fill the Creative Factory only with latent starting entrepreneurship without experience is indeed rather risky, so if you want it to be really successful in a sustainable way, then in the Creative Factory you should strive more for a mix of established businesses that already proved to be successful, supplemented by starters, where these starters can take advantage of the opportunities that the established businesses offer them' (representative Rotterdam City Development Corporation).

Subsequently, a new business plan was written, specifying that the Creative Factory is established as a social enterprise aimed at

'starting up new companies, innovation, economic growth, employment, internships and the revitalisation of the image of Rotterdam as a young, trendy, creative city' (Creative Factory, 2006).

The Creative Factory was set up as an area-targeted initiative (Ouwehand & Van Meijeren, 2006), aimed at the attraction and retention of enterprises in the area. The Creative Factory was supposed to be a breeding ground, serving as an incubator, but also to offer space to the developing creative businesses in the long run. In this way, it was intended to contribute to the development of the creative economy in Rotterdam. This aim had not been addressed in the business case, which focused on the operation of the Creative Factory. However, the actual purpose of the Creative Factory was ambiguous from the beginning. The business case does not contain a clear vision and mission. Furthermore, it does not contain any explicit mention of a relationship of the Creative Factory with the regeneration of South Rotterdam. The only implicit link with South Rotterdam is that the City of Rotterdam invests in the redevelopment of the Maassilo from the budget for enterprise zones. Meanwhile, the business case does mention the focus on attracting successful businesses and entrepreneurs that otherwise perhaps would turn to other cities.

In spite of the fact that contributing to the regeneration of South Rotterdam is not explicitly mentioned as an objective in the business case, the motivations for their involvement in the Creative Factory of the semi-public partners Vestia, Pact op Zuid and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences explicitly relate to contributing to the regeneration of South Rotterdam; these are three of the four partners who sponsored the Creative Factory financially. Vestia argued that an enterprise centre for young creative entrepreneurs is good for the neighbourhood economy. This is important for Vestia, because

'the neighbourhood economy is a very important factor to help a neighbourhood and to stimulate its growth' (representative Vestia).

Vestia has many business premises and residential properties in the Afrikaanderwijk and wished to offer business premises in the Afrikaanderwijk to businesses in the Creative Factory that wanted to expand, in order to retain these businesses in South Rotterdam. Further, Vestia made an effort to offer entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory housing in the Afrikaanderwijk. In 2008 Vestia and the Creative Factory concluded an agreement saying that houses that became vacant in a number of streets in the Afrikaanderwijk could be rented by entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory until the designated houses would be demolished. Because creative professionals often see opportunities in an area, according to Vestia the challenge lay in tempting these professionals not only to work but also to live in the neighbourhood (OBR, 2009). Further, as described in chapter 4, the creative entrepreneurs were supposed to function as role models for neighbourhood residents by acquainting them with forms of creativity that were new to them. The partnership of Pact op Zuid was motivated by the underlying thought that initiatives like the Creative Factory could contribute to a more positive image of South Rotterdam, causing this area to become more attractive for citizens to live there and for enterprises to establish themselves. One of the process managers of Pact op Zuid, which was transformed into the National Programme South Rotterdam in 2011, elucidated the involvement of Pact op Zuid in the Creative Factory:

'I consider the development of the Creative Factory as part of the regeneration of old neighbourhoods interesting and important and I want to be a partner of this through Pact op Zuid' (representative Pact op Zuid).

Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences explicitly focuses on students from Rotterdam and surroundings and on the Rotterdam professional sphere. For this reason, Rotterdam University sought to connect to important social topics in the region, like the regeneration of South Rotterdam. Therefore, in 2007 Rotterdam University committed to the Pact op Zuid and also concluded a partnership agreement with the Creative Factory, because, as indicated in the agreement, 'this collaboration contributes to the linkage of Rotterdam University to the social surroundings and students can contribute to innovative initiatives in the city and can discover entrepreneurship' (partnership agreement Creative Factory and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, 2007: 1).

According to a co-worker of Rotterdam University who was involved in the establishment of this partnership agreement, the objective was on the one hand to introduce as many students as possible to the creative sector and on the other hand to develop the entrepreneurship of students of the creative courses. Most other partners of the Creative Factory were not motivated

by the regeneration of South Rotterdam. As mentioned before, these organisations were interested in the growth of the creative businesses and in increasing their own clientele. These differences in their motivations are a logical consequence of the different primary objectives of the partner organisations. Because of the character and place of their activities, Vestia and Pact op Zuid had a natural link with South Rotterdam in general and the Afrikaanderwijk in particular. Other partners, like the Rabobank and Online Department, primarily had commercial objectives and as a consequence were mainly interested in the acquisition of new customers. The contradiction between on the one hand partners willing to contribute to the regeneration of South Rotterdam and on the other hand partners mainly focusing on the growth of creative entrepreneurs from all over Rotterdam and beyond was noticeable from the beginning and from time to time emerged sharply.

The partners concluded that in order to be able to support the creative entrepreneurs in an optimal way it was important to position the Creative Factory well. To that end, in 2009 they collectively produced a vision and a mission statement, mentioned in the business plan for 2010-2012 (Creative Factory, 2009), that reflected the interests of all partners to the extent possible, but which consequently were so broad that the purpose of the Creative Factory remained ambiguous. In the vision of the Creative Factory, which is inspired by Florida (2002), young creative entrepreneurs are essential for 'the prosperity of neighbourhoods, cities, countries and continents'. By bringing together, facilitating and stimulating creative and business communities, the Creative Factory wanted to fulfil an accelerator function, so that within as well as outside the Netherlands advantage could be taken of the power of these communities. Further, the business plan mentioned that in the following years the Creative Factory planned to contribute strongly to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods. However, the intended contributions were not specified. Although at this time the contribution to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods was indeed mentioned, from the description in section 5.1 it appears that none of the partners that joined the Creative Factory since 2010 had this as a motivation for their involvement. These new partners all aimed at stimulating the growth of the creative enterprises and increasing their own network. So it appears that this vision and mission statement have not directed the choice of the new partners.

Contrary to the Creative Factory, Freehouse was founded as a people-targeted initiative (Ouweland & Van Meijeren, 2006), which from the start explicitly aimed at the economic and socio-cultural development of residents and entrepreneurs of the Afrikaanderwijk. As already described in section 5.1, Freehouse, a private initiative, transferred its activities to the Afrikaanderwijk because it was invited to do so by Vestia and subsequently got a grant from the Fund for visual arts, design and architecture, enabling it to start a project. Vestia was interested in the transfer of Freehouse to the Afrikaanderwijk because it, as one of the partners of Pact op Zuid, not only invested in the improvement of its own housing stock, but also in all kinds

of projects aimed at improving the socio-economic position of the neighbourhood residents and the liveability of the neighbourhood. Through creative production Freehouse aimed at strengthening the economic position of these residents and entrepreneurs and increasing their socio-cultural awareness by means of various projects. Until the foundation of the Afrikaander Cooperative, only a limited number of people were directly involved in the projects of Freehouse. At the start of the first project 'Tomorrow's Market' these were largely market traders, who sold their products on the Afrikaander market twice a week. Subsequently, a group of residents were involved in various projects leading to the foundation of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio. With a few exceptions these were residents of the Afrikaanderwijk and the surrounding neighbourhoods. In contrast, the professional artists and designers involved in the projects mainly came from outside these neighbourhoods.

In January 2014 the Afrikaander Cooperative was launched during a symposium. It was founded to promote the collective interests of its members by stimulating local production, cultural development and knowledge exchange within the Afrikaanderwijk, in order to facilitate access to education, paid work or entrepreneurship. The Afrikaander Cooperative started various activities in order to involve more residents and entrepreneurs from the neighbourhood. In addition to entrepreneurs in the direct vicinity of the Afrikaander square youngsters also made up an important target group for these activities. One of the members of the Advisory Board of the Cooperative noted this during the symposium, where he moderated a group discussion with people from the neighbourhood:

'The biggest urgencies that emerge are the development opportunities of the young generation men, boys, their sons. That simply is their biggest area of concern. So if I ask them for what and whom the Cooperative should represent an interest in particular, then they say: "For that group"' (member Advisory Board Afrikaander Cooperative).

The Cooperative prioritizes the development of economic independence. The stimulation of creative production has moved to the background. This focus on economic independence fits in with economic developments. As a result of the economic crisis the already high unemployment in the Afrikaanderwijk had risen even more, causing paid work and economic independence to become even more important issues. However, in spite of this attention for paid work, in the Afrikaanderwijk there would always be people who would never get a job, as expressed in the initial quote in this chapter. In order to offer people without a paid job opportunities to contribute to society in a valuable way, the Cooperative pays attention not only to economic values, but also to cultural and social values.

Thus, the Cooperative as well as the projects that Freehouse initiated prior to the foundation of the Cooperative explicitly aim at residents and entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk, in

compliance with the objective stated at the foundation of Freehouse. The Creative Factory on the contrary is aimed at attracting creative businesses from within and outside Rotterdam and is implicitly supposed to contribute to the regeneration of South Rotterdam. As noted in section 3.4 in this way the rebuilding of the Creative Factory could be financed from the budget for enterprise zones. Moreover, this connection made it possible to attract Vestia, Pact op Zuid and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences as paying partners. For all three of these organisations the fact that the Creative Factory was supposed to contribute to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods was an important part of their motivation for entering into this partnership. However, from the start of the Creative Factory it was unclear what this supposed contribution should comprise. It is striking that this contribution is not explicitly mentioned in the business case that was prepared in 2006 before the opening of the Creative Factory. On the contrary, in the business plan for the period from 2010-2012 it is explicitly mentioned that the Creative Factory intended to contribute heavily to the regeneration of the surrounding deprived neighbourhoods, but here as well this contribution is not specified. Although the intended contribution was still not clear, by mentioning this contribution explicitly the Creative Factory could secure the continuation of the partnership of Vestia, Pact op Zuid and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences. As these were three of the four partners who sponsored the Creative Factory financially, this connection with the surrounding neighbourhoods was important for the Creative Factory.

Thus, the establishment of a connection between the Creative Factory and the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods and the maintenance of that connection were mainly motivated by political and economic considerations and not by a deliberate vision of how the Creative Factory could contribute to the regeneration of these neighbourhoods. At the same time it can be concluded that political and economic reasons also played a role in the establishment of the connection between Freehouse and the Afrikaanderwijk, although Freehouse certainly had a deliberate vision concerning how to contribute to the regeneration of this neighbourhood. Freehouse came to the Afrikaanderwijk at Vestia's behest and because subsequently Freehouse got a grant from the Fund for visual arts, design and architecture to initiate a project.

6.2 COME AND GO

Like the partners, for most of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory who were interviewed in 2011, the relationship with the neighbourhood did not play a role in their motivations for coming to the Creative Factory. Only for one interviewed entrepreneur did the neighbourhood indeed play a role. This entrepreneur concentrates on talent development of youngsters by helping them to organise and execute projects aimed at other youngsters, such as a football camp, a network meeting and a talent show. Some of these projects are targeted at youngsters

in South Rotterdam, while other projects have a broader target group. For this entrepreneur the appearance of the Creative Factory was important because of

'the rough character so to speak, this makes it accessible for youngsters and that really fits in with us. I think that there were few office buildings where we could have sprayed graffiti on the wall. So the image really fits in with our foundation: young, fresh, accessible' (entrepreneur talent development for youngsters).

However, most entrepreneurs were not so much interested in good connections with the neighbourhood, but rather with the outside world. They considered it important that they could easily travel to and fro between the Creative Factory and the centre of Rotterdam or places outside Rotterdam:

'It is kind of central, so within five minutes I am in the centre of Rotterdam, the public transport is nearby, further on is the motorway' (entrepreneur development of scaffolds).

These entrepreneurs have few links with South Rotterdam. As already mentioned in section 4.2, only three of them lived in South Rotterdam, two of them living in one of the neighbourhoods at the border of South Rotterdam. In addition to renovation many new houses were built in these neighbourhoods, as part of the policy aimed at extending the city centre of Rotterdam to the south. Apart from the entrepreneur quoted above, who aimed at the development of talents of youngsters, the interviewed entrepreneurs hardly had any customers in South Rotterdam, apart from perhaps one or more customers within the Creative Factory itself. Most of them focused on Rotterdam and environs, while others had a clientele more scattered across the Netherlands. Furthermore, some entrepreneurs also had one or more customers outside the Netherlands. Moreover, they all indicated that when they eventually left the Creative Factory, they wanted to establish themselves on the northern bank of the Nieuwe Maas river. Some entrepreneurs indicated that the exact location of their enterprise did not matter that much, as long as it was in a representative environment. With regard to the environs of the Creative Factory they deemed that this was not the case.

'Look, when you work here, you come for working. And in the evening you went home. The area around Maashaven is not the most beautiful part of Rotterdam. My first confrontation with Maashaven on every working day was someone ahead of me who smashed the gates of the subway. That was the start of my day. That was almost daily. So it is actually a bad neighbourhood' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

None of the entrepreneurs considered establishment in South Rotterdam after leaving the Creative Factory. Nonetheless, in spite of this they had chosen the Creative Factory for mainly

financial reasons. One of the entrepreneurs indicated that subsidies from the 'Entrepreneurial regulation enterprise zones', valid for the surrounding area at the start of the Creative Factory in 2008, played an important role in the choice of the Creative Factory for both himself and various other entrepreneurs:

'When we just came here, there was a regulation enabling you to ask for subsidy. According to me, a lot of entrepreneurs here made use of that' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

Some entrepreneurs who established themselves in the Creative Factory at the opening made use of this regulation, where entrepreneurs investing an amount of up to 100.000 euros got the same amount as a subsidy from the budget for this regulation (EDBR, 2005). Another entrepreneur who also moved into the Creative Factory at the opening mentioned the more economical rent for a work place in the Creative Factory in comparison to the cost of renting an office building:

'It was not very expensive to establish ourselves here. On the contrary if I would rent an office building, this would simply cost much more money' (entrepreneur talent development for youngsters).

In the years after the opening of the Creative Factory various other enterprise centres for young creative entrepreneurs have opened in Rotterdam. An entrepreneur who established himself in the Creative Factory only a short time before the interview took place, said that he had visited several of these enterprise centres and chose for the Creative Factory based on a combination of attractiveness of the space and price:

'There are some Creative Cube spaces, and there is yet another organisation that offers such spaces. And then there is the Creative Factory. And those actually are all players who rent out space for young, small organisations. Actually for us it was just a financial consideration, which organisations are there and which spaces do we like' (entrepreneur online labour market communication).

This last entrepreneur also indicated that he considered a short term of notice to be important. At the opening of the Creative Factory this term was one month, and later it was extended to three months. Further, in addition to the already mentioned location central to the motorway and public transport, several entrepreneurs mentioned the facilities of the Creative Factory, particularly the free parking and the meeting rooms, which enable them to receive several people at the same time. Summarising, it can be established that almost none of the entrepreneurs had a relationship with the neighbourhood, nor an interest to build up such a relationship. They

considered their establishment in the Afrikaanderwijk as temporary and were mainly interested in good connections with the outside world, so that they could come and go quickly to the Afrikaanderwijk.

6.3 PROJECTS OR SUSTAINABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD?

Although Freehouse is a private initiative, it started its activities in the Afrikaanderwijk in 2008 through public funding, namely a grant from the Fund for visual arts, design and architecture, that later merged into the Mondriaan Fund, the public fund for visual arts and cultural heritage. Through the years, Freehouse received subsidies from various organisations, including the borough of Feijenoord, the Rotterdam City Development Corporation, the European Fund for Regional Development, housing association Vestia and Doen Foundation; these are public as well as private funds. Furthermore, when the Neighbourhood Studio and the Neighbourhood Kitchen were founded in 2009 and 2010 respectively, Vestia made available free business premises. Freehouse deliberately looked for funding through different sources:

'Apart from the parties that I mentioned we always had much more subsidy providers. We always ensured that there was a division, so that not one party can direct too much' (co-worker Freehouse).

The Neighbourhood Kitchen is housed in the kitchen of the Gemaal, which is owned by Vestia. When the Kitchen was founded the large room in the building was used for exhibitions and expositions. However, as these had little connection with the surrounding neighbourhoods, Freehouse and Kosmopolis developed a new plan for programming the Gemaal. At the end of 2012 Kosmopolis ceased to exist because the City of Rotterdam reduced the budget for arts and culture. Freehouse moved on alone with the plans for the Gemaal. In the meantime it had also become clear that Vestia had big financial problems. Because of these financial problems Vestia was much less able to support projects like those of Freehouse financially. The borough of Feijenoord also stopped its financial support for this kind of project because of budget cuts. Further, in 2012 Vestia decided to charge the Neighbourhood Kitchen, which until then used the kitchen in the Gemaal for free, rent from 2014 onwards.

In the beginning of 2013 Freehouse started with the Neighbourhood Value Store project in the large room of the Gemaal. This project ran for a year and functioned as a showcase for everything that is produced and for sale in the neighbourhood, besides providing a stage for a diverse range of activities, varying from talk shows and debates concerning neighbourhood values to dancing lessons, break-dance events and films. Freehouse rented this room of the Gemaal from Vestia and paid the rent from the project budget. However, in the meantime

Vestia had decided to sell the Gemaal, for which reason Freehouse had only a short-term rental contract. As no buyer expressed interest, this rental contract was repeatedly extended for several months.

During the period in which the Neighbourhood Value Store ran, the foundation of the Afrikaander Cooperative was developed. In November 2013 Freehouse founded the Afrikaander Cooperative. Originally, Freehouse was founded as a non-profit research foundation, where matters like the management of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio did not really fit in. Both the Kitchen and the Studio functioned more as an enterprise than as a project. When the Cooperative was founded, the Neighbourhood Kitchen was independent. Apart from the free use of the kitchen it had already operated for some time without subsidy; moreover, it would also pay a rent for the kitchen from 2014 onwards. Therefore, from its beginnings in the Afrikaanderwijk Freehouse had looked for the most appropriate type of organisation to house these activities. The conclusion of this search was that a neighbourhood cooperative would be the most suitable type of organisation.

At the start of the Neighbourhood Value Store the Gemaal was intended to be a temporary neighbourhood accommodation. However, during the execution of the project, where the Gemaal was used for all kinds of activities by various target groups, it became clear that in the neighbourhood there was a need for a permanent multipurpose accommodation where various groups of people could hold a variety of activities. Therefore Freehouse decided to keep using the Gemaal after the end of the Neighbourhood Value Store and to keep renting this place from Vestia. This was possible, as Vestia had still not found a buyer for the building. From the foundation of the Afrikaander Cooperative onwards, the Gemaal has been managed by the Cooperative. The Cooperative rents it out by the hour to various organisations that organise meetings or activities. During the periods when it is not rented out groups of neighbourhood residents can use it for free for various activities, like the monthly 'I Speak' events.

The Cooperative was founded with the aim of making a profit. Fifty per cent of any profit will be divided among the members, proportional to the achieved efforts. Twenty-five per cent is intended for strengthening the Cooperative, for instance by developing new services and financing educational trajectories for neighbourhood residents working for the Cooperative. The remaining twenty-five per cent will be spent on socio-cultural activities benefiting the Afrikaanderwijk³⁰. The Cooperative consists of various sub-coops. One of these sub-coops works on the development of services like the collective purchase of energy. Another sub-coop aims at facilitating the acquisition of paid work for residents of the Afrikaanderwijk, including the residents who until then worked as volunteers for the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio.

³⁰ See Statuten Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie.

For this, the Cooperative has the ability to employ people. However, an important prerequisite for offering the volunteers a paid job through the Cooperative is that the Kitchen and the Studio have a continuous flow of orders. In this respect, the Cooperative is also supposed to play a facilitating role:

'I also simply want the Neighbourhood Kitchen to generate enough income so that in the long term people can be employed. The Cooperative will not pay my co-workers and the rent of my Kitchen, but by cooperating it certainly can attract some customers, causing us to get more work' (coordinator Neighbourhood Kitchen).

The biggest source of revenue for the Neighbourhood Kitchen consists of the catering orders. Some catering takes place in the Gemaal, while other catering takes place off-site. Furthermore, the Kitchen earns money by selling drinks and lunches in the Gemaal during market days, selling self-developed products and giving cooking workshops. The revenues of the Studio are generated by giving sewing lessons and executing orders for various customers, including fashion designers, a museum and fashion students of the Rotterdam Art Academy. For the Studio creating paid jobs for the volunteers is even more difficult than for the Kitchen, because every order is unique, and for every order another mix of skills is needed:

'for instance, we have a number of people who can knit very well, or crochet very well, but of course we do not have a full-time knitting order, or forty hours a week crochet work for a whole year' (founder Freehouse).

Because youngsters are an important target group of the Cooperative, a separate sub-coop has been established for them. The primary goal of this sub-coop is organising education and paid work. In order to help youngsters from the neighbourhood who have no diploma or employment in finding a job, the co-worker of the Cooperative who initiated the sub-coop for youngsters consulted with housing association Vestia about establishing a cleaning service through the Cooperative. In mid-2014 this resulted in the signing of a trial contract for employing a youngster from the Afrikaanderwijk for cleaning entrance halls of Vestia-owned houses. This youngster also got training and coaching through the Cooperative. Since the experiences with this trial were positive, after the expiration of the trial period the contract with Vestia was extended, and more youngsters were hired through the Cooperative in order to perform cleaning work for Vestia. In addition to his efforts at developing paid jobs, the initiator of the sub-coop for youngsters also facilitated the organisation of socio-cultural activities by and for youngsters, especially the 'I Speak' meetings with spoken word performances that took place in the Gemaal monthly. According to the initiator of this sub-coop, these socio-cultural activities encourage youngsters to develop their talents:

'My objective has always been to make people think in possibilities instead of impossibilities. Nothing is unfeasible and everything is possible. That is what we actually should give youngsters, that through your own efforts you can also do a lot' (co-worker Afrikaander Cooperative).

According to several co-workers of Freehouse, many youngsters would preferably earn their money with activities like 'I Speak'. However, the work in the Afrikaanderwijk that is available for them mainly involves activities like cleaning. Therefore on the one hand the Cooperative offered youngsters janitorial work and other similar jobs, while on the other hand the Cooperative used the profit that it made on this work to finance among other things the free use of the Gemaal so that youngsters from the Afrikaanderwijk can participate in activities like 'I Speak'. 'I Speak' offered youngsters from within and outside the Afrikaanderwijk opportunities to express their cultural identity. This fits in with the ideas of Freehouse in which cultural and social values are also important alongside economic values.

'Within the Cooperative we try to take seriously small-scale qualities, personal values, and to give these a place. Of course it is super cool to get a fee for a spoken word performance. But the work that is available for these youngsters at this moment is cleaning. However, the profit that the Cooperative makes on that cleaning job also generates the opportunities for these youngsters to use that stage in the Gemaal for free' (founder Freehouse).

From its beginnings membership in the Cooperative has been free of charge. Concerning the financial means of the Cooperative, the Code of Integrity and Conduct, which is part of the registration form, says: 'Through revenue from activities and gifts the Cooperative is enabled financially to organise...local projects'.

The financial resources of the Cooperative consist partially of revenues from activities, such as offering entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk the participation in a collective energy contract, enabling them to purchase energy at a lower price. The energy supplier gave the Cooperative financial compensation for recruiting the entrepreneurs as clients. However, the articles of association³¹ also provide for a registration fee and a yearly contribution in the future. In 2014 the Cooperative got a start-up grant from the Doen Foundation and the City of Rotterdam for further development. After this start-up phase the Cooperative was supposed to be financially independent.

Subsequently, Freehouse intended to move into the background. As has already been mentioned at the end of chapter 5, it is important for the Cooperative to ensure that when

³¹ See Statuten Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie.

Freehouse withdraws, it could still have enough staff at its disposal with a sufficiently large social network and enough capabilities and ambitions to be able to establish connections and initiate activities. Moreover, preferably this staff should consist of people who are really part of the Cooperative, as well as the Afrikaanderwijk. However, it is difficult to find and commit sufficiently qualified neighbourhood residents for the Cooperative. Therefore, a year before the foundation of the Cooperative Freehouse started to train several neighbourhood residents.

So we had one of the co-workers of the Afrikaander Cooperative take part in the Neighbourhood Value Store for Freehouse for a year, in order to coach him and to prepare him for a year for where he is now. So you can say that Freehouse used the year of the Neighbourhood Value Store not only to develop this, but also to give its first internal courses (founder Freehouse).

After the foundation of the Cooperative, Freehouse continued to invest in building capacity. At the time of the data collection for this research, these trained neighbourhood residents performed coordinating tasks within the Cooperative. Alongside training and coaching of neighbourhood residents, one of the co-workers of Freehouse joined the board of the Cooperative. Further, an interim director was appointed, who got the assignment to prepare for the appointment of a director from the Afrikaanderwijk. In this respect the interim director saw two important challenges. The first challenge was the introduction of a system that offered insight into the financial situation in real time and that negotiated clear contracts and agreements with people performing activities for the Cooperative. The second challenge consisted of investigating future opportunities for the Cooperative, including the possibility of creating an operating unit devoted to project management, where people from the neighbourhood could be trained to become a project employee or a project leader.

'Last week I had a discussion about what our core business really is. Because we do cleaning, while actually we do not have any knowledge of this, nor do we have the people, so we have to recruit them separately. But what we are good at with the people we have at this moment is project management. But because you have members who are also very diverse – maybe we will also have cleaning businesses among our members, we have a wedding shop, a bakery – maybe you should approach it in a different way and not say that we have a core business. No, we have a kind of fixed method of working and through this method we can actually do everything, provided we have the right partners' (interim director Afrikaander Cooperative).

Because of the economic crisis less money than before was available for all kinds of projects in the Afrikaanderwijk. Not all of the people involved experienced this as just negative. According to the interim director of the Cooperative a possible positive side effect could be that because

fewer different projects were undertaken, it would become clearer who did what, which could contribute to achieving a sustainable result. The interim director observed that in the past one after the other bureau was introduced into the Afrikaanderwijk by among others Pact op Zuid, with enormous budgets that ended up with the same people time and again. However, many people saw that

'this carousel of projects in neighbourhoods in fact does not yield so much. Therefore suddenly social entrepreneurship arises; no longer doing a project, but starting an enterprise that continuously makes that neighbourhood more beautiful, or lets people from the neighbourhood learn something or gain work experience' (interim director Afrikaander Cooperative).

According to the interim director, the Cooperative in fact was also an enterprise instead of a project. Therefore, the grant that the Cooperative had acquired for its further development, which is a project subsidy, posed the following challenge:

'You start a project because you want to do something with a head and a tail and often you get funds or subsidies for this and the aim is that you use up these funds properly and account for them properly. But when you establish an enterprise the purpose is not at all to start with spending money, because you have to earn it first. So you invest a lot of time and only then you get money, and of course you are not going to spend this as quickly as possible. So this is a totally different way of thinking' (interim director Afrikaander Cooperative).

Furthermore, in the course of 2014 the Cooperative got a budget from the Fund Social Infrastructure for executing a pilot project concerning project management. This pilot project is called 'Home Cooks Feijenoord' and was developed in cooperation with the Neighbourhood Kitchen and Dock Foundation, a Rotterdam welfare organisation. The project recruited 35 people from the neighbourhood with some cooking skills to be trained through the Cooperative to become home cooks. They learned how to cook for instance for someone with a Turkish or Moroccan background or for someone with diabetes. Furthermore they learned how to shop in a smart and cheap way. Subsequently they were matched with clients of Dock who were no longer able to take good care of themselves, at whose places they were going to cook as volunteers. The clients paid a small amount for this meal service at their homes. Prerequisite was that these clients also would invite someone else to have dinner at their places. A direct impetus for this pilot project was the fact that the City of Rotterdam decided to economise on various budgets including the welfare budget. Until a short time before, Dock supplied all kinds of welfare services to these clients, including a meal service. However, because of the budget cuts Dock had a smaller budget available for these services. A possible way to deliver as many of the old services as before with a smaller budget was by making use of volunteers and

enabling them to deliver various services, like a meal service, instead of deploying professionals for everything.

As described above, the start of Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk was made possible through public funding, although Freehouse is a private institution. The projects of Freehouse also depend on external funding. Freehouse considered it important to have several funding sources, in order to prevent any one of them from having an undue influence on its projects. The external funding of Freehouse consisted of grants for all kinds of projects. Without subsidy Freehouse could not execute these projects. Various sources financed different projects and if for a specific project there was no longer any financing, that project could not continue, but for the rest Freehouse did not suffer a loss. Other projects with other underwriters could continue. In addition to the projects that the Cooperative executed with grants, the Cooperative also executed orders for paying customers, in particular for Vestia, who paid the Cooperative for employing someone to clean the portals of its houses. Although all projects depended on subsidy, this way of funding with several sources of support did not pose a threat to the continued existence of Freehouse or the Cooperative. Indeed, some of the organisations that initially financed some of Freehouse's projects, like the borough of Feijenoord and Vestia, stopped. This was notwithstanding the fact that from the beginning Freehouse had significant cooperation with these organisations and that it was Vestia that had encouraged Freehouse to come to the Afrikaanderwijk. Further Kosmopolis, which collaborated with Freehouse from the beginning, stopped its activities because of cutbacks. Hence Freehouse had to exert more effort than in the past to find funders for its projects.

When the Cooperative was founded, for some time the Neighbourhood Kitchen had run independently without subsidy and from 2014 onward it also paid rent for using the kitchen in the Gemaal, financed by revenue derived from the catering orders. Furthermore, the Cooperative paid rent to Vestia for the use of the large room in the Gemaal, which was financed through the revenues derived from hourly rentals to various organisations. Although the rent for both the Kitchen and the large room in the Gemaal was paid from revenues and no external funding was needed, nevertheless the Kitchen and the Cooperative in a certain sense were dependent on Vestia, the owner of the Gemaal. If Vestia sold the Gemaal, the Kitchen and the Cooperative would have no further opportunity to generate revenue, until another building could be found that would be suitable and affordable. Finding affordable space could be problematic, as became apparent during the search for alternative locations for the Kitchen, which was undertaken because of the uncertainty concerning the sale of the Gemaal. This dependence on Vestia applied even more for the Studio, which still used Vestia-owned business premises without paying rent. Hence this dependence on Vestia could be a real problem for the continuation of the Kitchen and the Studio, and in a certain sense also for the Cooperative. Without appropri-

ate space various activities of the Cooperative could not take place and without activities the Cooperative would be no more than an empty shell.

6.4 STRONGER TOGETHER?

The Rotterdam City Development Corporation played an initiating role in the founding of the Creative Factory. The City of Rotterdam invested 6 million euros from its budget for enterprise zones in order to redevelop the oldest part of the Maassilo for accommodating creative entrepreneurs. After the opening of the Creative Factory the management came into private hands. The director of the Creative Factory rented the building from the City Development Corporation and leased workplaces to creative entrepreneurs. In this respect the director ran the operating risk of vacancy. The Creative Factory had two sources of revenue: the rent paid by the creative entrepreneurs and the sponsorship money that the partners paid. The business case of 2006 assumed at least four paying partners without saying with what kinds of partners the Creative Factory would like to join. Between 2008 and 2012 all kinds of organisations became partners, including four partners who sponsored the Creative Factory financially. These four partners are Vestia, Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, Pact op Zuid and Rabobank. In 2012 the aggregate contribution of the four paying partners amounted to 100.000 euros.

The business case for the Creative Factory that had been written in 2006 stated that during the first two years not only the rental income, but also the contributions of the sponsors would be needed to finance the operation. The calculations in the business case assumed that from the third year onwards the Creative Factory could break even through the rental income, so that the sponsorship money could be used for additional activities. In addition to the rent the creative entrepreneurs also paid for service costs. The starting point was that these service costs were charged to the entrepreneurs directly, but soon it became apparent that these costs were too high to be passed on completely to the starting entrepreneurs, notwithstanding the fact that the Creative Factory was entirely full, apart from friction vacancy. These service costs consisted of maintenance, energy and heating costs, which in practice turned out to be considerably higher than estimated before the opening of the Creative Factory, as well as costs for supplementary services, in particular the camera security system that had been installed after a series of burglaries and reception, which was staffed by students of the Albeda College in order to reduce costs. Part of the deficit was covered through the contributions of the paying partners and the rest was covered by the director, who ran the operating risk. The fact that the service costs could not be entirely passed on was an important cause for the Creative Factory being unable to break even through the rental income, neither during the first two years, nor thereafter. Contrary to the business case of 2006, in the business plan for 2010-2012 (Creative

Factory, 2009) it was explicitly stressed that the contributions of the partners were essential for the operation of the Creative Factory.

In the course of 2012 the City of Rotterdam as well as the borough of Feijenoord decided to economise on various budgets, including the expenses for stimulating creative entrepreneurship, because of the economic crisis. Stimulating creative entrepreneurship was not a priority anymore, neither for the City of Rotterdam, nor for the borough. As a result Pact op Zuid, which had been renamed as National Programme South Rotterdam and in which both the City of Rotterdam and the borough of Feijenoord participated, announced its withdrawal from 2013 onwards as a partner of the Creative Factory. The role of the City of Rotterdam from that point was only landlord for the building, which the municipality owned. Further, the municipality wanted to leave the operation and development of the Creative Factory to the remaining partners and the director.

In the beginning of 2012 Vestia announced that it had run into serious financial problems because of speculation in derivatives. As a result of low interest on the capital market for a number of years, Vestia suffered substantial losses on its trade in derivatives. Therefore Vestia was forced to end all kinds of activities that had not directly to do with its core business of supplying social housing. Consequently, Vestia withdrew as a partner of the Creative Factory from 2013 onwards. Meanwhile, the benefits of continuing the sponsorship of the Creative Factory were no longer self-evident for either Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences or Rabobank. Rotterdam University undertook a change in policy, looking much more critically at the return of its investments in establishing connections with the city of Rotterdam. Lower graduation rates and increasing drop-outs, together with disappointing accreditation results, compelled the university to give priority to improving the quality of its education. The contribution of the partnership agreement with the Creative Factory to this improvement turned out to be very limited, especially concerning the stimulation of entrepreneurship in students enrolled in the creative courses.

‘When we look at the development of entrepreneurship in students who are going to work in the creative sector, then there is still a world to be conquered’ (representative Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences).

The students who do an internship in one of the creative businesses or work on a project assignment, appear to be from courses, varying from the economic and social sector to the technical sector, but not from the art courses. The art faculty considered the Creative Factory to be unsuitable for its students, qua sectors that were present in the Creative Factory, as well as in terms of the level on which the creative entrepreneurs functioned:

'The Creative Factory is not interesting for our courses, it is more like a playground' (co-worker art faculty Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences).

Also for Rabobank return on social investments had become more important:

'Until now there was support within Rabobank for sponsoring a social rent, but this will not continue. Five years ago we invested in spring riders; now we want more return on a social investment' (representative Rabobank).

Because of the withdrawal of two out of four paying partners, the financial problems of the Creative Factory increased rapidly. As described above, from the beginning the service costs were too high to be passed on completely to the creative entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, passing on these high service costs had become an even bigger problem, because several other enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs had been opened in Rotterdam. Some of these enterprise centres were housed in business premises that had become vacant because of the economic crisis. At its opening, the Creative Factory had a unique housing offer for starting creative entrepreneurs, as there were no housing options in Rotterdam aimed at this target group. Later, the Creative Factory had to deal with various competing enterprise centres, some in a central location in Rotterdam, in the vicinity of the central railway station. Most of these premises would be used only temporarily for accommodating creative entrepreneurs because of vacancy and therefore could charge relatively low rents. The Creative Factory distinguished itself from other enterprise centres through providing support for the creative entrepreneurs and offering facilities, like meeting rooms, a reception and a security installation. However, as described in the previous section most starting creative entrepreneurs mainly based their choice of a location on price.

Meanwhile, during 2012 the Creative Factory began an incubator programme, in order to offer a number of starting creative entrepreneurs intensive coaching. Although the Creative Factory was supposed to function from the start as an incubator for starting entrepreneurs, this function never got off the ground. Further, in order to be able to finance its operation after the departure of two of its paying partners, the Creative Factory started to look for new paying partners who fit in with its purpose. However, as the current partners concluded, this purpose was still unclear. During the partner meeting in 2013 different interests and perspectives again emerged sharply. In spite of all the differences, the partners who were present during the meeting agreed that choices had to be made in order to be able to position the Creative Factory clearly. Eventually this led to the conclusion indicated in the second quote at the top of this chapter, that a focus on the recently started incubator programme would be a logical progression. Furthermore it was concluded that talent development of youngsters did not fit in with this. This realisation meant that connections with the surrounding neighbourhoods would

be difficult to achieve. This conclusion is remarkable, considering the importance that various partners from the beginning attached to contributing to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods. These partners indeed indicated that for them a connection with the surrounding neighbourhoods was still very important, but no further agreements were made.

However, in spite of this tightening up of its purpose the Creative Factory did not succeed in finding new paying partners. Therefore, the existing partners investigated other options to solve the financial problems. They concluded that the only option to get a balanced budget consisted of the City of Rotterdam reducing the rent for the Creative Factory. The director of the Creative Factory discussed this with the municipality, which was not willing to do so, because it was responsible for covering the costs of renting out the Creative Factory. As the director did not succeed in getting the budget balanced, he indicated he was willing to finish his involvement in the Creative Factory. As vacancy was also an unattractive perspective for the municipality, during the next partner meeting it was decided that the director of the Creative Factory would consult with the municipality again. According to the partners who were present, it was important that a solution would be found quickly, since because of the continuing uncertainty concerning the future of the Creative Factory a number of entrepreneurs had started to look towards other housing options and the occupancy rate had decreased to eighty per cent.

As a result of this consultation with the municipality the contract between the director of the Creative Factory and the City of Rotterdam was terminated. The city took over the operation of the Creative Factory and would invoice the creative entrepreneurs directly. In this way, the operating risk ended up with the municipality. The decision of the City of Rotterdam on the one hand to disagree with decreasing the rent, but to take over the unprofitable operation of the Creative Factory on the other, seems remarkable, considering the conclusion of the partners that the only option to cover costs consisted of a decrease of the rent by the municipality. At the end of September 2013 all entrepreneurs received a letter from the City of Rotterdam, saying that the city had taken over the rental contracts in order to guarantee continuity. Concerning the supplementary services of the Creative Factory, the city would investigate which services could be maintained and which services could not. As a result of the termination of the contract between the director of the Creative Factory and the City of Rotterdam, both Rotterdam University and Rabobank also finished their partnership with the Creative Factory.

In November 2013 a festive meeting for all stakeholders took place in the Creative Factory marking the five-year existence of the Creative Factory. Originally, this meeting was scheduled half a year earlier, but because of uncertainty concerning the continuation of the Creative Factory it had been postponed. During this meeting the director of the Creative Factory looked back on the past five years, mentioning a number of successes, especially the accommodation of 238 entrepreneurs in five years. All attendees received a book about the five years of the Creative

Factory (Richardson, 2013). Subsequently, the director officially transferred the management of the Creative Factory to the City of Rotterdam.

Thus, the start of the Creative Factory, like that of Freehouse, was enabled through public funding. Furthermore, the Creative Factory also depended on external funding for its activities. However, this dependence on external funding did not concern the financing of temporary projects, but rather the ongoing funding of its operation. From the opening the Creative Factory depended on the contributions of all four of its paying partners in order to finance its existence. At the start it was assumed that this would only be the case during the first two years. After two years the rental revenues were assumed to be enough to finance the basic operation of the Creative Factory, so that the contributions of the partners could be used for supplementary activities. However, it soon turned out that after the first two years the sponsorship money was still needed to balance the budget. If a partner would quit, the Creative Factory would not be able to finance its operation and would have to look for new paying partners urgently, because the continued existence of the Creative Factory would be at risk. Hence this dependence on external funders posed a threat to the financial sustainability of the Creative Factory, which indeed turned out to be the case.

Moreover, the different objectives and interests of the various partners turned out to be an obstacle for sharpening the purpose of the Creative Factory. At the start of the Creative Factory the diverse group of partners were attracted on the assumption that these partners would collectively reinforce the Creative Factory. As described in the previous section, it was partly to attract and retain these partners that, in addition to the objective of recruiting creative entrepreneurs, a second objective had been introduced, namely making a contribution to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods. In 2009 it was established that in order to support the creative entrepreneurs as well as possible, it was important to position the Creative Factory clearly. However, during the following discussions no choice was made of one of the two objectives. On the one hand it appeared, as described in the previous section, that a focus of the Creative Factory on stimulating talent development of youngsters from the neighbourhood did not fit in with the interests of most partners, who were mainly focused on stimulating the growth of the creative entrepreneurs and extending their own clientele. Moreover as discussed in section 4.2, this focus did not fit in with the activities of the vast majority of the businesses that were established in the Creative Factory. Furthermore, even before the start of the Creative Factory a focus on talent development was deemed to be too big a risk.

However, an exclusive focus on stimulation of the growth of creative entrepreneurs did not turn out to be achievable either. Although this option appeared more realistic than the first one, for three out of the four partners who sponsored the Creative Factory, contributing to the surrounding neighbourhoods was important, and the Creative Factory could not balance its

budget without the financial contributions of these partners. Because of this dilemma no clear choice was made with regard to the focus of the Creative Factory, causing the purpose of the Creative Factory to remain unclear. Hence it can be concluded that the diversity of the group of partners that the Creative Factory attracted, had a paralysing instead of a stimulating effect.

Although this dilemma existed from the beginning, from the start of the Creative Factory all kinds of stakeholders participated enthusiastically in stimulating creative entrepreneurship, and the same applies to the projects initiated by Freehouse. Although the motivations for participating of the various stakeholders differed, they all stemmed from an overlap of the objectives of their own organisations with the objectives of other stakeholders. In addition to a contribution in time, part of the stakeholders contributed financially or by making business premises available for free, particularly for the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio. However, in the following years this overlap of objectives came to an end, because as a result of economic and political developments an important part of the objectives of the stakeholders changed. This also caused the motivation for being involved in and contributing to the initiatives to disappear. Hence it can be concluded that the overlap of objectives that motivated the various stakeholders to participate in and contribute to the initiatives was place and time bound.

6.5 STRUGGLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBOURHOOD RESIDENTS

As described earlier, the assumption underlying the interest in stimulating creative entrepreneurship is that attracting and retaining creative talent leads to economic growth (cf. Florida, 2002). Around 2005 Rotterdam also embraced the creative city perspective and launched a programme for the creative economy, which refers to Florida and especially aims at stimulating entrepreneurship in the creative sector in order to create more jobs (OBR, 2007). Between 2006 and 2009 the Rotterdam City Development Corporation invested in accommodation for creative entrepreneurs by contributing to the opening of at least thirteen locations with approximately 60.000 m², partly on a temporary basis. One of these locations is the Maassilo, where the Creative Factory was established. Further, many smaller initiatives were undertaken aimed at facilitating meetings of and exchange among creative entrepreneurs, such as the initiation of network meetings, workshops and relationship management (De Kleijn et al., 2011). However, in the period during which the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse were investigated, the stimulation of creative entrepreneurship had not been a major source of economic growth for the city of Rotterdam. According to the 'Monitor creatieve industrie 2014' in terms of number of jobs in the creative industries in 2013, Rotterdam is in fourth place, behind Amsterdam, Utrecht and The Hague. Qua share in the economy, however,

Rotterdam falls below the national average (Rutten & Koops, 2014). Apparently, Rotterdam did not succeed in promoting the creative industries.

Other cities succeeded better in this. Amsterdam has the biggest concentration of jobs in the creative industries in the Netherlands and also the largest variety qua sub-sectors. It attracts a lot of artists and creative entrepreneurs who want to establish themselves in studios and breeding grounds. For this reason, the Breeding Ground Office, which is an initiative of the municipality, supports these artists and creative entrepreneurs in transforming existing buildings into breeding grounds and in obtaining funding for these breeding grounds. Amsterdam counts about 60 creative breeding grounds³². Other examples are Hilversum with a strong media cluster and Eindhoven, where design is strongly represented (Rutten & Koops, 2014). In these cities the creative sectors developed themselves through the years. Rotterdam on the contrary traditionally is a labourer's city that is dominated by the port. It has a relatively low educated population in spite of the presence of a research university and two universities of applied sciences, as many students who finish higher education do not remain in Rotterdam. Rotterdam has little history concerning the development of the creative industries, with the exception of design; Rotterdam architecture has international stature. Initially, the policy formulated in 2007 with the aim of stimulating the creative industries in Rotterdam was very broad and not aimed at specific sectors, but from 2008 this policy focused on architecture, design, media and music. However, it turned out that, apart from facilitating accommodation for creative entrepreneurs, in practice most of the efforts were spent on organising activities in order to support the media sector (De Kleijn et al., 2011).

The assumption that stimulating creative talent leads to economic growth (cf. Florida, 2002) also underlies both the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse. In this section it is analysed which economic effects the two initiatives really had on the residents of the Afrikaanderwijk and the surrounding neighbourhoods. Further, the social effects are also investigated³³. The analysis concerns the effects as experienced by the various people involved.

At the time of the interviews in 2014 the Neighbourhood Kitchen was an independent foundation that functioned without any subsidy and employed approximately ten neighbourhood residents who worked on a regular basis and additional residents who worked occasionally. The Neighbourhood Studio could draw from around fifteen neighbourhood residents for fulfilling assignments. About four of these residents handled specialized techniques, while the others could be deployed for more general work. From the opening of the Kitchen working for

³² See <https://www.amsterdam.nl/kunst-cultuur/ateliers/broedplaatsoverzicht/>.

³³ Most of the effects of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Neighbourhood Studio described in this section have been described before in Nijkamp, Kuiper and Burgers (2014).

the Kitchen offered the volunteer residents involved a modest economic advantage, as they received a monthly fee. The residents involved in the Studio also got a monthly fee when working on assignments. Most volunteers were at a significant distance from the labour market, and a large percentage were on benefits, often supplemented with various allowances, like housing benefits. The fee that the volunteers received was 120 euros a month at most. At the time of the interviews this was the maximum amount of money that people could earn without losing their benefits. From the start the Kitchen as well as the Studio aspired to employing these volunteers by offering them a paid job. As was already discussed in section 4.3 the projects initiated by Freehouse aimed at delivering work of the highest quality possible. For Freehouse it is important that the volunteers get paid for their efforts:

'I consider it important that they get paid for what they do, and that they realise that they deliver quality, that they can deliver a service for which one has to be paid. I also think that it will give them a certain amount of independence' (co-worker Freehouse).

In 2014 the unemployment rate, which was already high, increased further because of the economic crisis. The volunteers of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio found it even more difficult to find a paid job. The Afrikaander Cooperative could not employ these people either, as the flow of orders was insufficient. In 2014 indeed some volunteers of the Kitchen and the Studio were paid as freelancers through the Cooperative. However, when volunteers who are on benefits become freelancers, they lose their benefits and possible allowances, like housing benefits. Although in principle they can earn more as a freelancer, this income depends on the number of orders that they get and therefore is uncertain. If their income as a freelancer is lower than the amount of benefits and allowances that they got before, they do not get a supplemental benefit on their income. Because of this insecurity in conjunction with personal circumstances, many residents did not dare to take the step towards becoming a freelancer when it came to the crunch. Often they had children they had to care for, or had health problems, causing them to consider the risk too great that as an entrepreneur they would not earn enough. Therefore, they would prefer to stay on benefits and work for the Kitchen or the Studio for a volunteer fee:

'Two years ago I was busy to take over the Studio, but because of my health this is not wise' (coordinator Neighbourhood Studio).

The maximum fees that these neighbourhood residents can earn without having their benefits cut was 120 euros a month at the time of this research. The volunteers got a fee for every hour worked, which meant that they could only be employed for a limited number of hours until this maximum amount was reached. However, the consequence was that if the Studio or the

Kitchen suddenly got a big order, then they would not have enough residents at their disposal to carry out the work:

'Because if tomorrow I will get an order from Gaultier to crochet 60 dresses, then I do not have enough people' (founder Freehouse).

Another bottleneck concerned the fact that there was quite some turnover among the volunteers, making it necessary to time and again put energy into recruiting new volunteers:

'One of our major seamstresses just returned to Turkey with her family. That is very hard, because we are really looking for good new seamstresses' (founder Freehouse).

Notwithstanding these bottlenecks, apart from a limited economic advantage in the shape of a volunteer fee, for most of the residents involved the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio did not have economic effects. However, there were also some volunteers who found a paid job elsewhere thanks to the network of the coordinator of the Kitchen and the experience they built up there. The coordinator illustrated this with the following example relating to someone who worked for the Kitchen:

'He told me: "I never had such a short interview." That manager said: "Just make a cappuccino." He had practised that well here and then he was hired. The Neighbourhood Kitchen has a good reputation' (coordinator Neighbourhood Kitchen).

For most of the residents involved, the Kitchen and the Studio mainly had social effects. Some of these residents stayed at home before joining the Kitchen or the Studio. The Kitchen and the Studio offered them opportunities to be active outside their houses and to meet other people. In this way the Kitchen and the Studio had an emancipatory effect:

'There was one lady who really wanted to become independent, for instance by acquiring cleaning addresses. And she was asked to clean a house in the North of Rotterdam, but her husband did not want this, because it was too far away. And this offered her an opportunity to develop herself for a small fee, causing her to grow in that marriage and also having more to say' (designer).

Both the Kitchen and the Studio offered the participating neighbourhood residents opportunities to develop themselves and share their talents. Besides the completion of all kinds of assignments in fashion production, sewing lessons were given in the Studio. Between the start of the Studio and the launching of the Afrikaander Cooperative, approximately 100 people took sewing lessons. The volunteers had miscellaneous cultural backgrounds. Because of this diversity

they all spoke Dutch, so the Kitchen and the Studio offered them an opportunity to improve their language capabilities. Further, volunteers increased their sense of self-confidence, as illustrated by the following two quotes. The first quote is from the coordinator of the Kitchen, while the second quote is from an indigenous Dutch man who started to work in the Neighbourhood Kitchen as a part-time job alongside his studies. He found a paid job elsewhere, but he also continued to work as a volunteer for the Kitchen:

'I really saw people changing, people who were very shy and didn't dare to speak. Of one woman I thought that she didn't speak Dutch. When I got to know her better and she just got more self-confidence, it turned out that she did speak Dutch, she can get along well' (coordinator Neighbourhood Kitchen).

'It is nice to see what it does to those ladies. They enter a bit timidly indeed. They are not so involved in society, in the news, in what happens in the neighbourhood. By working here only now and then, they are suddenly much more activated and having a bit more self-confidence. You just see that for them it means a lot' (co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen).

Several interviewees indicated that a change in mentality took place in the residents involved in the Studio, because they did not work for themselves any more, but to order of, for instance, a designer, for which they also got compensation. On the one hand this meant that they were obliged to deliver work of good quality, as a designer makes great demands. On the other hand this made them realise that they could deliver quality and that they had abilities for which they could demand money.

Hence although the economic effects for most of the residents were very limited, the Kitchen and the Studio did have several social effects. However, these social effects only applied to the residents who were directly involved. Other neighbourhood residents did not experience social effects. Further, although at the time of the interviews in 2014 the Kitchen and the Studio had already existed for some years, the number of residents involved was still very limited. The number of residents that could be involved in the Kitchen and the Studio was determined to a great extent by the number of orders. The Studio had a limited number of customers, and the Kitchen also depended for its orders on a limited number of organisations, including a number of cultural organisations in South Rotterdam as well as Vestia and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences. For these organisations an important reason for making use of the services of the Kitchen is that in this way they could make a practical contribution to the development of South Rotterdam and its residents. These orders enabled the Kitchen to generate enough income to function independently with volunteers who got a fee. However, the continuity and size of the orders was not enough to employ people, and for the Studio this was not the case either. There was enough income indeed to pay a number of people as freelancers, but as

explained above most volunteers were on benefits and did not dare to become entrepreneurs. So on the one hand the limited continuity and size of the orders constituted a bottleneck for employing people. On the other hand, the fact that it was not possible to employ people who were on benefits as freelancers because they would not get a supplemental benefit if their income would fall short constituted a bottleneck for the Kitchen and the Studio to grow when opportunities occurred. If the Studio or the Kitchen suddenly got a large order, they would not have enough residents at their disposal to carry out the work, as explained previously.

In order to remove this bottleneck, through the years Freehouse had a lot of conversations behind the scenes with, among others, the municipality of Rotterdam about possibilities for supplementing the incomes of neighbourhood residents who would work as freelancers. Following the national government policy, in this period the municipality of Rotterdam made more and more effort to get people who were on benefits to work, among other things by obliging them to try as hard as possible to find a job. Further, in order to assist them in finding paid work, the national government implemented a policy aimed at making the labour market more flexible, so that it would become easier for people to work with a flexible or temporary labour contract or as a freelancer. Notwithstanding the fact that a trajectory where residents worked as freelancers for the Kitchen or the Studio and if necessary got a supplemental benefit could contribute to a decline in the social assistance costs of the municipality of Rotterdam, the conversations between Freehouse and the municipality did not lead to results up to the time of the interviews.

Compared to the projects that Freehouse initiated earlier, within the Cooperative the focus was much more on economic development. Encouraging creative talent had moved to the background. The Cooperative wanted to reach a larger group of people than the Neighbourhood Studio and the Kitchen and undertook various new activities in order to involve more neighbourhood residents and also entrepreneurs. The Cooperative developed new services, like the collective purchase of energy. The collective energy contract arranged through the Cooperative, in which entrepreneurs in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square could participate, offered these entrepreneurs an opportunity to save costs. A number of these entrepreneurs indeed made use of this opportunity. Furthermore, a cleaning service had been established through the sub-coop for youngsters, which offered a paid job to some youths in the neighbourhood. Apart from these paid jobs, at the time of the research the economic effects of the new activities of the Cooperative were very limited.

Nonetheless, some social effects were visible, particularly concerning the monthly event 'I Speak', which was organised through the sub-coop for youngsters and offered them opportunities to develop their creative talents. Half of the programme of the 'I Speak' events was filled in by professionals and the other half by amateurs, with the underlying thought that the

amateurs could develop their talents by benefiting from the experience of the professionals. As documented on the Facebook page of 'I Speak'³⁴ these evenings were well-attended. The youngsters came from the surrounding neighbourhoods, but also from the rest of Rotterdam and beyond. Hence it turns out that these meetings filled a need. The project 'Home Cooks Feijenoord', which trained volunteers to cook at home for people who were no longer able to take good care of themselves, also aimed at realising social effects. However, at the time of the interviews these effects were not visible yet, because the project was still in its start-up phase. The intended social effects involved both the volunteers from the neighbourhood who cooked as well as those neighbourhood residents who received the meals. For these residents the project offered a meal service at home, combating loneliness at the same time. For the volunteers who prepared the meals, the project offered a meaningful daytime activity and an opportunity to participate in society. As mentioned on the Facebook page of 'Home Cooks Feijenoord'³⁵, the first group of trained home cooks indeed started to cook in March 2015. Alongside offering a meal service at home they also cooked for the meetings that the Neighbourhood Kitchen and Dock organised weekly in various community centres. Here people from the neighbourhood could consume a three-course menu for a small fee and meet other people.

It appears that sponsoring these kinds of projects offers the Cooperative a means of generating social effects for a wider group of people. In order to be able to offer such projects, though, the Cooperative needs funding. One way of realising this funding is through applying for project grants. The start of 'Home Cooks Feijenoord' indeed has been made possible by such a grant. However, in this way the Cooperative would be very dependent on short-term project grants. In order to diminish this dependency, it would be preferable to generate revenue and to secure funding by concluding long-term collaboration agreements with other organisations in the neighbourhood, such as Vestia. Furthermore, it is important that these projects result in sustainable effects for neighbourhood residents that also last after the termination of the project and the project budget.

The Creative Factory was established to attract creative entrepreneurs. As described in chapter 4, at its opening the Creative Factory indeed had a great attraction for creative entrepreneurs. Although this attraction decreased in the following years because of the opening of other enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs, the Creative Factory accommodated up to 238 entrepreneurs until it was taken over by the municipality. At that point the occupancy rate was about eighty per cent, meaning that approximately 54 entrepreneurs were still housed in the Creative Factory. This means that about 184 entrepreneurs had left the Creative Factory.

³⁴ See <https://www.facebook.com/pages/I-Speak/189924584533293?sk=timeline>.

³⁵ See <https://www.facebook.com/thuiskoksfeijenoord/photos/a.781058305313370.1073741829.738465432905991/909783779107488/?type=3&theater>.

There were several reasons for their departure. Some of the entrepreneurs had closed their businesses, while others grew through cooperating with partners, thus needing other accommodations:

'There are a number of entrepreneurs not succeeding in undertaking who stop and there are a number of entrepreneurs who find a number of partners within the Factory and a space elsewhere' (coach Creative Factory).

Furthermore, there were also entrepreneurs who left the Creative Factory because they could get cheaper accommodation elsewhere. Almost all entrepreneurs who left the Creative Factory in order to continue their business elsewhere, left South Rotterdam.

Some of the entrepreneurs who established themselves in the Creative Factory when they started their businesses were unemployed previously:

'Then it was in fact very hard to find a job as an industrial designer and then I did a little of everything during a year. And then I started with this' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

The Creative Factory contributed to the creation of employment for these entrepreneurs. However, apart from these entrepreneurs the Creative Factory contributed little to the creation of jobs. Although some entrepreneurs employed one or more people, their number was very limited. A considerable number of these entrepreneurs were freelancers (see table 4.1). Some of the businesses which involved more than one person were formed by entrepreneurs who collaborated before they established themselves in the Creative Factory, or who started to do so during their stay. Only a minority of these businesses employed one or more employees. Furthermore, the vast majority of entrepreneurs and employees were not from South Rotterdam, so for the surrounding neighbourhoods the Creative Factory did not create employment.

Furthermore, the interviews showed that most entrepreneurs did not contribute to the social development of neighbourhood residents either. They were active on the business-to-business market and did not deliver directly to private customers. Moreover, they hardly had any customers in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Most of them had no contact with neighbourhood residents besides their work. One exception was the entrepreneur who facilitated the organisation of projects and events by and for youngsters, for the purpose of talent development, some of whose projects took place in South Rotterdam.

Many entrepreneurs, including most interviewed entrepreneurs, made use of interns. The remaining interviewed entrepreneurs indicated willingness to do so in the future. From the

interviews it appears that these were mostly interns on the higher vocational level, mainly from Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, but also from other universities. Most of the internships were not deemed suitable for students on the intermediate vocational level:

'Intermediate vocational level, we tried that, but we were not happy with that, that is too low a level' (entrepreneur online communication strategy).

As described in section 5.1, being one of the partners of the Creative Factory, Rotterdam University established a room on the seventh floor as a workplace for students. In addition, Rotterdam University appointed a coordinator who was responsible for maintaining contacts between the courses and the creative entrepreneurs. As already mentioned above, for Rotterdam University this partnership yielded less return than hoped for. Rotterdam University intended among other things to stimulate the entrepreneurship of students of the arts courses. However, connections between the arts courses and the Creative Factory did not come into being, as the arts courses did not consider the Creative Factory an interesting and relevant place for their students. However, the partnership and the appointment of a coordinator did result in a considerable number of places for interns and graduating students of other courses of Rotterdam University.

It is not known what percentage of these students came from the deprived neighbourhoods surrounding the Creative Factory. In the selection of these interns, neighbourhood residence was not taken into account. Recruiting interns from the Creative Factory neighbourhood was not a priority. This, combined with the relatively low level of education of the residents of the surrounding neighbourhood, made it likely that the interns were mainly students who were not from these neighbourhoods. Hence the cooperation of the Creative Factory with Rotterdam University did not contribute specifically to the social development of the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

In addition, a considerable number of students of Albeda College also did an internship at the Creative Factory. Albeda College started collaboration with the Creative Factory especially because students struggled with finding an internship. The courses of these students were on the intermediate vocational level. These interns were deployed at the reception area of the Creative Factory. The reception area offered internships for ten students. Furthermore, students from Albeda College were deployed to support the management of the Creative Factory. These interns received their education at a branch of Albeda College in South Rotterdam. Albeda College has diverse branches dispersed over Rotterdam and contrary to Rotterdam University, these branches are much more targeted at the direct environs. So it can be concluded that most interns of Albeda College indeed came from the direct environs of the Creative Factory and that the collaboration of the Creative Factory with Albeda College through these internships

specifically contributed to the social development of residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Offering internships to neighbourhood residents is a possible way in which an enterprise centre for creative entrepreneurs with few connections with the neighbourhood, like the Creative Factory, can contribute to the social development of neighbourhood residents. Another example of a creative enterprise centre contributing to the social development of neighbourhood residents is the Chocolate Factory in London. As mentioned in section 3.5, some of the data for this thesis were collected as part of two international research projects³⁶. In connection with these projects a number of workshops took place with representatives of various enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs in several countries in order to exchange knowledge. Moreover, a more detailed comparison was made between the Creative Factory and the Chocolate Factory.

The Chocolate Factory is located in Wood Green, a deprived neighbourhood in North London with an ethnically very diverse population. It was established in 1996 and developed as a result of a strong existing local demand for creative space. This demand led to a group of people squatting in the Chocolate Factory, which was then a derelict building. The same group then formed an organisation called Collage Arts³⁷, which subsequently sub-let the premises thanks to a leasehold contract with a large property management company. After some years, the Chocolate Factory expanded to a second adjacent building. In addition to providing creative space, Collage Arts plans to deliver social interventions in the neighbourhood. In order to make the Chocolate Factory financially viable, the composition of the occupants was changed from hobbyists to more sustainable and growth-oriented creative businesses. At the end of 2011 the Chocolate Factory hosted 228 creative companies operating in fields ranging from painting, theatre and film to multimedia and recording. Compared to the Creative Factory this is a broader range of creative sectors, including the arts. Most of the companies consisted of one person, just like many businesses in the Creative Factory. Furthermore, compared to the Creative Factory, the average level of education of the creative entrepreneurs was lower, as only some of these entrepreneurs had finished higher education.

Contrary to the Creative Factory, various contacts existed between the Chocolate Factory and residents of the surrounding deprived neighbourhoods. However, the majority of these contacts did not take place through the direct customer contacts of the entrepreneurs. Although almost all of the entrepreneurs who established themselves in the Chocolate Factory were from the neighbourhood, it was also the case, like in the Creative Factory, that most businesses focused

³⁶ This concerns the project 'Everybody on board', financed by the SIA RAAK International program, and the project 'An examination of the contribution of creative enterprise centres to the development of more sustainable communities', financed by AHRC/NWO.

³⁷ See <http://www.collage-arts.org>.

on city, national or international markets rather than on the neighbourhood. Only a minority of the businesses had customers in the neighbourhood. The contacts with the neighbourhood mainly occurred through the activities of Collage Arts. As a collaboration involving creative businesses in the Chocolate Factory, local organisations and other European partners, through the years Collage Arts has delivered a wide range of regeneration programmes. Key target groups included disadvantaged young people, including youngsters who are unemployed and not enrolled in education or training programmes. Collage Arts offered employability programmes that were designed to support young people entering into the careers of their choice by offering them a menu of activities including personal development, work placements and enterprise opportunities³⁸. Furthermore, Collage Arts offered creative apprenticeships leading to accredited qualifications³⁹. While working for creative businesses, young people developed, among others, digital media skills, work skills and professional networks. During the training period the apprentices were employed and paid by Collage Arts.

These regeneration programmes were funded mainly through a range of UK and European government funding streams. Many of the creative entrepreneurs from the Chocolate Factory collaborated with Collage Arts in the delivery of these programmes. Typically, Collage Arts applied for funding to deliver regeneration programmes. If funding was secured, Collage Arts contacted suitable creative entrepreneurs in the building to collaborate in the delivery of the training or apprenticeships, for which they got paid. In this way, these creative entrepreneurs contributed to the social development of these youngsters and to stimulating employment in the creative industries.

When comparing the course of events within the Chocolate Factory with the Creative Factory, four points stand out. First, the fact that the creative entrepreneurs in the Chocolate Factory were themselves from the neighbourhood did not guarantee the existence of business contacts between the entrepreneurs and people from the neighbourhood. Like the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory, these entrepreneurs also focused on a broader market than the neighbourhood. Second, most of the entrepreneurs in the Chocolate Factory did not have a degree. Therefore, the gap between their level of education and the average level of education of neighbourhood residents probably is smaller than in the case of the Creative Factory. This however did not appear to be a guarantee of more business contact either. Third, Collage Arts did not cooperate with a university or other formal educational institution, unlike the Creative Factory, which at the time of the data collection for this research had a partnership agreement with three educational institutions.

³⁸ An example of such a programme is *Aspire-2.be*, a training for work programme funded by the European Social Fund and Skills Funding Agency, see <http://www.collage-arts.org/aspire-2/>.

³⁹ See <http://ukscreenassociation.co.uk/news/article/4469>.

Fourth, cooperation between the creative entrepreneurs in the Chocolate Factory and youngsters from the neighbourhood arose when Collage Arts took the initiative to apply for subsidies to deliver regeneration programmes through providing training and apprenticeships, subsequently asking the creative entrepreneurs to contribute for a fee. As contributing to these programmes procured the entrepreneurs paid orders, in this way Collage Arts increased their business. In this respect, my research determined that helping them get more orders is also what the creative entrepreneurs wanted the management of the Creative Factory to do. However, the management of the Creative Factory did not substantially contribute to getting more orders. Moreover, unlike in the case of the Chocolate Factory, in the case of the Creative Factory, neither the creative entrepreneurs, nor the management got paid for providing internships, and the interns either worked for free or got paid by the creative entrepreneurs. The potential added value for the entrepreneurs or management just consisted of the services and creative ideas that the trainees provided. This contributed to the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory mainly offering internships to students at the higher vocational level of education, since several entrepreneurs who tried to make use of students of a lower level of education judged this to be unsuccessful, as this level turned out to be too low. It has to be stressed however that although the availability of funds facilitated the participation of the creative entrepreneurs of the Chocolate Factory in the delivery of training and apprenticeships, this availability of funds is not a guarantee of enough work placements for students of a lower educational level. The evaluation report of one of the regeneration programmes of Collage Arts demonstrates this⁴⁰. While the creative industries generate strong demand for work placements from students of all ages including post graduates who may be prepared to work without pay in order to help improve their future employment chances, many employers who are given a choice between a post graduate and a student who used to be unemployed and not enrolled in education or training programmes, will choose the former (LjC Strategic Analysis, 2007).

Notwithstanding these four points, the fact remains that Collage Arts succeeded in making a match between training and apprenticeships that creative entrepreneurs in the Chocolate Factory could and wanted to provide and the interests of neighbourhood residents. Over the years, youngsters from the neighbourhood participated in the programmes offering apprenticeships and training in the Chocolate Factory, which helped them to obtain credentials that enabled them to work within the creative industries.

⁴⁰ This concerns Cre8 your future, an ESF funded programme, which ran from 2005-2006 aimed at people aged 13-17 who were in danger of being unemployed and/or not being enrolled in education or training programmes. It offered a menu of mentoring, learning, work experience and advice in the media/creative industries. 664 youngsters were engaged and of the people achieving qualifications between July 2005 and August 2006, more than 60% progressed to other courses (LjC Strategic Analysis, 2007).

Offering internships and training to neighbourhood residents is a possible way in which a creative enterprise centre can contribute to the social development of neighbourhood residents. However, this applies not only to creative enterprise centres, but also to initiatives like Freehouse. As has been described in section 6.3, Freehouse invested in training neighbourhood residents in order to become staff members who could perform coordinating tasks within the Cooperative. In this way Freehouse also directly contributed to the social development of these residents and indirectly to the social development of other neighbourhood residents as well, as these residents were trained with the aim of initiating activities that would have effects for other residents.

Summarizing, it can be concluded that the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory did not contribute to economic growth for neighbourhood residents and that the projects initiated by Freehouse, including the Cooperative, did so only slightly. The Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio, as well as the new activities initiated by the Cooperative, nonetheless did have important social effects for the residents who were directly involved. However, the number of residents involved was very limited. Furthermore, the project 'Home Cooks Feijenoord' also aimed at realising social effects for a group of neighbourhood residents who were not involved in the project. The entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory on the contrary hardly contributed to the social development of the neighbourhood residents. The management of the Creative Factory, however, did contribute to this through internships for students of the Albeda Collega, who largely came from the surrounding neighbourhoods.

The Creative Factory was established as an area-targeted initiative, while Freehouse was established as a people-targeted initiative (Ouweland & Van Meijeren, 2006). The Creative Factory aimed at attracting and retaining businesses in the surrounding neighbourhoods, while Freehouse aimed at the economic and socio-cultural development of residents of the Afrikaanderwijk. Hence it is not surprising that the projects initiated by Freehouse had social effects for a group of neighbourhood residents, while the Creative Factory had almost no social effects. What certainly is striking are the results concerning the economic effects. The data show that not only the Creative Factory, but also Freehouse did not have any substantial economic effects for neighbourhood residents, in spite of the fact that the projects of Freehouse especially aimed at this. However, it can be concluded that for both initiatives it turned out to be very difficult to contribute to the economic development of the residents of a deprived neighbourhood through stimulating creative entrepreneurship, and this became even more difficult through the economic crisis.

6.6 BUZZ AND INTERACTION

The clustering of creative entrepreneurs is supposed to contribute to their mutual cooperation (Evans, 2009b) as discussed in the previous chapter. However, the analysis in this chapter shows that the influence of physical proximity in both initiatives was only limited. In addition to the supposed positive influence of physical proximity on mutual cooperation, clusters of creative entrepreneurs are also supposed to generate buzz, leading to the establishment of new bars, restaurants and shops (Landry, 2000). This is supposed to increase the quality of place of the neighbourhood (Florida, 2002). As described in section 2.3, according to Florida (2002: 232) quality of place, which refers to the unique set of characteristics that define a place and make it attractive, has three dimensions: 1) What's there? (a combination of the built and natural environment); 2) Who's there? (the diverse kinds of people and their interactions); and 3) What's going on? (the buzz caused by the vibrancy of street life, café culture, arts, music and people engaging in outdoor activities). In this section the effects of the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse on the quality of place of the Afrikaanderwijk are investigated.

As demonstrated in the preceding sections, there is little connection between the Creative Factory and the surrounding neighbourhoods, in spite of the fact that the Creative Factory undertook various things to attempt to achieve this connection and notwithstanding the fact that from the start this connection has been important for a number of partners, especially for Vestia, Pact op Zuid and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences. Housing association Vestia became a partner of the Creative Factory motivated by the assumption that the presence of creative entrepreneurs would stimulate the neighbourhood economy, as these entrepreneurs would spend money in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the entrepreneurs were also supposed to function as a role model for the mostly low educated neighbourhood residents. However, most partners had little attachment to the neighbourhood, and the same applied to most creative entrepreneurs. Many of these entrepreneurs came from outside South Rotterdam and some were from outside Rotterdam.

According to the text in the concept business case for 2013-2018⁴¹ the Creative Factory nevertheless contributed in three concrete ways to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods. The first contribution according to this business case is that more than 35 creative entrepreneurs and artists moved into Vestia housing through the Creative Factory. From the start of the Creative Factory Vestia tried to retain entrepreneurs who wanted to leave the Creative Factory in South Rotterdam by offering them suitable business premises in the Afrikaanderwijk, where Vestia owns most of the property, or in other neighbourhoods in the

⁴¹ This information was retrieved from the concept business case for the Creative Factory for 2013-2018. This concept was drafted in 2012, before the City of Rotterdam decided to take over the Creative Factory.

environs. However, the interviewed entrepreneurs appeared to have no interest in these business premises, and they all indicated they would not be willing to establish their businesses in South Rotterdam when they left the Creative Factory. Among the entrepreneurs who had already left the Creative Factory, there was no interest either. Almost all of them left South Rotterdam. Other than offering business premises to businesses leaving the Creative Factory, Vestia also tried to convince the entrepreneurs who are established in the Creative Factory to come and live in the Afrikaanderwijk or other neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam. Therefore, during the first period after the opening Vestia offered creative entrepreneurs cheap temporary accommodation in a number of houses in the Afrikaanderwijk facing demolition as part of neighbourhood regeneration. In 2008 this led to eight entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory moving into these houses, alongside a number of artists from outside the Creative Factory⁴². Also in the following years a number of creative entrepreneurs and artists from within and outside the Creative Factory moved to Vestia housing in South Rotterdam. Hence not all 35 creative entrepreneurs and artists who moved into a Vestia property in South Rotterdam were entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory. Moreover, when the City of Rotterdam took over the Creative Factory, some of these tenants no longer lived in the houses provided by Vestia in the Afrikaanderwijk, as these houses had been demolished. Furthermore, not all creative entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory who lived in South Rotterdam moved to the middle of one of the deprived neighbourhoods. Some lived in one of the neighbourhoods at the border of South Rotterdam, where in addition to renovation there was a lot of new construction with the intention of including this part of South Rotterdam in the centre. Two of the interviewed entrepreneurs also lived here.

The second contribution to neighbourhood regeneration that is mentioned in the concept business case concerns the fact that during the Open Monuments day in 2008 Pact op Zuid, Vestia and the Creative Factory collectively invited the neighbourhood residents to come to the Creative Factory. Especially in the beginning the Creative Factory organised various events to induce people from the neighbourhood to visit. On several occasions all businesses opened their doors, in order that visitors could see the whole Creative Factory, as for instance at the official opening, which attracted 1,400 visitors. However, these events mainly attracted people from the networks of the entrepreneurs and other people involved, instead of neighbourhood residents. In order to show neighbourhood residents what was happening within the Creative Factory, Pact op Zuid, Vestia and the Creative Factory collectively took the initiative to also bring in residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods during the Open Monuments day. As it cost the Creative Factory a lot of time and effort and yielded little, the organisation of such events was not continued. Nonetheless, during the following years various other initiatives were undertaken in order to stimulate connections with the neighbourhood, like the organisation of

⁴² See Directieverslag Creative Factory 2008.

the So-You-Wanna-Be-Your-Own-Boss-contest, where starting entrepreneurs could pitch their business idea in front of a jury. They could win a free working place in the Creative Factory for one year. This contest was intensively promoted within the surrounding neighbourhoods and resulted in some participants from South Rotterdam. Furthermore, one of the creative entrepreneurs initiated a two-year project during which short films and animations about what happened inside the Creative Factory and information from the surrounding neighbourhoods were projected daily from 20.00 to 22.00 o'clock on the front and part of the side of the Creative Factory. However, none of these initiatives resulted in a substantial increase in the contacts between the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the surrounding neighbourhoods.

As described in chapter 4 many entrepreneurs also did not per se have a need for such contacts, because their customers were not located in the neighbourhood, and having customers in the neighbourhood was not absolutely necessary for their businesses, as they aimed at a regional or national market instead of at the surrounding neighbourhoods. The fact that there was little contact between the Creative Factory and the surrounding neighbourhoods did not contribute to the Creative Factory becoming well-known in the neighbourhood. The interviewed creative entrepreneurs therefore assumed that the Creative Factory was unknown to many neighbourhood residents. The Maassilo on the contrary was well-known in the neighbourhood because of the parties that were organised there. However, according to several entrepreneurs the Maassilo did not have a positive image in the neighbourhood:

'I think that at this moment the Maassilo is more of a nuisance than a pleasure for the neighbourhood. Every Monday morning glass and garbage lie in front of the door' (entrepreneur animation and visualisation design).

The third contribution to neighbourhood regeneration according to the concept business case is that the creative entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory would spend more and more money in the surrounding neighbourhoods. From the interviews it appears that many entrepreneurs went shopping to buy their lunches at the supermarket every day. Furthermore, some entrepreneurs and other people involved in the Creative Factory did some other shopping in the neighbourhood:

'I was at the tobacconist's around the corner. At a certain point he recognised me. It was striking that suddenly I was addressed with "What takes you here every time, because we now see you so often and you are not a familiar face"' (coach Creative Factory).

In addition to the expenditures of the individual entrepreneurs, according to the director the Creative Factory also did its shopping as much as possible in the neighbourhood:

'What I think that is very important in this, is a kind of "Buy your own goods". So we have a florist here in South Rotterdam, of course we do our courses around the corner, we use the liquor store here and the printing office of the Creative Factory magazine is around the corner' (director Creative Factory).

The expenditures of both the individual entrepreneurs and the management of the Creative Factory only made a very small contribution to the neighbourhood economy. Apart from their daily visit to the supermarket, most creative entrepreneurs were almost invisible to people from the neighbourhood. Many of these entrepreneurs were from outside Rotterdam, did not live in the neighbourhood of the Creative Factory and did not have any customers in the environs. Some entrepreneurs however did have customers in South Rotterdam, such as the entrepreneur who worked on youth talent development. Furthermore, some entrepreneurs from the Creative Factory participated sporadically in activities and events organised in the neighbourhood, like some entrepreneurs who participated in the final manifestation of the project 'Tomorrow's Market' of Freehouse. During this project these entrepreneurs tried various things at the Afrikaander market. Although they liked this, according to the director it cost them a lot of time and yielded little. Apart from these incidental contacts with the neighbourhood, most entrepreneurs were invisible to the neighbourhood residents.

Hence it can be concluded that for all three of the ways projected in the concept business case for 2013-2018 in which the Creative Factory would contribute to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods, the actual contribution was only very limited. What is remarkable is that a lot of effort was made to involve the entrepreneurs in the neighbourhood after their establishment in the Creative Factory. However, before the entrepreneurs moved into the Creative Factory, the question of whether they had connections with the neighbourhood was not addressed. Neither were agreements concluded with them on their efforts for the neighbourhood. Since the start, admission interviews were conducted with entrepreneurs willing to establish themselves in the Creative Factory. The entrepreneurs were judged based on three questions, 1) What are you doing and towards what do you want to grow? 2) Who do you want to have around? and 3) Do you have special wishes concerning your workplace, for instance because you want to make noise? In spite of the fact that contributing to the regeneration of the neighbourhood was an important secondary objective of the Creative Factory, this procedure makes clear that from the opening onwards neither connections with the neighbourhood nor readiness to contribute to the neighbourhood has been a selection criterion. It was considered much more important that the entrepreneurs aimed at growth and cooperation.

The coach of the Creative Factory also said that during the intake no attention was paid to contributing to the regeneration of the neighbourhood. According to him, attempts to strengthen the connections with the surrounding neighbourhoods would have been more successful if

agreements would have been concluded with the entrepreneurs at the moment they entered the Creative Factory:

'If you want the entrepreneurs to achieve something with respect to this, then you have to conclude agreements in advance, before they come here. If you do not do that, then the entrepreneur primarily has the objective to take care that he is a good entrepreneur, unless you say, you just pay a small rent, but that means that for instance every three months you do something for the community. This may well be possible and this may well be good, but if you fail to conclude agreements, then there is no obligation to do so' (coach Creative Factory).

The assumption is that clusters of creative entrepreneurs lead to buzz and thus to the establishment of new restaurants and bars (cf. Landry, 2000). As has already been mentioned before, the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory did not feel attracted to the surrounding neighbourhoods. They only worked there and bought their lunches at the supermarket. Mostly they did not want to live in the neighbourhood and considered the neighbourhood not to be representative enough to establish their businesses after leaving the Creative Factory. During the day they worked inside the Creative Factory, and after their work they left the area. Because they deemed the existing quality of place too low and moreover had no connections with the neighbourhood, they made little use of the existing bars and restaurants in the area and also hardly participated in outdoor activities. Further, they hardly knew any people in the area and moreover, since the centre of Rotterdam was nearby, there also was no need for them to do so. Hence in this way they did not generate buzz in the area. Although some entrepreneurs would have appreciated nicer bars and restaurants in the area - one entrepreneur expressed a need for more options for having lunch with business relations - this was a concern for only a relatively small number of entrepreneurs. Since the Creative Factory was a stand-alone initiative, it did not create a substantial demand for new bars and restaurants.

The Maassilo, where the Creative Factory was housed, was not advantageous for developing links with the neighbourhood either. Although the Maassilo is an impressive building that attracts attention, the location of the building is isolated from the surrounding neighbourhoods and hemmed in between the harbour, the subway tracks and a busy road. Because of these physical obstacles the building is hard to reach from the surrounding neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the Maassilo is a massive, concrete-enclosed building (see figure 1.1). Because of this enclosed design, what happened within the Creative Factory was invisible from the street. Moreover, the Creative Factory had no bar, restaurant or other place where entrepreneurs and neighbourhood residents could meet each other. Admittedly, the Creative Factory had a café-restaurant, but this was located on the seventh floor, and moreover, the Creative Factory was not freely accessible. Consequently, this café-restaurant did not perform a function as

a meeting place for the neighbourhood. Because both the director and the partners of the Creative Factory acknowledged the significance of a place where the entrepreneurs and people from the neighbourhood could meet each other (cf. Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000; Musterd et al., 2007) and as the lack of such a meeting place had been acknowledged from the beginning, the plan had been conceived to create a terrace in front of the door of the Creative Factory in order to achieve more interaction between the Creative Factory and people from the neighbourhood. However, this plan had not been realised, because permission for this terrace could not be obtained. Hence it can be concluded that the presence of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory did not generate buzz in the neighbourhood, and it neither increased the interaction between entrepreneurs and neighbourhood residents nor influenced the establishment of new bars and restaurants in the area. Consequently, the Creative Factory did not contribute to an increase in the quality of place of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Contrary to the Creative Factory, the projects initiated by Freehouse indeed used publicly accessible meeting places. In the project 'Tomorrow's Market' an existing public meeting place was used, the Afrikaander market. As part of other projects, meeting places were created in buildings, in particular the Neighbourhood Studio and the Gemaal, where the Neighbourhood Kitchen was also located. The big space in the Gemaal was used for catering by the Kitchen and activities of the Cooperative like 'I Speak' and was also rented out. Furthermore, prior to the foundation of the Cooperative, for a year this space was used for the activities that took place as part of the Neighbourhood Value Store.

In 2008 Freehouse started in the Afrikaanderwijk with the project 'Tomorrow's Market', which was aimed at revitalising the Afrikaander market. As part of this project, more than 300 small and large interventions were staged, in which more than 100 artists and creative entrepreneurs were involved. As these activities took place in the public space at the crowded Afrikaander market, they were highly visible to a wide public. A small part of these interventions were intensive and long-term, like the trajectories in which designers were linked to neighbourhood residents who could sew and embroider. However, most of the interventions were short-term, like for instance an intervention in which a theatre maker was employed to take care of the styling of a market stall where cloth was sold. This theatre maker styled the cloth in a totally different way than the market trader was used to. In June 2009 'Tomorrow's Market' finished with a two-day event at the Afrikaander market. During these two days it was demonstrated in all kinds of ways how the market could be made more attractive. All kinds of presentations and performances took place, including a live cooking show, a multicultural fashion show and performances of artists. Furthermore, innovative products and services were shown, as for instance a prototype of a design market stall and a food stall with snacks made of waste that normally was thrown away at the end of a market day.

Several interviewees thought that the project 'Tomorrow's Market' certainly contributed to the visibility of the Afrikaander market and that the market traders definitely benefitted from these activities. In some cases this advantage was the direct result of an intervention, like the introduction of a different way of styling of cloth in a market stall. The re-styling of the stall resulted in an increase in the sale of cloth. However, in spite of this positive effect this market trader continued to style the cloth in his market stall in the traditional way. The other market traders also did not adopt the possible changes. Hence the interviewees established that in the longer term little has resulted from this project:

'When I now walk through the market, I do not always see what we have done. Because you would expect that if they see that it generates revenue, they take this up. However, they stay in their old pattern' (designer).

According to the director of Kosmopolis, an important cause for this is that the project stopped too quickly. She indicated that at the time there was a question of the borough of Feijenoord applying for a European follow-up project. However, the application for a European subsidy did not get off the ground, and hence the follow-up project didn't either, notwithstanding the fact that the project 'Tomorrow's Market' was deemed to have much potential:

'Many entrepreneurs at least once have seen what it means to work with designers or if you think and work off the beaten path. So if you address a bit more the entrepreneurial spirit instead of doing what you always do and of which you think: "Gee, this does not go well for some time now"' (director Kosmopolis).

Hence the activities that took place at the Afrikaander market as part of 'Tomorrow's Market' were visible to a big public and consequently led to buzz. This buzz has led to an improvement of the quality of place in the short term, but not in the longer term.

After the foundation of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio many activities of Freehouse took place inside buildings. Since 2009 the Neighbourhood Studio has been established in a business premises owned by Vestia. This premises has big windows and overlooks the street, so passers-by can see the sewing machines and the activities. This caused the Studio to have some attraction for neighbourhood residents. Some of the people who took sewing lessons actually learned of the Studio this way. Further, several residents who for example wanted to shorten their pants but did not own a sewing machine, as well as students from the Dutch fashion schools also came to the Studio, where they could use the sewing machines free of charge. So the visibility of the activities contributed to the participation of a number of neighbourhood residents. However, it must be said that this concerned relatively small numbers of residents. From the foundation of the Studio in 2009 until the establishment of the Cooperative

approximately 100 people took sewing lessons. Further, the Studio also functioned as a place where residents could meet each other. In this way, the Studio offered a small contribution to the quality of place of the street.

From the establishment of the Neighbourhood Kitchen onwards, it used the kitchen in the Gemaal, which was also owned by Vestia. From the start of the Neighbourhood Value Store, the big space in the Gemaal was also used by the Kitchen for catering, in addition to off-site catering. Furthermore, the Kitchen served drinks and lunches in this space, as well as on the terrace when the weather was good. During the first period after the start of the Neighbourhood Value Store, the Gemaal was opened every day for people who wanted to eat or drink. However, the number of customers was very limited. Therefore, after a certain period it was decided to serve lunches and drinks only on market days. On market days there were more customers, but from the interviews it emerged that these were mainly indigenous Dutch people who used to live in the neighbourhood and had moved, but still came to the Afrikaander market. Although the co-workers of the Kitchen had all kinds of cultural backgrounds and most of them were from the surrounding neighbourhoods, the Kitchen had no attraction for other allochtone residents to eat and drink in the Gemaal.

For the fact that few neighbourhood residents were attracted, various reasons have been suggested during the interviews. One stated reason is that the Afrikaanderwijk is a poor neighbourhood, where many people have to make ends meet with a minimum income. At first glance this seems a plausible explanation. However, the Turkish restaurant with terrace that is located close to the Gemaal, on the other side of the Afrikaander square, indeed succeeded in getting the terrace and restaurant full. Another reason that was advanced concerned the fence that separated the Gemaal at the front from the public road, which did not look hospitable. However, the building was owned by Vestia, which did not want to remove the fence. In order to deal with this, Freehouse tried various things, like attaching inviting sign-boards to the fence, saying that the Gemaal was open and that everybody was welcome. But these efforts met with little success, hence the decision to serve drinks and lunches on only market days. The Neighbourhood Kitchen only earned a little with serving drinks and lunches because of the limited number of visitors. The Kitchen mainly generated income by executing catering orders for a limited number of large organisations, including Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences and Vestia.

An alternative explanation for the limited number of visitors from the neighbourhood might also be that the Kitchen served multicultural meals instead of meals from one culture in particular. Although the Turkish restaurant just like the Kitchen aimed at a multicultural clientele, it presented itself strongly as a Turkish restaurant with a Turkish menu. It might be that many neighbourhood residents preferred to go to a restaurant or bar that is specifically aimed at their

own cultural background when they eat out. Another factor that might have played a role is the visibility of the Neighbourhood Kitchen. On the one hand, this visibility was limited because of the small scale of the initiative and the limited number of people concerned. On the other hand, the way in which promotion of and communication about the Kitchen took place might also have played a role.

Whatever the exact cause, it can be concluded that on the part of the neighbourhood residents there was little demand for the services delivered by the Neighbourhood Kitchen in the Gemaal and that the activities of the Kitchen neither generated buzz nor stimulated interaction among the neighbourhood residents. Consequently, the Kitchen did not contribute to the increase of the quality of place of the Afrikaanderwijk. Contrary to the Neighbourhood Kitchen some other activities that took place in the Gemaal did indeed generate buzz. The monthly event 'I Speak' for instance attracted visitors from the neighbourhood as well as beyond. However, as this concerned isolated events, this buzz only arose in and around the building on the evenings when the events took place. Hence these activities only contributed in a very limited way to the increase of the quality of place.

Summarizing, it can be concluded that both the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse hardly contributed to an increase of the quality of place of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, in the previous section it was concluded that the two initiatives did not contribute substantially to the development of neighbourhood residents. This, combined with the fact that through the years both initiatives have received a considerable amount of financial support from various partners, leads to the conclusion that the effects of both initiatives on the Afrikaanderwijk and its residents are very small compared to the amount of effort and money that various stakeholders have invested.

6.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the actual contributions of the two investigated initiatives to the regeneration of the neighbourhood have been analysed. This analysis results in two main conclusions. The first conclusion is that up to the time of this research the effects of the two initiatives on both the development of neighbourhood residents and the quality of place of the neighbourhood are very small compared to the amount of effort and money that the various stakeholders have invested.

Concerning this conclusion two points can be made. In the first place, it is striking that neither the Creative Factory, which had been established as an area-targeted initiative, nor Freehouse, which had been established as a people-targeted initiative, had any substantial economic

effects for neighbourhood residents, in spite of the fact that the projects of Freehouse especially aimed at such effects. Apparently, for people-targeted initiatives it is as difficult as for area-targeted initiatives to contribute to the economic development of residents of a deprived neighbourhood through stimulating creative entrepreneurship.

In the second place, it is remarkable that until the foundation of the Afrikaander Cooperative neither Freehouse nor the Creative Factory had any substantial social effects for neighbourhood residents who were not directly involved in the project, notwithstanding the fact that the projects initiated by Freehouse had important social effects for a limited group of residents who were directly involved, as can be expected of a people-targeted initiative. In order to generate social effects for a wider group of residents who are not directly involved in the projects, the Cooperative intended to execute projects like 'Home Cooks Feijenoord' in collaboration with other organisations in the neighbourhood. Executing this kind of project indeed offers the Cooperative a means of generating social effects for a wider group of people. However, several preconditions have to be fulfilled. First, in order to be able to execute projects, the Cooperative needs to obtain funding. In order to diminish dependency on short-term project grants, it would be preferable to generate revenue and to secure funding by concluding long-term collaboration agreements with other organisations in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, it is important that these projects result in sustainable effects for neighbourhood residents that last beyond the termination of the project and the project budget. Finally, in order to be able to initiate projects and establish connections with organisations and residents, it is important that the Cooperative has enough staff consisting of neighbourhood residents at its disposal. Because in a deprived neighbourhood like the Afrikaanderwijk it appears to be difficult to find and recruit neighbourhood residents who are sufficiently qualified, during the year before the foundation of the Cooperative Freehouse started to train people from the neighbourhood and continued to invest in this after the foundation. It is important that the Cooperative continues to invest in training local staff, even after Freehouse has withdrawn.

By training neighbourhood residents Freehouse directly contributed to the social development of these residents and indirectly to the development of other neighbourhood residents as well, as these residents were trained with the aim of initiating activities that would have effects for other residents. Moreover, it appears that also for the Creative Factory training is a way in which it can contribute to the social development of neighbourhood residents. Although the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory hardly contributed to the social development of neighbourhood residents nor had links with the neighbourhood, it turned out that in one way the management of the Creative Factory nonetheless succeeded in making a contribution to neighbourhood regeneration, namely by making available internships for students of the Albeda College who lived in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Since some of these students experienced problems in finding an internship because of a shortage of places, in this way

the Creative Factory definitely contributed to the social development of these neighbourhood residents. So offering internships and training to neighbourhood residents is a possible way of contributing to neighbourhood development, not only for a people-targeted initiative like Freehouse, but also for an area-targeted initiative like the Creative Factory, even if it has few connections with the neighbourhood.

In addition to the first main conclusion concerning the actual contributions of the two initiatives to the regeneration of the neighbourhood, based on this chapter a second important conclusion can be drawn, which relates to the motivations of the various stakeholders for participating in and contributing to the two initiatives. It can be concluded that these motivations of the stakeholders are place and time bound and change under the influence of political and economic developments. Although the motivations of the various stakeholders differed, they were prompted by an overlap of the objectives of their own organisations with the objectives of the initiative concerned, including contributing to the regeneration of the neighbourhood. However, the objectives of the stakeholders changed over time, causing the overlap of objectives as well as their motivations for participating in and contributing to the initiative to disappear.



N.V. GRAANSILOM



CREATIVE
FACTORY

TAA

Chapter 7

**Synthesis: limited effects on the
regeneration of the neighbourhood**

In the preceding three chapters the effects have been analysed of two initiatives using creative entrepreneurship to increase economic development: the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse. The role of creative talent, the development and use of social networks and the contributions to the regeneration of the neighbourhood have been addressed for both initiatives. Throughout these three chapters the interests, motivations and goals of the stakeholders involved were discussed (research question 1), as well as the financial or in kind contributions of the different stakeholders (research question 2). Further, when addressing the social networks in chapter 5, attention was paid to the cooperative efforts of the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the residents with creative talents and entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk (research question 3). Finally, chapter 6 focused on the effects of the initiatives on the regeneration of the neighbourhood (research question 4). Based on this research, the following five main conclusions can be drawn:

1. The Creative Factory and the Afrikaander Cooperative did not substantially deploy creative talent with the aim of stimulating economic growth in the neighbourhood. However, the projects that Freehouse initiated before the foundation of the Cooperative did encourage creative talent substantially in order to contribute to economic growth.
2. Although within both initiatives a lot has been invested in establishing social networks and facilitating access to these networks, the people involved made little use of the offered opportunities for building social networks.
3. Support aimed at establishing and accessing social networks is not effective if the people involved do not feel responsible for these social networks.
4. Up to the time of this research the effects of the two initiatives on both the development of neighbourhood residents and the quality of place of the neighbourhood were very small compared to the amount of effort and money that the various stakeholders had invested.
5. The motivations of the various stakeholders for participating in and contributing to the two initiatives were place and time bound and changed under the influence of political and economic developments.

The first four conclusions concern the effects of the two initiatives, while the fifth conclusion relates to the consequences of political and economic developments. The two initiatives did not have great success in contributing to the regeneration of the neighbourhood through stimulating creative entrepreneurship. This final chapter starts with a recapitulation of the most important findings. Subsequently, the course of events within the two initiatives will be compared with Florida's assumptions that have been described in the first two chapters. Both initiatives were based on the assumption that creativity is the most important source of economic growth (cf. Florida, 2002). The foundation of the Creative Factory was inspired by Florida's creative city thesis and aimed at the attraction of creative businesses for the purpose

of economic development of Rotterdam in general and of the environs of the Creative Factory in particular. Freehouse, on the other hand, was designed to foster the creative talents of the current neighbourhood residents, with the purpose of increasing their economic development. Freehouse can thus be considered as a counter-reaction to Florida and the creative city thesis. In addition to the evaluation of the application of Florida's theory within the two initiatives, attention will also be paid to the question of whether this theory has been borne out here. Moreover, suggestions will be made about the broader usability of the results of this research. Finally, the political and economic developments that took place since the start of the two initiatives and which are referred to in the fifth conclusion will be elaborated on.

7.1 CONTRIBUTION TO NEIGHBOURHOOD REGENERATION: THE MOST IMPORTANT FINDINGS

This section contains a recapitulation of the most important findings concerning the effects of the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse.

Deploying creative talent with the aim of stimulating economic growth in the neighbourhood

The Creative Factory as well as the projects initiated by Freehouse aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship for the purpose of economic growth in the neighbourhood. Within both initiatives this aim is based on the premise that creative talent should be encouraged because it is the most important source of economic growth (cf. Florida, 2002). However, the roles that creative talent was intended to play within the two initiatives in order to stimulate economic growth differed considerably. Three different ways in which creative talent was supposed to contribute to economic growth have been distinguished.

In the first place, the presence of creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory was assumed to attract companies from within and outside Rotterdam. However, the Creative Factory appeared to have hardly any attraction for businesses, despite the fact that because of its housing in the remarkable Maassilo, it was supposed to function as an icon and to attract companies and entrepreneurs who are successful. At the start the Creative Factory indeed had a significant attraction for creative entrepreneurs, but this attraction turned out to be caused primarily by a shortage of suitable accommodation for starting creative entrepreneurs. Some years later, when there were also other housing options, the attraction of the Creative Factory for creative entrepreneurs decreased. Further, the Creative Factory turned out to have no attraction for other companies. The customers of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory were scattered across the Rotterdam region and beyond and did not establish themselves in the proximity of the Creative Factory.

Second, the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory were supposed to function as role models for neighbourhood residents. Many deprived residents of the Afrikaanderwijk and other neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam only have a very limited social network that furthermore is very locally oriented, causing them to come into contact with people who are in the same deprived situation as they are. Housing association Vestia in particular, because of its efforts aimed at neighbourhood regeneration, hoped that the presence of creative entrepreneurs in the nearby Creative Factory would offer these residents the opportunity to come into contact with people who do different things for a living than what is common within their own social network and that this would inspire them. However, since the opening of the Creative Factory there has been little contact between the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the residents of the surrounding neighbourhoods, and thus this was not the case.

Third, the projects that Freehouse initiated in the Afrikaanderwijk were based on the supposition that stimulating the creative talents of neighbourhood residents could result in creative production. Freehouse started in 2008 with the project 'Tomorrow's Market', aimed at the revitalisation of the Afrikaander market. During a period of two years Freehouse made a number of small-scale interventions in the market in order to show local production and local creativity. Furthermore, Freehouse initiated several projects in which artists and designers were linked to neighbourhood residents with creative talents. As part of these projects, a number of assignments were given to artists and designers, several of which concerned the production of fashion in cooperation with local seamstresses supplied by Freehouse. Furthermore, Freehouse initiated a project in which a food designer was connected to residents of the Afrikaanderwijk with different cultural backgrounds who were able to cook. These projects resulted in the foundation of the Neighbourhood Studio and the Neighbourhood Kitchen, where the neighbourhood residents involved in the projects were brought together to collectively produce fashion or meals. Consequently it can be concluded that within the projects that Freehouse initiated from its start in the Afrikaanderwijk, the creative talents of the involved neighbourhood residents were indeed made visible and used for the purpose of creative production. However, as the Afrikaander Cooperative mainly focused on economic development, since the foundation of this Cooperative the role of creative talent has moved to the background, and much less use has been made of the creative talents of neighbourhood residents for the purpose of creative production.

Summarizing, it can be concluded that the Creative Factory and the Cooperative did not substantially utilize creative talent with the aim of stimulating economic growth in the neighbourhood. However, within the projects that Freehouse initiated before the foundation of the Cooperative, creative talent of neighbourhood residents was fostered substantially in order to contribute to economic growth, as can be expected of a people-targeted initiative aimed at increasing creative entrepreneurship in the neighbourhood (Ouwehand & Van Meijeren, 2006).

Establishing and using social networks

Within the Creative Factory creative entrepreneurs were clustered within a building in order that they cooperate with and reinforce each other. Further, within two projects initiated by Freehouse, the Neighbourhood Studio and the Neighbourhood Kitchen, people were also brought together in one building in order to reinforce their mutual cooperation. The Afrikaander Cooperative covered the whole Afrikaanderwijk and therefore had a broader focus than just one building, but also within this Cooperative physical proximity played an important role. Furthermore, both the Creative Factory and Freehouse made efforts to establish social networks in order to further mutual collaboration and reinforcement, based on the assumption that the presence of strong social networks is an important precondition for optimally exploiting the advantages of physical proximity within a cluster (cf. Comunian, 2012; De Jong, 2014; Sacco et al., 2013a; Scott, 2006).

Within the Creative Factory as well as the Kitchen and the Studio, physical proximity had a positive influence on the development of intensive collaboration, but this influence was only limited. Further, the Creative Factory and Freehouse invested heavily in building and strengthening various social networks. From the perspective of the people involved, i.e. the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the neighbourhood residents with creative talents and entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk respectively, on the one hand this involved social networks of which they were actively a part or supposed to be a part. On the other hand this involved social networks of people with whom they would not easily get in contact themselves, like the networks of enterprise centres with creative entrepreneurs scattered across the Netherlands and beyond, and the network of creative professionals from within and outside the Netherlands. The Creative Factory and Freehouse assumed that for the people involved these weak ties would be an important supplement to the strong ties engendered through the networks of which they were actively a part. Through these weak ties new ideas and other perspectives would reach them, which is important for creativity and innovation (cf. Florida, 2002; Granovetter, 1973).

Moreover, in order to facilitate access to the established social networks, the Creative Factory offered the creative entrepreneurs network meetings and events. Freehouse on the other hand offered the entrepreneurs in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square the option to participate in a collective energy contract. Notwithstanding all these efforts, little advantage was taken of the offered social networks and support. The entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk by themselves did not see a need for support through the Cooperative, despite the fact that membership in the Cooperative gave them a financial advantage in the form of a lower energy bill. The entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory on the contrary indeed indicated a need for support. However, this was a different kind of support than the provided network meetings and events offered. These entrepreneurs especially had a need for support in obtaining orders.

Consequently, it can be concluded that although within both initiatives much had been invested in stimulating the establishment of social networks and facilitating access to these networks, the people involved made little use of the offered opportunities for building social networks. This is remarkable, as the assumption was that stimulating the establishment of social networks would lead to a better exploitation of the advantages of physical proximity and more mutual collaboration and reinforcement (cf. Comunian, 2012; De Jong, 2014; Sacco et al., 2013a; Scott, 2006). However, in neither the area-targeted Creative Factory, nor the people-targeted projects initiated by Freehouse did the stimulation of social networks and the facilitation of access to these networks lead to substantially more collaboration.

Responsibility and ownership

The people involved in the Creative Factory and the Afrikaander Cooperative did not benefit from the efforts to stimulate the establishment of social networks and facilitate access to these networks. An important reason for this is that the initiative for the foundation of the Creative Factory and the Cooperative did not come from them and they were not intensively involved from the beginning in the process of establishing social networks. As a result, they did not feel responsible for these social networks. Consequently, they did not contribute and had a critical attitude towards the usefulness of these social networks for their own businesses or activities. Hence it appears that ownership and own responsibility of the people involved are important and necessary preconditions for optimally developing and using social networks in an initiative like the Creative Factory or the Cooperative. Support is only useful when it is indeed support – nothing more and nothing less.

Summarizing, it can be concluded that support aimed at establishing and accessing social networks is not effective if the people involved do not feel responsible for these social networks. Concerning this conclusion it should be noted that in spite of what might have been expected, even within the people-targeted projects initiated by Freehouse development was more top-down than bottom-up, causing the people involved not to feel responsible for the initiative and for the process of network building.

Effects on the development of neighbourhood residents and the quality of place

From the beginning both the Creative Factory and Freehouse struggled with the ways in which they wanted to and could contribute to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods and how they could shape these contributions. This struggle became even more difficult when the consequences of the economic crisis were being felt.

Before the foundation of the Cooperative, for most of the residents involved the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio did not have economic effects, apart from a limited economic

advantage in the shape of a volunteer fee. The Cooperative focused much more on economic development. It undertook various new activities in order to involve more neighbourhood residents and also entrepreneurs. The Cooperative developed new services, like the collective purchase of energy. This offered entrepreneurs in the vicinity of the Afrikaander square an opportunity to save costs. Furthermore, a cleaning service was established, which offered a paid job to some youngsters in the neighbourhood. Apart from these paid jobs, at the time of the research the economic effects of the new activities of the Cooperative were very limited. The Creative Factory did not have economic effects on neighbourhood residents either, as it did not yield jobs for the neighbourhood. It is remarkable that neither the Creative Factory, which was established as an area-targeted initiative, nor Freehouse, which was established as a people-targeted initiative, had any substantial economic effects for neighbourhood residents, in spite of the fact that the projects of Freehouse especially aimed at such effects. Apparently, for people-targeted initiatives it is as difficult as for area-targeted initiatives to contribute to the economic development of residents of a deprived neighbourhood through stimulating creative entrepreneurship.

For most of the residents involved the Kitchen and the Studio mainly had social effects. Some of these residents stayed at home before joining the Kitchen or the Studio. The Kitchen and the Studio offered them opportunities to be active outside their houses, develop themselves and meet other people. Because of their varying cultural backgrounds the residents involved all spoke Dutch, and therefore the Kitchen and the Studio also offered them an opportunity to improve their language capabilities. Although these social effects are important, they only applied to the limited number of residents who were directly involved. The Cooperative aimed at initiating projects with social effects for a wider group of people, like the project 'Home Cooks Feijenoord', which trained volunteers to cook at home for neighbourhood residents who were no longer able to take care of themselves. The intended social effects affected both the volunteers from the neighbourhood who cooked the meals as well as the residents for whom they cooked. Executing this kind of project indeed offered the Cooperative a means of generating social effects for a wider group of people. On the contrary, most entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory did not contribute to the social development of neighbourhood residents. They neither had customers in the surrounding neighbourhood nor contact with neighbourhood residents.

Moreover, both the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse hardly contributed to an increase of the quality of place of the neighbourhood. In addition to the supposed positive influence of physical proximity on mutual cooperation, clusters of creative entrepreneurs are also supposed to generate buzz, which stimulates the establishment of new bars, restaurants and shops (Landry, 2000). This is supposed to increase the quality of place of the neighbourhood (Florida, 2002). However, the presence of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory did not generate buzz in the neighbourhood, and it neither increased the interaction

between entrepreneurs and neighbourhood residents, nor influenced the establishment of new bars and restaurants in the area. Consequently, the Creative Factory did not contribute to an increase of the quality of place of the surrounding neighbourhoods. On the contrary, the activities that took place at the Afrikaander market as part of the project 'Tomorrow's Market' were visible to the public at large and consequently led to buzz. This buzz led to an improvement of the quality of place in the short term, but not in the longer term. Furthermore, as the neighbourhood residents had little demand for the services delivered by the Neighbourhood Kitchen in the Gemaal, the Kitchen neither generated buzz nor stimulated interaction between neighbourhood residents. Consequently, the Kitchen did not contribute to the increase of the quality of place of the Afrikaanderwijk. Contrary to the Neighbourhood Kitchen some other activities that took place in the Gemaal did indeed generate buzz. The monthly event 'I Speak' for instance attracted visitors from the neighbourhood as well as beyond. However, as this buzz only arose in and around the building on the evenings when the events took place, these activities only contributed in a very limited way to the increase of the quality of place.

A principal reason for investigating on the one hand an area-targeted initiative and on the other hand a people-targeted initiative was that based on the literature review that was described in chapter 2 the expectation had arisen that this distinction would lead to a variety of possible effects of initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in deprived neighbourhoods becoming visible. However, it has to be concluded that up to the time when this research took place neither the area-targeted Creative Factory, nor the people-targeted projects of Freehouse had much effect on the development of neighbourhood residents or the quality of place. The effects of the two initiatives were very small, especially when compared to the amount of effort and money that the various stakeholders invested.

Notwithstanding the fact that it appears to be difficult for such initiatives to contribute to the regeneration of the neighbourhood, this research demonstrates that there is at least one way in which both area-targeted and people-targeted initiatives can make a contribution, that is, through offering training and internships to neighbourhood residents. My research found that it was difficult to find and recruit neighbourhood residents who are sufficiently qualified to function as staff within the Afrikaander Cooperative. A year before the foundation of the Cooperative, Freehouse started to train neighbourhood residents. At the time of the data collection for this research, these residents performed coordinating tasks within the Cooperative. So by training these neighbourhood residents, Freehouse directly contributed to the development of these residents and indirectly also to the development of other residents as well, as these residents initiated activities that had effects for other residents.

Moreover, it appears from my research that offering training and internships was also a way in which the Creative Factory could contribute to the development of neighbourhood residents.

Although the creative entrepreneurs had little contact with the neighbourhood and did not contribute to the development of neighbourhood residents, the management of the Creative Factory certainly did so by structurally offering internships for students from the neighbourhood who studied at the intermediate vocational level at the Albeda College. As a number of these students experienced problems in finding an internship because of a shortage of places, in this way the Creative Factory definitely contributed to their social development.

7.2 THE TWO INITIATIVES MEASURED BY FLORIDA'S YARDSTICK

In this section, the two investigated initiatives will be compared with Florida's assumptions that have been described in the first two chapters. In addition to the evaluation of the application of Florida's theory to the two initiatives, attention will also be paid to the question of whether this theory has been borne out here. Moreover, the broader usability of the results of this research will be examined.

At the start both initiatives aimed at the stimulation of creative entrepreneurship, based on the assumption that creativity is the most important source of economic growth (cf. Florida, 2002). According to Florida, the presence of the creative class is essential for the economic development of a city or region. Therefore it is important that a city attracts and retains the creative class. The creative class prefers to establish itself in cities with appropriate technological facilities and a great number of talented creative people. Moreover, creative people prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas. Places that are diverse are more likely to attract different types of creative people with different skill sets and ideas. Concentrations of diverse mixes of people with a lot of weak ties are more likely to generate new combinations, to speed the flow of knowledge and to lead to higher rates of innovation, high-technology business formation, job generation and economic growth, according to Florida (2002).

The foundation of the Creative Factory was inspired by Florida's notions and aimed at the attraction of creative businesses for the purpose of the economic development of Rotterdam in general and of the environs of the Creative Factory in particular. In tandem with this area-targeted initiative, Freehouse, a people-targeted initiative, has also been investigated. Freehouse was designed to develop the present creative talents of neighbourhood residents, with the purpose of stimulating their economic development. In doing so, Freehouse can be considered as a counter-reaction to Florida's creative city thesis, which aimed at attracting creative entrepreneurs. Prior to this research, the expectation was that by choosing both an area-targeted initiative and a people-targeted initiative various ways would emerge in which creative entrepreneurs could have influence on the regeneration of the neighbourhood. However, it has been concluded that both initiatives contributed very little to this regeneration.

When comparing the course of events within the two initiatives with Florida's assumptions, three observations can be made.

The first concerns the definition of the creative class. According to Florida, the core of the creative class consists of people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, and music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and new creative content. Around the core, the creative class also includes a broader group of creative professionals, consisting of knowledge-based workers in business and finance, law, health care, and related fields. Many authors have criticised this definition. A main point of criticism is that the boundaries of the creative class are not clearly defined (Pratt, 2008) and that a more accurate identification of its members should be provided (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010). Furthermore, it consists of very different industries and risks blurring the distinctions between these sectors, resulting in attempts to replicate sectors in other places, without taking into account the specific qualities of a place (Oakley, 2004). Moreover, these sectors employ a relatively high number of graduates, while racial and ethnic minorities tend to be underrepresented. Therefore it seems that the sectors 'have a lot to contribute to social polarization, but very little to inclusion' (Oakley, 2004). Notwithstanding these criticisms, Marlet and Woerkens (2007) have concluded that Florida's creative class concept makes an important contribution to better understanding employment growth in cities. They stress that Florida's creative class consists of people who are not necessarily highly educated, although most of them are, but who work in creative, innovative occupations. Their research on a cross-section of Dutch cities led to their conclusion that the creative class is a better predictor of employment growth than average education levels or numbers of highly educated people. What really counts is not how much education people have or in what field, but what they really do in their working life.

Broadly speaking, the Creative Factory aimed at attracting people active in architecture and design, music and entertainment, and media, as well as entrepreneurs who are part of the larger group of professionals around the highly creative core. Many of the entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory completed higher education. Hence, the population of the Creative Factory fits Florida's notion of the creative class. The vast majority of the neighbourhood residents at whom the projects initiated by Freehouse aimed, however, had hardly any education; only a few finished higher education. Moreover, most of the creative activities in which these residents participated do not fall within the scope of activities that Florida relates to the creative class.

The second observation relates to the use of creativity for the purpose of economic growth. According to Florida, creativity is the most important source of economic growth, and therefore it is important to use everybody's creativity. However, the stakeholders did not utilize the creative talents that were present within the Creative Factory. Admittedly, the Creative Factory aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship, but this mainly involved the stimulation of

entrepreneurial skills instead of the creative talents of the entrepreneurs. The partners of the Creative Factory did not make use of these creative talents either. The projects that Freehouse initiated from its start in the Afrikaanderwijk indeed utilized the creative talents of neighbourhood residents, especially the Neighbourhood Studio and the Neighbourhood Kitchen. These projects aimed at stimulating the creative talents of neighbourhood residents for the purpose of their economic development. Alongside the creative talents of neighbourhood residents, use was also made of the creative talents of professionals cooperating with these neighbourhood residents. However, within the activities that were initiated since the foundation of the Cooperative, creative talents were no longer used for the purpose of economic development.

The third observation concerns the advantage that is taken of diversity and weak ties. Concentrations of diverse mixes of people with many weak ties are supposed to be advantageous for new combinations and ideas, a quicker flow of knowledge and higher rates of innovation, according to Florida. Both the Creative Factory and Freehouse considered these weak ties important for the people involved, i.e. the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the neighbourhood residents with creative talents and entrepreneurs in the Afrikaanderwijk respectively. Consequently, they invested a lot in establishing various social networks that were assumed to be useful for the people involved and facilitating access to these networks, including networks of people with whom these entrepreneurs and residents would not easily have contact themselves. However, within the two initiatives these efforts to establish weak ties did not lead to many new combinations and ideas, a quicker flow of knowledge and higher rates of innovation. Notwithstanding all the efforts, the people involved took little advantage of the provided support in establishing and accessing social networks, since according to them this support did not link up with their needs.

In addition to these observations, an important difference can be established between, in particular, the Creative Factory and the initiatives that Florida describes. This concerns the scale of the effects of the initiatives. Florida discusses the effects of initiatives aimed at attracting the creative class on cities and city-regions. The Creative Factory was supposed to have effects on the surrounding neighbourhood. The question is whether this was a realistic expectation considering Florida's suggestion that the creative class has positive effects citywide. In the case of the Creative Factory, at least some of the creative entrepreneurs just relocated within Rotterdam when they moved into the Creative Factory. Most entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory had no substantial economic or social effects on neighbourhood residents. They did not provide jobs for neighbourhood residents and had hardly any local customers or suppliers. As the sectors within which most entrepreneurs operated aimed at a regional or national market instead of a local market, most entrepreneurs were oriented on Rotterdam and beyond. Moreover, they had no substantial effect on the quality of place of the neighbourhood. Although some entrepreneurs would have appreciated nicer bars and restaurants in the area, for instance, this

concerned a relatively small number of entrepreneurs. As the Creative Factory was a stand-alone initiative, this did not create a substantial demand for new bars, restaurants and the like.

The Creative Factory aimed at attracting creative entrepreneurs and other businesses from Rotterdam and beyond to the building and to the surrounding neighbourhoods. Although at the start the Creative Factory certainly was very attractive to creative entrepreneurs willing to establish themselves in this building, this appears to have been mainly caused by a lack of suitable housing options. As soon as other housing options became available, this attraction decreased rapidly. Furthermore, the Creative Factory did not succeed in attracting other businesses to the neighbourhood. Moreover, almost all entrepreneurs who left the Creative Factory in order to continue their business elsewhere left South Rotterdam entirely, and none of the interviewed entrepreneurs considered establishing themselves in South Rotterdam after leaving the Creative Factory. Hence, in the case of the Creative Factory, the neighbourhood was not attractive to the creative class. Consequently, it can be concluded that even for small-scale initiatives aimed at attracting the creative class, like the Creative Factory, the neighbourhood scale is not an appropriate level at which to expect significant effects.

Florida (2002) has suggested that the attraction of a location consists of the presence of the '3 T's': technology, talent and tolerance. According to Florida, cities need to offer the 3 T's in order to attract creative people, generate innovation and stimulate economic growth, as the creative class prefers to establish itself in cities with appropriate technological facilities, a great number of talented creative people and a tolerant, open, inclusive and diverse climate. Rotterdam, however, has a relatively large number of deprived neighbourhoods that suffer from unemployment, school dropout, deteriorated housing, and crime. In order to change this situation, a lot of actions have been initiated that have led for instance to the renovation and rebuilding of many houses, increased attention for the prevention of school dropout, getting people to work and a cleaner environment. However, the flipside is that these actions required the introduction of all kinds of legislation and regulations that impose restrictions in various ways and limit the possibility for creative people and others to live in the way they like. As noted in the preceding chapters, when conducting experiments in order to revitalise the Afrikaander market, Freehouse regularly collided with market regulations. These regulations had been tightened considerably in the preceding years, as part of the local government policy aimed at making Rotterdam cleaner and safer (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2002). Freehouse for instance was restricted by the regulation that it is not allowed to do two different things in a market stall, like for instance selling fruit and vegetables on the one hand and processing these to smoothies on the other hand. As part of the project Tomorrow's Market, Freehouse encountered more regulations that worked to restrict instead of stimulate experimenting with new ideas. Hence, notwithstanding the fact that Rotterdam in general and the Afrikaanderwijk in particular

have a very multicultural population, Rotterdam cannot be considered as particularly tolerant concerning freedom of action, as there are many regulations that limit this freedom.

Concerning talent Rotterdam traditionally is a working-class city that is dominated by the port. In spite of the presence of a research university and two universities of applied sciences it has a relatively low educated population, as many students who finish higher education do not stay in Rotterdam. Many low educated Rotterdam people live in a deprived neighbourhood. Many of these deprived neighbourhoods are located in South Rotterdam, including the Afrikaanderwijk and other neighbourhoods in the environs of the Creative Factory. Furthermore, concerning technology Rotterdam certainly has a number of high-tech activities, especially in the medical field and related to the highly modern harbour and its industrial complex. However, these high-tech activities are not central to the economy, and the companies concerned are not located in the deprived neighbourhoods in South Rotterdam. Hence it can be established that each of the 3 T's is present in Rotterdam only to a limited extent.

Furthermore, it can be remarked that the presence of high-tech activities implies that there are already talented creative people. In his later book, *Cities and the creative class*, Florida (2005: 7) stresses that 'technology and talent are highly mobile factors, flowing into and out of places' and that tolerance is the key factor in enabling places to both mobilise the creative capacities of the people who are already there and to attract a disproportionate share of the flow. Tolerant places are characterised by openness, inclusiveness and diversity to all ethnicities, races and walks of life. They are open to newcomers and new ideas, 'allowing people to be themselves and to validate their distinct identities' (Florida, 2005: 7), offering the quality of life they desire. Moreover, according to Florida, the number of writers, designers, musicians, actors and directors, painters and sculptors, photographers and dancers, who he refers to as 'bohemians', is a proxy for the openness of a region and its attractiveness to the creative class. However, this means that in tolerant places at least part of the creative class is already there. Hence, it appears that the 3 T's are highly interrelated, making the process of attracting the creative class by offering these 3 T's complicated and hard to manage.

In any case, it can be established that according to this 3 T's theory, it is difficult for a place without a certain amount of talented, creative people to attract the creative class. Therefore, the fact that there are relatively few talented, creative and highly educated people in Rotterdam in general, and in the Afrikaanderwijk and the other neighbourhoods surrounding the Creative Factory in particular, is an important reason why the Creative Factory has difficulty in attracting creative enterprises and other businesses to the neighbourhood.

Over the years, various Dutch municipalities have invested in stimulating creative entrepreneurship, but attracting the creative class appears much more difficult than expected. The

'Monitor creatieve industrie 2014' investigated the developments in the number of jobs in the creative industries⁴³ in the ten Dutch cities with the largest numbers of creative jobs (Rutten & Koops, 2014). As previously mentioned, in terms of the number of jobs in the creative industries in 2013, Rotterdam was fourth, behind Amsterdam, Utrecht and The Hague. In the period from 2005-2013 only Amsterdam and Utrecht succeeded in realising growth. The number of jobs in the creative industries increased by 4.6% in Amsterdam, while Utrecht realised a growth of 3.1%. In the other eight cities, including Rotterdam, the number of jobs in the creative industries stayed the same or decreased. There was no growth in Rotterdam. Moreover, the number of jobs in the creative industries in Rotterdam in 2013 was only 5.2% of the total number of jobs in the city, which is below the national average. Hence it can be concluded that although Florida's creative city thesis appeared promising to many urban policy makers a decade ago, in many cities this promise did not come true. Therefore, the popularity of this thesis among policy makers decreased rapidly.

Nonetheless, as is also evident from the literature, since the publication of Florida's *The rise of the creative class* in 2002, many local and national governments have been inspired by Florida to stimulate the creative industries. These local and national governments had various policy rationales for this, including urban regeneration. During the years, in order to stimulate urban regeneration, many initiatives have been undertaken that are mainly area-targeted and aimed at attracting the creative class, like the Creative Factory. As a counter-reaction to these area-targeted initiatives, various people-targeted projects have been initiated as well, which aimed at the current residents of an area. The projects initiated by Freehouse are an example of such initiatives.

From chapter 3 it also becomes clear that within the Netherlands the two initiatives that have been studied are not isolated cases either. Inspired by Florida, in various places in the Netherlands all kinds of initiatives have been undertaken in order to stimulate creative entrepreneurship. An important part of these initiatives aimed at attracting creative entrepreneurs and facilitating them in finding business accommodation. Hence in Rotterdam in the period from 2006 to 2009 the Rotterdam City Development Corporation contributed to the opening of at least thirteen locations including the Maassilo (De Kleijn et al., 2011), and in Amsterdam the Breeding Ground Office⁴⁴ supported artists and creative entrepreneurs in transforming existing buildings into breeding grounds and contributed to the realisation of funding for these breed-

⁴³ Rutten and Koops (2014) make a distinction between the creative industries and ICT, which, according to the definition of the creative industries that they use, is not included. However, as ICT is included in Florida's definition of the creative class, the percentages used in this section concern the creative industries *including* ICT.

⁴⁴ See <https://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisaties/organisaties/bureau-broedplaatsen/ontstaan-organisatie/>.

ing grounds. Contrary to Rotterdam, Amsterdam as well as some other Dutch cities succeeded in attracting the creative class and putting the creative industries on the map. As mentioned before, an important explanation for this is the fact that these cities already had a supply of highly educated and talented creative residents.

Just like the Creative Factory, an important part of the creative enterprise centres and breeding grounds are housed in former industrial buildings, such as the Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam⁴⁵ and the De Gruyter Fabriek in Den Bosch⁴⁶. It is not unusual for such industrial buildings to be located in or near deprived neighbourhoods. Apart from the fact that the presence of creative entrepreneurs or artists is often supposed to have a positive influence on the neighbourhood, various initiatives also explicitly aim at realising connections with the neighbourhood in order to contribute to the regeneration of that neighbourhood. This applies for instance to the breeding grounds initiated by Urban Resort⁴⁷, a non-profit organisation in Amsterdam that aims at realising accommodation for professional but financially less strong artists, ideological and civil organisations, start-ups and small enterprises in the creative sector. One of the breeding grounds initiated by Urban Resort is HW10⁴⁸, which is established in a former school. As the objective was to realise a breeding ground for and through neighbourhood residents, prior to the opening of HW10 a working group of residents participated in the development of a vision. HW10 houses varying creative, social and cultural initiatives. Furthermore, the intention is that neighbourhood residents and tenants regularly organise activities.

Alongside these initiatives aimed at stimulating professional entrepreneurs, in various places initiatives have also been undertaken which aimed explicitly at improving the living conditions and opportunities of neighbourhood residents by using their often still invisible creative talents, just as Freehouse did through among other things the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Neighbourhood Studio. A similar initiative is for instance Wereldwijven (in English: Women of the world) in Dordrecht,⁴⁹ where women of various cultural backgrounds produce fashion and interior decoration products. Another example is 'Wij zijn Rotterdam'⁵⁰ (in English: We are Rotterdam), an employment project that stimulates creative craftsmanship and consists of a bakery, a workplace where fashion is produced and an innovation lab.

⁴⁵ See <http://www.westergasfabriek.nl/westergasfabriek/>.

⁴⁶ See <http://www.degruyterfabriek.nl/de-gruyter-fabriek/>.

⁴⁷ See <http://www.urbanresort.nl/projecten>.

⁴⁸ See http://www.hw10.nl/over_ons.

⁴⁹ See <http://www.stichtingintermezzo.nl/wereldwijven>.

⁵⁰ See <http://www.wijzijnrotterdam.nl>.

Moreover, as described in section 3.5, part of the data for this thesis was collected as part of two international research projects⁵¹. During these two projects knowledge was developed and exchanged about the functioning and effects of a number of enterprise centres for creative entrepreneurs in various cities and countries. In doing so, attention has been paid to the relationships between the enterprise centres and the neighbourhood and to possible contributions to urban regeneration, including the development of neighbourhood residents. As part of these two projects a number of workshops took place with representatives of these enterprise centres. Furthermore, a more detailed comparison has been made between the Creative Factory and the Chocolate Factory in London.

It became apparent that every creative enterprise centre had its own context, which differed in a lot of respects from the contexts of the other initiatives. Because of all these differences the insights and conclusions of this research concerning the Creative Factory and Freehouse could not immediately be generalised to the other initiatives. However, in spite of all these differences, some insights from this research also turned out to be relevant for other participating initiatives. Notwithstanding these varying contexts, from the workshops it became clear that although some of these enterprise centres were located in deprived neighbourhoods, most of the centres did not succeed in contributing substantially to the development of neighbourhood residents, apart from supplying employment for the people involved by facilitating business accommodation. An important reason for this is that these enterprise centres, just like the Creative Factory as mentioned above, were mainly small-scale initiatives, for which the neighbourhood scale was not very appropriate for measuring the effects, since most entrepreneurs operated in sectors that were oriented toward a regional or national market. Moreover, because these initiatives concerned a relatively small number of entrepreneurs, these entrepreneurs did not have much influence on the quality of place of the neighbourhood either. In this respect it has to be noted that far from all the enterprise centres had contributing to the development of neighbourhood residents as an explicit objective. However, an exception appeared to be the Chocolate Factory in London, which through the years indeed contributed substantially to the socio-economic development of neighbourhood residents through offering training and apprenticeships.

This example of the Chocolate Factory in London, which has been described in section 6.5, provides further support for the conclusion that a possible way for an enterprise centre for creative entrepreneurs to contribute to the development of neighbourhood residents is through providing training, internships or apprenticeships for people from the neighbourhood. Moreover, this example illustrates that this not only applies to internships provided by the management

⁵¹ This concerns the project 'Everybody on board', financed by the SIA RAAK International program, and the project 'An examination of the contribution of creative enterprise centres to the development of more sustainable communities', financed by AHRC/NWO.

of the creative enterprise centre, but also to apprenticeships and training offered through the creative entrepreneurs. As has been described before in section 6.5, the Chocolate Factory is managed by Collage Arts. In addition to providing creative space Collage Arts has delivered a wide range of regeneration programmes for mainly young people from the neighbourhood during the years. A considerable number of the creative entrepreneurs from the Chocolate Factory collaborated with Collage Arts in the delivery of these regeneration programmes. Typically, Collage Arts applied for funding. If funding was secured, Collage Arts contacted suitable creative entrepreneurs in the building to collaborate in the delivery, for which they got paid. In this way, these creative entrepreneurs contributed to the social development of the youngsters concerned. Moreover, as contributing to these programmes procured the entrepreneurs paid orders, Collage Arts contributed to them getting more business. This is unlike the Creative Factory, where neither the creative entrepreneurs, nor the management got paid for providing internships.

Over the years, youngsters from the neighbourhood participated in these apprenticeships and training in the Chocolate Factory, which were aimed at obtaining a qualification and increasing their chances of finding work within the creative industries. Apparently, Collage Arts succeeded in making a match between on the one hand training and apprenticeships that creative entrepreneurs in the Chocolate Factory could and wanted to provide, and on the other hand the interests of neighbourhood residents. This leads to the interesting question of whether such a connection between the capabilities of the creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory and the interests of youngsters from the Afrikaanderwijk could also have been established if these entrepreneurs could have been paid for providing training, internships and apprenticeships. In this case their argument that investing in students with too low a level of education offered them no advantage would not hold any more, as these efforts would mean business to them.

For success it would have been necessary that the training and internships would fit in with the young people's interests. Hence the Creative Factory would have needed insight into the interests of youngsters from the neighbourhood concerning the creative industries as well as into real possibilities for these youngsters for finding work and earning money within the creative industries. In this respect it can be said that concerning the sectors at which the Creative Factory aimed, at the time of the data collection the possibilities for such connections were more obvious within some sectors than within other sectors. As the director of the Creative Factory remarked during one of the international workshops, there were for instance some youngsters within the neighbourhood who were interested in game development or the production of fashion, as well as some youngsters who were active in the field of music and events, but there were hardly any who were interested in becoming a designer or an architect.

Beyond fitting in with the interests of people from the neighbourhood, another important factor for a successful connection would have been to take into account the possible contributions to training and internships or apprenticeships for people from the neighbourhood as one of the selection criteria for entrepreneurs wishing to enter the Creative Factory. Subsequently, after having succeeded in making a connection between the qualifications of the entrepreneurs and the interests of people from the neighbourhood, and after having acquired funds, it would have been important to coach these people from the neighbourhood in making and executing a plan for their personal development. In this way people from the neighbourhood could have been made to feel responsible for this plan and for their own future. This fits in with the conclusion of my research concerning the importance of ownership and responsibility of the people involved. Moreover, collaboration with a formal educational institution could have added value. A university could do research in close cooperation with all the stakeholders in order to develop knowledge that could be used to improve the initiative, for instance concerning the application of innovative business models and ways of funding.

However, the means to pay the creative entrepreneurs for providing training, internships and apprenticeships would have to have been found somewhere. An option could have been that the management of the Creative Factory could have applied for subsidies in order to deliver regeneration programmes, just like Collage Arts. Another possibility might have been that the contributions of the sponsoring partners could have been spent on this, instead of on diminishing the amount of money that was charged to the entrepreneurs for the service costs of the Creative Factory.

Meanwhile, the economic and political context has changed, and due to these changes initiatives such as those analysed in Rotterdam are less likely to be continued or initiated. This issue will be elaborated in more detail in the next section. Here it suffices to say that the basic reason for the end of the policy paradigm of betting on the creative class by offering it low cost urban accommodation is that the relevant stakeholders involved have lost both the interest and the means to pursue it. Municipalities do not count on creativity anymore to stimulate economic development, and are withdrawing from various policy domains including the stimulation of creative entrepreneurship. Housing associations, after a number of disastrous projects, are now forced to focus on their main task: social housing. After the financial crisis of 2008, banks, like Rabobank, a partner in the Creative Factory, have become reluctant to spend money on hazardous projects and instead they sit on their assets.

This policy paradigm of counting on the creative class for economic development was essentially an effort to increase employment, especially for people with dim prospects in modern urban labour markets. Urban renewal policies aimed at reconstructing the built environment have been successful in the past in Dutch cities, and have resulted in better housing and

improved public space in dilapidated neighbourhoods and districts. However, the problem of improving the living conditions of the inhabitants of those neighbourhoods in ways other than housing, in particular providing them with jobs, has been enduring. Florida's theory of attracting the creative class was a new and promising strategy to deal with the predicament of the vulnerable socio-economic position of people living in urban renewal areas. The promise of the theory is that once the creative class comes to town, all kinds of enterprises will follow and the local economy will eventually expand. For municipalities, the theory seemed an easier way of stimulating employment than the usual practice of trying to lure investors and enterprises to the city. Just offer creative people a hip and cheap building in an exciting neighbourhood and start from there. However, it was not as easy as that, as we have seen in the case of Rotterdam.

Does this mean that the idea of counting on the creative class when it comes to improving urban neighbourhoods should be dropped altogether? The answer is a qualified 'no'. The qualification pertains to the way creativity is used in the much older and less trendy policy of trying to improve the skills and educational level of, especially, adults and young people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Based on the preceding analysis the following five recommendations can be formulated for creative enterprise centres willing to contribute to neighbourhood regeneration through providing training, internships or apprenticeships for neighbourhood residents:

1. Acquire funding to pay the creative entrepreneurs for their contribution to the provision of training, internships or apprenticeships;
2. Connect to the interests of neighbourhood residents concerning the kinds of training, internships or apprenticeships that are offered (e.g. by choosing sectors in which neighbourhood residents are interested);
3. When selecting creative entrepreneurs take into account their possible contributions to training, internships or apprenticeships for people from the neighbourhood;
4. Provide for coaching for the neighbourhood residents who participate in the provided training, internships or apprenticeships in order for them to develop and execute a personal development plan in such a way that they feel responsible for their own development process;
5. Collaborate with a university in order to develop knowledge that can be used to improve the initiative, for instance concerning the application of innovative business models.

Concerning the first recommendation, it has to be remarked that because of the withdrawal of the national and local government there is a need for innovative sources of funding. For this reason, in various places people are experimenting with new ways of funding, such as through

Social Impact Bonds.⁵² In 2014 the Buzinezzclub⁵³ was the first organisation to introduce the Social Impact Bond in the Netherlands.

Finally it has to be said that the results of a case study like this research cannot be transferred immediately to other initiatives, because every initiative has its own context, which differs in various respects from the contexts of other initiatives. However, notwithstanding these differences, some insights may be transferable to other initiatives, but this should be judged from case to case by those willing to use these insights in another context.

7.3 CHANGING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

At the start of the Creative Factory all kinds of stakeholders participated enthusiastically in developing creative entrepreneurship and the same applies to the projects initiated by Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk. Although their motivations for participating differed, the objectives of their own organisations overlapped with the objectives of other stakeholders. In addition to a contribution in time, some stakeholders contributed financially or by making business premises available for free, particularly for the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio. However, because of the various political and economic developments that took place in the years after the start of the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse, an important part of the objectives of the stakeholders changed. The overlap of the objectives as well as the motivations for participating in and contributing to the initiatives disappeared. Hence it can be concluded that the motivations of the stakeholders for participating in and contributing to the initiatives were place and time bound and changed under the influence of political and economic developments. In this section these political and economic developments will be discussed. In this respect it has to be remarked that these developments were independent of the success or failure of the two initiatives.

⁵² The Social Impact Bond (SIB) is an innovative financial instrument aimed at attacking social issues. The SIB construction consists of a number of stakeholders, including the government, a social entrepreneur, one or more investors and an assessor. This combination of stakeholders enables the social entrepreneur to execute an innovative social intervention. Beforehand, the investor makes available the funds needed for the intervention. If the intervention results in savings, the government reimburses the invested amount, possibly with a rate of return. The results are measured by an independent assessor. See <http://www.rotterdam.nl/socialimpactbondsrotterdam>.

⁵³ The Buzinezzclub offers youths of 18 to 27 who are without work or education a training programme with workshops, personal coaching and access to a broad network of entrepreneurs and professionals with the objective that they find a job, start their own business or start a program of study. See <http://buzinezzclub.nl/wij/>.

Connecting creative entrepreneurship to neighbourhood regeneration

The Creative Factory aimed at attracting creative businesses from within Rotterdam and beyond. Furthermore, a secondary objective was to contribute to the regeneration of South Rotterdam. The addition of this secondary objective made it possible to finance the rebuilding of the Creative Factory from the budget for enterprise zones. Moreover, this connection to neighbourhood regeneration made it possible to attract Vestia, Pact op Zuid and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences as sponsoring partners. For all three of these organisations the fact that the Creative Factory was supposed to contribute to the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods was an important part of their motivation for concluding this partnership. Although from the start of the Creative Factory it was unclear what this supposed contribution comprised, the Creative Factory held on to this secondary objective, in order to secure the continuation of the partnerships with Vestia, Pact op Zuid and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences. As these were three of the four partners who sponsored the Creative Factory financially (the fourth sponsoring partner being Rabobank), this connection with the surrounding neighbourhoods was important for the Creative Factory. Thus the establishment and retention of a connection between the Creative Factory and the regeneration of the surrounding neighbourhoods were mainly motivated by political and economic considerations and not by a deliberate vision of how the Creative Factory could contribute to the regeneration of these neighbourhoods. Political and economic reasons also played a role in the establishment of the connection between Freehouse and the Afrikaanderwijk, although Freehouse certainly had a deliberate vision concerning how to contribute to the regeneration of this neighbourhood. Freehouse came to the Afrikaanderwijk because Vestia encouraged Freehouse to do so and because subsequently Freehouse got a grant from the Fund for visual arts, design and architecture to actually start a project. Furthermore, during the following years Freehouse got subsidies for its projects from various other funds and organisations, including housing association Vestia and the borough of Feijenoord. Further, Vestia put free business premises at the disposal of the Neighbourhood Studio and the Neighbourhood Kitchen.

Political and economic developments

The opening of the Creative Factory as well as the start of the projects initiated by Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk took place in 2008, before the consequences of the economic crisis were felt in the Netherlands. At that time it was common for Dutch housing associations, including Vestia, to contribute to all kinds of projects in order to improve the liveability of neighbourhoods, in addition to their main objective of providing social housing. Since the 80's a decentralisation of social policies took place resulting in municipalities becoming responsible for various tasks in the fields of welfare, preventive health care and housing. In the beginning of the 90's an end was put to the funding and subsidising of housing by the national government. The objective was to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of social housing by having municipalities make performance agreements with the housing associations. The national government only

formulated a general framework concerning performance fields and permitted sidelines. For the rest, faith was placed in self-direction and self-regulation of the housing association sector. Not long after this, the performance field liveability was added and some years later the performance field housing and care also.

From 2002 onwards, a general policy change took place concerning the desired division of roles and responsibilities between citizens and the government. This policy change implied that the government should regulate less, so that citizens and their organisations would have the freedom to pursue their own priorities. The policy priorities for the housing association sector stemming from this were deregulation, diminution of administrative burdens, self-regulation and social entrepreneurship. Furthermore, the interpretation of the performance field liveability was expanded. In this way housing associations could take an active part in realising other policy priorities, including both the funding and the execution of the '40 neighbourhoods approach'⁵⁴, which was introduced in 2007 with the intention of diminishing the level of deprivation of 40 Dutch deprived neighbourhoods. This approach focused on the regeneration of 40 deprived neighbourhoods in 18 cities, including replacement of rented houses by bought houses, selling of social houses, improvement of the public space, granting aid to households with problems and realising multifunctional community centres. In addition to investments by the national government, the housing associations were supposed to contribute 750 million euros a year.

From 2007 onwards, housing associations were also allowed to engage in secondary activities beyond the neighbourhoods where they owned houses and to undertake activities that formally are the responsibility of the local government. Moreover, in 2009 large-scale redevelopment of commercial or social real estate that transcended neighbourhoods was also allowed temporarily. As a result the development of secondary activities really took off. Directors of housing associations were stimulated by the government to become entrepreneurs and aimed at financing an ever growing range of things not directly related to social housing, like schools, community centres and playgrounds. Housing association Vestia, owning houses in various neighbourhoods of Rotterdam and The Hague in particular, also spent money on all kinds of secondary activities designated as improving the liveability of the neighbourhood, as documented in its annual reports. The annual report for 2009 for instance contains a long list of projects to which Vestia contributed financially, including the Creative Factory and Freehouse (Vestia, 2010).

⁵⁴ See <http://www.platform31.nl/wat-we-doen/kennisdossiers/stedelijke-vernieuwing/overzichten/stedelijke-vernieuwing-rijksbeleid-door-de-jaren-heen-tot-nu/wijkenbeleid>.

Furthermore, around 2005 Rotterdam also embraced the creative city idea, and stimulating the creative industries became one of the priorities of the municipality. The municipality chose to encourage creative entrepreneurship by contributing to the opening of enterprise centres that offered accommodation for beginning creative entrepreneurs and organising network meetings and workshops. Moreover, in 2006 the City of Rotterdam, the boroughs of South Rotterdam including Feijenoord, and five housing associations including Vestia concluded the Pact op Zuid. The objective of the Pact op Zuid is to jointly invest for the next decade (until 2016) an additional 1 billion euros in the social, economic and physical qualities of South Rotterdam, in order to regenerate the area. As part of its policy of neighbourhood regeneration, Pact op Zuid also invested in various projects stimulating creative entrepreneurship, including the Creative Factory. Vestia also invested in various projects with similar purpose, including the Creative Factory and some projects of Freehouse.

During the same period, Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences implemented a policy aimed at making more connections between Rotterdam University and the City of Rotterdam. With its 'Outside In, Inside Out'-policy, Rotterdam University aimed at students and researchers to address real practical problems that professionals face in order to find solutions and subsequently make these solutions available to these professionals. As part of this Outside In, Inside Out-policy Rotterdam University wanted to contribute to the regeneration of South Rotterdam and to the stimulation of creative entrepreneurship, among other things. On the one hand, this priority was motivated by a desire for social involvement in the City of Rotterdam and on the other hand, it was supposed to enhance the quality of education, because students could work on real practical problems. In order to give this policy substance, Rotterdam University concluded partner agreements with various organisations, including Pact op Zuid and the Creative Factory. Furthermore, at the time of the start of the Creative Factory and Freehouse large commercial enterprises like Rabobank invested in all kinds of social projects, including projects aimed at stimulating creative entrepreneurship. They did so because of a general notion of social responsibility.

During the following years, the consequences of the economic crisis also affected the Netherlands. Because of this economic crisis the national government as well as local governments had less money to spend. Therefore, the economic crisis increased the need to decentralise social policy. The objective of this decentralisation was two-fold: to achieve more with less means and to involve citizens more closely with government. Moreover, local governments increased demands that people who were on benefits make greater efforts to find work and that they make contributions such as volunteer work in exchange for benefits. Despite all the efforts to get all citizens to work, the economic crisis led to an increase in the number of unemployed. In order to make it easier for these people to find a paid job, a policy of flexibility in the labour

market was inaugurated. Through this policy increasing numbers of people work with a flexible or temporary labour contract, or as freelancers.

Meanwhile, various housing associations were running into trouble⁵⁵. Thanks to favourable cyclical developments like a decreasing interest rate and increasing house prices, these housing associations had greater profits. They had considerable capital at their disposal and easy access to loans. Because of this favourable financial position combined with the expansion of the performance fields liveability and housing and care, a number of housing associations increased their investments, without being sufficiently aware of the risks. Through the years a number of problems occurred. A Rotterdam example concerns the investment of housing association Woonbron in an old steamship, the SS Rotterdam. Woonbron bought the ship for 1.8 million euros in order to exploit it as a hotel, restaurant and conference room. Renovation of the ship was expected to cost six million euros, but eventually this renovation cost 257 million euros, one of the causes being that asbestos had to be removed. Finally Woonbron sold the ship for 30 million euros. This meant that 227 million euros intended for housing were lost.

In the beginning of 2012 it became clear that Vestia had run into enormous financial problems because of speculating with derivatives⁵⁶. As a result of low interest rates on the capital market for a number of years, Vestia suffered major losses in its large portfolio of derivatives with a value of more than 23 billion euros. Eventually this troubled portfolio of derivatives was sold off for about two billion euros. Vestia's total financial loss was estimated at 2.7 billion euros, which for the most part had to be born by Vestia through substantial rent increases and the sale of houses. The financial problems of the housing associations led to these associations being forced to focus again on their core business of providing social housing for lower income groups. A new Housing Act required that housing associations must concentrate on building, renting out and managing social rental houses and a few other social tasks. This law came into force in 2015.

Further, because of the economic crisis small businesses as well as many large enterprises faced financial difficulties, making them more critical of social investments. Where previously they did not examine the return of their social investments closely, they now do. Furthermore, Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences undertook a policy change. Lower graduation rates and increasing drop-outs, together with disappointing accreditation results, compelled the university to give priority to improving the quality of its education. This led to less focus on realising connections with the City of Rotterdam and more focus on the yields of these connections for its educational mission.

⁵⁵ See Parlementaire enquête Woningcorporaties, Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2014-2015, 33 606, nr. 4.

⁵⁶ See <https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vestia-affaire>.

Consequences for the two initiatives

Hence the economic crisis led to considerable changes in the political and economic context, which had significant consequences for both the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse. Because of the economic crisis the local government withdrew from various policy domains, and stimulating creative entrepreneurship was no longer a priority for the City of Rotterdam. This resulted in the borough of Feijenoord stopping its financial contributions to Freehouse's projects. It also resulted in Pact op Zuid, in which the City of Rotterdam as well as the borough of Feijenoord participated, withdrawing as a sponsoring partner of the Creative Factory. The same applied to housing association Vestia, which was compelled by the national government to focus more on its core business. Furthermore, Vestia also no longer allowed the Neighbourhood Kitchen to use the kitchen in the Gemaal for free. From 2014 onwards, the Kitchen had to pay rent. Moreover, Rabobank and Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences adopted a more critical attitude towards their partnerships with the Creative Factory, because the return on this social investment was no longer enough for them.

The Creative Factory failed in getting a balanced budget without sponsorship money. The high service costs that the use of the Maassilo involved factored into this failure. On top of that, in many places in Rotterdam business premises had become vacant because of the economic crisis. Some of these premises were used for the temporary housing of creative entrepreneurs. The rent of these business premises was lower than the rent of the Creative Factory. Moreover, these premises were mostly located in the centre of Rotterdam. Starting creative entrepreneurs had a harder time because of the crisis and therefore benefitted from the availability of these cheaper housing options. As this caused creative entrepreneurs to choose other locations, it became more difficult to keep the Creative Factory fully tenanted. As the director did not succeed in getting the budget balanced, the contract between the director of the Creative Factory and the City of Rotterdam was terminated, and the City of Rotterdam took over the management of the Creative Factory. Subsequently, both Rotterdam University and Rabobank also finished their partnerships with the Creative Factory.

Implications for the role of the government

At the time of the start of the two investigated initiatives, the Netherlands sailed on the waves of the creative city thesis. The national government as well as municipalities invested in stimulating creative entrepreneurship, inspired by Florida (2002). However, as a result of the economic crisis this era came to an end. Both the national government and municipalities withdrew from various policy areas, including the stimulation of creative entrepreneurship. The municipality wanted to leave this function as much as possible to the various stakeholders involved.

Although this was a radical change compared to the previous policy, it should be noted that the fact that the local government did not invest any more in business premises and network

events for creative entrepreneurs did not per se contradict Florida's ideas, which had been developed in the context of the United States, where the government has a much smaller role in urban development than in many European countries. Florida did not advocate large-scale government programs, but advocated instead for a form of creative trickle-down, with the non-creative workers eventually learning what the creative class had already figured out, that 'there is no corporation or other large institution that will take care of us – that we are truly on our own' (Florida, 2002: 115; Peck, 2005). As my research found, own responsibility is important within both initiatives. This applies among other things to the establishment of social networks and the facilitation of access to these networks. From this research one can conclude that it makes little sense to provide support in the establishment and use of social networks if the people involved do not feel themselves responsible for these social networks. Hence although the withdrawal of the government stems largely from financial considerations because of the economic crisis, nonetheless encouraging own responsibility certainly has a positive side.

However, this research established that it is also important that there are people who take the initiative. On the one hand, these people need to play an initiating role in relation to the establishment of connections, and on the other hand they need to play a supporting role without being ahead of the troops. Between these two roles a balance needs to be found. Preferably these two roles should not be played by outsiders, but by people who are really part of both the initiative and the neighbourhood where the initiative is located. Furthermore, it is important that these people work on establishing these connections together with other stakeholders, not as leaders, but as *primus inter pares*.

For creative entrepreneurs in an enterprise centre like the Creative Factory with mainly highly educated professionals, own initiative and own responsibility are realistic starting points, as is also illustrated by the experiences of the Breeding Ground Office in Amsterdam. For residents and entrepreneurs in a deprived neighbourhood like the Afrikaanderwijk this is more difficult to realise, this research found. For an initiative like the Afrikaander Cooperative, it is therefore important to ensure that it can have enough staff at its disposal. For the establishment of connections as well as for initiating activities, the Cooperative needs people from the Afrikaanderwijk who have a sufficiently large social network and who also have enough capacities and ambitions to contribute to the development of the Cooperative. Only with enough staff can the Cooperative initiate activities that can contribute to the development of the residents of the neighbourhood. In order to ensure the availability of enough staff, it is important to train people from the neighbourhood.

The aforementioned withdrawal of the government from various policy domains implies that the government no longer does a number of things it did before, and instead leaves the responsibility for these things to citizens. In this respect it is important that these citizens are

able to take on this responsibility. However, from this research it appears that this is not self-evidently the case, as is illustrated by the example below.

As has been described before, the Afrikaanderwijk has a culturally very diverse population with relatively many people who are on state benefits. Among them are many allochtone women who are isolated and hardly leave their houses (see e.g. Chorus, 2009). As these women do not have a social network and often also have a limited command of the Dutch language, they are far removed from the labour market and have few chances to find a paid job. Although for quite some time it has been obligatory for everybody on benefits to make an effort to find a job, and foreign newcomers are obliged to learn Dutch and to attend an integration course, until recently the Rotterdam government de facto more or less accepted that it failed to find work for these women and they continued to receive their benefits. However, the government also expects that people at a remove from the labour market go to work and take initiative and responsibility themselves to find work and grasp every opportunity to earn money. At the same time, people who are on benefits are asked more and more often to do something in return, for instance through volunteer work. Meanwhile, in order to make it easier for unemployed people to find a paid job, a policy of flexibility in the labour market has been initiated. As a result of this policy more and more people work with a flexible or temporary labour contract, or as freelancers. Co-workers of the Neighbourhood Kitchen and the Studio also have the option to work as freelancers. Some of them indeed get paid as a freelancer. However, many co-workers who are on benefits do not dare to take the step to become a freelancer, because they consider the risks to be too high. As a freelancer they lose their benefits and possible allowances, while the number of orders that they get, and therefore their income, is uncertain. Potentially they can earn more as a freelancer than their benefits plus allowances. However, if their income turns out to be lower, they are not entitled to supplementary benefits.

Hence it can be established that a mismatch exists between the municipality of Rotterdam and citizens, or as Boutelier and Klein (2014: 11) call it, a friction on 'the market for citizenship'. On the one hand the City of Rotterdam is looking for citizens who participate in society, preferably through paid work. To that end, policy has been instated that stimulates citizens to take an active role and to take their own responsibility, including the policy of flexibility in the labour market that stimulates among other things working as a freelancer. On the other hand, driven by diminishing government budgets, all kinds of new citizens' initiatives have arisen, like social enterprises and cooperatives (Boutelier & Klein, 2014), including the Afrikaander Cooperative. In accordance with the policy of flexibility this Cooperative offers opportunities for neighbourhood residents who are on benefits and have a distance to the labour market, to work as freelancers. However, in this respect the Cooperative and the residents involved face the municipal regulations concerning entrepreneurship and (losing) benefits. A regulation that is more tailored to the needs of the neighbourhood residents involved and provides for income

supplements if their revenues from entrepreneurship prove to be insufficient would make the step to entrepreneurship for these people less risky and therefore more realizable.

Notwithstanding all the interventions that over the years took place in the Afrikaanderwijk and surrounding neighbourhoods, there is still an urgent need for innovative solutions to tackle the complex socio-economic problems these neighbourhoods struggle with. The economic crisis and the accompanying decentralisation of social policy in conjunction with public savings have increased the need for innovative solutions even more. Alongside various savings in the field of health care and welfare, causing healthcare and welfare organisations to get a smaller budget, shifts are also visible in the division of the available budget. The municipality of Rotterdam meanwhile puts out welfare services to tender, instead of dividing the available budget among the institutions that have offered these services in a certain area for a long time. This also offers new opportunities for citizens' initiatives like the Afrikaander Cooperative. Professionals from the Afrikaanderwijk already could bid through the Cooperative in order to get a share of the municipal budget that is available for delivering welfare services. However, this would require that they had to implement exactly the services that are precisely described in the plan.

An initiative like the Cooperative could also develop and implement alternative innovative solutions that would provide in other, innovative ways for the needs of the target groups involved. For this it would be necessary, though, that the local government would make budget available. At the time of the data collection for this research this was not the case yet, but in the course of 2015 the municipality of Rotterdam started an experiment 'Right to Challenge'⁵⁷, which runs until the end of 2016. This experiment gives neighbourhoods or districts the opportunity to take over existing facilities or municipal tasks aimed at improving the liveability of the neighbourhood or district. Citizens' organisations that demonstrate that a service in their neighbourhood can be provided better and more efficiently for the same amount of money can receive funds for providing this service themselves.

The fact that the government withdraws from various policy areas and leaves the responsibility for a considerable part of these areas to citizens not only indicates that citizens should take initiative and responsibility, but also that institutions should facilitate this (cf. Boutelier & Klein, 2014). This means that the municipality of Rotterdam should adopt a more supporting role, which fits in with what citizens need to realise their own initiatives. Hence a change should take place from citizens participating in government initiatives to a government participating in citizens' initiatives (cf. ROB, 2012). The municipality of Rotterdam should assist citizens to develop and implement innovative solutions together, for instance by offering them opportunities to experiment with new forms of support. The experiment with Right to Challenge is an important

⁵⁷ See <http://www.rotterdam.nl/righttochallenge>.

step in that direction, but more is needed. Furthermore, it is important that people who are on benefits and have a distance to the labour market are facilitated when they want to start working as a freelancer. This can be done by adopting more flexible regulations, which would make it possible that these people get supplementary benefits if necessary, instead of functioning as a tight framework within which there is only space for already existing procedures and services.

Over the past few years the regulations concerning social security have been tightened up, and through the Participation law that came into force at the beginning of 2015, these regulations have been tightened even more. According to the Participation law, people who are entitled to benefits have to meet all kinds of obligations, including applying for a job, participating in reintegration trajectories and attending courses. Moreover, municipalities can also ask these people to do something in return. Although the same legislation applies to every municipality, some municipalities deal with this in a stricter way than others. Meanwhile, within various municipalities initiatives are being implemented aimed at making the rules for people who are entitled to benefits more flexible again. Policy makers in these municipalities consider that the strict rules are counterproductive, because people who are on benefits are sanctioned instead of stimulated (De Graaf, 2015). However, in other municipalities including Rotterdam the rules are undiminished in their strictness, and there is no question of such initiatives. This is because not all political parties support these initiatives concerning increasing flexibility of the rules. Within most municipalities the liberal People's party for Freedom and Democracy (in Dutch: VVD) in particular is strongly against this development, and the same applies to the populist right-wing party Liveable Rotterdam (in Dutch: Leefbaar Rotterdam), which is the biggest party in Rotterdam. However, if people's own initiative is really considered important, then this argues that this own initiative be also allowed for and that the abilities of citizens to develop creative solutions are utilized.

Counting on creativity: the wrong bet?

At the time of the start of the Creative Factory and Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk in 2008, Dutch cities were sailing on the waves of the creative city thesis. Inspired by Florida's *The rise of the creative class*, the national government and various municipalities, including Rotterdam, had embraced the creative city idea, assuming that cities should strain to the utmost to attract and retain the creative class. The municipality of Rotterdam counted on creativity to stimulate economic development and undertook all kinds of initiatives to stimulate creative entrepreneurship, including contributing to the foundation of the Creative Factory. Furthermore, Freehouse, a private initiative, was also targeted at creative entrepreneurship for economic development. The basis of both initiatives was Florida's premise that creative talent is the most important source of economic growth.

At the start of the Creative Factory, its various stakeholders participated enthusiastically in stimulating creative entrepreneurship, and the same applies to the projects initiated by Freehouse in the Afrikaanderwijk. Although the motivations the various stakeholders had for participating were different, they overlapped with the objectives of other stakeholders that had an interest in taking part in the initiatives involved. Florida's theory of the creative class was the leading idea, the legitimising concept, that both united and directed the activities and interests of all stakeholders. However, in the years after the start of the Creative Factory and the projects initiated by Freehouse, the socio-economic conditions in which the various stakeholders had to operate changed substantially and they – literally – lost interest in the projects. Thus, the guiding principle of accommodating the creative class became obsolete. Not so much because it failed as a theory of how cities work, but rather because it lost its integrative relevance for the stakeholders involved in initiatives such as the ones under scrutiny here. Therefore, counting on creativity is currently not the right bet.



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**Appendix A: Overview of respondents
and participants in the Creative
Factory case study**

Table A1: Respondents of the orienting interviews (October 2010 – February 2011)

#	Function
1	Entrepreneur webdesign
2	Director Creative Factory
3	Representative City Development Corporation Rotterdam ('OBR')
4	Representative Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences
5	Representative Vestia (housing association)
6	Representative Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences
7	Coach Creative Factory

Table A2: Participants in participatory observation during partner meetings (July 2011 – February 2013)

#	Function
1	Director Creative Factory
2	General manager Creative Factory
3	Coach Creative Factory
4	Representative Rabobank
5	Representative Vestia (housing association)
6	Representative Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences
7	Representative Albeda College
8	Representative Pact op Zuid
9	Representative KPMG (audit, business advisory and tax)
10	Representative ARA (communication)
11	Representative MVGM (real estate)
12	Representative Online Department (online communication strategy)
13	Representative HOPE Erasmus University
14	Representative Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra (from December 2011 onwards)
15	Researcher Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences (me)

Table A3: Creative entrepreneurs participating in focus group and in-depth interviews (September – November 2011)

#	Business activities
1	Talent development for youngsters
2	Construction and real estate management
3	Sound design for media
4	Branding and marketing
5	Online labour market communication
6	Development of scaffolds
7	Animation and visualisation design
8	Online communication strategy



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Appendix B: Overview of respondents in the Freehouse case study

Table B: Respondents of in-depth interviews (February – October 2014)

#	Function
1	Co-worker Freehouse
2	Coordinator Neighbourhood Kitchen
3	Coordinator Neighbourhood Studio
4	Member Advisory Board Afrikaander Cooperative
5	Co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen
6	Director Kosmopolis
7	Member Advisory Board Afrikaander Cooperative
8	Representative organisation in Afrikaanderwijk
9	Co-worker Labyrinth
10	Co-worker Afrikaander Cooperative
11	Entrepreneur in Afrikaanderwijk
12	Representative organisation in Afrikaanderwijk
13	Designer
14	Co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen
15	Co-worker Neighbourhood Kitchen
16	Founder Freehouse
17	Co-worker Afrikaander Cooperative
18	Interim director Afrikaander Cooperative



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Dutch summary

**Inzetten op creativiteit
*De creatieve klasse als remedie
tegen het verval van wijken: de casus
Rotterdam***

INLEIDING

Dit proefschrift gaat over de effecten van initiatieven die gericht zijn op het stimuleren van de creatieve industrie in achterstandswijken. Een belangrijke vooronderstelling die aan dergelijke initiatieven ten grondslag ligt is dat de aanwezigheid van creatieve ondernemers en andere professionals die werkzaam zijn binnen de creatieve industrie, ook wel de creatieve klasse genoemd, bijdraagt aan de verbetering van die wijken. De creatieve ondernemers worden geacht een bijdrage te leveren aan de economische ontwikkeling van de wijk. Daarnaast worden zij ook verondersteld 'buzz' te genereren en hierdoor de vestiging van nieuwe cafés, restaurants, winkels en dergelijke te bevorderen. Er wordt gedebatteerd over de vraag of het stimuleren van creatief ondernemerschap daadwerkelijk bijdraagt aan herstructurering. Dit proefschrift levert een bijdrage aan dit debat door de effecten te onderzoeken van twee initiatieven die gericht zijn op het stimuleren van creatief ondernemerschap in de Rotterdamse Afrikaanderwijk: de Creative Factory en Freehouse. De Afrikaanderwijk is een van de achterstandswijken in Rotterdam Zuid waar door de jaren heen allerlei initiatieven zijn ondernomen om de achterstanden te verminderen. Een deel van deze initiatieven is gericht op het stimuleren van de creatieve industrie.

Het eerste doel van dit onderzoek is inzicht te krijgen in de gang van zaken binnen deze twee initiatieven en in effecten van deze initiatieven op de verbetering van de wijk. Een tweede doel is, door twee heel verschillende initiatieven te kiezen, meer inzicht te krijgen in mogelijke effecten van initiatieven die gericht zijn op het stimuleren van creatief ondernemerschap in achterstandswijken.

THEORETISCHE ACHTERGROND EN ONDERZOEKSVRAGEN

Hoofdstuk 2 bevat een verkenning van relevante literatuur over de rol van de creatieve industrie binnen stedelijke herstructurering, waarbij stedelijke herstructurering kan worden gedefinieerd als de transformatie van een plaats met zichtbare symptomen van fysiek, sociaal en/of economisch verval. Vanaf het midden van de jaren 70 beschouwden gemeenten cultuur behalve als doel, ook als middel. De nadruk van het gemeentelijke cultuurbeleid lag hierbij vooral op het bouwen van 'flagship amenities', zoals musea en theaters. Rond de eeuwwisseling verscheen Florida's (2002) creative city these op het toneel. Volgens deze these is creativiteit de belangrijkste bron van economische groei. Daarom moeten steden al het mogelijke doen om de creatieve klasse aan te trekken en vast te houden. De kern van deze creatieve klasse bestaat uit mensen die als economische functie het creëren van nieuwe ideeën, technologie of content hebben, zoals wetenschappers, ontwerpers en kunstenaars. Daarnaast omvat de creatieve klasse ook kenniswerkers die in allerlei sectoren werkzaam zijn, zoals de financiële, juridische

en gezondheidszorg sector. Deze mensen houden zich bezig met het oplossen van complexe problemen. Voor het aantrekken van de creatieve klasse is het volgens Florida van belang dat steden beschikken over de '3T's van economische ontwikkeling', namelijk technologie, talent en tolerantie. De creatieve klasse heeft een voorkeur voor steden met voldoende technologische faciliteiten en veel creatief talent. Verder hebben creatieve mensen een voorkeur voor plaatsen die divers en tolerant zijn en open staan voor nieuwe ideeën. Deze ideeën van Florida werden al gauw richtlijnen voor politici en beleidsmakers in allerlei steden over de wereld.

In de literatuur worden verschillende dimensies beschreven van initiatieven die creativiteit gebruiken ten behoeve van herstructurering. Een van deze dimensies is culturele democratisering versus culturele democratie. Culturele democratisering is gericht op het breder toegankelijk maken van conventionele cultuur. Culturele democratie daarentegen gaat uit van de gemeenschap en wil deze versterken door de betrokkenen te helpen hun eigen creativiteit te ontdekken. Een andere dimensie wordt gevormd door gebiedsgerichte versus mensgerichte initiatieven. Gebiedsgerichte initiatieven zijn gericht op het aantrekken of vasthouden van bedrijven in een wijk, terwijl mensgerichte initiatieven zich richten op de wijkbewoners.

Clustering van creatieve ondernemers wordt geacht een bijdrage te leveren aan stedelijke herstructurering en economische ontwikkeling. In de praktijk blijkt echter dat mogelijke voordelen van fysieke nabijheid niet worden benut. Fysieke concentratie van bedrijven is niet genoeg, maar moet worden ondersteund door de ontwikkeling van sociale netwerken ten behoeve van interactie van en uitwisseling tussen ondernemers. Naast *strong ties*, waarin wordt voorzien door het netwerk waarin de creatieve ondernemers zijn ingebed, hebben zij ook *weak ties* nodig, bestaande uit veel lossere relaties tussen verschillende netwerken. *Weak ties* zijn onmisbaar voor een creatieve omgeving, omdat die een snelle toegang tot nieuwe contacten en een snelle absorptie van nieuwe ideeën mogelijk maken. Concentraties van diverse mixen van mensen met veel *weak ties* genereren eerder nieuwe combinaties, snellere stroming van kennis, innovatie, high-tech bedrijven, banen en economische groei. Ondernemers blijken naast harde locatiefactoren, zoals de huurprijs, bij het kiezen van een vestigingslocatie ook zachte locatiefactoren in overweging te nemen, zoals attractiviteit van de woonomgeving en de aanwezigheid van ontmoetingsplaatsen.

Projecten die gericht zijn op het clusteren van creatieve ondernemers kunnen verschillen in reikwijdte. Incubators en verzamelgebouwen voor creatieve ondernemers omvatten meestal één gebouw. Andere initiatieven daarentegen zijn gericht op het clusteren van culturele en creatieve activiteiten binnen een gebied.

Een belangrijke vraag bij het vaststellen van de bijdrage van de creatieve industrie aan stedelijke herstructurering is wie er binnen de wijk profiteert van deze herstructurering. Allerlei

auteurs hebben Florida's creative city these bekritiseerd, omdat deze voornamelijk gericht is op het creëren van gunstige stedelijke omgevingen voor het aantrekken van een nieuwe stedelijke elite, in plaats van op het verbeteren van problematische leefomstandigheden van de huidige bewoners van achterstandswijken.

Op basis van literatuuronderzoek zijn de volgende vier onderzoeksvragen geformuleerd ten aanzien van de twee geanalyseerde initiatieven, de Creative Factory en Freehouse:

1. Wat zijn de belangen, motivaties en doelen van de stakeholders die bij de initiatieven zijn betrokken?
2. Welke stakeholders dragen financieel of in natura bij aan deze initiatieven, en op welke manieren dragen zij bij?
3. Hoe werken de creatieve ondernemers samen binnen de initiatieven en wat is de rol van fysieke nabijheid in deze samenwerking?
4. Wat zijn de effecten van de twee initiatieven op de herstructurering van de wijk?

METHODEN EN KEUZE VAN DE TWEE INITIATIEVEN

Zoals in hoofdstuk 2 beschreven, worden de effecten van de twee initiatieven onderzocht vanuit het perspectief van de betrokken stakeholders. Ten behoeve van het verkrijgen van rijke data vanuit diverse perspectieven zijn verschillende onderzoeksmethoden gebruikt voor het verzamelen van de data: diepte-interviews, focusgroepen, participerende observatie en informele conversaties.

Een aantal achterstandswijken in Rotterdam Zuid, waaronder de Afrikaanderwijk, kent grote sociaaleconomische problemen. Ook in vergelijking met andere steden zijn deze problemen groot, hoewel dezelfde problemen daar op een wat kleinere schaal ook voorkomen. Daarom is Rotterdam Zuid een interessante locatie voor het onderzoeken van de effecten van creatief ondernemerschap op achterstandswijken. De twee initiatieven die in dit onderzoek zijn bestudeerd zijn strategisch gekozen aan de hand van de volgende overwegingen:

1. Beide initiatieven zijn gericht op het stimuleren van creatief ondernemerschap.
2. Beide initiatieven bevinden zich in Rotterdam Zuid, in of aan de rand van dezelfde wijk.
3. Een van de twee initiatieven is gebiedsgericht, terwijl het andere initiatief mensgericht is.
4. Beide initiatieven zijn politiek belangrijk.

DE TWEE ONDERZOCHE INITIATIEVEN

Om de beleidscontext te schetsen, wordt in hoofdstuk 3 een historisch overzicht gegeven van het op stedelijke ontwikkeling gerichte beleid in Nederland, waarbij in het bijzonder aandacht wordt besteed aan het beleid met betrekking tot de ontwikkeling van de creatieve industrie. Hierbij wordt ingegaan op relevante ontwikkelingen op landelijk en stedelijk niveau, waarna wordt ingezoomd op Rotterdam Zuid en de Afrikaanderwijk. Vervolgens worden de twee case studies beschreven.

De eerste case study: de Creative Factory

De Maassilo is een voormalig graanpakhuis aan de Maashaven, op het snijvlak van de Afrikaanderwijk, de Tarwewijk en Bloemhof. Het oudste gedeelte dateert van 1910. In 2003 werd het gebruik van de Maassilo als opslagplaats voor graan beëindigd en werd de graansilo verkocht aan het Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam. In 2005 werd het gebied rondom de Tarwewijk aangewezen als de eerste 'kanszone' van Rotterdam. Door het creëren van kanszones werd beoogd een bijdrage te leveren aan de herstructurering van oude stadswijken door een vermindering van het aantal regels, het aanpakken van probleem panden en het stimuleren van ondernemerschap. Binnen de kanszones werden als onderdeel van deze herstructurering verschillende panden die eigendom waren van het Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam ontwikkeld voor nieuwe economische functies. Een van deze panden was het oudste gedeelte van de Maassilo, dat geschikt werd gemaakt voor de huisvesting van creatieve ondernemers. De transformatie van de Maassilo tot de Creative Factory werd gefinancierd vanuit het budget voor kanszones. In mei 2008 opende de Creative Factory zijn deuren. De directeur huurde het gebouw van het Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam en verhuurde werkplekken onder aan startende en reeds gevestigde creatieve ondernemers. Er waren ongeveer 70 werkplekken beschikbaar. De Creative Factory ondersteunde de ondernemers door het aanbieden van coaching en 'matchmaking', waarbij de creatieve ondernemers in contact werden gebracht met andere ondernemers en organisaties van binnen en buiten de Creative Factory. Daarnaast beschikte de Creative Factory over een centrale receptie en faciliteiten voor vergaderingen en evenementen.

De tweede case study: Freehouse

Freehouse is in 1998 opgericht door beeldend kunstenaar Jeanne van Heeswijk. Vanaf 2004 is Freehouse gericht op het stimuleren van creatieve productie en economische onafhankelijkheid door plaatsen op te zetten waar lokale ondernemers, jongeren en kunstenaars bijeen kunnen komen om kennis, ervaringen en ideeën uit te wisselen. Doel is versterking van hun economische positie en vergroting van hun sociaal-culturele zelfbewustzijn. In 2008 verplaatste Freehouse zijn activiteiten naar de Afrikaanderwijk. Freehouse initieerde, met een subsidie, verschillende projecten waarbij kunstenaars en ontwerpers werden gekoppeld aan wijkbewoners

met creatieve talenten en opdrachten kregen. Verschillende van deze opdrachten betroffen de productie van mode, in samenwerking met lokale naaisters die door Freehouse werden aangeleverd. Toen Vestia in 2009 Freehouse een gratis bedrijfspand aanbood, richtte Freehouse het Wijkatelier op en bracht de naaisters bijeen in dit gebouw. Freehouse initieerde ook een project waarbij een food designer werd gekoppeld aan wijkbewoners met verschillende culturele achtergronden die konden koken. Dit resulteerde in de oprichting van de Wijkkeuken in 2010. De Wijkkeuken is gevestigd in het Gemaal op Zuid, dat zich tegenover het Afrikaanderplein bevindt, waar twee keer per week de markt plaatsvindt. De Wijkkeuken biedt zowel in het Gemaal als op locatie catering aan. Ook worden er op marktdagen maaltijden geserveerd in het Gemaal of op het terras. Verder heeft de Wijkkeuken een eigen productlijn ontwikkeld. Deze producten worden in verschillende winkels in Rotterdam verkocht. Begin 2013 opende Freehouse het Wijkwaardenhuis in het Gemaal. Gedurende bijna een jaar functioneerde dit als etalage voor alles wat binnen de wijk wordt geproduceerd en te koop is. Daarnaast bood het een podium voor allerlei activiteiten, zoals talkshows, debatten en danslessen. Gedurende dit jaar werkte Freehouse aan de voorbereiding van de Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie, die in november 2013 werd opgericht. De Wijkcoöperatie is gericht op het stimuleren van lokale productie, culturele ontwikkeling en uitwisseling van kennis binnen de Afrikaanderwijk, met als doel de toegang te vergemakkelijken tot onderwijs, betaald werk of ondernemerschap.

DATAVERZAMELING, ANALYSE EN KWALITEIT VAN HET ONDERZOEK

De data die betrekking hebben op de Creative Factory zijn verzameld tussen oktober 2010 en juni 2013. Bronnen waren beleidsdocumenten, notulen van de vergaderingen van de sponsors van de Creative Factory, informatie op de website en jaarverslagen. Vervolgens is een korte oriënterende enquête uitgevoerd onder de in de Creative Factory gehuisveste ondernemers. Tussen oktober 2010 en februari 2011 zijn zeven oriënterende semi-gestructureerde interviews gehouden met mensen die nauw betrokken zijn bij de Creative Factory. Tussen juli 2011 en februari 2013 zijn participerende observaties verricht tijdens de tweemaandelijks vergaderingen van de sponsors van de Creative Factory. Tussentijdse onderzoeksresultaten zijn enkele malen gepresenteerd en besproken. Daarnaast is deelgenomen aan een aantal door de Creative Factory georganiseerde evenementen, waar informele gesprekken zijn gevoerd met ondernemers en sponsors. Om meer inzicht te krijgen in welke mogelijke en daadwerkelijke effecten van de Creative Factory de ondernemers belangrijk vonden, is er in september 2011 een focusgroep discussie georganiseerd met acht ondernemers. Om zoveel mogelijk verschillende meningen en perspectieven naar voren te laten komen, zijn deze ondernemers doelgericht geselecteerd met behulp van *maximum variation sampling*. Dit resulteerde in een steekproef met maximale variatie met betrekking tot de sectoren waarin de ondernemers werkzaam zijn, en tevens variatie in culturele achtergrond, ervaring en verblijfsduur in de Creative Factory.

In oktober en november 2011 zijn semi-gestructureerde interviews gehouden met dezelfde creatieve ondernemers, om nader in te gaan op hun onderlinge samenwerking en hun effecten op de economische en sociale ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners en op de wijk.

De dataverzameling met betrekking tot de door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten vond plaats tussen mei 2013 en oktober 2014. De website van Freehouse is bestudeerd met daarop onder meer een aantal onderzoeks- en achtergrondartikelen van verschillende auteurs over de projecten. In juni 2013 is er een internationale workshop georganiseerd met initiatiefnemers van op het stimuleren van de creativiteit van wijkbewoners gerichte projecten en onderzoekers, waar Freehouse zijn projecten presenteerde, gevolgd door een discussie over de verschillende activiteiten en de effecten hiervan op de betrokkenen en op de Afrikaanderwijk. Verder zijn er tussen februari en oktober 2014 18 semi-gestructureerde diepte-interviews gehouden, naast informele gesprekken. Besproken zijn onder meer belangen en motivaties om betrokken te zijn, bijdragen aan de projecten, samenwerking van de betrokkenen en gewenste en daadwerkelijke effecten van de projecten. De geïnterviewden zijn geselecteerd door middel van *snowball sampling*. Tevens is deelgenomen aan een van de activiteiten die Freehouse heeft georganiseerd en aan een aantal bijeenkomsten in het Gemaal waarvoor de Wijkkeuken de catering verzorgde. Deze bijeenkomsten boden de mogelijkheid om te observeren en om informele gesprekken te hebben met de medewerkers van de Wijkkeuken en Freehouse, alsmede met andere stakeholders en geïnteresseerden in de projecten van Freehouse.

Een deel van de dataverzameling voor de twee initiatieven is uitgevoerd als onderdeel van twee internationale onderzoeksprojecten. Bovendien vonden in het kader van deze projecten verschillende internationale bijeenkomsten plaats waar meer algemene data zijn verzameld.

Alle interviews, focusgroep discussies en internationale bijeenkomsten zijn opgenomen en volledig getranscribeerd. Alle transcripties zijn geanalyseerd met behulp van thematische codering, aangevuld door open codering. Hierna heeft axiale codering plaatsgevonden, waarbij de codes zijn gevalideerd door alle tekstfragmenten met dezelfde code met elkaar te vergelijken. Voor het coderingsproces is gebruik gemaakt van het programma Atlas.ti.

Om de construct validiteit van het onderzoek te verhogen, is gebruik gemaakt van triangulatie van data en methoden. Tevens zijn 'member checks' verricht door transcripties van interviews voor te leggen aan respondenten en door de resultaten van de focusgroep bijeenkomst te presenteren tijdens een vergadering van de sponsors van de Creative Factory. Verder zijn er verschillende artikelen geschreven waarvan de concept tekst is voorgelegd aan verschillende stakeholders. Hun commentaren met betrekking tot de juistheid van de feiten zijn verwerkt. Om de betrouwbaarheid van het onderzoek te verhogen is een case study protocol opgesteld waarin

is beschreven hoe het onderzoek is uitgevoerd. Verder is ten behoeve van de repliceerbaarheid een case study database bijgehouden met primaire en secundaire onderzoeksdata.

EMPIRISCHE BEVINDINGEN

Uit de analyse komen drie thema's naar voren die in het bijzonder relevant zijn voor beide initiatieven, namelijk 1) de rol van creatief talent binnen het initiatief; 2) de vorming en het gebruik van sociale netwerken en 3) de bijdrage van het initiatief aan de herstructurering van de buurt. Deze drie onderwerpen zijn als kapstok gebruikt voor het beschrijven van de onderzoeksresultaten.

De rol van creatief talent

In hoofdstuk 4 wordt geanalyseerd op welke manieren de Creative Factory en de door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten creatief talent inzetten ten behoeve van het stimuleren van creatief ondernemerschap in de buurt. De visie van de Creative Factory was geïnspireerd door Florida's creative city these. Volgens deze these is creativiteit de belangrijkste bron van economische groei en daarom moeten steden zich tot het uiterste inspannen om creatieve professionals aan te trekken en vast te houden. Vanwege de vestiging in de markante Maassilo werd de Creative Factory geacht als een icoon te werken en bedrijven van binnen en buiten Rotterdam aan te trekken. Dit zou bijdragen aan de economische ontwikkeling van de omliggende wijken. Uit het onderzoek blijkt echter dat de Creative Factory nauwelijks bedrijven aantrok. Weliswaar had de Creative Factory bij de start een aanzienlijke aantrekkingskracht op creatieve ondernemers, maar dit bleek vooral te komen door een tekort aan geschikte huisvesting voor startende creatieve ondernemers. Enkele jaren later, toen er inmiddels meer mogelijkheden voor huisvesting waren, nam de aantrekkingskracht voor creatieve ondernemers af. Verder bleek de Creative Factory ook geen andere bedrijven naar de omgeving van de Creative Factory te trekken.

Hoewel ook Freehouse uitging van de vooronderstelling dat creativiteit de belangrijkste bron van economische groei is, kan Freehouse als een tegenreactie op de creative city these worden beschouwd. Freehouse richtte zich namelijk op het stimuleren en zichtbaar maken van de verborgen creatieve talenten van bewoners van de Afrikaanderwijk met als doel hun economische positie te verbeteren en hun sociaal-culturele zelfbewustzijn te vergroten. Voor Freehouse is creativiteit alles waarmee mensen uitdrukking geven aan hun eigen culturele identiteit. Dit kunnen dus allerlei activiteiten en sectoren zijn. Freehouse is hiermee gericht op culturele democratie, dat de gemeenschap als uitgangspunt neemt en mensen wil empoweren door hen een springplank te bieden om hun eigen creativiteit te ontdekken. Volgens het oorspronkelijke businessplan zou ook de Creative Factory zo'n springplank bieden aan jongeren uit de wijk, maar dit businessplan is nooit gerealiseerd omdat het te risicovol werd geacht. In het

aangepaste businessplan werd niet meer uitgegaan van culturele democratie. Wel werden de creatieve ondernemers door woningcorporatie Vestia geacht bij te dragen aan culturele democratisering. Deze ondernemers werden namelijk geacht een functie als rolmodel te vervullen en de binnen de Creative Factory aanwezige vormen van creativiteit meer toegankelijk te maken voor wijkbewoners door hen te inspireren andere dingen voor hun levensonderhoud te doen dan wat binnen hun sociale netwerk gebruikelijk was. Aangezien er echter weinig contact was tussen de ondernemers en de wijkbewoners, was dit niet het geval.

De Creative Factory werd verondersteld een plaats te zijn waar nieuwe ontwikkelingen het licht zouden zien en zo toegevoegde waarde te bieden voor grote bedrijven. Daarom was al voor de start het idee gerezen om sponsorovereenkomsten af te sluiten met een aantal bedrijven om zo een constructieve wisselwerking te realiseren. Omdat in de communicatie-uitingen van de Creative Factory deze sponsors werden aangeduid als partners, worden zij in dit proefschrift ook zo genoemd. Tussen 2008 en 2012 werden allerlei organisaties partner, waaronder woningcorporatie Vestia, Hogeschool Rotterdam, Rabobank en het Rotterdams Philharmonisch Orkest. Vier partners sponsorden de Creative Factory financieel, terwijl de andere partners in natura bijdroegen door hun netwerken en ervaring. Uit het onderzoek blijkt dat de partners verschillende motivaties hadden voor hun betrokkenheid. Het Rotterdams Philharmonisch Orkest werd partner mede om de creatieve capaciteiten van de creatieve ondernemers te kunnen benutten. De motivaties van de andere partners hadden vooral betrekking op het stimuleren van de groei van de creatieve bedrijven en vergroting van de eigen klantenkring, of op het leveren van een bijdrage aan de herstructurering van Rotterdam Zuid. De partners bleken zelf nauwelijks gebruik te maken van de creatieve talenten van de ondernemers.

Binnen de projecten die Freehouse in de Afrikaanderwijk heeft geïnitieerd voorafgaand aan de oprichting van de Wijkcoöperatie werden de creatieve talenten van wijkbewoners gestimuleerd en zichtbaar gemaakt door middel van creatieve productie. Naast het benutten van de talenten van wijkbewoners werd hierbij ook gebruik gemaakt van de talenten van ontwerpers en andere creatieve professionals. Deze creatieve professionals werden aan de wijkbewoners met creatieve talenten gekoppeld om hun creatieve productie te stimuleren. Daarnaast was een tweede doelstelling van het inzetten van creatieve professionals het leveren van een bijdrage aan de maatschappelijke uitdaging om de sociale inclusie van de betrokken wijkbewoners te vergroten door hen uit hun isolement te halen. Binnen de Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie verschoof de rol van creatief talent meer naar de achtergrond en werd veel minder gebruik gemaakt van de creatieve talenten van wijkbewoners ten behoeve van creatieve productie. Desondanks was het ook voor de Wijkcoöperatie nog steeds relevant om gebruik te maken van de creatieve capaciteiten van creatieve professionals. Uit het onderzoek blijkt echter dat binnen de Wijkcoöperatie contacten tussen het netwerk van creatieve professionals en wijkbewoners met creatieve talenten niet automatisch tot stand komen vanwege de verschillen in

culturele beleving tussen de twee groepen. Daarom is het noodzakelijk dat er mensen zijn die expliciet de rol op zich nemen om contacten te onderhouden tussen het netwerk van creatieve professionals en de wijkbewoners met creatieve talenten, ook als Freehouse zich terugtrekt.

Sociale netwerken

In hoofdstuk 5 worden de ontwikkeling en het gebruik van sociale netwerken binnen de Creative Factory en de door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten geanalyseerd. Binnen de Creative Factory worden creatieve ondernemers in een gebouw bij elkaar gebracht met als doel dat zij samenwerken en elkaar versterken. Ook twee door Freehouse geïnitieerde initiatieven, te weten het Wijkatelier en de in de keuken van het Gemaal gehuisveste Wijkkeuken, brengen mensen bijeen in een gebouw om hun onderlinge samenwerking te stimuleren. De Wijkcoöperatie richt zich op de hele Afrikaanderwijk en heeft dus een bredere focus dan alleen een gebouw, maar ook binnen deze Wijkcoöperatie speelt fysieke nabijheid een belangrijke rol. Verder stimuleren zowel de Creative Factory als Freehouse de vorming van sociale netwerken om onderlinge samenwerking binnen de initiatieven te bevorderen. Deze nadruk op de ontwikkeling van sociale netwerken is gebaseerd op de aanname dat de aanwezigheid van sterke sociale netwerken een belangrijke randvoorwaarde is om de voordelen van fysieke nabijheid binnen een cluster optimaal te kunnen benutten.

Beide initiatieven blijken veel te investeren in het stimuleren van de vorming van sociale netwerken en het faciliteren van toegang tot deze netwerken. Enerzijds betreft dit netwerken waarvan de creatieve ondernemers in de Creative Factory en de wijkbewoners met creatieve talenten en ondernemers in de Afrikaanderwijk actief deel uitmaken of geacht worden uit te maken. Anderzijds betreft dit ook sociale netwerken van mensen met wie zij niet zo gemakkelijk zelf in contact zouden komen. Binnen beide initiatieven worden deze *weak ties* geacht een belangrijke aanvulling te zijn op de *strong ties* die de betrokkenen ontwikkelen via de netwerken waarvan zij actief deel uitmaken.

Fysieke nabijheid blijkt een positieve invloed te hebben op de ontwikkeling van intensieve samenwerking, maar deze is beperkt. Verder blijkt binnen beide initiatieven dat de betrokkenen weinig gebruik maken van de aangeboden mogelijkheden voor het opbouwen van sociale netwerken. Dit komt doordat de aangeboden ondersteuning op het gebied van netwerkvorming niet aansluit bij hun behoeften. De ondernemers in de Afrikaanderwijk hebben vanuit zichzelf geen behoefte aan ondersteuning door de Wijkcoöperatie. De ondernemers in de Creative Factory daarentegen hebben wel behoefte aan ondersteuning, maar dit betreft vooral ondersteuning die hun opdrachten oplevert. Uit het onderzoek blijkt verder dat eigenaarschap en eigen verantwoordelijkheid van de betrokkenen belangrijke randvoorwaarden zijn voor het optimaal ontwikkelen en gebruiken van sociale netwerken. Ondersteuning bij de

ontwikkeling van en toegang tot sociale netwerken is niet effectief als de betrokkenen zich niet verantwoordelijk voelen voor deze sociale netwerken.

Dit betekent dus dat de Wijkcoöperatie mensen nodig heeft die aan de ene kant een initiërende rol spelen bij het leggen van verbindingen tussen het netwerk van creatieve professionals en wijkbewoners met creatieve talenten en die aan de andere kant een ondersteunende rol spelen, zonder voor de troepen uit te lopen. Het is noodzakelijk een balans te vinden tussen deze twee rollen. Bij voorkeur dienen deze twee rollen te worden gespeeld door mensen die echt onderdeel uitmaken van de Wijkcoöperatie en de Afrikaanderwijk. Tevens is het belangrijk dat deze mensen samen met andere leden van de Wijkcoöperatie aan het leggen van deze verbindingen werken, niet als leider, maar als *primus inter pares*.

Bijdragen aan de ontwikkeling van de wijk

In hoofdstuk 6 wordt onderzocht wat de twee initiatieven daadwerkelijk hebben bijgedragen aan de ontwikkeling van de omliggende wijken. Het leggen van een verbinding tussen de Creative Factory en de herstructurering van de omliggende wijken, en het vasthouden aan deze verbinding, was voornamelijk ingegeven door politieke en economische overwegingen en niet door een weloverwogen visie op hoe de Creative Factory zou kunnen bijdragen aan de herstructurering van deze wijken. De Creative Factory was gericht op het aantrekken van bedrijven van binnen en buiten Rotterdam en werd daarnaast impliciet verondersteld een bijdrage te leveren aan de herstructurering van Rotterdam Zuid. Hoewel deze bijdrage vanaf het begin onduidelijk was, kon op deze manier de verbouwing van de Creative Factory worden gefinancierd vanuit het budget voor kansenzones. Bovendien maakte deze koppeling het mogelijk Vestia, Pact op Zuid en Hogeschool Rotterdam, voor wie verbinding met de omgeving belangrijk was, als betalende partners aan te trekken. Het Pact op Zuid was in 2006 gesloten tussen de gemeente Rotterdam, de drie deelgemeenten in Rotterdam Zuid en vijf woningcorporaties waaronder Vestia en behelsde een extra investering ten behoeve van de herstructurering van het gebied. Ook bij het leggen van een verbinding tussen Freehouse en de Afrikaanderwijk speelden politieke en economische motieven een rol, hoewel Freehouse zeker een weloverwogen visie had met betrekking tot hoe bij te dragen aan de ontwikkeling van de wijk. Freehouse kwam naar de Afrikaanderwijk op verzoek van Vestia, en omdat Freehouse vervolgens subsidie kreeg om hier een project te starten.

Zowel de Creative Factory als Freehouse waren voor hun activiteiten afhankelijk van externe financiering. De externe financiering van Freehouse bestond uit subsidies van verschillende subsidieverstrekkingen voor allerlei projecten. Ook de Wijkcoöperatie voerde projecten uit met behulp van subsidies. Daarnaast voerde de Wijkcoöperatie ook opdrachten uit voor betalende klanten, zoals het schoonmaken van portieken voor Vestia. Hoewel alle projecten afhankelijk waren van subsidie, vormde deze wijze van financieren geen bedreiging voor het voortbestaan

van Freehouse of de Wijkcoöperatie. Verder maakte de Wijkkeuken gebruik van de keuken in het Gemaal, waarvoor deze sinds 2014 huur betaalde aan Vestia. Tevens huurde de Wijkcoöperatie de grote ruimte in het Gemaal. Hoewel de huur in beide gevallen vanuit de opbrengsten werd betaald, waren de Wijkkeuken en de Wijkcoöperatie toch in zekere zin afhankelijk van Vestia. Als Vestia het gebouw namelijk zou verkopen, dan zouden de Wijkkeuken en de Wijkcoöperatie geen inkomsten meer kunnen genereren totdat er een ander betaalbaar pand was gevonden.

De afhankelijkheid van de Creative Factory van externe financiering betrof niet de financiering van tijdelijke projecten, maar van de exploitatiekosten. Hiervoor had de Creative Factory vanaf het begin de bijdragen van vier betalende partners nodig. Zodra een betalende partner zou vertrekken, zou het voortbestaan van de Creative Factory in gevaar zijn. Dat dit daadwerkelijk het geval was, bleek toen Vestia en Pact op Zuid hun partnerovereenkomst beëindigden. Op dat moment kwam de Creative Factory direct in financiële moeilijkheden. Verder bleken de verschillen in doelstellingen en belangen van de stakeholders een belemmering te vormen om de doelstelling van de Creative Factory aan te scherpen. Hoewel deze verschillen vanaf het begin aanwezig waren, hebben allerlei stakeholders vanaf de start enthousiast meegedaan aan beide initiatieven om creatief ondernemerschap te stimuleren. Ondanks de verschillende motivaties was er voor elke stakeholder een overlap tussen de doelstellingen van de eigen organisatie met de doelstellingen van andere stakeholders. Naast een bijdrage in tijd droegen sommige stakeholders financieel bij, of door gratis een bedrijfspand beschikbaar te stellen. In de jaren hierna kwam er echter een eind aan deze overlap, omdat als gevolg van economische en politieke ontwikkelingen een belangrijk deel van de doelstellingen van de stakeholders veranderde. Hierdoor verdween de motivatie om mee te doen en bij te dragen aan de initiatieven.

Uit het onderzoek blijkt dat de ondernemers in de Creative Factory niet hebben bijgedragen aan de economische ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners. Ook voor de door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten inclusief de Wijkcoöperatie is dit slechts zeer beperkt het geval. Dit is opvallend, want Freehouse was opzet als een mensgericht initiatief dat in het bijzonder gericht was op economische effecten voor wijkbewoners. Voor een mensgericht initiatief blijkt het net zo moeilijk te zijn als voor een gebiedsgericht initiatief om bij te dragen aan de economische ontwikkeling van bewoners van een achterstandswijk. Daarentegen hadden de Wijkkeuken en het Wijkatelier, en ook de nieuwe activiteiten die door de Wijkcoöperatie in gang waren gezet, wel sociale effecten voor de direct betrokken wijkbewoners. Het aantal betrokkenen was echter zeer beperkt.

Omdat het in een achterstandswijk zoals de Afrikaanderwijk moeilijk blijkt te zijn wijkbewoners te rekruteren met voldoende capaciteiten, was Freehouse een jaar voor de oprichting van de Wijkcoöperatie begonnen met het trainen van wijkbewoners en nadat de Wijkcoöperatie was opgericht, ging Freehouse hiermee door. Door het trainen van deze wijkbewoners droeg

Freehouse direct bij aan de sociale ontwikkeling van deze wijkbewoners en indirect ook aan de ontwikkeling van andere wijkbewoners, omdat de training van deze wijkbewoners erop was gericht dat zij activiteiten zouden initiëren die effecten hebben voor andere wijkbewoners. Ook voor de Creative Factory blijkt training een manier te zijn om bij te dragen aan de sociale ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners. Hoewel de ondernemers in de Creative Factory nauwelijks bijdroegen aan de sociale ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners, deed het management van de Creative Factory dit wel door stageplaatsen beschikbaar te stellen voor leerlingen van het Albada College, die voornamelijk uit de omliggende wijken afkomstig waren. Een deel van deze leerlingen had moeite om een stageplaats te vinden.

Het clusteren van creatieve ondernemers wordt niet alleen verondersteld bij te dragen aan hun onderlinge samenwerking, maar ook 'buzz' te genereren in de omgeving. Dit zou moeten leiden tot de vestiging van nieuwe cafés, restaurants en winkels, en daarmee tot verhoging van de 'plaatskwaliteit'. Uit het onderzoek blijkt echter dat er weinig verbinding was tussen de Creative Factory en de omliggende wijken. De aanwezigheid van de creatieve ondernemers in de Creative Factory genereerde geen 'buzz' in de omgeving en leidde ook niet tot meer interactie tussen de ondernemers en de omgeving en verhoging van de 'plaatskwaliteit'. Ook de door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten deden dit slechts in zeer beperkte mate. De Wijkkeuken leverde geen bijdrage aan 'buzz' in de wijk en ook niet aan meer contact tussen wijkbewoners, doordat wijkbewoners weinig behoefte bleken te hebben aan de diensten van de Wijkkeuken. Sommige andere activiteiten in het Gemaal genereerden wel 'buzz', maar alleen in en rondom het gebouw op de avond waarop de activiteit plaatsvond.

CONCLUSIES

Op basis van de empirische hoofdstukken kunnen vijf hoofdconclusies worden getrokken:

1. De Creative Factory en de Wijkcoöperatie hebben niet substantieel gebruik gemaakt van creatief talent om economische groei in de wijk te stimuleren. Binnen de projecten die Freehouse voorafgaand aan de oprichting van de Wijkcoöperatie heeft geïnitieerd werd creatief talent echter wel substantieel gestimuleerd om bij te dragen aan economische groei.
2. Hoewel binnen beide initiatieven veel is geïnvesteerd in het ontwikkelen van sociale netwerken en het faciliteren van toegang tot deze netwerken, hebben de betrokkenen weinig gebruik gemaakt van de aangeboden mogelijkheden om sociale netwerken op te bouwen.

3. Ondersteuning gericht op de ontwikkeling van en toegang tot sociale netwerken is niet effectief als de betrokkenen zich niet verantwoordelijk voelen voor deze netwerken.
4. Tot aan het moment van dit onderzoek waren de effecten van de twee initiatieven op zowel de ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners als de 'plaatskwaliteit' van de wijk erg klein in vergelijking met de door de verschillende stakeholders geïnvesteerde hoeveelheid inspanning en geld.
5. De motivaties van de verschillende stakeholders voor deelname en bijdrage aan de twee initiatieven waren plaats- en tijdgebonden en veranderden onder invloed van politieke en economische ontwikkelingen.

DISCUSSIE

De twee initiatieven langs Florida's meetlat

Aan het begin van dit onderzoek was de verwachting dat door het kiezen van zowel een gebiedsgericht als een mensgericht initiatief verschillende manieren naar voren zouden komen waarop creatieve ondernemers invloed kunnen hebben op de herstructurering van de omgeving. De conclusie is echter dat beide initiatieven hieraan weinig hebben bijgedragen. Vergelijking van de gang van zaken binnen de twee initiatieven met Florida's veronderstellingen leidt tot drie observaties. De eerste observatie, die betrekking heeft op de definitie van de creatieve klasse, is dat de creatieve ondernemers die de Creative Factory bevolken zowel qua sectoren waarbinnen zij werkzaam zijn, als qua opleidingsniveau, dat meestal hoog is, passen bij de creatieve klasse van Florida. Het overgrote deel van de wijkbewoners waarop de door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten zich richten heeft echter nauwelijks een opleiding gevolgd en de creatieve activiteiten waaraan zij deelnemen vallen niet binnen de verzameling van activiteiten die Florida relateert aan de creatieve klasse. De tweede observatie betreft het gebruik van creativiteit ten behoeve van economische groei. Volgens Florida is het stimuleren van de creativiteit van iedereen belangrijk, omdat creativiteit de belangrijkste bron is van economische groei. De Wijkkeuken en het Wijkatelier maken inderdaad gebruik van de creatieve talenten van wijkbewoners voor creatieve productie. Binnen de projecten die sinds de oprichting van de Wijkcoöperatie zijn geïnitieerd worden creatieve talenten echter niet meer gebruikt om economische ontwikkeling te stimuleren. Verder maken de stakeholders van de Creative Factory ook geen gebruik van de creatieve talenten van de ondernemers. De derde observatie heeft betrekking op het voordeel dat diversiteit en weak ties kunnen bieden. Hoewel binnen beide initiatieven veel is geïnvesteerd in het opbouwen van zowel strong als weak ties en het faciliteren van toegang tot deze netwerken, heeft dit binnen beide initiatieven niet geleid tot veel nieuwe combinaties en innovatie. Ondanks alle inspanningen leverde de geboden

ondersteuning de betrokkenen weinig voordeel op, omdat volgens hen deze ondersteuning niet aansloot op hun behoeften.

Een belangrijk verschil tussen de Creative Factory in het bijzonder en de initiatieven die Florida beschrijft, is de schaal waarop de effecten plaatsvinden. Florida beschrijft de effecten op steden en regio's, terwijl de Creative Factory werd geacht effect te hebben op de omliggende wijken. De vraag is of dat een realistische verwachting is. Ook voor kleinschalige initiatieven die gericht zijn op het aantrekken van de creatieve klasse zoals de Creative Factory, lijkt het wijkniveau niet het juiste schaalniveau om effecten te verwachten.

Florida suggereert dat de aantrekkingskracht van een locatie bestaat uit de aanwezigheid van de '3 T's', technologie, talent en tolerantie. In Rotterdam blijkt echter elk van deze 3 T's maar in beperkte mate aanwezig te zijn. Verder kan worden opgemerkt dat de aanwezigheid van high-tech activiteiten impliceert dat er al getalenteerde creatieve mensen aanwezig zijn. Verder worden tolerante plaatsen gekarakteriseerd door openheid en diversiteit. Het aantal reeds aanwezige schrijvers, ontwerpers, kunstenaars en dergelijke is een indicator voor deze openheid, hetgeen betekent dat in tolerante plaatsen in ieder geval een gedeelte van de creatieve klasse al aanwezig is. De 3 T's zijn dus sterk onderling gerelateerd, waardoor het proces van het aantrekken van de creatieve klasse door deze 3 T's aan te bieden, gecompliceerd is en moeilijk te sturen. In ieder geval kan worden vastgesteld dat volgens deze 3 T's theorie het voor een plaats zonder een zekere hoeveelheid getalenteerde creatieve mensen moeilijk is om de creatieve klasse aan te trekken. Dit is ook een belangrijke reden waarom de Creative Factory moeite had om de creatieve klasse en andere bedrijven naar de omliggende wijken te trekken.

Overdraagbaarheid van de resultaten

Door de jaren heen hebben allerlei Nederlandse gemeenten geïnvesteerd in het stimuleren van creatief ondernemerschap, maar het aantrekken van de creatieve klasse bleek veel moeilijker dan verwacht. Geconcludeerd kan worden dat hoewel Florida's creative city these een decennium geleden veelbelovend leek voor veel beleidsmakers, deze belofte in veel steden niet is uitgekomen. Daarom nam de populariteit van deze these onder beleidsmakers af. Desalniettemin hebben sinds de verschijning van Florida's *'The rise of the creative class'* in 2002 allerlei nationale en lokale overheden zich door Florida laten inspireren om de creatieve industrie te stimuleren. Deze overheden hadden hiervoor verschillende redenen, waaronder stedelijke herstructurering. Om herstructurering te stimuleren zijn gedurende de jaren allerlei voornamelijk gebiedsgerichte initiatieven ondernomen om de creatieve klasse aan te trekken, waaronder de Creative Factory. Als tegenreactie op deze gebiedsgerichte initiatieven zijn ook diverse mensgerichte initiatieven in gang gezet die gericht waren op de huidige bewoners van het gebied. De door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten zijn hiervan een voorbeeld. Ook binnen Nederland zijn beide onderzochte initiatieven niet uniek.

De opbrengsten van twee internationale onderzoeksprojecten toonden dat elk verzamelgebouw voor creatieve ondernemers zijn eigen context heeft, die op allerlei aspecten verschilt van de contexten van andere initiatieven. Vanwege al deze verschillen kunnen de inzichten en conclusies van dit onderzoek met betrekking tot de Creative Factory niet direct worden generaliseerd naar andere initiatieven. Wel werd duidelijk dat de meeste verzamelgebouwen voor creatieve ondernemers er niet in slaagden substantieel bij te dragen aan de ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners. Een uitzondering was de Chocolate Factory in Londen, die door de jaren heen substantieel heeft bijgedragen aan de sociaaleconomische ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners door het aanbieden van trainingen en stageplaatsen. Dit voorbeeld van de Chocolate Factory ondersteunt de conclusie van dit onderzoek dat het aanbieden van trainingen en stageplaatsen een mogelijke manier is waarop een verzamelgebouw voor creatieve ondernemers kan bijdragen aan de ontwikkeling van wijkbewoners.

Inmiddels is de sociaaleconomische context veranderd, waardoor het minder waarschijnlijk is dat initiatieven zoals de twee geanalyseerde initiatieven in Rotterdam nog worden opgestart. De belangrijkste reden voor het eind van het beleidsparadigma van inzetten op de creatieve klasse door het aanbieden van goedkope huisvestingsmogelijkheden is dat relevante betrokken stakeholders zowel hun interesse als de middelen om dit na te streven hebben verloren. Dit beleidsparadigma van inzetten op de creatieve klasse ten behoeve van economische ontwikkeling was vooral een poging om de werkgelegenheid te vergroten, vooral voor mensen zonder goede vooruitzichten op de arbeidsmarkt. Florida's theorie was een nieuwe en veelbelovende strategie voor het omgaan met de moeilijke sociaaleconomische positie van mensen in een achterstandswijk. De belofte van de theorie is dat zodra de creatieve klasse naar de stad komt, allerlei bedrijven zullen volgen en dat de lokale economie uiteindelijk zal groeien. Dit bleek echter niet zo gemakkelijk te zijn, zoals uit de Rotterdamse ervaringen blijkt. Dit betekent echter niet dat het idee van inzetten op de creatieve klasse in het kader van wijkverbetering helemaal moet worden verworpen. Het heeft namelijk wel zin de vaardigheden en het onderwijsniveau van volwassenen en jongeren in achterstandswijken te verhogen.

Daarbij kunnen vijf aanbevelingen worden gedaan voor verzamelgebouwen van creatieve ondernemers die willen bijdragen aan herstructurering van de wijk door middel van het aanbieden van trainingen en stageplaatsen:

1. Verwerp financiering om de creatieve ondernemers te betalen voor hun bijdrage aan het leveren van trainingen en stageplaatsen;
2. Sluit aan bij de belangstelling van wijkbewoners met betrekking tot het soort trainingen of stageplaatsen (bijvoorbeeld door sectoren te kiezen waarin wijkbewoners zijn geïnteresseerd);
3. Houd bij het selecteren van creatieve ondernemers rekening met hun mogelijke bijdragen aan trainingen of stageplaatsen voor mensen uit de wijk;

4. Voorzie in coaching voor de wijkbewoners die deelnemen aan de aangeboden trainingen of stages, zodat zij een persoonlijk ontwikkelingsplan kunnen opstellen en uitvoeren, op een zodanige manier dat zij zich verantwoordelijk voelen voor hun eigen ontwikkelingsproces;
5. Werk samen met een universiteit of hogeschool om kennis te ontwikkelen die kan worden gebruikt om het initiatief te verbeteren, bijvoorbeeld met betrekking tot het toepassen van innovatieve 'businessmodellen'.

Veranderende politieke en economische context

De opening van de Creative Factory en de start van de door Freehouse geïnitieerde projecten in de Afrikaanderwijk vonden plaats nog voordat de gevolgen van de economische crisis in Nederland merkbaar werden. Op dat moment was het gebruikelijk voor Nederlandse woningcorporaties, waaronder Vestia, om aan allerlei projecten bij te dragen die gericht waren op het verbeteren van de leefbaarheid van wijken. Verder omarmde de gemeente Rotterdam vanaf 2005 het creative city idee, waardoor het stimuleren van de creatieve industrie een van de prioriteiten van de gemeente werd. Voorts sloten de gemeente Rotterdam, de drie deelgemeenten van Rotterdam Zuid en vijf woningcorporaties waaronder Vestia in 2006 het Pact op Zuid, gericht op herstructurering van het gebied. In dezelfde periode implementeerde Hogeschool Rotterdam beleid gericht op het realiseren van meer verbindingen tussen de hogeschool en de stad Rotterdam.

In de jaren daarna troffen de gevolgen van de economische crisis ook Nederland. Naar aanleiding hiervan besloten zowel de landelijke overheid als de gemeenten om te bezuinigen en zich terug te trekken uit verschillende beleidsdomeinen. Hierdoor was het stimuleren van de creatieve industrie geen prioriteit meer voor de gemeente Rotterdam. Dit leidde ertoe dat Pact op Zuid stopte met het geven van financiële bijdragen aan de projecten van Freehouse en zich terugtrok als betalende partner van de Creative Factory. Ondertussen kwamen verschillende woningcorporaties in financiële moeilijkheden. Ook Vestia kwam in de problemen door speculaties met derivaten. Naar aanleiding van deze problemen werden de woningcorporaties gedwongen weer meer te focussen op hun kerntaak, te weten het voorzien in sociale huisvesting voor lagere inkomensgroepen. Hierdoor beëindigde ook Vestia het partnerschap met de Creative Factory. Verder moest de Wijkkeuken vanaf 2014 huur betalen aan Vestia voor het gebruik van de keuken in het Gemaal. Voorts vond er een beleidswijziging plaats bij Hogeschool Rotterdam, waarbij deze zich meer ging richten op verbetering van de kwaliteit van het onderwijs ten koste van verbindingen met de stad Rotterdam. Dit leidde ertoe dat Hogeschool Rotterdam een veel kritischer houding aannam ten aanzien van het partnerschap met de Creative Factory, omdat de opbrengst van deze sociale investering niet meer voldoende werd gevonden en hetzelfde gold voor de Rabobank. Hierdoor kwam de Creative Factory in financiële problemen. Dit leidde ertoe dat het contract tussen de directeur en de gemeente

Rotterdam werd beëindigd en de gemeente de Creative Factory overnam. Vervolgens beëindigden ook Hogeschool Rotterdam en de Rabobank hun partnerovereenkomst.

Inzetten op creativiteit: een zwaktebod?

Bij de start van de Creative Factory en de activiteiten van Freehouse in de Afrikaanderwijk in 2008 zette de gemeente Rotterdam in op creativiteit voor het stimuleren van economische ontwikkeling. De gemeente nam allerlei initiatieven om creatief ondernemerschap te stimuleren, waaronder het leveren van een bijdrage aan de oprichting van de Creative Factory. Verder was ook Freehouse gericht op creatief ondernemerschap ten behoeve van economische ontwikkeling. Bij de start van beide initiatieven deden allerlei stakeholders enthousiast mee om creatief ondernemerschap te stimuleren. Florida's theorie over de creatieve klasse was het leidende idee dat de activiteiten en belangen van de stakeholders verenigde en hier richting aan gaf. Echter, in de jaren hierna veranderden de sociaaleconomische omstandigheden waaronder de verschillende stakeholders moesten opereren aanzienlijk, waardoor zij – letterlijk – hun interesse in de projecten verloren. En dat is waarom het leidende principe van het aantrekken en vasthouden van de creatieve klasse achterhaald werd. Niet zozeer omdat het faalde als theorie over hoe steden werken, maar veel meer omdat het zijn integratieve relevantie verloor voor de stakeholders die betrokken waren bij de onderzochte initiatieven. Hierdoor is inzetten op creativiteit een gok met geringe winstkansen geworden.



N.V. GRAANSILOM



CREATIVE
FACTORY

TAA

About the Author

Jeannette Nijkamp was born in Dordrecht in 1967. After finishing secondary school she studied Computer Science and obtained her master's degree in 1991. As a system developer she worked on improving the public transport journey planner and in the meantime tried to realise her dream: working in a developing country. In 1993 she was employed by the United Nations and, together with her husband Frank, she moved first to Senegal and two years later to Guinea Bissau. She worked at the Ministry of Natural Resources on a project aimed at making a master plan for the water sector. Besides programming and teaching computer courses she also participated in research on the need for and the use of wells and latrines, which she enjoyed.

Back in the Netherlands, it was time for a new challenge. As she liked people more than computers, she started to study sociology in 1999. During her studies her three children, Victor, Mirte and Rutger, were born. In 2004 she obtained her master's degree in sociology. Meanwhile, from 2001-2008 she worked for the Rotterdam Platform for Patients and Consumers as coordinator of research on the quality of health care. Since 2008 she has worked at the Rotterdam University of Applied Sciences, where she started as manager of external relations for the School of Health Care Studies. In 2011 Rotterdam University awarded her a Promotievoucher (PhD grant) to start her PhD project, which resulted in this thesis.

During her stay in Senegal and Guinea Bissau she visited most countries in West Africa and she is still fond of travelling. In her professional life she likes to cross borders as well. Currently she is working as a principal lecturer and researcher for two Research Centres at Rotterdam University: Innovations in Care, and Creating 010. In her research and teaching activities she focuses on stimulating crossovers between the creative industries and the health care sector, in order to find innovative solutions for societal problems.

An important assumption often underlying initiatives that stimulate the creative industries in deprived neighbourhoods is that the presence of creative entrepreneurs contributes to the regeneration of these neighbourhoods. Besides contributing to economic development, creative entrepreneurs are also assumed to bring more 'buzz' to the neighbourhood. However, there is a lot of debate concerning the actual contribution of such initiatives to urban regeneration. This thesis contributes to this debate by investigating the effects of two initiatives stimulating creative entrepreneurship in the Rotterdam Afrikaanderwijk, namely the Creative Factory and Freehouse. The main findings are that the effects of these initiatives on the neighbourhood have been very modest and that the socio-economic conditions in which the various stakeholders had to operate changed substantially. Therefore these stakeholders lost interest in the projects. As a result, the guiding principle of accommodating the creative class became obsolete - not so much because it failed as a theory of how cities work, but rather because it lost its integrative relevance for the stakeholders involved in the initiatives.

