



Creative hubs: an anomaly in cultural policy?

Koen Boswinkel & Edwin van Meerkerk

To cite this article: Koen Boswinkel & Edwin van Meerkerk (2022): Creative hubs: an anomaly in cultural policy?, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, DOI: [10.1080/10286632.2022.2107636](https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2022.2107636)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2022.2107636>



© 2022 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 05 Sep 2022.



[Submit your article to this journal](#)



Article views: 576




[View related articles](#)



[View Crossmark data](#)

Creative hubs: an anomaly in cultural policy?

Koen Boswinkel^a and Edwin van Meerkerk ^b

^aThe Ministry of the Internal and Kingdom Relations, The Hague, the Netherlands; ^bRadboud Institute for Culture and History, Nijmegen, the Netherlands

ABSTRACT

Creative Hubs are mostly both bottom-up initiatives by artists and other creatives, and the object of policy makers, who see in the creative hubs an opportunity for urban regeneration and an impulse to the local economy. The tension between these two forces in the largest cities in the Netherlands has been analysed in this article. How does local policy deal with the norms, values, and rules at hub sites? In order to answer this question, we used the Reconstructed Policy Theory (RPT) to attribute the goals described in policy documents to underlying values. We conclude that after more than two decades, Creative Hub Policy still is in a nascent state, in the sense that local governments still struggle to define what a creative hub exactly is. Our analysis also shows that Hub Policy, while creating space for artists, is based on other than artistic values: mainly economic and social.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 29 October 2021

Accepted 26 July 2022

KEYWORDS

Cultural policy; creative hubs; urban policy; reconstructed policy theory; creative class

Introduction

Berlin has a large fan-base: the Dutch cities of Rotterdam, Deventer, Tilburg, Groningen, Arnhem, and Nijmegen have all styled themselves as the ‘Berlin’ of their respective regions.¹ In doing so, these towns hoped to create an image of a born-again, creative city, bustling with creativity. The epithet ‘Berlin’ references old quarters, industrial buildings, and train stations being brought back to life by artists and other creative professionals. Together with other examples of such renaissance cities in Europe (e.g. Glasgow, Barcelona, Bilbao), Berlin has become the ‘proof’ that city planning and economic growth can go hand-in-hand with artistic activities in what have become called creative hubs, cultural hotspots, or (in the Netherlands) cultural breeding grounds (for a recent discussion on Creative Hubs, see Pratt (2021)). The same happens in many places, as a form of what González (2011) calls ‘policy tourism’, the migration of policy initiatives to other places and different contexts. Meanwhile, real evidence of outcomes of culture-led regeneration is thin (Campbell 2019, 93–95).

Over the past years, local governments in many countries have stimulated the development of creative hubs as a means to boost local (economic) creativity (Dovey and Pratt 2016; Fleischmann, Welters, and Daniel 2017), attract tourists (Evans 2007; Richards and Palmer 2010; Nieuwland and Lavanga 2020), and to gentrify derelict neighbourhoods and former industrial zones (Ley 2003; Vilhena da Cunha and Selada 2009; Lazarevića, Koružnjak, and Devetakovića 2016; Ferilli, Sacco, and Tavano Blessi 2017). These initiatives are part of a broad endorsement of the concepts of ‘creative class’ and ‘creative industries’ (Landry 2000; Florida 2002; Campbell 2019). The interesting thing about this particular aspect of the use of ‘creativity’ as a policy instrument, is the nature of the hubs themselves. In most cases, the initiative was bottom-up. Hubs were ploaps, ‘places left over after planning’ (Mommaas 2004) and its occupants were often wary of government intervention (Lijster, Otte, and Gielen 2018). On

CONTACT Edwin van Meerkerk  edwin.vanmeerkerk@ru.nl  Radboud University Nijmegen, Erasmusplein 1, 6525 HD Nijmegen, the Netherlands

the other hand, as can be concluded from the references to Berlin above, culture-led urban regeneration has become part of the 'toolbox' (Ferilli, Sacco, and Tavano Blessi 2017) of city administrations. The intentions of local governments, however, are very different from those of the initiators of these hubs. Thus, bottom-up initiatives and top-down policy meet at the intersection of normative policy presuppositions from above and the idealistic ambitions of the initiators of a new 'commons' from below.

Creative Hub Policy thus paradoxically seems to occur in places where a lack of government intervention has enabled grassroot initiatives. This paradox is akin to what Bain and Landau call 'the fallacy of place-making via artist proxy' (2017, 405). Hub policy is described as a top-down measure, 'offering symbolic rather than actual forms of power sharing'. (Bain and Landau 2017, 415) In other words, hub policy does not grant agency to the hub's initiators, but reserves power and authority over the hub solely for government. Hubs have a many-faceted nature in terms of policy: cultural production, consumption, or community development and urban regeneration (Bell and Oakley 2015, 58).

In the Netherlands, creative hubs are part of cultural policy, rather than city planning or economic development. The reason for this is that hub policy in most if not all cases stems from an earlier studio policy, aimed at establishing affordable workspaces for artists. For such a widespread phenomenon as the creative hub, which plays a central role in the narrative of an attractive, creative city (as exemplified by the references to Berlin mentioned above), given the grassroot, autonomous origins of many hubs, as well as the important role assigned to the creativity of artists in the creative city narrative, this situation merits further inquiry. The definition of the Creative hub and of the intended outcome has been a source of dispute in research and policy in many places (Zitcer 2020). Because of the lack of in-depth analysis of local cultural policy with regard to creative hubs, this article presents a first analysis of the choice made in Dutch policy documents. It does so by focusing on four case studies of cities that have published an elaborate, specific policy brief on creative hubs.

In Bourdieuan terms, governments determine the rules of the game that is being played. Bourdieu also describes how new players, who are unfamiliar with the applicable rules, have a tendency towards subversion (Bourdieu 1995, 234). This tension has been described with regard to cultural commons as a clash of cultural values between municipal governments and creative hubs (Lijster, Otte, and Gielen 2018, 134). Based on literature on policy studies (see below), we hypothesise that there are four potential levels of tension between cultural policy and creative hubs. These are derived from the assumptions underlying the policy, with regard to (1) the perceived and desired relationship between public administration and societal actors, (2) problem perception, policy goals, and policy instruments, (3) the definitions of the cause-and-effect relationships, and (4) the relation between the means and ends of a policy instrument. This leads us to ask how the Creative hub policy is constructed discursively. Are the normative presuppositions of policy makers (the issues they prioritise) visible in the causal and final assumptions (the means and goals that follow from these presuppositions) of public administration? How does the policy deal with the norms, values, and rules at hub sites?

In order to answer these questions, we have looked into policy documents by local governments in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is divided into 355 municipalities (CBS 2020). Of these, the four largest cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht) are often singled out in policy making, as are the 40 next largest cities and towns. We have analysed the policy documents of these 44 municipalities for references to creative hubs in policy documents as these are most likely to house and support such initiatives (Hoogen 2014). This analysis, as explained in further detail below, starts from the assumption that policy is a discursive practice, in which problems are not solved, but created (Goodwin 2011; Bacchi 2012; Zitcer 2020). Before we go into our case studies, we will first build a theoretical framework on both creative hubs and (cultural) policy that will provide the basis for our analysis of the policy documents.

Theoretical outline

The life cycle of creative hubs

Creative hubs or cultural hotspots are city-based buildings or areas that had a previous function as an industry, like Eindhoven's Strijp 5 or The Hague's DCR, school or government building, like Nijmegen's De Basis, or harbour areas, like Amsterdam's ADM and Utrecht's Havenloods, are now being used by artists and other creatives. Creative hubs in the Netherlands generally house artists' and designers' studios, fringe businesses like printing workshops and small breweries, a café, and exhibition spaces.

Creative hubs tend to have a similar life cycle, that we now sketch in general terms. From a bottom-up, community-driven initiative in an area that has been more or less abandoned by local policy, a building or area comes into being that attracts visitors through cultural activities such as exhibitions, performances, and small festivals. The municipal government sanctifies the initiative by formal recognition and possibly subsidies (Kolsteeg 2017). Buildings are renovated and housing prices rise. The area becomes an attractive asset for the entire town or city, attracting new inhabitants, companies, and tourists. Next, the process shifts from a real-estate driven change to a consumer-focused development (Cameron and Coaffee 2005). Small catering companies, micro-breweries, food shops, bars, and restaurants conform more to tourist standards or are taken over by larger brands (though often invisible to the customer).

As prices continue to rise, the original occupants are forced to leave, being no longer able to afford the rent (Vivant 2013). New groups move in, attracted by the artistic image, but soon complain about the nuisance caused by performances, thus putting a cap on the nature of the cultural initiatives (Lobato 2006). At last, the gentrification process is completed and the artists start over at a different location (Oakley 2006; Grodach 2013; Musch and de Zwart 2019), so the general narrative of the life of a hub goes.

Creative hubs as commons

Many Creative hubs have come into existence in what Matos (2009) has called 'interstitial spaces'. Many beginning hubs are not only spatially, but also ideologically disconnected from the traditional sphere of influence of local governments. An important aim of many hub initiatives is to change society through their socio-cultural and artistic work (Oakley 2015; Crossan 2015; Granger 2017). This idealism is part of the 'bohemian lifestyle' Florida mentioned as part of the 'creative core' that functions as a flywheel for gentrification and economic growth (Florida 2002; Maćków 2019). This lifestyle both singles them out and functions as a magnet to others. The (presumed) economic effects of creative hubs are not the only ones, however. Cnossen (2021) points to the potential of commons-initiatives in 'producing new possibilities for political organizing'.

Many hubs can be characterised as a commons, as they 'have less recourse to the well-established funding routes for cultural work' and must therefore resort to their own networks and forms of crowdsourcing to support their work (Dovey and Pratt 2016). The word commons has a long history and is presently used both with a political agenda (pleading for bottom-up democracy and self-organisation) as well as a more neutral term: a place of which ownership and use are shared. We use the term in the latter meaning. Creative hubs are characterised by a culture of trial and error that flourishes when the artists and cultural makers are given space for experimentation and can communicate directly with each other and their audience (Lijster, Otte, and Gielen 2018, 146). The idealistic nature and affinity for, or even close association with, forms of counterculture, such as squatting (Bollier and Helfrich 2012, 21–22) is an important reason that hubs tend to start without government support.

Creative hubs as an object of policy

Creative hub policy is often also referred to as cultural planning and touches on various aspects of urban policy: city planning, culture, economy, and tourism. Countries and cities may differ in the way they place the subject. In most Dutch towns, Creative hubs are placed under the responsibility of the alderman for culture. Moura and Musch (2022) even notice a growing disconnection between urban planning policy and creative hub policy, where the latter is focused primarily on cultural and societal values. Given the severe regulations regarding the use of space and buildings in the Netherlands, the allocation of public space necessarily is part of local policy, whether in a restrictive or supportive mode. These are, of course aspects of urban planning policy and real estate policy. The creative hubs discussed in the article have also become part of local cultural policy as ‘cultural breeding grounds’, aimed at culture-led regeneration of neighbourhoods and cities (Potts and Cunningham 2008). That is to say, the purpose of the hubs appears to have ‘won’ over the physical aspects of it in terms of its administrative allocation. This hub policy, as has been mentioned above, generally follows previous cultural policy support for artists’ studios, while adopting the discourse of the creative city. In transforming the support for these workplaces into a hub policy aimed at culture-led regeneration and economic growth, the hubs enter a new phase in their existence. The ‘blurring of boundaries’ between the work of artists and the economic growth it is supposed to generate (Campbell 2019, 69) presents a problem for the relationship between creative hubs and local governments because the everyday creative practice is never as ‘squeaky clean’ (Pratt 2009, 1053) as policy models would have it.

The crux of the matter lies in the difference between the intentions and ambitions of the hubs and the goals of their inclusion in local cultural policy. When Creative hubs are seen as a potential flywheel for the local economy, ‘[t]he question for both public policy and legal theory becomes how best to use legal and other tools to encourage the growth and persistence of creative, sustainable, and equitable cultural environments’. (Madison et al. 2009) In drafting a policy to support creative hubs, municipal governments are thus confronted with a tension between the logic of the policy and that of the creatives in the creative hubs.

Cultural policy, in the Netherlands and abroad, is usually aimed at larger, stable organizations and at more or less canonical culture. Cultural policy also operates hierarchically, from pre-described definitions of potential beneficiaries of public support, both in the policy itself and in the image of the organizations that are the subject of the policy. This is visible in subsidy criteria and leads to a great disbalance between the funding for more classic institutions and bottom-up cultural initiatives. In the Netherlands, a theatre receives on average €26 per inhabitant, whereas a pop music venue receives only €3,66 (Lijster, Otte, and Gielen 2018; Castells 2015). Moreover, ‘the evolution of [collaborative workspaces – which include creative hubs] is far from being linear and indeed, and the aforementioned waves of coworking overlap chronologically and co-exist’ (Avdikos and Papageorgiou 2022). In other words, there are three potential areas of disconnect between cultural policy and creative hubs:

- (1) cultural policy is aimed at larger institutions, while creative hubs consist of a network of small to very small companies;
- (2) cultural policy is aimed at established, canonical culture, while creative hubs are centred around fringe culture;
- (3) cultural policy is organized hierarchically and expects the same organizational form from partners, while creative hubs eschew formalised forms of organisation.

Cultural policy

Cultural policy is a deliberate action, in this case by municipal authorities. This concerns the intended solutions, rules and understandings, target and interest groups, networks, advocacy coalitions, narratives, institutions, and policy change (Cairney and Heikkila 2018). A problem in many policy areas is that past

policy defines the object of future policy. In other words: cultural policy is concerned with culture and defines it as those objects that are already the object of cultural policy. This mechanism excludes new initiatives, as well as new target groups (Lijster, Otte, and Gielen 2018; Brook, O'Brien, and Taylor 2020).

The result is that much of the cultural practice in new creative hubs initially is not recognized as an object of cultural policy. This problem is the result of a difference in the concept of cultural experience between governments and the members of the creative commons. Whereas, as Gielen et al. (2014) points out, governments implicitly define cultural experience as an individual experience of established, generally disciplinary and canonical culture, on the grassroots level the focus is more on collective and challenging cultural experiences that transcend the traditional cultural boundaries. At the same time, local Dutch cultural policy does intervene in creative hubs, which makes it important to understand how this creative hub policy is formulated.

The bottom-up character of hub initiatives poses a great challenge for local governments. There is very little to assure the success or predict the output or impact. Even when the goals from both parties are aligned, the opposite direction of the initiatives prevents the necessary synergy between cultural policy and creative hubs (e.g. Kolsteeg 2017). As a result, cities tend to focus on processes of gentrification they expect from creative hubs, neglecting other aspects (Oakley 2006, 2015; Grodach 2013; O'Connor 2014). The wider phenomenon of collaborative workspaces serves a more diverse set of purposes, but here, too, the goals are economically driven and do not stem from the businesses in these workspaces (Avdikos and Papageorgiou 2022). This process of 'artwashing' causes a disconnect between local forms of culture and mainstream expressions that are deemed beneficial to gentrification and urban development (Novak 2019). This is a tension that is more commonly found in cultural policy, where official goals of audience participation and social inclusion are seldom met, despite the many incentives, funding schemes, and behavioural codes issued (Meerkerk and van den Hoogen 2018).

Despite repeated criticism from academic researchers on the unfounded optimism of city governments regarding the spill-over effects of the creative industries and the presence of the creative class, municipal policy globally continues to use this as an argument for policy decisions (Oakley 2015). Bringing cultural policy and creative hubs successfully together requires the definition of mutual interests and goals for the hubs and their environment (Dovey and Pratt 2016). Nevertheless, 'creative work requires public support' (Friedmann 2007, 993). In the following, we will outline the elements of cultural policy that play a role in defining these mutual interests and potential fields of tension.

Analytical framework

Reconstructed policy theory

The focus of our analysis is on the assumptions underlying municipal cultural policy regarding creative hubs. The starting point for our analytical framework is the standard approach in Public Administration Studies (PAS). We define the object of policy as 'the principles and practices of pursuit by government of social, political and economic outcomes' (Goodwin 2011). The difference between the principles, the practices, and the outcomes can be defined as the difference between a norm and the representation of the existing situation as well as the expected outcome (Latham, Borgogni, and Petitta 2008). PAS describes and explores the mechanisms driving these processes (Lindquist and Wellstead et al. 2019). We will follow the so-called Reconstructed Policy Theory (RPT), a model dominant in Dutch administrative studies that is comparable to the WPR-approach (Goodwin 2011; Bacchi 2012).

According to the RPT, the process of policymaking can be explained by laying bare the final, causal, and normative assumptions underlying the policy (Hoogerwerf 1990; Pröpper and Reneman 1994; Leeuw 2003; Runhaar, Dieperink, and Driessen 2005). These three assumptions are not neutral and rational, they are in fact politically motivated (cf. Stone 2012). Like in WPR, we do assume the 'problems' to be produced by policy (Bacchi 2012), and therefore to be discursive in nature. The three assumptions are intended to provide a complete description of the assumptions underlying policy making process. Like WPR (Goodwin 2011; Bacchi 2012), RPT does not assume the assumptions to be a direct representation of

facts, but instead focuses on the ‘theory’, or ways of looking at the world, of policy makers. We will use this framework as our starting point in our analysis, because it was designed on the basis of the Dutch policy system and thus has a strong explanatory value for our case studies.

A neglected aspect in the theory of public administration is the presumed role of government itself. In the tripartite scheme of assumptions described above, government bodies and their interventions are implied as a neutral backdrop, rather than as a result of the interests of these bodies. Since the rise of NPM and the privatization of public services, government bodies increasingly need to justify and legitimize themselves (Cheung 1996; Benish 2014; Karlsson 2019). This need for ‘output legitimacy’ (Krahmann 2017) might potentially explain the tension between the bottom-up initiatives in the creative hubs and the top-down forces of cultural policy. This element runs the risk of being overlooked in the analysis when we follow the classic analytical framework of normative, final, and causal assumptions. In order to do justice to the all-to-real tensions surrounding creative hub policy, we need to include this perspective. We propose to call this additional element to the framework the ‘governmental assumption’ (Figure 1).

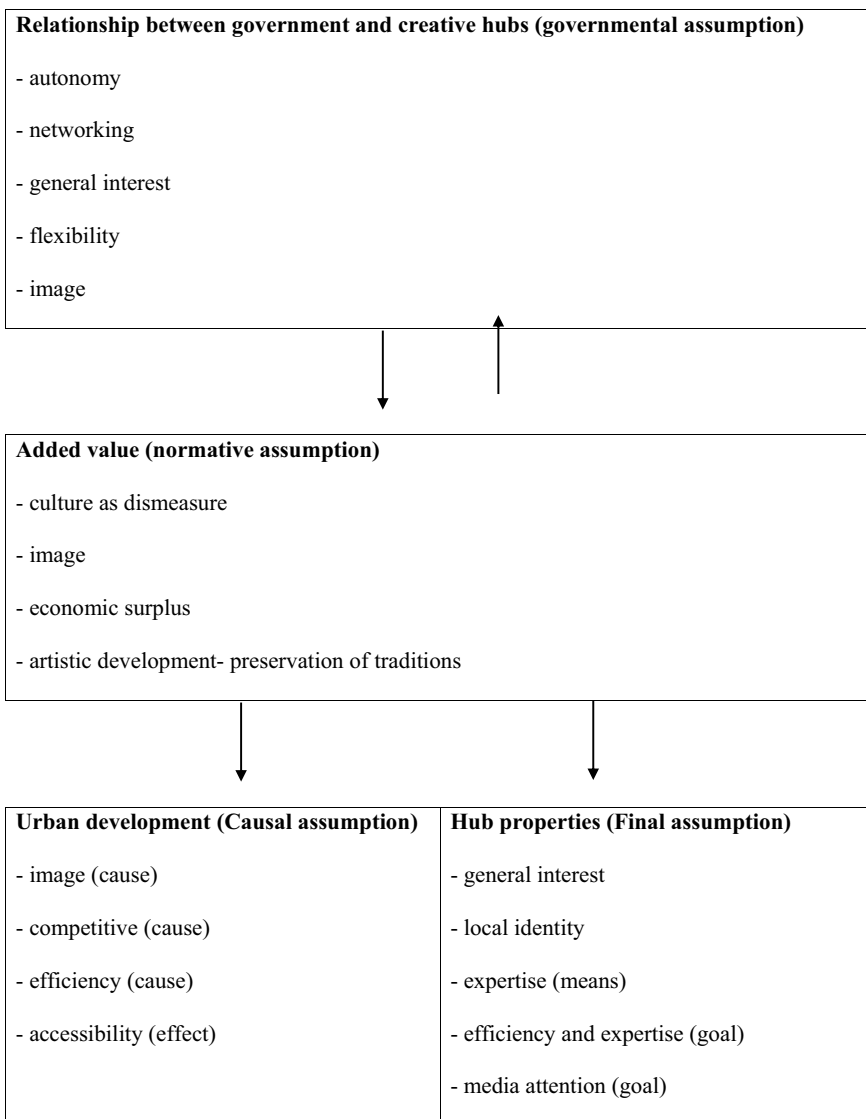


Figure 1. The four assumptions of Reconstructed Policy Theory.

Policy assumptions

We will now describe the characteristics of the final, causal, normative, and governmental policy assumptions. We will start with the latter. Governmental assumptions describe the perceived and desired relationship between public administration and societal actors. They form the context in which the other three assumptions function. The governmental assumption describes the field of power (Maton 2012; Thomson 2012) in which government bodies and public officials are endowed with, and seek legitimation for, authority. Their influence defines crucial elements of the playing field, ranging from permissions for certain activities to the definition of what counts as (subsidizable) culture.

The normative assumptions inform the final and causal assumptions. In other words, the definition of goals and means, causes and consequences in public administration is derived from the norms and values of the administration. The normative assumptions are related to, and can be deduced from, problem perception, policy goals, and policy instruments. In public policy and administration research, the focus lies on the (in)consistency of the assumptions underlying these three aspects (Hoogerwerf 1990; Pröpper and Reneman 1994). The causal assumptions can, in contrast to the governmental and normative assumptions, be empirically tested. They consist of the definitions of the cause-and-effect relationships described or presupposed in policy documents (Hoogerwerf 1990; Pröpper and Reneman 1994). Lastly, the final assumptions consist of the description of the relation between the means and ends of a policy instrument. Such assumptions consist of incentive descriptions and predicted future behaviour, which can also be analysed empirically.

Case studies

We started with a survey of cultural policy documents of the 44 largest municipalities² in the Netherlands. Our analysis revealed that in 25 of these, the term ‘cultural breeding ground’ (in Dutch: culturele broedplaats) is used. In some, this is an occasional reference of one sentence, in others a paragraph or section is devoted to the issue (see Appendix 1). Publishing a cultural policy document every four years has become the standard in Dutch municipal policy, certainly in the larger municipalities, although in some cases such documents have been extended for an additional four years without an update. Four cities have published a separate policy brief on creative hubs: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Tilburg. These documents are all accessible via the city websites or via meeting tool iBabs (www.ibabs.eu).

The policy briefs from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Tilburg have nearly identical titles: *Studio and Creative Hub Policy (Atelier- en broedplaatsenbeleid)*, with the exception of The Hague, where the brief’s title reveals the planning cycle of the hub policy: *Update Creative Hub Memorandum (Update notitie broedplaatsen)*. The briefs that were analysed for this article covered the standard policy cycle of four years, running until 2020 (The Hague and Tilburg), 2021 (Rotterdam), and 2022 (Amsterdam). In the following, we will focus on these four cities.

Amsterdam, the nation’s capital, was the first city in the Netherlands to introduce a creative hub policy in 1999. With 872,757 inhabitants in the city and 1,392,695 in the entire metropolitan area (<https://www.cbs.nl/>), Amsterdam is the largest city in the country. Amsterdam is home to two research universities and a university of applied sciences, the latter including a university of the arts. As the city’s harbour expanded westward, former docklands, such as the ADM and the NDSM, were abandoned. Here, artists and squatters started to build their own communities, long before the city council conceived of a creative hub policy. Around the turn of the century, the local government started to intervene directly in the different hubs. The opening of ‘culture park’ Westergasfabriek, a carefully redesigned industrial zone that changed from a classical bottom-up initiative to an area that is now exploited commercially, is often mentioned as a sign of the success of the hub policy (Bonink and Hitters 2001). Currently, Amsterdam hosts over 60 hubs, counting more than a thousand artist studios.

Rotterdam, the second largest city in the Netherlands, has 651,157 inhabitants in the city and 1,455,677 in the entire metropolitan area (<https://www.cbs.nl/>). Rotterdam is home to a research university, a university of applied sciences and a university of the arts. Formerly the largest harbour in the world, Rotterdam still prides itself on its working-class mentality. With the westward expansion of the harbour here, too, former docklands and other industrial areas near the city centre were abandoned. Large areas were redeveloped or demolished and rebuilt as residential districts. As a result, creative hubs in Rotterdam are not located in large former industrial zones, but in separate buildings all over the city.

The Hague has 545,838 inhabitants and 887,251 in the metropolitan area (<https://www.cbs.nl/>). The Hague is home to a research university, a university of applied sciences and a university of the arts, but most importantly it is the residence of Parliament and Cabinet. The presence of the national government and many embassies has made The Hague an elite city, causing a division in the local population between the high-brow 'hagenaars', mainly living in spacious quarters on the sandy grounds ('het zand'), and the common 'hagenezen', living in working-class areas in the lower parts of the town ('het veen'). The local cultural field is likewise divided between classical institutions such as the Royal Theatre, and (formerly) squatted buildings housing artists and small venues (Wagenaar 2014).

With 219,789 inhabitants, Tilburg is the seventh largest city in the country (<https://www.cbs.nl/>). Tilburg is home to a research university, a university of applied sciences and a university of the arts. Tilburg became a large town only after the advent of a textile industry during the nineteenth century. When these factories moved their production facilities to low-wage countries, the city was left with large areas of abandoned factories and a poor, lower class population. Over time, the combination of former factory plants, empty warehouses, low costs, and art academy alumni created the ingredients for a thriving artistic community. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the city has invested heavily in the redevelopment of former industrial zones into combined areas for creative entrepreneurs and living quarters.

Method

This article builds on a growing body of cultural policy scholarship using the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to engage with policy texts (Waterton 2010, 18–35). The main tenet of CDA is that social reality is constructed through discourses. These discourses reflect the underlying logic and power structures of a given social reality (Fairclough 1992, 1995; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Dijk 1993a, 1993b; Wodak 1995, 1997). The way CDA is used as a methodological tool in research, differs from one author to the next. We have used this approach for analysing the policy documents of the four case studies to assess the causal, final, normative, and governmental assumptions. The official policy documents on creative hubs in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Tilburg, and The Hague were coded by both authors independently, after which the differences were discussed, leading to a quick consensus on the coding. We have coded nouns, pronouns, and adjectives for their frequency and co-occurrence. From this, we have built a coding tree for each of the four case studies.

In all cities, as in the four case studies, the terminology is rather fuzzy. In addition to the most often used term, 'broedplaats' (breeding ground), we found 'hub', 'hotspot', and 'vrijplaats' (free zone, sanctuary). These terms were associated with policy topics like urban development, tourist attraction, or youth policy. This prompted us to delve deeper into the language used to describe and justify policy measures and instruments regarding creative hubs in the four case studies. Our approach can be described as non-linear coding (Williams and Moser 2019). We started by an overall word count of the four policy documents regarding Creative Hubs, followed by a detailed reading of the sentences with the most frequent, Creative-Hub related terms. Next, we combined the most frequent terms into seven overarching categories in several rounds of coding, based on the main arguments for supporting creative hubs mentioned in the scholarly literature described above.

Table 1. Coding categories.

Coding categories	Policy goals or measures aimed at:
City Identity (CI)	strengthening or making visible the local history and/or identity.
City Marketing (CM)	improving the attractiveness of a neighbourhood or quarter for tourists.
Creating Space (CS)	increasing the available space for creative hubs.
Economic Value (EV)	generating economic growth through the presence of creative hubs.
Educating through Art (EtA)	socialising, qualifying, and subjectifying the general public through the arts.
Fostering Art (FA)	facilitating the work of artists.
Gentrification (G)	improving the attractiveness of a neighbourhood or quarter for new residents and/or businesses.

The main coding categories that surfaced from the coding process are listed alphabetically and defined in [Table 1](#) below.

The results from this analysis were then combined with the four assumptions described above, to create a matrix that highlights the specific character of each city's Creative Hub Policy. Thus, for each city, we will first present the density of each of the coding categories. Next, we will describe how each code functions under the normative, causal, final, and governmental assumptions of the local hub policy.

Findings

Municipal authorities play an important role in the functioning of the networks surrounding creative hubs. Local governments play a pivotal role in strategic partnerships between cultural initiatives (Cameron and Coaffee 2005, 49; Hoogen 2014, 355). Municipalities exert their influence in various areas, from spatial planning to funding opportunities and the laying down of rules and constraints in specific areas and for certain functions (Hoogen 2014, 358). This makes this specific area of cultural policy work beyond the logic of traditional policy. Local governments need to strike a balance between policy rules and the self-determination of the actors in the commons. In our analysis, we thus need to include the rules, the players, and the interaction in the field of power in which the creative hubs function.

For our case studies, it is important to know that cultural policy is not a formal task of municipal governments. Unlike, for instance, mental health care, culture is an elective policy area for local administrations in the Netherlands. Therefore, towns and cities often face political opposition when proposing investments or additional subsidy schemes for art and culture (Meerkerk and van den Hoogen 2018). Culture-led urban policies cannot be achieved successfully without its residents' commitment (Ferilli, Sacco, and Tavano Blessi 2017). As can be concluded from studies on the field of culture and cultural policy, the governing norms and values in a cultural field are directly connected to power, status, and influence (Becker [1982] 2008; Bourdieu 1995; Cameron and Coaffee 2005; Lijster, Otte, and Gielen 2018). This policy network is based on the organisational interests of each party and the perceived surplus value of collaboration. These can be deduced from covenants and consultation procedures (Knocke 2018; Sabatier and Weible 2019).

Each of the policy documents of our four case studies spans a regular policy cycle of four years, the earliest starting in 2015 (The Hague), the latest ending in 2022 (Amsterdam). Although of different size, structure and lay-out, each document defines what a hub is and what the prospected effects of government support should be. Unsurprisingly, these four cities devote the largest amount of words to their creative-hub policy of the 44 cities studied. The average amount among the total group (excluding cities without any hub-related policy) is 1,255.5 words, the mean is 353. By contrast, the four cities with a creative-hub policy spend 6,417.75 words on average, i.e. 46.5 times as many words as the mean.

The scope of the policy ranges from individual workplaces and studios to entire areas of the city that are designated as a creative hub in other cities. In most cities, the policy regarding creative hubs is part of the local cultural policy. In some, however, hubs are referred to in policy briefs on spatial planning. Despite the general discourse on the impact

of creative hubs on the (local) economy, none of the municipalities mention hubs, or related terms, in the economic policy published on their website or accessible via the repository of minutes of town council meetings on www.ibabs.eu. The goals of local creative-hub policy can be summarised as local development, attractiveness, collaboration between government and the cultural sector, collaboration between artists and institutions, and youth. Local (economic) development and attractiveness (to tourists, new inhabitants, and businesses) are often mentioned together in the documents. Below, we will describe the results from the discourse analysis in relation to the four policy assumption categories.

Amsterdam

The earliest Creative Hub Policy in the Netherlands was formulated in Amsterdam. Interestingly, the initiative was taken by local squatters who feared losing their ‘free zones’ (as they were called). To convince the city council, the squatters argued that, by closing the free zones, the city threatened to lose its creative talent and thus thwart its own innovative potential. This utilitarian point of view with its emphasis on the added economic value, introduced by the original counterculture, was never to disappear from Creative Hub Policy (Griffioen 2017, 62).

Amsterdam’s creative hub policy document counts 22 pages, excluding several appendices. In the document, creative hubs are described as collections of artists’ studios. This is reflected in the dominance of the ‘Fostering Art’-code, followed by ‘Education through Art’, as can be seen in Table 2 below.

From the start, Amsterdam’s hub policy stresses the societal impact of the arts, stating that the arts are what makes a city ‘complete’. The presence of artists is presented as something that results from the ‘open and creative’ nature of the city. This latter argument then serves as a hinge to turn the perspective around and to present Amsterdam as an attractive city for artists: in this second reading, Amsterdam does not seem to need artists, artists need Amsterdam. The inspiring environment attracts artists from elsewhere, which presents the local administration with the task to facilitate these artists. In other words, the normative assumptions are dominated by both the desire to foster art and artists, as well as by the tendency to boost an image of a creative city.

The growing need for space is further increased by the local housing market, where real estate is scarce and prices rise, paradoxically reinforced by the creative hubs, which have a positive impact on the city’s attractiveness and lead to a process of gentrification. These causal assumptions are the foundation for the final assumptions, in which the need to create new spaces for artists dominates. The role of the city administration regarding these challenges, i.e. the governmental assumption, is centred around the idea of a facilitating governance style, in which the city only indirectly intervenes in the everyday reality of the hubs. An intermediary organization, ‘Bureau Broedplaatsen’ (Art Factory Bureau, see Cnossen 2021, 398), is tasked with the execution of the goals, i.e. with creating the space for the hubs – with the restriction that this must be done in such a way that the city identity, in which an open, inclusive, and creative image is foregrounded, is being strengthened.

Table 2. Amsterdam.

	Absolute	Relative (per 100 words)	Normative	Causal	Final	Governmental
1. Fostering Art (FA)	84	1.08	x			
2. Educating through Art (EtA)	53	0.68	x			
3. Gentrification (GEN)	18	0.23		x		
4. City Marketing (CM)	13	0.17	x			
5. City Identity (CI)	12	0.15				x

Table 3. The Hague.

	Absolute	Relative (per 100 words)	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Causal</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Governmental</i>
1. Fostering Art (FA)	46	0.89	x			
2. Economic Value (EV)	28	0.54	x			
3. Creating Space (CS)	23	0.45			x	x
4. City Marketing (CM)	18	0.35				
5. Gentrification (GEN)	17	0.33		x		

The Hague

The Hague published its first Creative Hub policy document in 2005, entitled ‘Room for Quality’, which was updated in 2015. This 16-page unillustrated document focuses more (8 pages) on prior accomplishments than on new policy initiatives (6 pages). The document is written as a classic policy brief, structured in goals, means, and planning. When we look at the details of the text, it becomes clear that the city (37 mentions) of The Hague (39 mentions) is at the heart of the Hub policy. Analysing the text in more detail results in the coding [Table 3](#) below. This makes clear that the city focuses on Fostering Art, as well as City Marketing.

Looking at the word frequency in The Hague’s Hub policy document, we see that much attention is given to fostering art, describing the city of The Hague at the same time as a ‘generous city’, which is coded as City Marketing. The underlying norm, however, is the economic value added by the artists in terms of the business climate and the attractiveness of The Hague for new companies. Attracting artists to increase the appeal of the city paradoxically leads to the exclusion of the same artists when prices rise due to ensuing gentrification processes. This causal assumption explains the city’s focus on the expansion of available space (final assumption), while still also foregrounding the ‘exceptional’ character of the city. This unicity not only serves a marketing purpose, but it also reflects the position The Hague assumes regarding its role as a governmental organisation: it is presented as part of the city’s identity.

Rotterdam

After several years of focussing on artist studios in its cultural policy, increasing pressure in the real estate market prompted the municipal government to expand this policy to Creative Hubs. The Hub policy document, 8 pages long, clearly is an administrative text, focussing on means, goals, and time frames, while being in need of a final round of editing, as if these are notes for a final version. The words used in the document reveal an emphasis on the development of facilities for artists and cultural entrepreneurs, focussing both on the support of artistic endeavours in general, artists’ needs (for room to work) and on the expected economic surplus of artistic activities. The normative assumptions underscore this pattern of creating space as well as fostering the business climate. The causal assumptions in the policy document all come down to the issue of gentrification: the need for the city council to create new working spaces for artists is driven by the weak income position of artists, combined with an ever-tighter housing market. As a result, the final assumption unequivocally is to create space for Creative Hubs. Regarding the governmental assumptions, it is clear to see that the city of Rotterdam assumes a facilitating position aimed at affording working space for artists ([Table 4](#)).

The most striking aspect of the results above is the dominance of the FA and EV codes, which often co-occurs with the CS code. This implies a causal connection, in which EV also plays a role: fostering art and economic value are the underlying norms of the Hub policy. The final assumption, the way the means lead to the intended ends, are the physical spaces for artists. The policy document, however, starts with an emphasis on city marketing: investing in Creative Hubs makes the city attractive enough to be at the top of “the best [Dutch: ‘leuk’, litt.: fun, entertaining, jolly] lists” and help the city ‘unfurl’. When it comes to the actual policy, city

Table 4. Rotterdam.

	Absolute	Relative (per 100 words)	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Causal</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Governmental</i>
1. Fostering Art (FA)	85	1.13	x			
2. City Marketing (CM)	79	1.05	x		x	
3. Creating Space (CS)	19	0.25			x	x
4. Economic Value (EV)	19	0.25	x			
5. Gentrification (GEN)	16	0.21		x		

Table 5. Tilburg.

	Absolute	Relative (per 100 words)	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Causal</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Governmental</i>
1. Fostering Art (FA)	29	0.55	x			
2. Economic Value (EV)	26	0.49	x			
3. Creating Space (CS)	26	0.49			x	x
4. Gentrification (GEN)	12	0.23		x		
5. City Identity (CI)	7	0.13				x

marketing does not play any role. Rather, the focus lies on the precarious position of artists, which hinders the creative class that the city needs and the available space for these artists to do their work. The final assumptions following these causal assumptions are physical rather than financial. In addressing this policy field, the city of Rotterdam relies heavily on policy networks. Several committees and the SKAR foundation [Stichting KunstAccomodaties Rotterdam] are installed to shape and execute the Hub Policy.

Tilburg

A hashtag, #stadvanmakers [city of makers], is the caption of Tilburg's 2017–2020 Creative Hub Policy. The general impression is one of a brief highlighting the ambition, rather than the actual policy of the city. Its thirteen pages are very colourful and heavily illustrated and leave much to guess about the way in which the financial means will be translated into actual policy. The most frequent codes are ones to be expected in a document on nascent Hub Policy: creating space, the costs and revenues of doing so, and the art that is made in the studios (Table 5).

The summary at the beginning of the document reflects the normative assumptions of the rest of the brief. It focuses on the 'cultural infrastructure' that is necessary to enhance the local business climate. Many references to a parallel document on the city's economic and spatial vision further support the importance of the economic value. The causal assumptions follow the traditional reasoning in focusing on gentrification. Policy measures, by contrast, are aimed at stimulating the circulation of artists from subsidised studios to commercial offerings (final assumption). Regarding its own role, the city of Tilburg has made a foundation (SAT) responsible for the accommodation of artists and stimulates other parties to follow this example.

Discussion

In the introduction, we hypothesised there to be four potential levels of tension between cultural policy and creative hubs. We expected the four elements of our amended Reconstructed Policy Theory model to influence the relationship between local cultural policy and creative hubs. Looking at the narrative logic of the four policy documents as reflected in the normative, causal, final, and governmental assumptions (Table 6), reveals that the normative assumptions cover the most coding categories, with an emphasis on Economic Value and Fostering Art. In other words, the problem

Table 6. Overview of the assumptions.

	Absolute	Relative median	Normative	Causal	Final	Governmental
1. Fostering Art (FA)	244	0,99	4			
2. City Marketing (CM)	110	0,26	2		1	
3. Economic Value (EV)	73	0,37	3			
4. Creating Space (CS)	68	0,35		1	4	4
5. Gentrification (GEN)	63	0,23		4		
6. Educating through Art (EtA)	53	0	1			
7. City Identity (CI)	19	0,07				3

perception, policy goals, and policy instruments that surface from our analysis of the policy documents defines the underlying problems in two different ways: hubs are tasked with generating economic value, while hub policy also claims to support the production of art.

Gentrification appears as the most important causal assumption; stimulating the attractiveness of an area through the support of creative hubs is an important aspect of hub policy. In the overview of the theory on creative hubs we saw, however, that gentrification is also seen as a *threat* to the existence of creative hubs. This tension is further strengthened by the fact that Creating Space surfaces as the most important category in the final assumptions. This goal seems quite unachievable when gentrification is the result of that policy. The governmental assumptions were coded as both Creating Space and as City Identity, again revealing a tension in the position local government takes: while acknowledging the need among creatives for working space, the role of local administration is to build the city's image for the outside world. Taken together, this reveals a logic in which the underlying logic is to support Creative Hubs in order to generate economic value through facilitating the space for the hubs, with gentrification as a consequence of the presence of the hubs, which necessitates local government to continue looking for new, affordable spaces for artists studios.

Taken together, the analysis of the four case studies reveals a strong emphasis on Fostering Art (FA) as a goal for creative hub policy, followed by City Marketing (CM), Economic Value (EV) and the other codes (see Table 6 below). The code FA co-occurs, as has been pointed out above, often with Economic Value, which indeed has a strong presence in all documents, as can be seen by its relative median occurrence. This triggers the question which of these codes refer to policy goals, and which serve to legitimise these goals. In other words: these outcomes could be an indication of the tension described above between the bottom-up character of the hubs, where making art and self-organisation dominate, and the ultimate goals of local governments to stimulate local economy. By mentioning the former, and thus tapping into the creativity discourse, cities may be trying to legitimise the latter (cf Campbell 2019).

In contrast to the focus on temporary locations, cities thus trigger a gentrification process by subsidising Creative Hubs. While all governments acknowledge this tension, which we signalled at the beginning of our article, none of our case studies moves away from this focus on temporary accommodations. This goes against the conclusion by Avdikos and Papageorgiou (2022) that government subsidy for creative workspaces is aimed at structural changes in the local economy, such as the reduction of commuting. The normative assumptions in all cases are uncoincidentally coded as Creating Space. The final assumptions are also centred around the temporariness of studios and hub spaces.

The underlying logic is that successful artists will eventually find their way into a free market space. As indicated in our theoretical framework, this contradicts the need for balance between domestic, community, market, and civil space (Gielen 2013). Again, this reflects a logic behind cultural policy in which policy goals remain implicit and directed towards market forces. This logic follows from the three levels of tension referred to in the theoretical outline, where cultural policy was hypothesised to be aimed at larger institutions, canonical culture and organised hierarchically. Policy apparently is unable to support the non-canonical culture of the creative hubs in the structural way it supports larger institutions, thus creating a permanent problem of temporary locations.

Conclusion

In this paper, we discussed the content of Creative Hub Policy in Dutch cities from the perspective of four assumptions: normative, causal, final, and governmental. A first conclusion is that after more than two decades Creative Hub Policy still is in a nascent state, in the sense that local governments continue to struggle to define what a creative hub exactly is. In all cases, Hub policy comes forth from support for artist studios and seeks to define the impact of a wider scope. This explains the focus, in all cases, on the goal to create space for artists to work. In doing so, the city governments focus on temporary locations, rather than permanent ones. Policy intervention is often directed towards managing the flow of occupants of subsidised premises. This the cities try to do via appointed foundations that manage the local Hubs.

Our analysis also shows that fostering art cannot be seen as a goal of the Hub Policy, despite the likelihood of this assumption, based on the literature concerning creative hubs and creative commons. While cities do work to create space for artists, this is always done for the purpose of other values. From the perspective of a WPR approach (Goodwin 2011; Bacchi 2012), the 'problem' that is presented in Creative Hub Policy is economic growth and city marketing, rather than creative development and cultural infrastructure. Only in the case of Amsterdam, the underlying values are also societal. The added value of Creative Hubs for local governments is to be a trigger for companies to establish their business in the city and for inhabitants and tourists to visit. So, while the artistic value of the Hubs is often mentioned, it never plays a decisive role. This confirms the conclusion by Bozeman (2002) that governments tend to focus on economic models of market failure, rather than on public value when executing their policies. This suggests that creative hub policy is an indirect kind of policymaking. This is true for both the policy goals (hubs as a trigger) and for the role of the government (policy via foundations).

In each case, local governments assume a supporting, indirect role regarding Creative Hubs. Creative Hub Policy is a network thing. Nevertheless, cities try to influence local practice through incentives, rules, and regulations, imposing its value system on the artists occupying the hubs. This governmental assumption, an addition to the traditional model for analysing public policy, has a high explanatory value for cultural policy studies by shedding new light on the eternal question what cultural policy is for (Bell and Oakley 2015, 58–59).

A tentative answer to this question, based on the case studies presented here, is that cultural policy is not so much for a specific goal, like social cohesion or economic growth, but for nudging actors in the cultural field to adjust their behaviour to fit the market-logic of government. This stands in stark contrast to the nature of the hubs as a commons, as it was described at the beginning of the article. In order to resolve such tension, governments rely on economic incentives towards the hubs, rather than recognition of their different nature and a more dialogical approach. An explanation for this could be the de-contextualisation of cultural policy that is the result of the urge to compare policies in different cities (González 2011), in which isolated initiatives, such as creative hubs in Berlin, are transferred to other places. Being branded as the Berlin of anywhere thus is not necessarily good news for the residents of creative hubs.

Notes

1. Rotterdam, 'the New Berlin': <https://www.ad.nl/rotterdam/cool-rauw-en-ruw-rotterdam-wordt-het-nieuwe-berlijn-a1468698/>. Deventer, 'Little Berlin': <https://chefsfriends.nl/fooddock-in-deventer-opent-op-13-november/>. Tilburg, the 'Berlin of the South': <https://indebuurt.nl/tilburg/tilburgers/favorieten-van/leuk-volgens-local-berend-de-vries-19157/>. Groningen, Ebbing Quarter, the 'Berlin of the North': <https://www.oogtv.nl/2019/07/37-herenhuizen-stadsvillas-en-hofwoningen-in-het-berlijn-van-het-noorden/>. Arnhem, 'Berlin on the Rhine': <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=twvOXjhy4NA>. Nijmegen, 'Berlin on the Waal': <https://www.gelderlander.nl/overig/berlijn-aan-de-waal-darko-esser-alias-tripeo-a25bcf5b/>. All websites last accessed 21 July 2022.

- The four largest cities, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht join forces in the G4. The 40 next largest cities formed the G40. The latter group has remained the same, despite changes in the population size of members and non-members. Because the G4 and the G40 remain an important influence in Dutch politics, we have used these municipalities, rather than the 44 actually largest cities. See <https://vng.nl/artikelen/netwerken-van-onze-leden>.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Edwin van Meerkerk is associate professor of cultural studies at Radboud University and endowed professor Creative Commons at ArtEZ University of the Arts. His work is focussed on cultural policy, arts education, and sustainability. He co-edited *Cultural Policy in the Polder: 25 Years Dutch Cultural Policy Act* (2018).

Koen Boswinkel is a public administration and cultural studies graduate. He works at the Dutch Ministry of the Interior as a financial specialist. He is a former city councillor in the city of Deventer, the Netherlands.

ORCID

Edwin van Meerkerk  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2008-3961>

References

- Avdikos, V., and A. Papageorgiou. 2022. "Public Support for Collaborative Workspaces. Dispersed Help to a Place-Based Phenomenon." *Local Economy* 36 (7–8): 1–14.
- Bacchi, C. 2012. "Introducing the 'What's the Problem Represented to Be?' Approach." In *Engaging with Carol Bacchi*, edited by A. Bletsas and C. Beasley, 21–24. Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press.
- Bain, A., and F. Landau. 2017. "Artists, Temporality, and the Governance of Collaborative Place-Making." *Urban Affairs Review* 55 (2): 405–427. doi:10.1177/1078087417711044.
- Becker. [1982] 2008. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bell, D., and K. Oakley. 2015. *Cultural Policy*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Benish, A. 2014. "Outsourcing, Discretion, and Administrative Justice: Exploring the Acceptability of Privatized Decision Making." *Law & Policy* 36 (2): 113–133. doi:10.1111/lapo.12019.
- Bollier, D., and S. Helfrich. 2012. *The Wealth of the Commons. A World Beyond Market and State*. Amherst: Levellers Press.
- Bonink, C., and E. Hitters. 2001. "Creative Industries as Milieux of Innovation: The Westergasfabriek, Amsterdam." In *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*, edited by G. Richards, 227–240. Wallingford: CABI Publishing.
- Bourdieu, P. 1995. *The Rules of Art. Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bozeman, B. 2002. "Public-Value Failure: When Efficient Markets May Not Do." *Public Administration Review* 62 (2): 145–161. doi:10.1111/0033-3352.00165.
- Brook, O., D. O'Brien, and M. Taylor. 2020. *Culture is Bad for You. Inequality in the Cultural and Creative Industries*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cairney, P., and T. Heikkilä. 2018. "A Comparison of Theories of the Policy Process." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by P. A. Sabatier and C. M. Weible, 363–390. Boulder, CA: Westview.
- Cameron, S., and J. Coaffee. 2005. "Art, Gentrification and Regeneration: From Artist as Pioneer to Public Arts." *European Journal of Housing Policy* 5 (1): 39–58. doi:10.1080/14616710500055687.
- Campbell, P. 2019. *Persistent Creativity. Making the Case for Art, Culture and the Creative Industries*. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Castells, M. 2015. *Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- CBS. 2020. Accessed 20 August 2021. <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/visualisaties/dashboard-bevolking/regionaal/inwoners>
- Cheung, A. 1996. "Public Sector Reform and the Re-Legitimation of Public Bureaucratic Power: The Case of Hong Kong." *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 9 (5/6): 37–50. doi:10.1108/09513559610146339.
- Chouliarakis, L., and N. Fairclough. 1999. *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Crossen, B. 2021. "Creative Work, Self-Organizing and Autonomist Potentiality. Snapshots Taken from Amsterdam's Art Factories." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 24 (2): 394–410. doi:10.1177/1367549418786411.

- Crossan, J. 2015. "Social Centres, Anarchism and the Struggle for Glasgow's Commons." PhD thesis, University of Glasgow.
- Dijk, T. V. 1993a. "Critical and Descriptive Goals in Discourse Analysis." *Journal of Pragmatics* 9: 739–763.
- Dijk, T. V. 1993b. "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 4 (2): 249–283. doi:10.1177/0957926593004002006.
- Dovey, J., and A. C. Pratt. 2016. "Creative Hubs. Understanding the New Economy." Creative Hubs Report 2016. London: City University of London.
- Evans, G. 2007. "Creative Spaces, Tourism and the City." In *Tourism, Creativity and Development*, edited by G. Richards and J. Wilson, 57–72. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. 1992. "Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis Within Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 3 (2): 193–217. doi:10.1177/0957926592003002004.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Ferilli, G., P. Sacco, and G. Tavano Blessi. 2017. "Power to the People: When Culture Works as a Social Catalyst in Urban Regeneration Processes (And When It Does Not)." *European Planning Studies* 25 (2): 241–258. doi:10.1080/09654313.2016.1259397.
- Fleischmann, K., R. Welters, and R. Daniel. 2017. "Creative Industries and Regional Development: Can Creative Industries Hub Spark New Ways to Grow a Regional Economy?" *Australasian Journal of Regional Studies* 23 (2): 217–242.
- Florida, R. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Friedmann, J. 2007. "The Wealth of Cities Towards an Assets-based Development of Newly Urbanizing Regions." *Development and Change* 38 (6): 987–998. doi:10.1111/j.1467-7660.2007.00461.x.
- Gielen, P. 2013. *Repressief liberalisme* [Repressive Liberalism]. Amsterdam: Valiz.
- Gielen, P., et al. 2014. *De waarde van cultuur* [The Value of Culture]. Antwerp: Fred Dhont.
- González, S. 2011. "Bilbao and Barcelona 'In Motion'. How Urban Regeneration 'Models' Travel and Mutate in the Global Flows of Policy Tourism." *Urban Studies* 48 (7): 1397–1418. doi:10.1177/0042098010374510.
- Goodwin, S. 2011. "Analysing Policy as Discourse: Methodological Advances in Policy Analysis." In *Methodological Choice and Design. Scholarship, Policy and Practice in Social and Educational Research*, edited by L. Markauskaite, P. Freebody and J. Irwin, 167–180. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Granger, R. C. 2017. *The Sustainability of Creative Cities: Lessons from Leicester and London*. Leicester: Leicester Business School.
- Griffioen, R., ed. 2017. *De Frontlinie. Bestaansonzekerheid en gentrificatie in de Creatieve Stad* [The Frontline. Social Insecurity and Gentrification in the Creative City]. Gent: Frontlinie.
- Grodach, C. 2013. "Cultural Economy Planning in Creative Cities: Discourse and Practice." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (5): 1747–1765. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01165.x.
- Hoogen, Q. L. V. D. 2014. "Het cultuurbeleid van gemeenten: uitgangspunten [Local Cultural Policy: Points of Departure]." In *Cultuurbeleid*, edited by B. Groot, Q. L. van den Hoogen, B. J. Langenberg, T. A. Schiphof, W. Snijder, 340–369. Amsterdam: Reed Business.
- Hoogerwerf, A. 1990. "Reconstructing Policy Theory." *Evaluation and Program Planning* 13 (3): 285–291. doi:10.1016/0149-7189(90)90059-6.
- Karlsson, T. 2019. "Public Administration in Transition. Studying Understandings and Legitimations Amongst Middle Managers Within a Government Agency." *Journal of Language and Politics* 18 (1): 107–130. doi:10.1075/jlp.17070.kar.
- Knoke, D. 2018. "Power Networks." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Political Elites*, edited by H. Best and J. Higley, 539–561. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kolsteeg, J. 2017. "Understanding Global/local Cultural Leadership: Issues and Methods." Paper presented at 25th ENCATC Congress on Cultural Management and Policy, Brussels, Belgium.
- Krahmann, E. 2017. "Legitimizing Private Actors in Global Governance: From Performance to Performativity." *Politics and Governance* 5 (1): 54–62. doi:10.17645/pag.v5i1.773.
- Landry, C. 2000. *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators and Other Writings*. London: Earthscan.
- Latham, G., L. Borgogni, and L. Petitta. 2008. "Goal Setting and Performance Management in the Public Sector." *International Public Management Journal* 11 (4): 385–403. doi:10.1080/10967490802491087.
- Lazarevića, E., B. Koružnjak, and M. Devetakovića. 2016. "Culture Design-Led Regeneration as a Tool Used to Regenerate Deprived Areas. Belgrade. The Savamala Quarter; Reflections on an Unplanned Cultural Zone." *Energy and Buildings* 115: 3–10. doi:10.1016/j.enbuild.2015.03.015.
- Leeuw, F. L. 2003. "Reconstructing Program Theories: Methods Available and Problems to Be Solved." *American Journal of Evaluation* 24 (1): 5–20. doi:10.1177/109821400302400102.
- Ley, D. 2003. "Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification." *Urban Studies* 40 (12): 2527–2544. doi:10.1080/0042098032000136192.
- Lijster, T., H. Otte, and P. Gielen. 2018. "Towards a Cultural Policy of Trust. The Dutch Approach from the Perspective of a Transnational Civil Domain." In *Cultural Policy in the Polder. 25 Years Dutch Cultural Policy Act*, edited by E. van Meerkerk and Q. L. van den Hoogen, 133–150. Amsterdam: AUP.

- Lindquist, E., A. Wellstead, et al. 2019. "Policy Process Research and the Causal Mechanism Movement. Reinventing the Field?" In *Making Policies Work: First-And Second-Order Mechanisms in Policy Design*, edited by G. Capano, 15–38. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Lobato, R. 2006. "Gentrification, Cultural Policy and Live Music in Melbourne." *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy* 120 (1): 63–75. doi:10.1177/1329878X0612000110.
- Maćków, W. 2019. "Artistic Spaces and Bohemian Lifestyles: Cafés as Spaces of Cultural Consumption." In *Urban Assemblage*, edited by W. Fourie, 67–75. Leiden: Brill.
- Madison, M., et al. 2009. "Constructing Commons in the Cultural Environment." *Cornell Law Review* 95: 656–710.
- Maton, K. 2012. "Habitus." In *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, edited by M. Grenfell, 99–130. London: Routledge.
- Matos, R. S. 2009. "Urban Landscape: Interstitial Spaces." *Landscape Review* 13 (1): 61–71.
- Meerkerk, E. V., and Q. L. van den Hoogen. 2018. *Cultural Policy in the Polder. 25 Years Dutch Cultural Policy Act*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Mommaas, H. 2004. "Cultural Clusters and the Post-Industrial City: Towards the Remapping of Urban Cultural Policy." *Urban Studies* 41 (3): 507–532. doi:10.1080/0042098042000178663.
- Moura, A. L., and M. Musch. 2022. "Is er nog plaats voor de creatieve sector? [Is There Any Place Left for the Creative Sector?]" *Boekman* 130: 36–39.
- Musch, M., and B. de Zwart. 2019. "Bloeiende broedplaatsen: kansen voor een duurzaam huisvestingsmodel voor makers in de stad [Blossoming Hubs: Opportunities for a Sustainable Housing Model for Makers in the City]." *Boekman* 119: 54–57.
- Nieuwland, S., and M. Lavanga. 2020. "The Consequences of Being 'The Capital of Cool'. Creative Entrepreneurs and the Sustainable Development of Creative Tourism in the Urban Context of Rotterdam." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. doi:10.1080/09669582.2020.1841780.
- Novak, D. 2019. "The Arts of Gentrification: Creativity, Cultural Policy, and Public Space in Kamagasaki." *City & Society* 31 (1): 34–118. doi:10.1111/ciso.12195.
- O'Connor, J. 2014. "Regeneration Redux: Hobart and MONA." In *Bi-Roads and Hidden Treasures: Mapping Cultural Assets in Regional Australia*, edited by P. Ashton, C. Gibson, and R. Gibson, 169–183. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.
- Oakley, K. 2006. "Include Us Out Economic Development and Social Policy in the Creative Industries." *Cultural Trends* 15 (4): 255–273. doi:10.1080/09548960600922335.
- Oakley, K. 2015. *Creating Space: A Re-Evaluation of the Role of Culture in Regeneration*. Leeds: White Rose.
- Potts, J., and S. Cunningham. 2008. "Four Models of the Creative Industries." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 14 (3): 233–247. doi:10.1080/10286630802281780.
- Pratt, A. C. 2009. "Urban Regeneration: From the Artsfeel Good Factor to the Cultural Economy: A Case Study of Hoxton, London." *Urban Studies* 46 (5/6): 1041–1061. doi:10.1177/0042098009103854.
- Pratt, A. C. 2021. "Creative Hubs: A Critical Evaluation." *City, Culture and Society* 21. doi:10.1016/j.ccs.2021.100384.
- Pröpper, I., and D. Reneman. 1994. "Policy Theory as Argumentation." *The Review of Policy Research* 13 (3–4): 273–292. doi:10.1111/j.1541-1338.1994.tb00607.x.
- Richards, G., and R. Palmer. 2010. *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation*. London: Routledge.
- Runhaar, H., C. Dieperink, and P. Driessen. 2005. "Policy Analysis for Sustainable Development: Complexities and Methodological Responses." Paper for the Workshop on Complexity and Policy Analysis, Cork, Ireland, June 22–24.
- Sabatier, P., and C. Weible. 2019. "The Advocacy Coalition Framework. Innovations and Clarifications." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by P. A. Sabatier and C. M. Weible, 189–220. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Stone, D. 2012. *Policy Paradox. The Art of Political Decision Making*. New York, London: Norton.
- Thomson, P. 2012. "Field." In *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, edited by M. Grenfell, 68–69. London: Routledge.
- Vilhena da Cunha, I., and C. Selada. 2009. "Creative Urban Regeneration: The Case of Innovation Hubs." *International Journal of Innovation and Regional Development* 1 (4): 371–386. doi:10.1504/IJIRD.2009.022728.
- Vivart, E. 2013. "Creatives in the City: Urban Contradictions of the Creative City." *City, Culture and Society* 4 (2): 57–63. doi:10.1016/j.ccs.2013.02.003.
- Wagenaar, H. 2014. *Evaluatie Broedplaatsenbeleid Gemeente Den Haag [Evaluation Creative Hub Policy the Hague]*. Den Haag: WagenaarHoes.
- Waterton, E. 2010. *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Williams, M., and T. Moser. 2019. "The Art of Coding and Thematic Exploration in Qualitative Research." *International Management Review* 15 (1): 45–55.
- Wodak, R. 1995. "Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis." In *Handbook of Pragmatics*, edited by J. Verschueren, J. O. Ostman, and J. Blommaert, 204–210. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Wodak, R. 1997. "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Study of Doctor-Patient Interaction." In *The Construction of Professional Discourse*, edited by B. L. Gunnarsson, P. Linell, and B. Nordberg, 173–200. London: Longman.
- Zitcer, A. 2020. "Making Up Creative Placemaking." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 40 (3): 278–288. doi:10.1177/0739456X18773424.



Appendix 1: References to Creative Hubs in policy documents

Municipality	Inhabitants	Terminology	Document Type	Size*	Words
Amsterdam	854,047	Breeding ground; Studio; Sanctuary	- Breeding Ground Policy	1 D	7,774
Rotterdam	638,712	Breeding ground; Studio	- Breeding Ground Policy	1 D	5,140
The Hague	532,561	Breeding ground	- Breeding Ground Policy	1 D	7,503
Utrecht	347,483	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	3 Sn	345
Groningen	229,962	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 P 3 Sn	448
Eindhoven	229,126	Breeding ground; Hub	- Cultural Policy	8 Sn	892
Tilburg	215,521	Breeding ground	- Breeding Ground Policy	1 D	5,254
Almere	203,990	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	- 1 Sn	106
			- Spatial Planning	- 3 Sn	
Breda	183,448	Breeding ground; Sanctuary; Hotspot	- Cultural Policy	2 Sn	653
Nijmegen	175,948	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 Sn	252
Apeldoorn	161,156				
Haarlem	159,709	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy		
Enschede	158,261	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 Sn	230
Arnhem	157,223	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy		
Amersfoort	155,226	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy Evaluation	2 Sn	181
Zaanstad	154,865	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 Sn	419
's-Hertogenbosch	154,434			2 Sn	174
Haarlemmermeer	153,149	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy		
Zwolle	126,116	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 S	25
Zoetermeer	124,695				
Leiden	124,306				
Maastricht	122,723	Sanctuary	- Cultural Policy	1 Sn	509
Leeuwarden	122,415				
Dordrecht	118,426	Breeding ground; Hub	- Cultural Policy		
Ede	114,682			2 Sn	425
Alphen aan den Rijn	109,682	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy		
Alkmaar	108,470	Sanctuary; Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	4 Sn	281
			- Cultural Policy	- 3 Sn	232
			- Spatial Planning	- 1 Sn	
Emmen	107,192	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	2 Sn	199
Delft	102,253	Breeding ground; Hotspot	- Cultural Policy	5 Sn	361
Venlo	101,192				

(Continued)

Appendix 1: (Continued).

Municipality	Inhabitants	Terminology	Document Type	Size*	Words
Deventer	99,653	-	-	-	-
Sittard-Geleen	92,956	-	-	-	-
Oss	90,951	-	-	-	-
Helmond	90,903	-	-	-	-
Hilversum	89,521	-	-	-	-
Heerlen	86,762	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 P 1 Sn	518
Hengelo	80,593	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 Sn	50
Schiedam	77,907	-	-	-	-
Lelystad	77,389	-	-	-	-
Roosendaal	77,000	-	-	-	-
Hoorn	72,806	-	-	-	-
Gouda	72,700	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	2 Sn	369
Almelo	72,629	-	-	-	-
Assen	67,708	Breeding ground	- Cultural Policy	1 Sn	71

Source: <https://www.uitvoeringvanbeleidszw.nl/binaries/uitvoeringvanbeleidszw/documenten/publicaties/subsidies/veranderoopgave-inburgering-pilots/tabel-aantal-inwoners-gemeenten-per-1-januari-2019/tabel-aantal-inwoners-gemeenten-per-1-januari-2019/Aantal+inwoners+gemeenten+per+1+januari+2019+gesorteerd+op+aantal+inwoners.pdf>. Last consulted 02 December 2020*) S = Sentence; P = Paragraph; Sn = Section ; D = Document