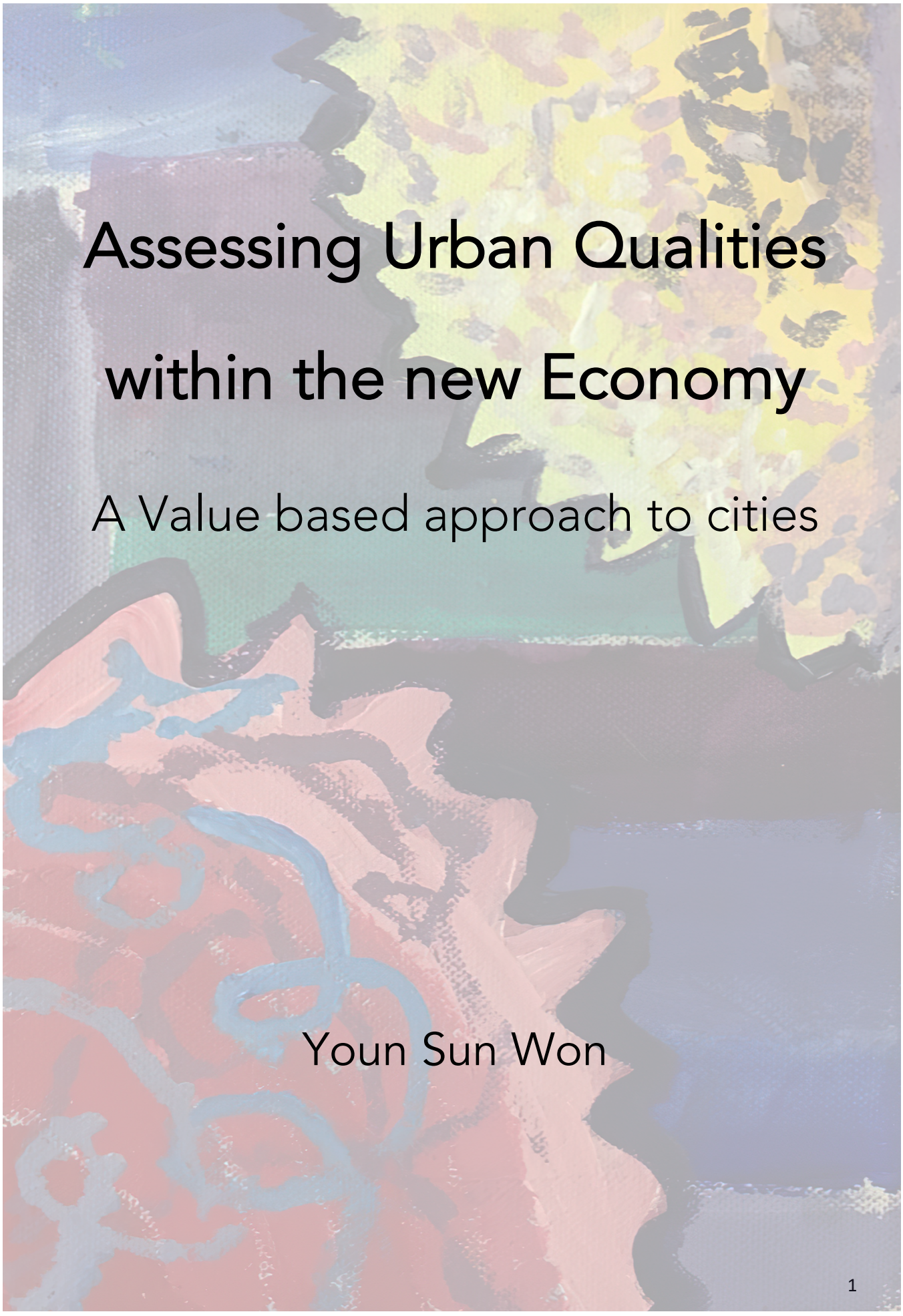

Assessing Urban Qualities within the new Economy

A Value based approach to cities

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Cover design
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Printed by
Printenbind.nl

Assessing Urban Qualities within the new Economy

A Value based approach to cities

Beoordeling van stedelijke kwaliteiten in de nieuwe economie

Een op waarde gebaseerde benadering voor steden

Thesis

to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the
rector magnificus

Prof.dr. R.C.M.E. Engels

and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board.
The public defence shall be held on

Thursday, 23 January 2020 at 09:30 hrs

by

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I began this research with a challenge. When I raised my research question, many people told me that I am too ambitious by saying that qualities of cities are hardly assessed outside the box, and that a discourse on qualities is located in parallel with an economic discourse. Albeit many suspicions on this research, I had a strong belief that paths could cross. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to Arjo Klamer, my doctoral promoter for allowing me tangible and intangible spaces for a pursuit of my PhD research. Meeting Arjo was an important turning point of my life. Not only do his intellectual contributions have greatly influenced on my academic research, but his sincere supervision has also enabled me to elaborate how to make creative ideas realistically feasible. I do appreciate all his support, penetrating advice, generous commitment, and a different way of doctoral supervision. I would also like to thank Mariangela Lavanga for her constructive suggestions to make my chapters refined. In making this big step from Seoul to Rotterdam, I was relying on the help of Sander Geenen. So I would like to express my thanks for his efforts. I would like to thank Mark van der Net and Jinsoo Seo for their valuable help and professional advice in doing data analysis of my research.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, my sister, Yoonmi, and my girl, Sehyeon, for their sincere support and endless love.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 CITIES AND THE NEW ECONOMY

In recent years, two harbour cities were the subject of news stories on the BBC website. In August 2012, Amsterdam, the capital city of The Netherlands, received attention for new developments in the Northern area of the city, which was formerly a shipyard. In 2016, Ulsan, a major city in South Korea, was featured in a similar article highlighting the global decline in industrial shipyards. Both stories were underpinned by the same concern: the death of an old economy and the creation of a new economy. According to these new stories, the new economy would be driven by culture and creativity.

This is how these respective stories unfold. We begin in Amsterdam. If one casts their eye over any tourist map, you will see a picture of the famous canals that weave throughout the city and encircle Dam Square, while at the top of the map is the Central station with a wide river flowing behind it, which marks the end of the city. However, an observant tourist would notice that, in reality, a multitude of people and bicycles cross this large body of water every 5 minutes or so by ferry. This astute tourist would also observe the contours of various buildings across the river, which testifies to the fact that there is life beyond the river, a part of the city that is not represented on any standard tourist map.

In former decades, this cut-off on the map made absolute sense, as there was relatively little happening across the river. Rather, it was simply where the shipyards were located. However, in the 1960s and 1970s the shipyards were largely abandoned due to the fact that Dutch shipbuilders could no longer compete with emergent countries, such as South Korea. Companies moved out en masse, leaving large wharfs that appeared to be useless for any other purpose than that for which they were originally intended. The empty Northern area fell into ruin and became an urban slum notorious for its high crime rates. Indeed, the entire area remained largely disconnected from the rest of Amsterdam, despite the fact there was

a tunnel connecting the Northern part of the city to the mainland. Since nothing was thriving across the river it was a no-go area for tourists.

However, at the fin de siècle of the twentieth century, Amsterdam North began to undergo profound changes, as a consequence of so-called *Creatives* moving in and occupying the abandoned wharfs. Among other things, they established skate parks and set up provisory alternative cafes. The municipality took notice of such activities and based on the profound potential that they could see in the area, underwent a program to bolster the creative sector across the river. One of the most notable outcomes of this regeneration program was the construction of an eye-catching cinema and arts centre, along with repurposing Shell's old headquarters into a cultural centre. In their wake of these initiatives, manifold housing projects sprang up in the North, as this part of the city suddenly became the place to live for young professionals who wanted to escape the hustle and bustle of the centre of Amsterdam. Today, Amsterdam North is one of the must-see places in Amsterdam, and is characterised by creativity, innovation, and community-based cultural activities. In this respect, Amsterdam North is an exemplar of urban regeneration and testifies to how creative activities can fuel the creation of a new economy.

The story of Ulsan in 2015 shares many features of the urban regeneration witnessed in Amsterdam North. Like Amsterdam North, Ulsan, the world's largest shipyard, was formerly a global giant in the shipbuilding industry and was referred to as the capital of industry in South Korea. The aforesaid BBC article detailed the tremendous productive capacity of the shipyard, which was the largest in the world at some point with a 16 percent share of the global market. The city received considerable praise over the years for the fact that its workers and citizens had their own identity and deep sense of pride about their urban industries.

However, the story began to take a wrong turn in 2016, when a major story by the BBC reported on the bankruptcy of the largest shipping group, as well as discussing the more general decline of giant shipbuilders in the region. The following year, a US news story reported that the second largest shipbuilder was also on the verge of bankruptcy. Economists expressed concern about the deleterious economic impact that this would have

on local communities where the shipyards were the primary employer. More importantly, economists were worried that the market crash in the shipbuilding sector would create a fiscal crisis, characterised by an increase in unemployment, a decrease in economic growth, and lower consumer confidence. Moreover, there is little public confidence in governments to counteract such negative economic developments. Once again, grassroots initiatives, especially those engendered by creatives, could eventually look to make a profound difference in Ulsan, just like they had done previously in the case of Amsterdam North.

1.1.1 CITIES FOR CREATIVES OR CREATIVES FOR CITIES?

Consideration of creatives and their influence on the economy is a relatively recent phenomenon, both amongst academics and practitioners. Historically, academics and practitioners have had little use for using "creatives" as a noun. However, as noted in the previous two examples, in recent decades they have come to discover that creatives have the ability to shape the world anew and engender significant cultural and economic changes within those milieus in which they work and live. They have demonstrated their unique ability to turn creative insights and ideas into successful businesses, such as, for example, by applying artistic design to hi-tech industries. Policymakers also began to take note of the profound economic potential deriving from the positive spillover effects from creative industries. Consequently, they have eagerly sought out creatives already operating within their jurisdiction, as well as going to considerable effort to attract them for the sake of regional economic development in their territory. This can be espied in Amsterdam and manifold other cities, including New York, where historically industrial neighbourhoods like Soho were transformed via the influx of creatives. Moreover, Seattle reinvented itself and rejuvenated its economy as a software hub through the emergence of Microsoft, while Bilbao reconfigured its entire urban landscape through building the Guggenheim museum. These aforesaid examples demonstrate what the presence of creatives can do for a city.

One of the main contributors to the contemporary prominence of creatives that deserves mention here, is Richard Florida, a sociologist at Carnegie Mellon, who was a seminal scholar in terms of calling attention to the impact that creatives can have on

neighbourhoods, communities, cities and industries. As a result of his work, he became in-demand with various city politicians across the globe, who were inspired by his argument that attracting creatives, and along with them gay people, to one's city can help to engender positive changes in the form of urban regeneration, reinvigoration of socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and the establishment of a new creative economy. The rationale here is that creatives make Creative Cities. However, is this what happened in practice? Does this accurately capture what happened in Amsterdam North?

At its core, Florida's thesis is about the necessity of creatives for the betterment of cities. If this is in fact the case, then both Amsterdam and Seoul are in a great position economically due to the sheer number of creatives who live within their respective borders. One would imagine, then, that the same could also be said about Berlin, which similarly has a large population of creatives. Yet, interestingly, according to Moretti, Berlin constitutes an infamous counter example to Florida's thesis, based upon its high unemployment rates and its relatively low-level of business activity (Moretti, 2012). What about Seoul? While Seoul contains the most creatives in South Korea, the jury is still out on whether Seoul is in accordance with Florida's thesis or serves as another counterexample. According to the city's master plan that was released in 2008, an estimated 420,000 creatives are agglomerated in Seoul[1]; however, the unemployment rate, particularly with respect to young people, has been increasing annually ever since, reaching 12 percent in 2016. This raises the question of why Florida's formula did not work in Seoul, in the same way that it appeared to in Amsterdam? Might it be that the influx of creatives is not in itself a sufficient precondition for launching a new economy? If this is indeed the case, then what would constitute a necessary precondition for engendering the forms of urban regeneration so sought after by policy makers at this historical juncture? According to some scholars, there are more factors involved than Florida's thesis presupposes (Scott, 2006). For example, what about the specific features of urban regeneration that different cities are looking for? What were the key features in previously effective initiatives? Does it matter who promotes the projects and who undertakes the initiatives?

[1]See Seoul city master plan, Culturenomics (2008).

1.1.2 WHO PRODUCES THE CHANGES THAT LEAD TO THE NEW ECONOMY?

In order to identify the specific factors that account for the turn-around in urban development and the emergence of a new economy, it is important to examine the differences between successful transformations and unsuccessful ones. It is also critical to delineate what is precisely meant by a new economy in the first place and what it looks like in practice. One case that appears to exemplify the effective transformation from urban backwardness to a sector vibrating with creative energy and characterised by economic renewal with all kinds of sense-making activities[2] is Amsterdam North (Peck, 2012; Korthals Altes and Tambach, 2008).

At first glance, what happened in Amsterdam North, the once forgotten area over the river behind Central station, highlights the involvement of manifold actors with highly divergent interests, who developed an effective strategy to establish ownership over projects for those who were involved (Schön & Rein, 1994). It appears that these different actors were cognisant of the limitations of state-led-interventions, that is, that powerful actions by either the local or national government would not be capable of engendering the kind of turnaround desperately required in this area. Rather, it was citizens themselves, creatives mostly, who took the initiative and actualised a dynamic environment, where by multiple parties began to compete for space and resources in the area. Consequently, the example of Amsterdam North exemplifies a bottom-up approach to urban regeneration, driven by the involvement of local people, and, most importantly, the influx of creatives, who were seeking new opportunities in low priced areas, with, and this is of critical importance, the support of a local government who were willing to relax their control over the area. In any case, the Dutch creatives were able to transform an urban wasteland into a rich cultural space characterised by a range of cultural activities, including start-ups, a cinema, meeting spaces, and restaurants while the government, in its capacity as a supporter, took care of the infrastructure, by, among other things, providing easy accessibility by free public transportation. As a consequence of these initiatives and infrastructural support, the area began to attract ever more inhabitants from the other side

[2]See Klamer (2019)

of Amsterdam. Local people also returned and, today, this part of Amsterdam is among the most creative spaces in the city.

If this case does indeed lend credence to the Florida thesis, then the successful urban regeneration would not be solely due to the prevalence of creatives in Amsterdam North, but rather down to the interrelation between the impact of a responsive social environment via grassroots initiatives, the active involvement of creatives certainly, as well as the supportive role played by the (local) government. An additional element in this story is the battle for ownership of these critical spaces, which, and this may be perhaps the critical factor, creatives appear to have won.

In contrast, historically, Korean cities have not only been dependent upon, but, in fact, wholly dominated by the fluctuating impulses and interventions of a strong government. In light of the devastating effects of the Korean War (1950-1953), civil society found itself powerless to engender the renewal that the country so desperately needed. Ultimately, it was left up to national and local governments to step in and bring about the industrial renewal, because the social sector lacked the capacity to lead the urban development. A vast array of urban projects proceeded in the wake of these governmental interventions, which, in turn, contributed to the rapid growth of the Korean economy. Somewhat paradoxically, despite this economic growth, South Korean citizens became ever more dependent on government initiatives and projects (UN, 2017). In this respect, the economic crisis in 1997 only served to make this longstanding trend worse. The national currency plunged in value, the power in all kinds of factories went out, while investors scrambled to sell their shares. Snowballing bankruptcies triggered skyrocketing levels of unemployment. The labour structure became unstable, and it appeared that the middle-class was in terminal decline. All this generated the belief that the government had to intervene as they had done previously to revitalise the economy. In response to the economic crisis, a powerful-state-led-scheme backed by the authoritative power of the central government did indeed introduce manifold programs and projects geared towards boosting urban environments across the country. In fact, the central government was also paramount to the transition of the South Korean economy from its prior form into the new economy, the so-called creative economy. For the purposes of this thesis, the key question pertains to

whether cities experienced long-lasting benefits from these manifold governmental interventions? Or, alternatively, did these measures in fact only lead to a greater level of dependence on governmental initiatives?

Inasmuch as the government interventions were reactive measures which sought to provide easy access to range of resources and kick-start employment, the approach can be said to have effectively benefitted the economy; however, according to the UN report on the creative economy in South Korea, the strategies adopted by the government were, in fact, more suitable for stimulating a manufacturing economy than for a creative economy. It is evident that South Korean government was eager to stimulate the economy, allocating massive amounts of its budget, around$3 billion in total, to support creative start-ups. While these extensive initiatives undoubtedly produced several success stories, several experts, including the authors of the UN report on the creative economy, remain concerned about the lack of development of South Korean cities with respect to the creative economy. By pointing out that supporting small-scale developments and locally-based modes of civic participation in making creative environments would be more expedient for stimulating the development of the creative economy, the UN report appears to conclude that it is ultimately the social sphere that plays the pivotal role apropos the creative community, and thus purports that we need to change how we view the economy in order to help facilitate this change (UN, 2017). Why is this the case? According to the UN report:

> *The country needs to instil education ···to unleash the creative potential, encourage experimentation and ideas generation ···According to a recent report by the World Bank, the Republic of Korea ranked fifth out of 189 member countries in the ranking of doing business in 2017, and improved from 17 to 11 positions in starting a business. This friendly environment should ease the way for future creative entrepreneurs.··· Innovation often comes from collaboration that integrates local and international knowledge. The country's legal and regulatory frameworks need to be modernized to facilitate these collaborations ···*
>
> *(UNCTAD, UN, 2017)*

With respect to the above quote, the underlying rationale for the UN's thought process is wholly ambiguous. While the report does make mention of the fact that South Korea provides an economically friendly environment, appeals to the role that creatives play in the new economy, and proposes to reinforce the attendant social values required for a creative economy, including, *inter alia*, education and a spirit of collaboration, the report remains vague however about the nature of the relationship between the Market and Social spheres, respectively. The underlying argument of the UN does appear to prioritise the Governance sphere as being the primary factor in bringing about the conditions of emergence for a creative society. However, this raises the question of whether the Governance sphere in itself is responsible for making a society creative? In order for this conclusion to carry any weight, it must be theoretically informed and empirically supported.

1.1.3 NUMBERS COUNT, BUT ARE THEY COEXISTENT WITH REALITY?

From the perspective of standard economics, the creative environment of Seoul appears to be healthy and stable. Creative industries, such as the Video Game sector and Korean entertainment, which is called *Hallyu*, have been growing fast in terms of their production levels, level of profit generated, and the number of jobs created in the industry. Creative start-ups also underwent remarkable growth. Indeed, around 100 of these creative start-ups increased their sales by €24 million and attracted around €17 million worth of investment over the course of 2016[3]. With respect to copyright, which is a sound indicator of creative outputs, the Korea Intellectual property office announced that the amount of the Intellectual property right applications had reached 462,423 in2015[4], thus marking a significant increase within a relatively short-term period. While such numbers appear to bode very well for the new economy in South Korea, but are they actually real? That is to say, do they actually correspond with the reality in Korean cities? For example, can a city such as Seoul, with all of these aforesaid positive developments, possibly compete with the

[3]https://ccei.creativekorea.or.kr

[4]www.kipo.go.kr

creative potential of a city like Amsterdam? Does Seoul have an equally creative culture in which new initiatives are incubated in a creatively supportive environment? Or, alternatively, does the hegemonic top-down approach to governmental intervention in South Korea operate as a fetter to the further development of the creative economy?

This thesis sets out from the supposition that a creative economy requires a lively and supportive social-cultural milieu for it to truly flourish – or, at least, this is what we can garner from the aforesaid success story of Amsterdam. If this is in fact the case, then the creative economy is not so much characterised by numbers, but rather by certain qualities. This immediately raises a problem, which is that standard economics is not suitably equipped to deal with qualities. Given this limitation, if this supposition of this thesis is correct, that the creative economy is about qualities rather than numbers, then the standard economic approach is too limited in scope to fully capture the qualities of the new economy, and, thus, we must take recourse to a different perspective that enables researchers to make sense of what a culturally rich and economically-successful economy is truly about.

Fortunately, economic discourses are broader than merely the standard perspective and its quantitative focus. Historically, many economists have paid attention to the qualitative features of the economy, such as, *inter alia*, values, culture, and social processes. Indeed, seminal economists such as Adam Smith and especially Karl Polanyi come to mind as exemplars of such work. For example, Adam Smith was a moral philosopher in addition to being an economist, which he is perhaps best known for. In his capacity as a moral philosopher, he discussed the moral context in which markets come about and warned against the tendency of entrepreneurs to conspire and drive up prices. Karl Polanyi was a historian who observed that the emergence of the market economy came up against all kinds of resistance, due to the fact that it brought about a fundamental change in values (Polanyi, 1944). More recently than these two figures, Jane Jacobs has implored us to consider cities not merely as economic sites geared towards the production and consumption of economic values, but also as living spaces with the inherent potential to generate important social and cultural qualities of communal life (Jacobs, 1964, 1985). Elinor Ostrom, a Nobel prize winning economist, shares similarities with this historical

lineage, and is perhaps best known for introducing the concept of the commons into the field of economics (Ostrom, 1990). Deirdre McCloskey's work is also notable in that it shook up the world of standard economics by reviving the moral dimensions of Smith's approach (McCloskey, 2007, 2011, 2016). Czicksentmihalyi's work is also of interest for the purposes of this thesis, specifically concerning its perspective on creative processes, and the relevance of creative environments for the development of creative cities (Czicksentmihalyi, 1996, 2014). Then, there are the socio-economists, such as Granovetter, Randal Collins and Olav Velthuis, who in their own right showed that market economies are deeply socially embedded, while cultural economists like Throsby, Hutter and Klamer have drawn attention to the cultural dimension of economies (Granovetter, 1985, 2011; Collins, 2004; Velthuis, 2005; Throsby, 1994, 2001, 2008, Hutter and Throsby, 2008; Klamer, 1996, 2016). It was Klamer who argued that to do justice to the social and cultural dimensions of economies, it was necessary to develop an alternative approach to standard economics. Viewed together, all these aforementioned scholars are of critical importance for the argument put forward in this thesis, in that they challenge cities, policy makers and scholars to look beyond the economic and financial numbers and instead investigate the social, cultural and moral environments that either support, or undermine, the establishment of creative cities, vital neighbourhoods, and stimulating environments.

While, of course, this research recognises the relevance of and need for financial and economic statistics, it seeks to probe beyond them in an attempt to investigate the importance of these vital other dimensions I have just discussed. The primary purpose of this thesis is to identify the driving force behind the transition to creative economies and inform policy makers with regards to what the optimal approaches are for stimulating cities on their path towards harbouring and generating new economies.

An instructive place to begin is the fact that the economy appears to illuminate the critical role played by culture. Indeed, many contemporary cities have paid close attention to the potential of culture as a seminal sphere that does more than simply satiate the needs of the cultural elite and those who are artistically minded. In so doing, cities have shown their cognisance of scholarly work, which has argued that the meaning of culture is no longer confined to the artistic sector, but rather encompasses all kinds of sense-making and

creative practices (Klamer, 2016; Gibson and Kong, 2005; Scott, 2001). To cite an example, the IT sector came onto the scene as a creative sector, in the same way that advertising, fashion and design did before it. By broadening their conceptualisation of what constitutes culture, urban policymakers and practitioners, along with developers, who sought ways to advance urban regeneration, found in cultural activities a new resource through which to boost urban economies. For instance, Glasgow launched their *Glasgow's Miles Better Campaign* in 1983, via the promotion of cultural events to achieve urban regeneration. It became a success story that contributed to the fame that Glasgow garnered at that historical juncture (which included them receiving the title of the European Capital of Culture in 1990). A year later, the Greater London Council (GLC)[5] published their document *Cultural Industries Strategies*, which were directly informed by the work of Garnham. In 1987, the Municipality of Rotterdam issued, in a similar vein, the policy memorandum, *Revitalising Rotterdam*, while the European Commission also concentrated its attention upon the identification of a strategic approach to the role and impact of culture in the economic and social sectors[6], rather than, say, seeking to defining culture. In light of this extended focus on culture, the central idea to take away is that cultural activities breed innovation and rebuild a rich cultural, receptive and creative social setting, which, in turn, contributes to the new economy emerging out of the chrysalis of the former one. Following this, an important question that cities have to engage within addition to examining the interactions between cultural activities and the urban economy, concerns how creative insights themselves come into being? Hence, the task facing cities is to design strategies that help cities facilitate and generate creative insights between cities.

In order to determine the best practices for such an endeavour, economists have attempted to ascertain the precise role of culture vis-à-vis the economy[7], paying especial

[5]This organization was created in 1981 and abolished by the Thatcher government in 1986.

[6]In 2007, the European Agenda for Culture in a Globalizing World was published with three objectives: cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, culture as a catalyst for creativity, and culture as a key component in international relations. In 2010, the Green Paper launched an official document on the potential of cultural and creative industries (Lavanga, 2013).

[7]See Klamer (2016), Klamer unpacked the notion of culture into three categories: C1, C2 and C3.

attention to the economic contribution of the cultural sector, the impact of public financial support on the cultural sector and the creative, and the innovative impulses of the cultural sector (Pratt, 2009; Grodach and Seman, 2013; Klamer, 2016). The current attention paid to culture in urban issues is driven by the desire to stimulate the urban economy beyond its artistic meaning alone. Hence, strategies designed to shed light on local identity, the nuances of places, as well as social empowerment, which have characterised urban projects in recent years should be sharply distinguished from antecedent urban projects that attempted to respond to the demands of the service economy through a mono-functional development scheme (Salet and Gualini, 2007; Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Consequently, the modes of creativity that are geared towards urban development/regeneration under the broad umbrella of the creative economy have, in turn, required a broader and more comprehensive understanding of culture and its significance for the economy.

Secondly, many cities that lack a framework through which to account for the relative worth of outcomes in the creative economy have a serious blind spot when it comes to evaluating the values that creative industries generate (KEA, 2015). This issue is related to the measures used to appraise or characterise the outcomes of creative sectors, such as indicators or evaluative mechanisms. While numerous studies have tried to develop such mechanisms for evaluating social and cultural qualities (Noonan, 2003; OECD, 1991, 2008; Braun and Lavanga, 2007; KEA European Affairs, 2009; UNCTAD, 2010; Potts, 2011; Martin Prosperity Institute, 2011; The ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation, 2012; Rozentale and Lavanga, 2014), none of them has hitherto provided an adequate method. Perhaps the best way of understanding these attempts would be to recognise that the new economy is based on creative sectors that stand for social and cultural qualities and requires the engagement of a variety of stakeholders. In an urban regeneration project, for example, a large range of entities, including creatives, urban developers, entrepreneurs, architects, engineers, designers, policy makers and residents are all striving in concert to realise creative ideas, to implement them in innovative practices, and to realise better outcomes for everyone involved. In terms of standard economic reasoning, one would examine the production and consumption data about the creative economy and account for the financial transactions and other transactions as they are

expressed in monetary units. The logic is as such: the greater the increase in monetised quantities, the better a city is doing. Yet, this way of measuring the economic vibrancy of a city makes little sense in reality, because each stakeholder wants to realise different values qua activities and goods that are important to them. Creatives seek to realise certain qualities of work—creative qualities— and in terms of production; hence, with respect to the creative economy, the primary concern is with qualities rather than quantities necessarily. Unfortunately, the toolbox of standard economics does not provide concepts for researchers to address these qualities.

Consider here, for instance, cities that were never a cultural hotspot by any means, but were subsequently transformed into a new creative hotspot. For example, Rotterdam, the second largest city in the Netherlands, is an exemplar of urban transformation, whereby a former industrial heartland transitioned into a creative economy (Lavanga, 2004). Historically, Rotterdam was a prominent international trade port, which was the primary driver in its former economic prosperity. However, in the 1970s, the economic recession hit the ship building industry hard. Wharfs and related industrial sites were abandoned and became visible holes in the urban landscape. Serious social and economic problems resulted, such as a high-level of unemployment and a polarised labour structure between low-income and un-skilled immigrants that constituted the majority of inhabitants, and the increased influx of highly qualified labourers in hi-tech industries. The city was in desperate need of a creative turn. In order to cope with these manifold problems, the municipality of Rotterdam steadily developed a new urban regeneration plan directly focused on the creative social setting.

The basic idea that the city government developed was to combine local cultural identities with industrial development under the Economic Development Board of Rotterdam (EDBR). Accepting the actual conditions, the city unequivocally made it apriority to foster forms of community solidarity and social empowerment (social value), along with promoting cultural diversity within the body of Dutch identity (cultural value) under the slogan that "city and port belong together" (Graafland, 2001). Drawing upon a range of cultural sources, Rotterdam's strategy was more about the improvement of social and cultural qualities than merely changing the landscape or hyping up specific spaces. Several

streets, like Kruisplein, that was once a notorious neighbourhood for criminals and poverty, have been transformed into open spaces replete with public art and manifold other forms of cultural activities, museums and galleries, international cultural institutes, including the Boijmans Museum, Alliance Française and Goethe Institute. In addition to this, Het Nieuwe Instituut, a central governmental organisation that collects and shares knowledge related to urban design and architecture with people, now attracts creatives from all around the world. Highly-educated people now crowd the Kralingen neighbourhood where Erasmus University benefitted by bringing in these highly educated people into the neighbourhood. Today, Rotterdam is a key centre of urban design and architecture, as well as a success story of creative urban transformation, which is the precondition for the formation of the new economy.

Within this configuration, the outcomes that the city generated would not merely concern the increase in financial transactions, but rather would also consider social empowerment via the horizontal growth of that society and the enhancement of local cultures, based on cultural diversity. As aforesaid, if we were to consider all these outcomes through recourse to a standard economic perspective, then our analytical gaze would be confined solely to financial transactions, namely, how much the urban projects generated monetary returns. However, what these numbers indicate about Rotterdam's financial health would be too narrow to account for the full spectrum of qualitative outcomes that occurred in Rotterdam in reality. Consequently, the creative economy necessitates a complementary framework that enables creative cities to take account of their manifold social and cultural qualities.

Thirdly, the contemporary urban shift in the creative economy appears to require an approach suited to understanding the complexity of social and cultural dynamics. Compared to cities in the old economy, cities which have transitioned to the creative economy are more prone to responding to locally embedded values and social networks. By way of developing historical stories or social activities reflecting the local context, cities attempt to get local people involved in urban regeneration projects. The importance of local participation, practices and networks co-created by dwellers themselves reiterates the necessity for a new analytical framework through which to examine cities (OECD, 2014; Markusen and Gadwa, 2010; UNESCO, 2009, 2012). This would be a refined approach as

opposed to a central authoritative one, as well as being a bottom-up process rather than a top-down procedure. Why is this important to cities in the creative economy?

In the 1980s and 1990s, in an attempt to engender urban transformation, deal with global competition and stimulate urban investment, cities by-and-large addressed economic prosperity and financial returns via powerful, state-led schemes, along with introducing growth-oriented projects, due to the high dependency on public support. In this process, decision makers predominantly relied on statistics that represented financial transactions (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). This was also the case in the context of urban regeneration planning. The main drivers of city development were giant entities capable of arranging and generating large economic returns as an outcome of these government initiatives. Consequently, it is unsurprising that the urban dynamics generated by cities were deeply intertwined with market logics. What were the consequences of this entanglement of urban dynamics and market logics? Focusing on market value, it is well-established that cities have been getting ever more commercial over the course of the last several decades. Moreover, ignoring localities led to a mutated form of urban transformation (Jacobs, 1964, 1969; Majoor, 2009; Savini and Dembski, 2016). The neighbourhoods that cities provided did not seem to occur in parallel with having people to live there (Won, 2016). In this respect, the creative economy is underpinned by a community-based approach and prioritises locally embedded social and cultural values more than the economisation of the urban environment. Or, phrased otherwise, in the new economic context, civic participation and community-led urban regeneration is more important than, say, weighing up the financial transactions in order to maximise the land to building ratio. Lille in France represents another illustrative example in this respect, that I will now discuss below.

Lille was one of the successful industrial cities in France. Faced with the dissolution of traditional industries, as a part of its urban regeneration planning, the government built Maisons Folie[8] in two decrepit districts. The primary purpose of this project was to bring

8'MaisonsFolie' was conceived as a unique cultural venue to be kept after 2004. As industrial structures, they embody the spirit of the Northern region as well as the social, economic and cultural history of their local neighbourhoods, in which they historically played a large part. They were also deemed to contain important architecture that was worth conserving and have since

about a creative buzz via the means of local culture and arranging a range of social and cultural activities for local people, more specifically yet still, low-wage and low-skilled labourers in the area. In order to enhance civic participation, the government attempted to inspire people who were unlikely to otherwise attend cultural venues to get involved in activities at Maisons Folie, which, in turn, aimed to accentuate the intimacy between the new economic context and the symbolic meaning that the local people already shared. For the sake of social and cultural confidence in this region, the urban regeneration plan embraced the old buildings as symbols of the working class, rather than constructing dogmatic and intimidating new cultural centres. Based on this philosophy, the government stimulated all kinds of social and cultural activities at the venue. Rather than simply being a regional cultural capital, then, the place ultimately became a centre for localised creative activities. What is of critical importance for the purposes of this thesis is that the city of Lille approached its decaying neighbourhoods view a community-based approach. That is to say, the municipality recognised the problematic aspects of large-scale urban revitalisation, hardware-oriented urban growth, and manufacturing efficiency and adopted an altogether different approach to making cities come alive, notably by focusing on new urban dynamics, such as well-being, good neighbourhoods, social qualities, locally embedded values, and social initiatives (Bassett, 1993; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). The case of Lille serves as a substantive example of the importance of small-scale social initiatives for generating creative urban transition.

Therefore, in the hope of fostering such a new economy, it appears that cities need to create a supportive urban environment which embraces a new conceptualisation of culture, alternative values qua creative outcomes, as well as adopting a legislative approach that empowers ordinary people to improve their neighbourhoods and society (Rosenfeld, 1992; Scott, 2006). Simply put, it is about creating a resilient environment for the creative transition. Cities transitioning towards the new economy require a new spirit and ethos, one which is distinguished from a debt-financed infrastructure or manufacturing industries. The

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been transformed into major cultural centres with a performance area, an exhibition venue, artists' workshops, a kitchen, dining room and multimedia spaces.

ultimate goal is to generate qualitative outcomes, such as, for example, enhanced social consolidation, improved level of social networks, local identity and community vibration (Bourdieu, 1980; Scott, 2010). Creative cities would need a different perspective to negotiate this transition between, on the one hand, the changing economic landscape, and, on the other hand, the social and cultural environment, as the established theoretical doxa might hinder creative outcomes. As is discussed in the next section, this new perspective would provide a way through which to interpret different values and actualise them in urban life, and thus activate qualities that the new economy engenders.

1.2. A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON CREATIVE CITIES

Increasingly the purpose of the economy has become not the goods it produces but the jobs it provides… The quality of life will also suffer if the individual is not an end in himself but an instrument of some purpose that is not his own.

(J.K.Galbraith, 1964)

Cities evolve in such a way that aims to promote the enrichment of individuals and groups living in them, by helping them to discover untapped opportunities for a richer work-life environment. Industries come and go, jobs that cities once provide exist no longer, while the important values that people themselves strive for also change along with the historical tides. What contemporary cities generate tends to be wholly different from what previous cities did. That is to say, the hegemonic values during the historical juncture when people counted the number of livestock is to be distinguished from contemporary life and a new economy geared towards the maximisation of urban creativity and social and cultural qualities. Notwithstanding the fact that we now live in a hyper-marketing society, current urban economic transition also requires a receptive framework between old forms of work and new work, in order to ascertain the strengths of the old work and how these too can be utilised in the emerging economy. Hence, it is no surprise, then, that the aforesaid key characteristics of the new economy necessitate contemporary cities adopting a different

perspective to make sense of the new economy and ensure that the new dynamics are economically feasible. In order to fully understand why a fresh perspective is required, it is instructive to delineate what is omitted if one solely adopts the standard economic approach.

1.2.1 WHY DO CITIES REQUIRE A NEW PERSPECTIVE?

Generally speaking, the standard economic approach to urban transition takes into account quantitative expansion by situating consumers within the last stage of this process: the growth and size of the economy; the number of jobs – irrespective of the quality of the jobs; an idea of betterment predicated solely on market transactions primarily produced by transforming vacant land into commercial-driven land. This standpoint accentuates the economic capacity of available consumption or the quantifiable infrastructure that GDP presents. Hence, what people do is predominantly tied to rigid markets and turned into exchange value. In this sense, everything is given a price, whatever it may be. Historically, policymakers have accepted this perspective as an expedient, but admittedly imperfect, tool, for developing urban qualities such as the well-being of citizens. However, this narrow fixation on financial transactions has come to be associated with a profound lack of reflexivity, which over time has raised suspicion as to whether the standard economic framework is capable of making sense of the nature of the new economy.

In light of this overarching point, academic scholars and other practitioners have attempted to elucidate why contemporary cities require a new understanding of economics and culture, putting forward the following, but certainly not exhaustive, list of arguments: first, consumers are no longer located at the final stage of the economic process, that is, acting as passive vessels on the receiving end; second, the new phase of the economy is marked by high levels of product differentiation and polycentric production sites (Scott, 2000); third, the assessment of cultural and creative production that creative cities create appears to be no longer in tandem with cost-benefit analysis, economic returns or a large-scale production system. Such arguments, allied with an increased awareness of the social and economic transition, have radically called into question the utility of standard economic

models for understanding cities. If this is indeed the case, then the whole issue of creative cities needs to be translated in a wholly different way. What are the defining features of the new economy? How do cities respond to change to engender a creative turn in their respective economies?

An important argument pertaining to the new economy is prefaced on the idea that the creative economy has a high correlation with cultural activities; in other words, culture and cultural value matter in the new economy (Storr, 2003; Sen, 2004; Klamer, 2016).Of the many interdisciplinary forms of research in extant literature, above all, the value-based approach (VBA) proposed by Klamer provides an excellent understanding of what the new economy is about and how creative cities can work well (Klamer, 2016). First, a VBA advances a broader definition of culture; second, it puts forward a Five sphere model as an alternative to the rigid standard economic models. While the conservative economy involved outputs being priced in a market, along with a centralised governmental system and rhetoric, a VBA envisions new economic activities predicated on the logic of multiple stakeholders and social and cultural values rather than solely economic value; third, an VBA approach to the economy overcomes the limitations of the standard economic understanding through recourse to classical thinkers, such as Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and Adam Smith, argues that economics is all about value creation. It situates the notion of value in detailed case studies of how nations, cities, firms and organizations work in practice, along with demonstrating how economies that ignore outcomes related to social and cultural values experience declines in productivity, particularly with respect to the newly emergent economy. It is important to stress that VBA is primarily concerned with the realisation of plural values, rather than putting forward a metaphysical argument about value per se; in so doing, the VBA can be considered as a pragmatic framework that enables cities to be aware of the social, economic, and cultural values of creative production. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, any framework for creative cities, above all, must be capable of determining how cities can identify the key values that unleashes a creative urban transition.

1.2.2 THE NEW PERSPECTIVE FOLLOWS INSIGHTS DERIVED FROM CULTURAL ECONOMICS

Of course, other economists than Klamer have also put forward countervailing analyses within the discipline of economics, by, among other things, tracing the contours of creative forces and its manifold characteristics, examining the impact of financing arts and culture (Baumol, W. and Bowen, W., 1966; Blaug, 1976; Frey, 1989, 2003; Snowball, 2007; Hansen, 1997; Klamer; 1996; Hutter and Throsby, 2008), and developing a concentric circles model that articulates proxies of cultural content with the industrial standpoint through reverse tracking (Throsby, 2008). The most ground-breaking feature of all this aforesaid research is the distinction they draw between cultural value and economic value, both theoretically and empirically speaking.

Through empirical analyses, cultural economists have developed a range of important theoretical concepts, such as cultural value, cultural capital, cultural and creative industries, which have subsequently become part of the conceptual framework for analysing the emerging economy and the potential capacity of cultural and creative outcomes for generating viable economies. With respect to the art market, for example, which was formerly largely represented by the auction house, the chief insight that cultural economics brought to the fold was to foreground the tension between the economic and cultural spheres. Cultural goods, such as paintings or craftwork, are defined by these two aspects: from the standpoint of the cultural sphere, appraisal occurs through one's compliance with specific rituals and symbols, whereas a standard economic perspective solely analyses cultural goods in terms of their present and future monetary value (Velthuis, 2005). With respect to this complicated interrelationship between the cultural and economic spheres, Velthuis purported that it is an underlying mechanism, namely conversations[9] and interactions[10], which ultimately determine the decision-making process between multiple

[9]See Klamer (2007), and Klamer, A., McCloskey, D., & Solow, R. (1988).

10The notion of interaction is most likely to be outside of the standard economic value pack, since exchange value cannot define it. Even so, the study of the art market illuminated the importance of interaction for making sense of the activities involved in the creative industries.

stakeholders. Consequently, new types of economic activities thus require attendant new perspectives to understand them.

Based on this cursory review of literature, it is evident that the domain of cultural economics provides expedient conceptual frameworks and mechanisms through which to understand how the new emergent economy is indebted to creative cities. Resultantly, through recourse to the cultural economics perspective, the present study also understands value in a pluralistic sense, that is, as encompassing social and cultural values, and seeks to develop a new framework through which to identify what factors lead to cities effectively engaging in the creative economy. With respect to the structure of the thesis, Chapters 2 and 3 lay most of the theoretical groundwork and unpacks the key theoretical concepts that are applied in the study. Most importantly, Chapter 2 explicates in greater depth how the VBA moves beyond the narrow understanding of standard economics (Klamer, 2016). As we shall see, cities in the new economy are not simply characterised by income generation, the amount of commodities produced or consumed, or the sheer number of jobs created, but rather are also defined by the dynamic values and activities that fuel urban creativity and produce new economic opportunities. An especially notable feature of many sectors that constitute the new economy is the qualitative attributes that they are striving towards. In order to define these qualities, the VBA articulates what values are important to cities, communities, and different sectors. In order to achieve this, Chapter 2 unpacks a new concept, *valorisation* (Klamer, 2002), to broaden our perspective of values beyond the standard economics viewpoint that narrowly focuses on one type of output. In this respect, Chapter 2 serves as a foundation for Chapter 3, which sets out to understand how this new perspective works with respect to the new economy. More specifically, Chapter 3 draws a marked distinction between a new framework for creative cities and the previous urban order. Within this conversation, the basic proposition is that the urban dynamics in contemporary societies reside, among other places, in the practices that people share. Hence, a shared practice has the capacity to indicate what is important (qualities or values) to a certain sector, community or society. This chapter utilises key concepts to achieve its aims: Ostrom's (1990) concept of the commons and Klamer's (2016) notion of the willingness to contribute (WTC). On the basis of these theoretical foundations, Chapters 4

and 5 attempt to analyse cities that people get involved in, through recourse to two case studies of Seoul and Amsterdam, respectively. To this end, the trajectory of the empirical studies is that they are moving towards the identification of the different values possessed by cities, by utilising an alternative methodological framework that takes into account the dynamics of economic activities, including changes in the composition of the work force, in urban characteristics, and in the social and cultural values that people want to realise. Above all, this thesis sets out to answer the following question: how can cities detect the key drivers that make cities work better for the new emerging economy?

2. EXPANSION

2.1 URBAN TRANSITIONS IN THE NEW ECONOMY

In the evening news, a newscaster heralds the city's new development scheme. The municipality proudly announces that the city will host a large cultural event, construct an immense and beautiful arts centre in order to improve the quality of citizens' lives, attract visitors, and build local capacity. The media releases a flattering statement about the economic impact of this public investment: increase in GDP, positive contributions to the labour market, increase in revenues and other positive externalities. The city government justifies the policies/its investment by claiming that urban revitalisation through cultural activities will revitalise the neighbourhood and bring creativity, maximising economic returns, generating spillovers, of which citizens will ultimately be the major beneficiaries. Consequently, the city expects to accomplish both economic growth and social and cultural progress. Or, phrased otherwise, the municipality strives to create economic, social and cultural values.

The very next year, citizens witness a big event launching a huge and fancy art complex. On the surface at least, it appears that things are really happening and moving in the right direction. However, once the event is over, the place becomes empty. People discover a tax bill to compensate for the debts incurred by the construction of the large-scale facilities. Ultimately, it is the citizens that must foot the bill for it. Hence, what was the benefit ultimately for citizens from such urban planning? Was the city virtually transformed? Who was the actual beneficiary? How do economists assess value creation in the context of urban regeneration projects?

Looking at the hypothetical example just discussed, economists applying a standard perspective would most likely consider the instrumental aspect of economic capacity and focus on financial value creation, as identified by production and consumption. They would sum up the activities of people by assessing the city's surplus, such as an increase in earnings. In the above case, a standard economic understanding would evaluate the

initiative as constituting a success once the city had simply reached a certain volume of visitors, created a specific number of jobs with no real regard to the sustainability of these jobs, and achieved financial profits. In this conversation, value creation by cities or urban regeneration projects are strictly limited to quantitative analyses of the numbers, such as the number of visitors, financial transactions, and so on and so forth. The focus is purely on financial value per se, rather than social qualities, or the actual cultural progress of cities. Numbers determine what is happening or has already happened, regardless of what is actually happening in reality. Notwithstanding the fact that it is the very logic of numerically dependent valuation which triggered the economic crisis of 2008, the primary standpoint still relies heavily on placing economic value at the forefront of its financial forecasts and economic analyses. This restricted focus signals the aforementioned pitfall between what numbers tell us and what cities actually virtually generate.

Given this observation, we must look at cities in a different way. Cities are places full of dynamic activities through which people somehow create a livelihood together, and (re)produce an entire society via all kinds of practices, knowledge and ideas, that is, everything that is needed to live a life. People build networks in which they interact, develop and exchange all kinds of intangible values that contribute to the quality of urban life, including, *inter alia*, knowledge, meanings, skills, tastes and education. For the sake of realising these intangible values, people get involved in relevant practices. Consider, for example, urban practitioners. They do not only build buildings for themselves, but rather build environments for communities to realise the values that they want to realise: an architect wants to realise the beauty of an urban landscape, an engineer strives to make a sustainable and safe environment, while an artist seeks to bring into being a culturally rich neighbourhood. Together, they share and improve the relevant practices for such forms of urban revitalisation. Cities work hard to improve urban environments by providing better jobs and affordable housing, supporting local businesses, improving public transport and building prosperous neighbourhoods. Contemporary cities, in particular, prioritise urban creativity via their focus on qualitative issues like social empowerment, cultural diversity and local identity. Urban qualities thus receive an impulse from the social and cultural dynamics to which a collective human creative energy is conducive. So, the specific agglomeration of

creative people is critical for contemporary cities that strive towards the creative transition (Lash and Urry, 1994; Molotch, 1996; Glaeser et al, 1992; Henderson et al, 1995; Lucas, 1998; Stolarick and Florida, 2006).

Resultantly, the different perspective that this conversation develops enables cities to understand that urban capacity in the context of the new economy is not only about inducing high-levels of economic growth, but is also about improving the qualities of the environment that facilitate social and cultural dynamics (Scott, 1997). To this end, this Chapter attempts to expand the theoretical background to three stages, all the while foregrounding the fundamental notion of economics, namely: value. In the first section, we look at how the notion of value has been treated in the history of economic thinking and consider the reconfigured importance of value in the context of the new changing economy. From this, the Chapter then proceeds to delineate how in the context of the new economy, urban dynamics has a strong association with new types of economic activities facilitated by creative industries. In the second section, we develop this description further by proposing a new means through which to understand what people do, specifically through recourse to the concepts of valorisation and awareness, and show how people can practically apply these notions to creative activities in the real world. The final stage concerns how to make the values that people create via and for the new urban economy feasible through, both, applying this expanded notion of culture and value and interpreting current urban transitions through a new institutionalised method. Moreover, this new perspective justifies shifting the focal point in urban regeneration away from large-scale quantitative economic growth to small and medium-scale qualitative improvements for receptive social settings and culturally rich environments. In so doing, the Chapter ultimately identifies a way through which to promote the most important values embedded within a creative urban economy.

2.2 KEY VALUES FOR CREATIVE TRANSITIONS

…as circumstances change, Hayek says, our practices have to evolve and adapt to them…Those who wish to abandon all existing rules and values and substitute others are mistaken because they do not realise this..

(Butler, 1983)[11]

When it comes to the nature of value, in general terms, value denotes something which has worth for individuals, a society, or an economy, and is closely associated with human activities and relations. Economics has been concerned with value since the time of Aristotle's writing. With Smith's seminal work (Smith, 1776) serving as a key catalyst, value theory has made remarkable progress over the centuries, covering use-value, exchange-value, and the satisfaction of human desire. Both Ricardo and Marx demonstrated the Labour theory of value by developing a discourse that the amount of labour-time embedded in a good or service determined the value of the product. By situating the value of labourers in the production process, Marx estimated value of labour simply by wages in the mercantile field. Walras and Menger subsequently placed the notion of the market sphere at the centre of the economic system via their marginal utility theory, which stresses that valorisation of labour only occurs inside a market, regardless of the quality of the working procedure or attributes of the labour structure. In this conversation, human activities are commodified and placing a price on them is the only way to infer the value of something. More accurately, one could say that labour dynamics are summed up by the bare accumulation of labour costs. Ultimately, this ends up destroying all kinds of important values, such as creativity, collaboration between colleagues, convergence projects among different businesses, company culture and innovative working procedures. This market-led perspective at its core commodified and placed a singular value on the multifaceted and complex processes that people engage in with what they do. As noted, the notion of value in modern economics has mostly been attached to pricing, as if market prices can wholly

[11]See Butler (1983).

represent the worth of all goods and services and stipulate every value as being embedded in the production process.

Polanyi and others problematised the commodification of the economy system, on the grounds of it being separate from society. In particular, Polanyi was deeply critical of the commodification of labour, noting famously that labour cannot be subjected to monetisation, and that, conversely, it is a human activity that cannot be detached from life itself. The central tenet of his thought is that the market should be recognised within both the social context and the economic conversation (Polanyi, 1944). In this vein, the value of labour alludes to creative human power, which amounts to something far more than the earning capacity and productivity levels. As a corollary to this, a labour structure is something that comes into being as an entity that reflects the diversity of human activities, such as characteristics, labour dynamics or pattern of transition, beyond the sum total of work hours.

In light of this overarching perspective on what precisely it is that people generate, several scholars have observed how economic activities in the emerging market and creative industries are interrelated with human creativity, interaction, social networks and cultural activities (Belfiore, 2002; Klamer, 2004; Stam et al, 2008), while in the previous economy, industries depended on the transformation of natural assets, or the factory-based industrial structure (Jacobs, 1964; Florida, 2002). In addition to this, the spectrum of stakeholders has also changed in parallel with the shift to the creative economy; indeed, multiple stakeholders are now involved in the production mechanism via a range of human activities, including networking, collaboration, co-creation and agglomeration (Collins, 2004). For instance, the media, a creative industry, produces non-traditional outcomes. This industrial mechanism instead operates through the co-creation of values that multiple stakeholders strive for: writers produce storylines that may cast light on a specific theme, such as social consolidation, cultural diversity, local identity or artistic value; technicians improve technical operations so as to be able to present the storyline more effectively; actors and actresses bring the script to life; administrators and financial officers undertake paper work to ensure smooth relationships among stakeholders; public-relations promoters mediate between producers and consumers; and the law department manages potential

legal issues. Evidently, then, this new industrial production is hardly determined by commodification or a singular mode of quantification, such as cost-benefit analysis. Whilst this shift is observable, it is ultimately contested by the argumentative logic of standard economic reasoning; indeed, standard economists who maintain a transactional view may well be confused by this new type of production, new forms of goods, such as shared goods –the next Chapter describes this in greater depth–, as well as the intertwining of emerging markets with cultural policy, creative industries and arts markets.

It appears evident that this historically specific economic transition is promoted by social and cultural values, and, hence, that cities require an extended context in order to make sense of the values that characterise the emerging economy. It was cultural economists who first responded to this shift by including non-economic values in their economic discourse. By way of articulating the meanings and the scope of cultural value, cultural economists justified the specificity of creative industries against a plethora of traditional economic arguments, and broke down the concept of cultural value into two streams via rich empirical studies: instrumental sense and universal meaning.

In the instrumental sense, cultural value exists in the mercantile field where it serves the function of generating economic returns via the exchange of cultural goods, such as cultural activities or commodities (Throsby, 1999). With its focus on assessing cultural value via a cost-benefit analysis, this conversation steered the purpose of cultural production towards being a key driver of economic growth. A key focus here is to justify that every euro spent on a cultural project will have a multiplier effect on the local economy (Ginsburgh, 2004). The overall objective is to measure the financial transactions associated with all kinds of cultural goods. Simply put, the economic capitalisation upon cultural value matters.

The other side of cultural value designates a more universal or goal-oriented meaning, which extends beyond the economisation of culture or a purely social dimensional understanding (Bourdieu, 1986). From this perspective, cultural value denotes qualitative meanings, such as national spirit, creativity, identity, authenticity or artistic value (Klamer, 2002, 2004). In this more anthropological conceptualisation of culture, cultural value can be understood as the sum-total of all forms of expression, thought and action that are peculiar to a community, including the beliefs, institutions and techniques which impose this style of

living. It ensures unity and stability, while, simultaneously, contributing towards social transitions (UNESCO, 1970[12]).

Building on the cultural economic approach, in a concerted effort to develop a more articulated understanding of the relation between economy and culture, Klamer divided the meaning of culture into three categories: anthropological (C1), civilised (C2) and artistic (C3) (Klamer, 2016). C1 denotes the universal meanings of cultural value, such as identity, symbols and specific values that a group of people share. C2 is more related to practices that people develop, for instance, knowledge, social norms and technology. As a subset of C2, C3 deals with more substantive activities and content like architecture, cultural heritage, design and crafts. This specification elucidates how cities can structuralise a reflexive ground from which to adapt to important values required by the emerging economy, but without wholly sweeping away their former scope and meaning. For instance, in neighbourhoods where a number of start-ups are concentrated, these can be said to generate cultural value (C2), in that they proceed to develop certain knowledge and come to share a certain characterised commons. The urban regeneration project Westegasfabriek[13]mostly correlates to C1 and C2, in the sense that the project revived local identity and encouraged the space to realise a mode of cultural value based upon a specific creative industry. Moreover, social cooperatives or the Mout project[14] in Hilversum, for

[12]The report was published in 1970 with the title "Cultural Rights as Human Rights" based on a meeting held at the UNESCO Headquarters from July 8th to 13th,1968.

[13]As shall be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, the municipality of Amsterdam promoted the Westergasfabriek (the West gas factory) project in order to revitalise the contaminated brownfield into liveable neighbourhoods as a part of Amsterdam. In the beginning stage, the city government appealed to local identity (C1) with a constitution of a committee to promote civic participation, and strictly controlled commercial-driven businesses not to make the neighbourhood eroded by monetary power. The space has become a particular place for creative doers related to the fashion industry (C2), without diminishing the local culture.

[14]The city of Hilversum, for instance, transformed a large space in the city centre into a meaningful local food market and meeting place, called MOUT. The dome-shaped building houses outlets from many cultural heritages, represents the local identity, and serves as a starting point of the media centre of the city. MOUT is full of visitors as well as local people, stimulating social and cultural activities. MOUT is not simply a space for money-making businesses, but rather a place for generating social and cultural dynamics as a part of the city.

example, would be mostly related to C2 and C3, in that both cases strive towards developing certain practices and skills, along with realising the value of cultural heritage (Mout) and certain products (cooperatives).

Hence, situating cultural value in economic discourses enables cities to better understand what people do in the emerging economy, in the sense that the new economic activities predominantly depend on cultural value, which is not an independent variable, but rather is involved in many other kinds of phenomena- social, political and historical milieu. It is instructive to consider here, for instance, the new industries that are on the rise, namely art markets, creative start-ups, creative clusters, and copyrights, none of which are about sizable production and consumption. Rather, they are more motivated by being creative and realising social and cultural values (Throsby and Withers, 1979; Klamer, 1996, 2016; Throsby, 2001; Velthuis, 2005; Hutter and Throsby, 2008; Hutter, 2015; Harrison and Huntington, 2000; Lazzeretti and Cooke, 2008; Handke, 2010).

Based on this discussion, it is evident that accounting for the important values of the new economy requires a new procedure by which to understand the way in which people articulate and realise their important values without compromising economic value. The following section describes this procedure, that is, the process of valorisation, which this thesis utilises as a foundation through which to identify what makes cities creative.

2.3 VALORISATION PROCESSES IN CITIES BECOMING CREATIVE

Every Sunday, my neighbours, who both receive a considerable salary, go to the office to work. In the meantime, their children attend Sunday school classes. The couple obviously contribute to increasing household incomes, economic activity rates and even GDP. On account of their labour value, which is represented as a wage, they are in the highest income tax band, can afford to purchase luxury cars and send their children to a prestigious private school. In this sense, they can be said to be doing a good job at producing economic value.

Contrast this with another friend of mine who goes for a walk or does gardening with his family every Sunday. On the surface at least, they evidently do not make any economic

contribution to their household or society on Sundays. Even when they harvest several pieces of fruit from an apple tree in their garden, they do not sell them, but rather celebrate a humble harvest by baking some apple tarts or cupcakes, sharing them with neighbours and talking about the effort that they went to with their children. All these activities refer to other values, such as family relationships, socialising or culinary culture.

Both cases demonstrate how people realise the values that they want to realise in their day-to-day activities and choices. The former couple focused on economic value creation, because this was the value that they sought to realise. The latter family placed greater emphasis on activities related to social and cultural values as opposed to economic value creation, because this is what mattered to them. The important point to emphasise here is that values come out when people recognise them as such. This procedure is referred to as *valorisation* within the discipline of cultural economics. Or, phrased otherwise, the realisation of values is determined by one's awareness of the values that are embedded in different activities and goods.

2.3.1 VALORISATION AND AWARENESS

It was not until the 21st century that practitioners widely came to adopt the term valorisation. Many European countries attempted to accept the notion of valorisation as a practical process through which to disseminate and share values and outcomes. For example, in funded projects that have multiple stakeholders, such as the aforementioned MOUT project in Hilversum, one can see the process of valorisation in operation. The public authority and local government sought to achieve societal values by preventing the commercial power from encroaching on the space. The businessmen and women who primarily funded this project reconstructed this heritage building to function as a social space, based upon their cognisance of the importance of social and cultural values as well as economic returns. To produce social and cultural values, the Hilversum city council promoted forms of civic engagement and valorised manifold values, which led to a new symbolic space revitalising the city centre without compromising the local identity. From the standard economic perspective, which would utilise purely economic criteria, the

outcomes of MOUT, a sort of market hall, would be justified solely in terms of utility value or exchange value; the question of what people do for the MOUT project or which social and cultural values were valorised with the project would not receive any consideration, which is highly problematic from the perspective of this thesis.

Valorisation considers multiple stakeholders while emphasising the practical process of project outcomes, in turn significantly extending economic doxa to mobilise theoretical and empirical analyses of the new economic paradigm. By applying this valorisation process, the MOUT project has articulated how to optimise, transfer and integrate the important values of each stakeholder in a cultural endeavour. This is how the valorisation process works vis-à-vis realising values, that is, it ultimately serves to strengthen the impact of a project or creative business in a sustainable way (DGEC, 2004).

The attention now being paid to this term in extant literature and policy circles has not emerged out of nowhere. Rather, it emerged out of social and economic shifts in the industrial sphere where new types of industries have come on the scene, as well as in the economico-political context where multiple stakeholders have become involved (Hall, 1998). Greater awareness over the importance of human interactions provoked contemporary cities into paying greater attention to non-economic values, despite the fact that they exist outside of the supply-demand hierarchy and cannot be valued in the conventional economic sense of that term.

As discussed above, valorisation engenders a value and strengthens its impact, in such a way that the scope of the value is not limited to strictly financial terms. Valorisation occurs when stakeholders are aware of the values, and it operates as a way through which to unleash the full spectrum of values that are embedded in goods, rather than merely focus on pricing or commercial matters. Simply put, valorization is about turning qualities into something substantive (Velthuis, 2005; Pratt and Hutton, 2013; Klamer, 2016). In a similar vein, social and cultural qualities only become concrete when relevant stakeholders - entities, groups, communities, entrepreneurs, civil servants or neighbourhoods – become cognisant of them. However, such awareness is not simply measured by how much they pay, but rather by how they behave and what they talk about.

The concept of *awareness* as it is delineated within the field of cultural economics can thus be distinguished from a *want*, in Marshall's sense of the term. A want is a concept that is basically rooted in the prevailing market logic and operates as a factor in changes in supply or demand over time. It evokes economic value by stimulating the supply side of the equation, hence why we can presume that a want stems from the consumption domain; however, valorisation in the creative economy is not limited to either consumption or production. It is more accurately understood as a willingness to realise values in a society, industry, community or neighbourhood, which, in turn, actualises the values and purposeful activities of the respective stakeholders involved and the overarching project aims. Some societies, for example, may perceive Van Gogh's paintings as cultural treasures, while others wholly disregard the artistic value of his paintings and instead instrumentally frame their value in terms of their ability to generate financial gains for sellers.

If the latter were the case, then creative insights and innovative procedures of creative people and creative industries can best be unleashed via a certain mechanism whereby the worth of outcomes is approximate to the values that people expect to realise from them. New York, for instance, would thus be a more receptive social setting for creative workforce, such as people employed in the creative industries, in the art market, Seoul would be equipped with better mechanisms for high-skilled creative people working in the hi-tech industries, while Rotterdam would be the ideal location for others to realise their values of design and architecture in urban planning. The point the author is trying to make through these examples is that some cities accommodate a supportive environment in which social and cultural values can be smoothly transmitted and an attendant awareness generated, while others do not.

Valorisation, therefore, provides an extended way of locating values in an economic discourse while engaging in a purpose-driven approach, rather than an instrumental one. The concept of awareness is of critical importance for bringing values out into the fold, due to the fact that awareness enables people and cities to discover important values. This, of course, raises the question of how to carry through this discovery into a project or business action plan in the real world in order to bring it to life? The following section addresses this

question by once again contrasting the approach adopted in this thesis to the standard economic one.

2.3.2 AWARENESS AND BEING VALUABLE

The very term "valuable" assumes a form of rationality that derives from the social validation of the grounds of mutual understanding. Conventionally speaking, the act of making something valuable is determined by individual preferences in the context of financial arrangements. The term rationality in standard economic theorising is grounded in the process of pricing. Accordingly, all goods deemed to have value presumably have a price and, henceforth, are available for exchange on the free market. For instance, car producers are concerned with the market price for their product, since price is ultimately what enables them to make this product valuable, while their total sales income is what ultimately determines their productive capacity. If this understanding of economic affairs is all encompassing, then this traditional perspective would be a universal panacea for all economic activity including that undertaken in the creative industries. This raises the question of how this notion of value relates to the design industry, or IT and ICT industries? Moreover, what about Google, Facebook and Instagram? What makes these products and companies valuable precisely?

In the sense that creative industries are more about qualitative outcomes and conducive to network and human interactions, contemporary cities could come to interpret rationality as a qualified form of common sense endorsed by a certain social context (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2003; Scott, 2006). That is to say, it is the social milieu itself that constitutes the symbolic value; this is what generates the sense of belonging between collectors and generates the cultural value of goods and the unique ambience that characterises the market. Hence, whether something is valuable or otherwise is thus dependent on the endorsement of social and cultural factors, or to be more specific, is a consequence of the

environmental spectrum between social practices and valorisation rather than deriving from innate individual preferences (Potts *et al*,, 2008[15]).

One could say, to be more accurate yet still, that it is social networks that ultimately make creative outcomes valuable or otherwise. For instance, the design industry determines the qualities of outcomes through their collective practices and decides on production values. This is how Haute- couture (High fashion design) sustains the fashion design industry, as well as why the Meister system (master-apprentice system) is routinely cited as part of the process of making a product valuable. With respect to the information-based industries, it remains without saying that a refined interpretation of information is important for determining the value of outcomes, as is the network itself. Social Networking Services (SNS), such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, are illustrative examples of precisely this point. Specifically, Facebook testifies to how interactions and networking generate value in the context of the new economy. What these companies successfully did was to build a bridge between people and their own networks wherein people perceive and develop important values, and share what they do throughout society at large. In a similar vein, Google and Wikipedia developed a substantive infrastructure via which people can plug-in and share knowledge. Awareness engenders creative outcomes via human interactions that ultimately are of value to various stakeholders.

2.3.3 MAKING VALUES FEASIBLE FROM A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE

A novel aspect of the process of valorisation in creative transitions is that it leads to people discovering values that are embedded in goods or resources that cities possess. These, in turn, provide cities with untapped opportunities for generating creative outcomes. If cities were to comprehend how social awareness and valorisation operates in the context of the creative economy, then they would realise that practices correlate with social and cultural qualities. Practices, what people do in essence, appear to be significant indicators of the important values that are inherent to certain spaces. Of course, the practices that

[15]According to Potts and others, social network markets constitute a new definition of the creative industries.

people share in Broadway and South of Houston (SoHo) in New York are different from those in Amsterdam North. Certain practices that people develop, accentuate and share might have an impact on the process of determining qualities vis-à-vis the values that they want to realise. The question then becomes how can cities characterise the dynamics of what people do in the context of the emerging economy? The idea that shared practices and social and cultural qualities correlate to each other will be discussed in the next chapter at length.

Chapter 3 develops a new framework for the characterisation of what people do in cities and neighbourhoods, not only in terms of economic values, but also with regards to social and cultural qualities. Three issues are of special importance here. First, by adopting the cultural economic perspective, this study proposes an extended blueprint via which different values embedded in economic activities can be institutionalised, and thus this framework can be said to attempt to crystalise the process of how creative cities organise important values in a specific order. Second, based on this ordering, this thesis utilises new concepts, specifically shared practices and the commons, in an attempt to understand how they interact and what they generate; lastly, this study empirically demonstrates a new way through which to verify the features of the shared practices and the commons.

3. FRAMEWORK FOR MAPPING URBAN QUALITIES

3.1 WHAT PEOPLE DO IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Everyday life in cities encompasses a wide range of ordinary activities, such as creating a work-life balance, ensuring people make it to work, acquisition of various kinds of goods, keeping trees alive, gaining access to well-qualified schooling for children, seeking a sense of belonging, building good relationships, and maintaining the quality of one's work. When they are operating well, cities thus enable people to improve their lives, to increase their living standards, along with encouraging and proving support to entrepreneurs to achieve the outcomes they want to achieve. All these actions contribute to the creation of values within cities which, in turn, directly benefits the lives of everyone living in them.

Good cities and neighbourhoods thus manufacture social qualities and promote cultural values, while stable markets generate economic returns, and responsive government provision supports the valorisation of societal value. What a city generates, then, is not merely quantitative wealth, but also a rich variety of qualitative contributions, which helps to drive the economic transition and industrial shift away from the old economy. The new economic paradigm of the creative economy puts urban creativity to work and utilises it within the industrial sector in ways that were described in the previous Chapter. Accordingly, the urban transition agenda that many cities are currently undergoing are often underpinned by direct appeals to the creative industries to promote a culture of creativity, via the use of memorable slogans, such as: 'Creative city', 'Sustainable city' or 'Smart city'.

Contemporary cities strive for qualitative improvements, in particular, urban creativity and innovation with the help of art and culture. To this end, many (local) governments set up relevant initiatives geared towards promoting public investment in art and culture. Creativity, as one would assume, receives inspiration from the artistic and cultural sectors, which, in turn, feeds the new economy. It is important to note that creativity has become a universal notion and no longer belongs exclusively to the artistic world. For example, the

European City of Culture program, which was launched in 1985 and subsequently revised in 1999 as the European Capital of Culture, has always included socio-economic development as part of its selection criteria (Labadi, 2009). It is well-established in extant literature that creative industries benefit cities by creating multifaceted values: identity, social empowerment, artistic value, as well as financial returns and economic value. In this respect, economic activities that are anchored in creative industries necessitate spheres in which creative outcomes can be reflected beyond market and governance logics. This is why the focus of urban transition initiatives is beginning to turn towards the realisation of qualities rather than quantities, in an effort to augment the basic wealth underpinning qualitative improvements.

Qualitative factors that creative industries depend on, such as new insights, people's interests, practices, interactions, meaning and innovative procedures, are intangible and rarely measurable, in contrast to job creation, contribution to GDP or transaction costs. Due to this intangibility, politicians or standard economists invariably continue to channel the new economy and creative industries towards quantification, by virtue of appealing to the feasibility of outcomes. However, it is questionable whether these indicators truly reflect the qualitative impacts that contemporary cities are striving for. This discrepancy requires a framework that makes urban qualities economically feasible. This is where the Five Sphere model of Klamer (2016) is expedient. As will be discussed later, this model responds to this aforesaid need to establish outcomes for creative economic activities, with an especial focus on the question of 'what values' people strive for, rather than 'how much' monetary returns people produce. People, for instance, generate a range of goods and services, get involved in various kinds of networks, engage in cultural activities and contribute to urban dynamics. All of these contain different values, help to keep a city current and vibrant, and increase new economic opportunities, which contributes towards the overall improvement of neighbourhoods and social qualities. This is true not only with respect to the social and industrial sector, but also in relation to everyday households. Consider the example of a couple who are living in a big house. The couple is busy working and their hectic life presents them with numerous financial rewards. The couple appears to be the epitome of success. They possess all kinds of economic goods including their grand house; however,

they have little awareness of other values, such as contributions for building relationships or family consolidation. The lack of a connected relationship eventually culminates in a marital breakup. In the end, one partner decides to leave because they failed to maintain their relationship. They produced a lot together, but can we say that their quantitative possessions, including their property, present any qualities about their home? Did they solely want to maximise their productivity within the household by living together? Could they create a good life by living this way? Can we speak of economic values? What was omitted from the couple's strict focus on economic values?

For a truly good life, it is paramount that we seek other values to be realised than purely economic values. Or, phrased otherwise, economic value is instrumental and should thus be subordinated to other values like social and cultural values. Indeed, qualities, quality-based production, such as reciprocity, relationships and co-creation, cannot be determined by quantitative metrics, such as income or property assets. As with the household, so it should also be in the business sector. According to Deloitte, the prominent business consulting company, the annual reports of 100 UK-listed companies comprised, on average, 43% qualitative and 57% financial data in 1997, whereas qualitative factors made up 61% of typical annual reports in 2017 (Deloitte, 2017). Moreover, a survey of 4900 global companies indicated that they focused on the production of Corporate Responsibility reports and addressed the United Nation's 17 Sustainable Development Goals (King and Blasco, 2017[16]). The basic principles are the same. The emerging economy counts qualitative improvements. How then do people identify other values? To measure the quantitative volume of social and cultural values is almost impossible, for the simple reason that that they are characterised by qualities rather than amounts. For the sake of comprehensible valuation, insights from research in the field of cultural economics serve as a strong foundation for a new framework. The starting point for this new framework is the fundamental unit of analysis in economics, values; more specifically, articulating different values and moving away from well-trodden paths and exploring a distinctive way of interpreting the cultural and creative sectors and relations between culture and the

[16]See the report of KPMG, *The road ahead*, The KPMG Survey of Corporate Responsibility Reporting (2017).

economy (Towse, 2003); verifying the economic potential of creative production; understanding major properties of creative industries (Pratt, 2009, 2013); and characterising the critical role of social and cultural values in new economic activities (Throsby, 2001; Hutter and Rizzo, 1997; Klamer,1996, 2004; Frey, 1989; Sen,1993).

In the same vein, the key question for creative entrepreneurs is how to make businesses durable. Since creative industries are dependent on the contribution of creative people, as well as the way in which their labour is structured, simply lowering supply costs or increasing transactions would not be an ideal solution for the creative entrepreneurs. On the one hand, a cluster of creative workers is important. On the other hand, making this creative industrial structure stable is also important. That is to say, the creative cluster which engenders creative ideas and innovation is important, but maintaining its structure and actualising the new ideas in a sustainable way are more important. With respect to this point, Polanyi's insight that labour is subject to the social norms and cultural values that are embedded in society emphasises the importance of a supportive environment. The core of Polanyi's argument pertains to highlighting the limitations of an economics-distorted interpretation of the labour force by pointing out that the qualities of labour cannot be determined by market price, and that, in fact, markets are wholly embedded in society (Polanyi, 1944). Polanyi's rebellion against the neoliberal ideological economic doctrine evokes a re-translation of the idea of labour in creative industries.

There is another scholar whose work attempted to re-translate the labour structure within the creative sector. From the perspective of economic sociology, Collins delineated how non-economic foundations, such as social and cultural practices, operate in collaboration with economic performance, through his theoretical model on the chains of Interaction Rituals (IRs) (Collins, 2004, 1998). Collins exhaustively demonstrated the importance of social practices and cultural codes in the decision-making process, before proceeding to demonstrate that social and cultural practices are intimately correlated with the economic activities of the new economy.

Considering these points, creative industries evidently require new notions capable of accentuating the peculiar characteristics of this new type of industry. One response to this need is Klamer's concept of a *shared practice* (Klamer, 2017). A shared practice denotes

what people do together, how they create something in common, like friendships, a community, art, knowledge and so on. Creative practices are usually shared practices; various people participate and contribute. By participating in and contributing to shared practices, so Klamer argues, people realise the values that are important to them. For example, the feeling that a national soccer game generates in the Netherlands is different from that of a soccer game in South Korea. The soccer fever within Dutch society creates a specific practice that is shared by many of the citizens who live there. That intense kind of practice does not occur in South Korea. Similarly, the worth of hi-tech environment for living is simply not comparable to their respective worth in the Netherlands. The strong desire to develop an innovative and sustainable environment in South Korea constitutes a particular shared practice. People, institutions, companies and governmental agencies have developed and shared all kinds of hi-tech based practices, such as participating in the communities, cultural activities, art projects, schooling, education programming, communication between parents and teachers, and manifold business meetings. This concept purports that each society realises certain values and, moreover, that various stakeholders within that society get involved in relevant practices that endorse these values, which are deeply embedded in culture. Much like the idea of the commons, along with accessibility, a shared practice, above all, requires the credibility of stakeholders. As will be discussed in the next section, shared practices in cities provide a relevant indicator of what is important to its inhabitants, as well as casting light on what social and cultural qualities these cities currently possess or are striving towards. It is of value to characterise a shared practice, in order to assess its qualities and make sense of the outcomes of creative economic activities. No economic perspective based on quantitative reasoning alone could provide such insights and assessments.

These points collectively serve to illustrate how market logic alone is insufficient for elucidating how creative industries work in the context of the new urban economy. Take Tampere, a city in Finland. The city was faced with an economic depression despite having one of the largest industrial economies. Factories were on the brink of closure, while there was a significant depreciation in the market. In response to the economic crisis and ensuing austerity measures, urban policymakers examined cities that adopted a different

perspective and applied this to the appraisal of the cultural value of old buildings outside their property asset range. The municipality ended up transforming smokestacks into symbolic urban landscapes, with relatively minimal construction work required for these renovations. These structures came to embody the practices that people shared, their symbols and the pride of the inhabitants, which was primarily a working-class community. On top of this, the city attracted new business sectors, specifically information and telecommunication technologies, which over time led to the labour structure gradually changing (Van Der Borg et al, 2005; Lavanga, 2006). How did this happen? What relevance does this example have for the present study?

First, the city government tried to establish what was of importance to the citizens and what they did, in an attempt to realise values that the local people also wanted to realise. The municipality was aware of the importance of cultural value and social engagement. This called for developing shared practices and valorisation of cultural value, which motivated the people in Tampere to mobilise themselves. By making people cognisant of cultural values such as local identity and respecting social practices, the city practitioners successfully managed to mobilise civic engagement in such a way that contributed to the revitalisation of the old city. By adding a new type of practice to existing cultural practices, the local government attempted to encourage the local people to be a key part of the urban transition.

Second, the people in Tampere followed a small-scale development approach and promoting locally based creative sectors for young creative workers, by articulating important values that local people wanted to realise. This approach puts more focus on the local dynamics that are subject to human-driven purposes rather than a singular account like financial transactions. This is different from other approaches, such as the one that focuses on blockbuster creative projects. Presumably, different types of economic activity qualitatively change what people do in Tampere. However, it might be hard to say that outcomes of the creative transition can be economically profitable or unprofitable, since it is rather like asking whether qualities are instrumental or not.

As noted before, creative cities require new conceptual frameworks to make sense of different types of economic activity; to this end, the concepts of a shared practice and the

commons are expedient additions to the limited viewpoint of the standard economics model. The proceeding sections cast light upon shared practices and the commons, specifically in terms of what they are, how they are distinguished from one another, how they interact with each other, and what their contributions are.

This chapter pursues a new line of enquiry into the role of shared practices in engendering creative urban transition, which focuses on the interaction between shared practices and the commons – an approach which is deemed capable of capturing the complexity of what is happening in reality with the creative economy.

3.2 SHARED PRACTICES AND URBAN QUALITIES

Recently, the increased recognition of the importance of developing qualitative improvements in cities has also shed light on more practical issues. The European Commission has tracked the quality of life in cities since 2004 (European Commission, 2013[17]), while the United Nations has stressed the importance of the qualitative impact of creative industries by funding evidence-based studies on social inclusiveness, sustainability and how to create prosperity, along with putting in place practical steps for making social settings unlock the full potential of their dynamic capacity (Santos-Duisenberg, 2015[18]). Accordingly, urban policymakers have attempted to establish a connection between urban creativity and social wellbeing, through arguing how important culture and creativity are to the urban economy (European Union, 2018). While the appeal to 'creative cities' is commonly channelled towards 'urban qualities', it is evident that much of what is now regarded as important values do not necessarily fit neatly into economic conversations. Amsterdam, for example, is one of the biggest tourist attractions in the world. According to a recent study, in 2015, the city attracts more than 14,000,000 visitors yearly (RIS, 2017)[19].

[17] See European Commission (2013).

[18] See Kuhlke et al. (2015).

[19]It is important to note that this exemplar case is not to be critical of tourism per se, but rather to illustrate a restricted and obscure evaluation of cultural capital and the creative industries (Maas and Liket, 2011). www.ois.amsterdam.nl

While it is of course important to quantify the economic earning power of the creative industrial sector, as noted in the example of Amsterdam above, the numbers are not enough in themselves to represent urban living quality.

Given that social and cultural qualities are unquantifiable, they are invariably not detected immediately, which explains why policymakers are so concerned with how to detect them and how to unleash creativity in cities to make cities culturally and economically rich (Jacobs, 1964, 1969; Majoor, 2009). Successful ideas are invariably important, with their importance deriving from the ongoing conversations which make these ideas realisable and able to be disseminated (Collins, 2004; Csikszentmihalyi; 2014). Resultantly, the issue that cities face is to cultivate a practical method that allows for making urban qualities substantive. With this in mind, in accordance with scholars such as Klamer, identifying the practices that people share appears to be a promising way to do precisely this.

A practice denotes what people *do* in a given society. It is about the local context which is embedded in local streets and accumulated and shared by inhabitants, communities, and local shops. A practice is descriptive and (re)produces a certain discourse. As is the case in the Social sphere, so it is within the creative industry. This is because qualities matter profoundly in creative industries, in which certain creative groups develop and accrue a specific practice. Consider a community of would-be-creative workers in a city. There are several groups that contribute to various fields: media industries, fashion design industries, ICT companies, painters and visual artists, musicians, performing arts companies, cultural foundations, theatre groups, hi-tech workers, and so on. Each industry accumulates its own practice, comprising a range of pragmatic toolkits, as well as theoretical and empirical knowledge, a way of thinking, logic, and common patterns in production and consumption. All these combine to form the fundamental ground which stakeholders in the business use to make sense of it. These foundations, in turn, support and enhance the quality of creative production. Hence, the practice that people share is exclusive in this respect.

Designers or visual artists, for instance, have their own way of understanding artwork, transmitting particular ideas (formal or informal) in an attempt to realise the values that they want to realise. Even though an artist sells their painting for a price in the market without any approval from the artistic field in which the appropriators share practices, this work is

rarely qualified as it would be, say, for an IT worker. Although some IT workers may well hit unprecedented sales records, if they ignored the shared practice of the IT circle, they would be unlikely to receive a good evaluation, which produces rivalries.

The shared practice supports valorisation. ICT industries, for instance, valorise their creativity on the basis of ICT related discourse. If we were to examine a design industry in greater detail, we would see that designers develop and share their practices, which could involve training, education, criteria against which to judge skills, ideas, proficiency and so forth. A shared practice of design thus enhances their domain, as well as benefitting the relevant stakeholders. The fundamental tenets remain the same, irrespective of whether the practice is occurring at either a neighbourhood or city level: localities, social norms and local identity are what matters. That is to say, the shared practice of Amsterdam North will take on a different inflection than Rotterdam South's shared practice.

Based on this discussion, a certain collection of practices is thus capable of functioning as pragmatic determinants of quality, one which is based on mutual interactions between a specific group of stakeholders. It controls their behaviours (Child, 1994; Esfeld, 2003), provides a specific rhetoric and is, in a certain sense, both exclusive and normative. Consequently, a shared practice can be said to endorse and advocate a specific value. A group of musicians, for instance, would share their own shared practice that determines qualities of artwork. Mutatis mutandis for hi-tech workers. It has been said that, among other industries, creative sectors are prone to draw more on their own qualitative endorsement than quantitative formulations such as the total sales amount.

Term	Description
A shared practice	• A shared practice belongs to a certain group and serves a particular value that the group strives for • A share practice delivers a particular discourse • Others are excluded from shared ownership and there is rivalry • People can acquire ownership by participating in it • A shared practice cannot be bought and sold; it is not priced • A shared practice correlates to qualities that people endorse

(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Table 3.1 A shared practice]

Inasmuch as a shared practice corresponds to determining qualities and is a key driver of the creative industrial sector, it can thus be said that a shared practice is an expedient indicator for identifying social and cultural qualities. Of course, as argued here, a shared practice remains outside the purview of statistics. Moreover, it does not fully indicate the urban qualities and important values of cities, necessarily. However, in accordance with previous studies within cultural economics, the argument put forward in this thesis is that utilising shared practices, be it through an indirect approach, such as descriptive analysis, manipulating new type of data collection or interdisciplinary approaches, is critically important for making sense of the social and cultural qualities that make cities creative.

For the sake of institutional analysis, this thesis situates social practices into the basic frame of Klamer's Five sphere model. In this particular order, they are located in the intersection between the Social sphere and the Cultural sphere, in the sense that people build up certain types of practices by engaging in various kinds of social activities with different networks, while adhering to a particular cultural background. Social practices do not have an exchange value, nor can they be governed by the Governance sphere. Rather, the shared practices that creative industries generate are ultimately located at the intersection of the Market, Social and Cultural spheres. For example, by virtue of being situated within a distinguished group with a specific style, attitude or traditions (the Cultural sphere), a fashion designer would retain their practices via a process of interaction and sharing them with other designers who belong to the same group (the Social sphere), for the express purpose to produce goods and subsequently participate in the market (the Market sphere). Similarly, a shared practice of the first generation of start-ups in Amsterdam North was situated at the intersection of the Cultural, Social and Governance spheres, in that the municipality (the Governance sphere) placed priority on civic engagement by promoting grassroots initiatives (the Social sphere).To elaborate social and cultural practices, policymakers encouraged mostly community-based cultural activities so as to not ruin the local characteristics of the area. Subsequently, the policy for supporting start-ups gradually incorporated the business logic (the Market share) and began to operate at the intersection of the Cultural, Social and Market spheres. Los Angeles and New York are

similarly emblematic cases of this process in-action. There are also other more small and specialised creative agglomerations, such as in Eindhoven, Krowji, and the aforementioned Lille (Pratt, 2000; Scott, 2000; Brown, 2000; Waitt and Gibson, 2009; Harvey et al., 2012).

To develop shared practices, then, clearly requires a supportive environment, which would lie in the arena at the intersection of the Cultural and Social spheres which, ultimately, benefits the urban economy (the Market sphere) and be situated within an advanced civilised system (the Governance sphere). This arena can have marked advantages from urban dynamics, in that everyone is capable of gaining access to the social dynamics, cultural diversity, networks and various forms of open sources. Despite this, some cities develop a specialised practice, while others do not. Where is the bottom line in making use of these dynamics? Who has the initiative in developing them?

In light of these discussions, it is evident that introducing the concept of the commons would greatly benefit this conversation. To retain a degree of distance from the traditional understanding of this concept, this study conceptualises it in the urban context of the new economy in an attempt to establish an interdependent duality between the commons and the shared practice. In an ideal situation, people would exploit the commons without encouraging Philistinism within society, and each individual or group would develop shared practices in order to realise their distinct values. In this respect, the commons and shared practices would benefit each other, activate the social and cultural qualities within a given society, and generate positive externalities that might contribute to the supportive environment of cities. However, actual cities inevitably get involved in complexities. The commons are not always used to generate societal value. Therefore, cities require a critical overview of the notion of the commons in the urban context and the positive and negative interactions between the commons and the shared practice to deal with the manifold practical issues they face.

3.3 THE COMMONS WITHIN CITIES

In response to decaying neighbourhoods, urban regeneration has become a key driving force in reviving the local economy during periods of transition. Formerly rigid market logics

have been supplanted by more flexible ones, production based upon good price is no longer competitive, while adopting a strategy of economies of scale to increase the prosperity of the local economy would no longer work at this historical juncture. The new industrial paradigm triggered a profound shift in the labour force and radically transformed the idea of what is considered important in urban life. Faced with this industrial shift, cities have been seeking ways to transform the urban environment to make them an enriching place to live and work. For instance, historically, Rotterdam in the Netherlands and Ulsan in South Korea were both indebted to their harbours for their urban growth; however, modernisation led to these port industries no longer benefitting the local economy in the ways that they once did. The critical point of interest here is how cities can stand tall amidst these profound changes. That is to say, how can cities evolve and gain economic traction in such a way that makes these cities come alive. This raises the following question: what makes some cities take successful steps forward via the creation of creative environments while others stagnate or decline?

Simply put, restoring cities is not simply a question of constructing picturesque urban landscapes, but rather it is also about making sense of the conglomeration of different urban dynamics and improving shared practices. Some cities could seek to develop their capacities in the automotive industry or gas and oil industries, while others might specialise in the hi-tech industries or creative sectors. The localities of harbour cities like Rotterdam, for example, are presumably distinguished from those in Paris, as would the urban characteristics between New York and Beijing. Moreover, who lives in a city also has relevance to the labour structure of a city, as noted by Polanyi (Polanyi, 1944). Thus, creative urban transition is related not only to economic growth, but also industrial specialisation, social qualities, local culture and localities. Hence, a certain neighbourhood that holds certain practices would mobilise particular people who, in turn, make these specialised practices more active (Lavanga et al., 2019). For example, Paris has specialised in the visual arts among other industries. A shared practice in visual arts benefits those people who learn it or work within the relevant domain, which is why the crowd of creatives in visual arts agglomerate in Paris. The same thing happens in Milan with respect to the fashion industry. Silicon Valley is perhaps the emblematic case with respect to hi-tech

electronics, while New York is full of people associated with modern art. Amsterdam is a well-known place for creatives, hence why it comprises all kinds of creative start-ups. These examples testify to how people can generate, organise, and appropriate the commons of cities by way of a shared practice. A shared practice valorises the values that the participants share, such as the value of a neighbourhood. Then, what kind of commons is relevant for urban environments, for the creative economy. And what are the qualities of the shared practices that engender a commons?

3.3.1 THE COMMONS WITHIN CITIES AND SHARED PRACTICES

Traditionally speaking, the concept of the commons denotes the pastures surrounding the village, to which all villagers had free access and equal ability to exploit as they saw fit, due to the fact that no private ownership was allowed (Klamer, 2016). However, those who benefited from free riding brought about Philistinism within these societies. Hardin and other economists problematised this Philistinism and argued that privatisation or imposition of governmental authority would be the only safeguard against it (Gordon, 1954; Hardin, 1968; Lloyd, 1977).

Recently, Ostrom brought about a profound shift in the classical perspective by reviewing empirical studies, and then subsequently put forward a more expedient method via which to self-govern the resources, namely a community-based framework. Ostrom perceives the commons as common pool resources (CPRs); they are resources available to anyone interested with no clear ownership. The whales are an example: they swim around in the oceans and are a common resource as anyone can fish for them. In order to solve the collective-action problem, Ostrom introduced the Social sphere, and carefully articulated a tripartite framework comprising: supply, commitment, and monitoring (Ostrom, 1990). The core tenet of her approach is that these three factors are closely intertwined in the social context. In light of Ostrom's perspective, what is at stake here is that the commons becomes valuable insofar as its appropriators are aware of its embedded value, from out of which a valorisation process arises. The commons, therefore, has a lot to do with social and cultural practices.

Despite this groundbreaking shift, when we situate the notion of the commons in the urban context for the creative economy, it is questionable whether Ostrom's sense of the commons is applicable to cities (Borch and Kornberger, 2015; Foster and Iaione, 2016). The commons in cities are rather cultural and social practices. Creative people engage in and contribute to creative practices in the city. Or people participate in or contribute to social practices of all kinds. These practices are commons as they are accessible to others, say newcomers in the city; these practices are out there. Yet, more explicitly than in the case of the commons as defined by Ostrom, these social and cultural commons require involvement and contribution to shared practices in order to benefit from them. The free rider problem is less relevant, therefore. If you do not participate, contribute or make some kind of effort, you are not benefiting from the commons. A framework of common pool resources (CPRs) thus would be too limited to make sense of what people do and how people (re)produce, appropriate and share the commons in the new economy.

Accordingly, the commons in cities consists of mostly social and cultural practices and have certain social and cultural qualities. We may suspect that strong cities have a wide range of commons, each with distinctive qualities. Valorisation implies the realisation of such qualities, and that is only possible by participating and contributing, not by free riding. The commons is thus not an autonomous force, in that to say that the commons is autonomous would be to imply that it could prove itself irrespective of the context, which would make no sense. Rather, the role of the commons is to both influence and be influenced.

Referring back to the aforementioned example of Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) in Amsterdam, if people appraised the value of the regeneration planning only in relation to the standard economic viewpoint, thus ignoring local practices and important local values, then the vast sterile land would have been transformed into an economically functional space. However, a shrewd awareness of the social and cultural values embedded in the local area steered the neighbourhoods to valorise the shared values of the neighbourhood in ways that extended beyond instrumental value. There are no restrictions on the ways in which people can participate in all kinds of social and cultural activities, which can lead to

the development of a certain practice, such as in the example of Westergasfabriek (West gas factory).

Procedure	Description	Within the new framework
Input	social and cultural dynamics	sources
Action in reality	Participation and contribution / labour to discover values embedded in the sources	valorisation
Output/ outcome	practices or the commons that people share	A shared practice the commons

(source: elaborated by the author)

[Table 3.2 A shared practice and the commons]

As this thesis has repeatedly stressed, the focus of the commons here is on what people do. While the majority of conversations on the commons address the amount of it that people share, such as the natural resources of a village or shared spaces in themselves, in the emerging economy these conversations are directed more towards qualitative issues, such as knowledge, education, skills, social empowerment and networks. This is because the commons does not have a price, and it is rarely discovered in the Market sphere independently, nor discovered in the Governance sphere. Within the Cultural sphere, however, it provides an important background for supporting what people do.

Term	Description
The commons within cities	• The commons have no restriction on access • There is no ownership and there is no rivalry • The commons in cities more correlates to social and cultural practice s than natural resources, and related to the valorisation process • The commons are not autonomous. • The commons cannot be bought and sold; they are not priced • The commons are not governed by the government • The commons are located in the Cultural sphere in the Five sphere model

A willingness to contribute (WTC)	• We need to focus on qualities instead of quantities • Values are qualities, price is a quantity and is therefore not a value

(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Table 3.3 The commons within cities and a willingness to contribute (WTC)]

Moreover, the commons may not always involve positive social practices. For example, in a touristic neighbourhood, such as Dam Square in Amsterdam, inhabitants could generate, organise and make use of the commons exclusively, appealing to the protection of the local community against visitors; in this sense, people can engage in a shared practice and exclude others.

The commons have in principle no restriction on access. There is no ownership of it, which is to say that everyone in society can make use of it. In contrast, a shared practice is exclusive. A shared practice implies a sense of 'us', including one or another kind of relationship based on co-creation, such as a social network, conversations or community activities of a neighbourhood or friendship (Klamer, 2016). Shared practices mostly serve social and cultural values, and require civic participation and a willingness to contribute (WTC) count.

Therefore, the commons are shaped by the characteristics of the neighbourhood and people who live and work there. It appears to be governed by networks and mutual interactions. Shared practices seem to be a result of what people do, and a key driver of creating the commons. Qualities of the commons are characterised by the shared practices. Presumably, there is a specific place where a particular idea and relevant practices are collected, circulated and developed. In this respect, clustering theories would benefit us. The basic idea behind clustering is that entities that provide specific types of goods can arise only in milieus where other kinds of producers are also emerging (Jacobs, 1969), due to the fact that different neighbourhoods follow different labour structures (Marshall, 1919), which, in turn, promote different practices and value creation. In this vein, this thesis adopts insights from clustering analysis in its effort to verify the existence of creatives. While the

structure of labour might not be a determinant of creative cities, it is a basic requirement for creative transition in cities.

3.4 GOODS IN CREATIVE CITIES

It is self-evident that what people produce and consume in the new economy is distinguished from that within the previous urban economy. Creative industries involve new networks and modes of labour. New economic activities, such as co-creation, have come into existence. Moreover, they often take place regardless of remunerative incentives, because pricing is not the final stage of production. Indeed, while creative industries produce goods, these cannot be divided simply into either private or public goods. They are something more, in this respect. Creative economic activities generate other type of goods. Consider, in this respect, Philips, a global electronics company based in Eindhoven, in the Netherlands.

Immediately across from Eindhoven station is a huge factory building, where Phillips was originally based. Historically, this electronics giant produced considerable income which contributed to the local economy's growth. The company hired many local people, paid taxes to the local government and attracted related businessmen to the city. It would be safe to say, then, that the city was indebted, so to speak, to the company in terms of its urban development. In the late twentieth century, Phillips moved their headquarters to Amsterdam, and the bulb company switched off the lights in their factory in Eindhoven for the last time. The company left their hometown and built a new nest with a deeper level of concentration in the marketplace in order to avoid having to downsize. One could imagine the scale of the project facing the local government in Eindhoven to address this empty place, both physically symbolically within the city. In the aftermath of the new millennium, the area started to evolve without compromising its local identity. The historical manufacturing factory was taken over by a new industrial agglomeration of creative industries. The urban redevelopment focused on making the former industrial area a creatively vibrant space. Over 100 creative start-ups, above all, from within the Dutch design sector and hi-tech technology, have formed creative clusters there. Creatives

produce innovation and new collaborations, based on their shared practices and via co-creative modes of working. The unique factory was switched on again and powered by a different concept: creative outcomes.

Creatives produce a range of outcomes, such as creative vibes, manifold cultural activities, business collaborations, social networks, innovation and commodities. It is evident that creative outcomes, a multifaceted production, benefit cities, and make the urban environment vibrant and creative. However, how do people see the value of this building and evaluate what people do there?

On the one hand, there is no doubt that the hereditary toolkits of standard economics are ill-equipped to adequately account for the capacity of this building. Pricing its asset value, the demand-supply analysis would measure the value of this building, albeit in a limited sense. This conceptual framework is unlikely to account for the practices that creatives have developed, or the innovative forms of convergence projects between the different businesses that reside there. On the other hand, it is also clear that we cannot determine the amount of social and cultural value creation in the field of quantification. If so, pragmatically speaking, it requires another way of articulating the impact of non-economic values, such as adopting an indirect approach to this question. Certainly, it might be a challenge to structuralise non-economic, descriptive, and context-driven values, and account for economic activities without using a rigorous economic approach. The principal motivation for rising to this challenge is to point out that people live in the real society, produce and consume goods that support their lives. In the aforesaid Eindhoven example, creatives produce some goods and services which directly generate economic value, while others, such as social networks and their own practices which are connected to the working culture, create other forms of impact. To be sure, what they do is not done in a laboratory where every variable can be controlled, nor is it directly applicable to quantitative analysis. In this sense, this extended interpretation of goods provides cities with significant insights into how to count value creation within the creative sectors. To this end, it is instructive to briefly describe how pathfinders, who hold a different perspective, have established a comprehensive way to count the outcomes of the emerging economy in terms of goods.

3.4.1 TALKING GOODS

A very small village nearby a mountain has been slowly taking on a new form. A group of farmers there gather every Monday evening in an abandoned school building, where ordinarily they read books, share ideas, learn from each other, and have conversations about ordinary life. In the beginning, the gathering emerged out of a community book club, of which 70% of the village's dwellers were members. The primary purpose of this gathering is simply to facilitate good socialising between local people and to share what they have, such as, books, experiences, knowledge, skills, craft, food, recipes and practical savoir faire. Of course, there are some creatives who are at the forefront of leading the group. They contribute their knowledge and passion to the community, promoting people to get involved in building networks. In six months, the community began to make concrete changes to their village. The group organised an education program that developed their own recipes for healthy food, informal classes to improve life, and even small businesses in collaboration with the local government. The local people have developed initiatives, while the government contributes to institutionalised settings. What have been the outcomes of these initiatives and collaboration between villagers and the government.

Stringent economists would immediately state that because they do not produce any kinds of goods, their endeavours are without value, strictly speaking. However, what happened here intrigued outsiders, who began to pay close attention to this community and show their willingness to contribute to the village (Klamer, 2016). For instance, one artist shared his paintings for free, a businessman contributed to developing management skills, a retired professor contributed a beautiful wooden bench, while local craftsmen provided artwork to improve the ambience of the space. The space, the abandoned school, has now been transformed into a creative place where people gather, share and unleash local creativity. So, what do these people produce then?

From a different perspective, scholars have proposed to broaden the conceptual definition of goods, in order to be more responsive to non-economic goods (Hirsh, 1978; Douglas and Isherwood, 1979; Bourdieu, 1984; Campbell, 1987; Throsby, 2001; Klamer, 2003a). In light of such work, a new categorisation of goods was urgently required. Klamer addressed this need for an alternative conceptualisation of goods by probing the relations

between goods and value creation. Based on the rationale that goods convey, represent or serve to realise different kinds of values, he classified goods into three groups: economic, social, and cultural. Each of these goods is concerned with the production of economic, social and cultural values, respectively. Cultural goods, for instance, serves cultural values (Klamer, 2001, 2002), while economic goods deliver economic value that is realised and appraised primarily via monetary transactions in the market. Various goods are assumed to be available in the market, including commodities, food, buildings, property assets and services. The evaluation of economic goods mainly pertains to how much money they generate.

Social goods hold social values which are reflective of what people care about. A group of people, society, or even a nation have different norms which represent something important to that community. For those who live in a community where kinship is of especial importance, social goods take priority over others. People produce social goods through social networks, friendships, memberships, participation, various community activities, and other forms of belonging within society. However, social goods cannot be priced in the conventional sense of the term, and neither do they generate instant transactions. Social interaction similarly does not guarantee any prompt economic benefits or monetary transactions. Membership, moreover, literally provides a person with the right to be connected to members of a certain group. It makes no promise of any financial returns. Despite these aforesaid points, there is an emergent awareness of the importance of social goods. For example, Jacobs highlighted the critical role of social goods in urban development (Jacobs, 1964), Bourdieu put forward the concept of capitalised social goods from a structural perspective (Bourdieu, 1979), while Klamer conceptualised social goods from the perspective of cultural economics, by arguing that people consume social goods more than they do commodities, citing the examples of relationships and interactions (Klamer, 2002).

Cultural goods represent cultural value, which point towards a greater goal than social value does. A range of cultural activities, such as craftsmanship, artwork, heritage structures, symbolic statues, religious paintings, national identity and creativity can all be considered as cultural goods. Cultural goods could be recognised by a particular group, society or a

nation. In this respect, cultural goods are explanatory, rather than being strictly normative, and hold relativistic standards, not absolute ones. For the most part, cultural goods do not serve values in market-oriented production, albeit cultural goods can of course become commodified. Tourism, for instance, is one typical business model by which cultural goods become part of the market in consumption-oriented products.

People create goods as mediums. For instance, performances function as a medium through which to convey various symbolic messages and artistic values, inspire community spirit, or even edify a society. Let us consider once again the example of the farmers' book club in the mountain village. The outcomes of these various activities could be interpreted as multiple goods: cultural goods that realise community spirit, culinary skills and locally-oriented recipes; social goods via building networks, interactions, social empowerment, relationships among dwellers; economic value via the promotion of a small business with local sources. To be sure, creatives make other inhabitants more creative; however, the values embedded in goods cannot be transmitted without the awareness of inhabitants. Consequently, we must extend the meaning and the scope of goods in the context of the new economy, due to the fact that cities have to situate creative outcomes within a highly organised economic structure. As Polanyi argued:

We need to rethink economics. More fundamentally, we have to rethink the real value of goods and services… (Polanyi, 2013: 191)[20]

The principal insight to keep in mind throughout the remainder of this chapter is that the new framework is not seeking to wholly substitute for the existing economic structure, but rather merely attempting to extend the narrow perspective for the sake of successful urban transition within the context of the new economy.

[20] See Polanyi (2013).

3.5 DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK FOR CREATIVE OUTCOMES

… Clearly, Baumol and Bowen had looked at the 'real' world to invent their 'disease', but I would still qualify their contribution as theoretical, or at least conceptual… (Ginsburgh, 2012)

In economics, building a framework or a model is widely used to make sense of economic activities through recourse to a conceptual understanding. The intended contribution of every framework is to make the heterogenous outcomes of economic activities accountable. In the same vein, cultural economists invented new narratives through which the application of economic theory and analytical technique could be applied to the new creative sectors (Blaug, 2001). Underpinned by the rationale of demonstrating that art and culture generate greater marginal benefits per unit of expenditure than other activities, the domain of cultural economics utilises a wide range of economic techniques to analyse the value of cultural production without reducing it to the question of the amount of individual satisfaction one derives from cultural property (Peacock, 1969; Frey, 2000). A significant problem that cultural economists have made considerable headway in addressing pertains to how to specify the characteristics of cultural value in a way that maintain their economic significance. More specifically, the burgeoning field of cultural economics has demonstrated that it is possible to evaluate creative outcomes from two perspectives: Impact analysis and the willingness-to-pay approach as proposed by Contingent Valuation Methodology (CVM).

Impact analysis is about calculating the multiple effects induced by expenditures. With regards to the investment involved in an art festival, for instance, the main concern here is to measure where the money is going and who the investors are. Once a festival is organized, the input of public expenditure creates jobs, regardless of whether these positions are temporary or permanent, and brings economic returns. The output is evaluated mainly through monetary calculations of the audience's consumption levels, such as paying for tickets, food, accommodations and so on, as well as the expenditure on the acts that play at the festival. The festival may produce a certain ambience in the region or strengthen cultural identity of its community; however those qualitative outcomes are not

taken into account in this assessment. Once again, the typical question of who benefits from this rears its head. Ultimately, the outcomes are supposed to generate multiple effects in the economic domain.

Conversely, the willingness-to-pay approach concentrates on the question of how much money people will pay to procure a specific cultural product or participate in specific cultural activities. The raison d'être of such research is to estimate the maximum price that would be paid by a person. Based on this idea, hedonic regression, travel cost approach and CVM were developed. Among others, CVM seems to be used in a broad range of research looking at non-use value. CVM is carried out by a survey, so the results can be considered to be relatively reliable in that the survey is undertaken under stringent conditions. However, creating the perfect conditions under which to sustain a hypothetical situation is impossible in reality.

The concern that integrating all values into standard economic valuations ultimately creates a mismatch between statistical assessments and reality, and produces a suite of empirical inconsistencies called for further research for a better understanding of creative outcomes, such as social impact and cultural practices (Throsby, 2001; Klamer, 2004, 2013; Maas and Liket, 2011; Quinn, 2005). Along with various scholars, the question I would like to ask is: to what extent can market-driven reasoning faithfully represent value creation in creative industries[21]? While marginal utility theory is undoubtedly capable of accounting for a variety of human activities, the results invariably overestimate the impact of cultural consumption and production. More specifically, within this approach qualitative issues are interpreted in terms of efficiency, that is, how much a one-unit input would generate multiple effects. Although there have been extensive discussions on human activities in the economic context, the logic of analytics has mostly followed the market logic, taking recourse to concepts such as utility, scarcity, satisfaction, taste or preference (Smith; 1776, Ricardo; 1817, Walras; 1874). Within this formulation, all qualitative aspects of new economic activities, such as artistic and cultural production, are determined eventually by monetary transactions. Consequently, while in certain respects CVM appears cogent, it singularly focuses on the subject of how much people are willing to pay, that is, in the

[21] See Hansen (1997), Frey(1997a), and Snowball (2007)

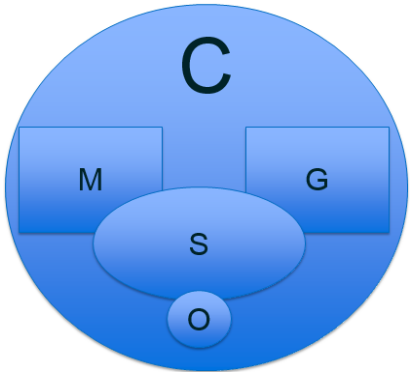
market sphere. In so doing, it pays scarce attention to other spheres and overlooks the descriptive values and dynamic interactions that drive new economic activities (Caves, 2000; Frey, 2000).

In order to overcome this limited perspective, the framework that this thesis formulates strives to cross sectors by integrating different spheres into one model that can inform policymakers and practitioners in the facilitation and dissemination of creative outcomes via the urban economy. Of course, the notion that people organise a framework across sectors for the purposes of underscoring the important values inherent to the new industries is not a new one: the concentric model elaborates upon the role of the creative and cultural sectors, identifying their core values and explaining the entire process of moving from core values to implications and industrial structure (Throsby, 2001); the IRs model situates markets in the dynamic relations of social values and specifies the impact of social interaction upon cultural value (Collins, 2004); urban studies cast light on the correlation between financial crises and cultural capital development in the urban context (Pratt, 2010, 2013); while based on a rationale that extends the notion and the scope of goods on the basis of their original interpretation by Aristotle (Klamer,1996, 2017), Klamer's the Five sphere model creates a hierarchy of values brought about by the new economy (Klamer, 2016).

Based on these rich discussions, the central issue at stake here concerns the need for a perspective that not only accounts for market logic and governmental interventions, but rather also for the logic of the social and cultural spheres, grounded in an awareness that the subtleties of creative outcomes are prone to socially and culturally specific practices. To reiterate the central argument of this thesis, the commons and shared practices and goods, which are located in the social and cultural spheres, serve as expedient indicators of the social and cultural qualities of cities and neighbourhoods. In this vein, the Five sphere model provides an important theoretical framework through which to elucidate what exactly people realistically do in the new economy from a macro-based perspective (Klamer, 2016).This model accounts for the different values that multiple stakeholders generate, as well as the complexities of creative industries. The central purpose of this model is to enable cities to analyse the economic activities of creative industries, without reducing the

complexity of these relevant values, and to interpret them as human behaviours rather than quantifiable things.

The model seeks to achieve a rational understanding of the new economic activities in order, with respect to the five spheres: Cultural, Social, Oikos, Market and Governance spheres as depicted in Figure 3.1 (Klamer, 2016). Each sphere is characterised by different kinds of value creation; for example, C conveys cultural value, S delivers social value, G embodies societal value, M denotes economic value and mainly represents market value, while O symbolizes home.



(Source: Klamer (2016))

[Figure 3.1 The Five Sphere model]

The expedience of this model derives from its ability to situate the Market sphere in the Cultural sphere. Hence, a market functions in conjunction with the Social sphere, while remaining independent of the Governance sphere. The Cultural sphere, as indicated, encompasses other spheres, and, as such, denotes qualities that transcends the social, the relational or, even for that matter, the economic sphere. In this conversation, the practices that make up social and economic activities are part of a specific culture in each society, rather than being subject to the logic of scarcity or the exclusionary uses of the sort that apply to more natural resources (Klamer, 2001; Harvey, 2013).Thus, we need something that goes beyond pricing; we need a new methodology that is capable of illustrating the social and cultural characteristics along with the new economic activities to help scholars make sense of contemporary cities.

4. MAPPING AND ANALYSING (A)

… What does "economically feasible" really mean? Does it mean that...there was a sufficiently large and solvent market there to make their production worthwhile…? No, it means something more. …existing capacities-a creative thing to do- and by using many already existing local producers who needed only to expand work they were already capable of doing or to adapt it somewhat, the manufacturers made the new work economically feasible.

(Jacobs, 1969, p.149-150)

4.1 DEVELOPING RESPONSIVE INDICATORS

Cities have the capability to not only induce high-levels of economic growth, but also to develop the cultural environment (Scott, 1997). In the previous chapters, we discussed how cities create a diverse range of activities that contribute to the urban dynamics. This not only occurs via the nexus of transport, land-use and public space design, but rather by the qualities of the dynamics, such as the stability of labour dynamics, social interactions and cultural interdependency (Council of Europe, 1998). These qualities provide an innovative impulse that breeds sustainable neighbourhoods as well as creative industries, and is associated with the agglomeration of human creative energy (Lash and Urry, 1994; Molotch, 1996; European Commission, 2013[22]; Glaeser et al, 1992; Henderson et al, 1995; Lucas, 1998; Stolarick and Florida, 2006).

The analysis presented in the previous chapter made it clear that scholars must look beyond the economic dynamics and instead also consider the social dynamics qua networks and neighbourhoods, to fully account for the underlying dynamics and the likelihood that creative activities will emerge and, in turn, propel innovative social and economic practices

[22] See European Commission (2013).

(Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Throsby, 2001; Potts and Cunningham, 2008; Klamer, 2016, 2019). The extensive interactions, as several researchers have already pointed out, play an important role in stimulating both the urban creative synergies (Jacobs, 1969; Powell et al, 1996; Scott, 1997) and the creative economy that such synergies bring about (DCMS, 1998; DCMS, 2001; Myerscough, 1998; Garnham, 2005[23]).

In an attempt to be responsive to this economic shift, policymakers in many cities have concentrated on the creative industries as a way through which to revitalise their city (Pratt, 2012, 2013[24]; Throsby, 2001; Frey, 2003; Magala, 2009; Karolyi, 2016). Such as in the aforesaid examples of Amsterdam North, Rotterdam and Eindhoven, Seoul has made efforts to open up new opportunities for creative industries. Following the advice of Richard Florida and other scholars, politicians have placed their hopes in creative transition in the hands and minds of creative workers. This is because policymakers assume that creative workers can generate an increase in demand for creative work, which, in turn, generates economic benefits (Florida, 2002).

However, the proposition put forward in this thesis is that the sheer volume of creatives or number of cultural and creative centres cannot alone determine the potential of creative transition and urban qualities. One could say, for the sake of being more accurate, that creative buzz is something which is generated beyond the agglomeration of creative workers alone. In other words, constructing a Modern Art gallery, theatre or artistic centre in a run-down neighbourhood is not enough in and of itself to create urban qualities (Majoor, 2009; McFarlane, 2012).

In this vein, Jacobs' argument is that policymakers have a blind spot in their understanding with respect to the policies they are developing for creative transition. According to Jacobs, the way to make cities economically feasible is not to make all cities wholly identical with their cultural amenities, but rather to create receptive social settings that make sense of the local identity and the complexity of the locale, and adapts the urban environment to the new industries. This raises the question of whether urban qualities are improving or otherwise as a result of the cultural policy of promoting creativity as a means

[23] See Nicholas Garnham (2005), and Myerscough (1988).

[24] See Pratt (2013).

through which to stimulate economic growth? The question is not a straightforward one to answer. The reason for this is that while we can quantify a great deal, we do not really know how to assess the qualities of a city. This implies that cities need a refined method through which to formulate indicators that characterise the social and cultural qualities of a given city, neighbourhood or community (Bourdieu, 1997, 1979; Jacobs, 1964, 1969). As noted in the previous chapter, this is where the concept of a shared practice comes into play.

To the extent that a shared practice illustrates the characteristics of social and economic practices, such as labour dynamics, cultural diversity, localities, networks and social norms, it can be said to be an expedient indicator for characterising urban qualities. Consequently, how can people identify practices that operate beyond the boundaries of economic dynamics? In what way can we articulate the overarching interdependency between value creation and urban qualities? Is it enough to simply make use of the standard economics toolbox? If not, is there an alternative way to trace the urban characteristics in the context of the creative economy?

For the purposes of making these urban qualities feasible and operational, the United Nations rolled out the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the New Urban Agenda with an especial focus upon a pragmatic toolkit for policy designers to use to generate creative urban transition. In light of this, the task of governmental entities became to devise an informed and evidence-based approach to urban planning in order to unleash urban creativity and facilitate social qualities (UNESCO, 2016; UN, 2015). By acknowledging that practices are descriptive, nuanced and context-based, cities should consider hermeneutic analysis as the best way through which to examine a shared practice. Interpretive analysis benefits scholars in terms of the impact between economic achievement and qualitative factors, such as cultural factors (see McCloskey (2007) and Storr (2003))[25].In response to this, the present study attempts to develop a hermeneutic framework that can form part of the practical toolkit for probing urban qualities. Two points are worthy of mention here.

First, it is evident that much of the creative work in the new economy requires pools of highly- qualified labourers (Grabher, 2004). Creative workers promote the creative vibes of

[25]See McCloskey (2007), Storr (2003), and Sen (2004).

the city and contribute to the qualities of the urban environment. Second, the social and cultural qualities are not simply imported by promoting exclusively cultural activities or increasing the density of highly qualified labourers. More specifically, the creative synergy of cities emerges out of the qualified practices that people share in the diverse spaces of neighbourhoods and cities.

With respect to the analysis of workers in the creative industries, this framework estimates the relative concentration of creative workers in a given city compared to the national average, rather than, say, measuring the sheer number of creative workers in the city. Based on the understanding of the labour structure, the framework also attempts to interpret the shared practices and social dynamics to establish whether the local context proceeds in parallel with the creative activities. A key attribute of a shared practice concerns the fact that it is about a pattern of practices that people create and share, as well as the interdependency between creative activities and social responses, as opposed to the sheers number of visitors, the profit generated from a cultural event, or the size of the industrial network.

More specifically yet still, for the most part, social dynamics are detectable through what people talk about and what values they strive for. However, conversation, which is a complex synchronic interaction, is rarely captured by what scholars usually focus their analytical gaze on, which tends to be the economic infrastructure. This represents the major contribution of the framework put forward in this study: it provides an alternative means through which to analyse a shared practice and the commons. For the sake of conducting a descriptive analysis with indirect indicators, a different kind of data analysis and a hermeneutic approach are required. As will be discussed in the next section, by making use of Big data (mostly from social media channels) this framework encourages cities to envisage the Social and Cultural spheres as strata in which important values and qualities come about. Cities, for example, can picture the neighbourhood as a place where urban creativity and social qualities are being realised. Neighbourhoods can have a life of their own also. The same applies at the street level, as Jacobs famously demonstrated (Jacobs, 1964). When those living in a street claim ownership over it, various social qualities are accentuated, such as the quality of safety, social cohesion and a sense of belonging.

In this vein, the Five sphere model is to be construed as a theoretical segmentation through which to characterise the interactions and conversations vis-à-vis to the values embedded in them. This study uses this model as a foundation from which to map the complexities of what people talk about and what values they strive for. The movie industry, for instance, produces and reproduces both cultural value and economic value, and thus is located within both the logic of the Market and the Cultural spheres. A pattern of civic engagement such as the aforesaid creative activities that occurred at Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) can be mapped as operating within the intersectional interstices between the Social and Cultural spheres. Mapping shared practices through recourse to the Five sphere model is of key benefit to making sense of the characteristics of an environment. It enables people to discover where a supportive environment is and where they can find a relevant commons which will best enable them to realise their important values.

Spheres	Key values	A shared practice	The commons
The Cultural Sphere	Cultural values	Cultural and artistic activities, Cultural traits, Cultural dynamics, Local spirit, tradition, Symbols	Mainstream culture, Cultural contents of institutionalised sharing[26]
The Social Sphere	Social values	Clustering, Social characteristics, Social dynamics, Social practices	Local knowledge, Social norms, Communities and networks in the neighbourhoods/cities
The Governance Sphere	Societal values	Policy trends, Hierarchy, Institutions, Function/customs of organisations	Political infrastructure, Administrative system

[26] See Frischmann (2014)

The Market Sphere	Economic/ Financial values	Labour dynamics, Practices in markets	Labour concentration, Size of a market, Market specialities, Functional system
The Oikos Sphere	Personal values	Family culture, Tradition	Institutions for supporting family

(Source: elaborated by the author from the Five sphere model of Klamer)

[Table 4.1 Interdependency between the commons and shared practices]

The following discussion focuses on characterising urban qualities within the new framework that this thesis is developing. With respect to the new types of data and the interpretive approach being adopted in this research, the proceeding section unpacks this new framework before applying it to empirical studies in Chapter 5 and 6.

4.2 A NEW APPROACH TO DATA COLLECTION AND INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS

Beyond market efficiency and effectiveness, there is a non-commodifiable phase that determines urban qualities, which comprises several factors: a supportive environment; an outstanding density of people employed in the creative industries; social interaction; social and cultural values of cities characterise qualities in kind, and are susceptible to internal variables which are flexible and relative (Grabher, 2002, 2004; Pratt, 2013).

Indicators deriving from the addition of products or financial revenues are not enough to characterise this phase. The previous discussion appealed to the indirect and traceable way of analysis via the development of a new framework that interprets both shared practices and labour dynamics, for the express purpose of characterising the social and cultural qualities of neighbourhoods and cities. This study is investigating two hypotheses with regards to this new framework.

Hypothesis 1. The labour structure is associated with local characteristics and social practices. A distinct presence of creative workforce is most likely to develop a particular practice in creative sectors.

The idea that dense networks of creative industries and clusters of specialised workforce are essential for promoting the new economy has been well-established in extant literature (Harvey, 1987; Albertsen, 1988; Florida, 2002; Scott, 2006), due to the fact that any given labour agglomeration evokes a place-specific atmosphere across cities (Marshall, 1919; Van der Panne 2004). More specifically, a significant agglomeration of creatives is perhaps the basic indicator of the potential for urban creativity, in the sense that creatives invariably seek out specific places in which they can best realise their values and expertise (Menger, 1993). Thus, we attempt to shape a labour structure by measuring the labour concentration of cities with an industry approach. It is noting that this framework does not take the meaningful presence of creatives as a sufficient condition in and of itself for the new economy, but rather as constituting a key part of the local characteristics.

Hypothesis 2. A shared practice is about a particular practice that reflects what people do. It is characterised and reinforced by high-levels of civic engagement and private and social initiatives, rather than governmental initiatives and interventions.

While generating new insights and modes of creativity is important, making them feasible is arguably more important. What is ultimately at stake when trying to establish a new idea within an existing environment is promoting social initiatives. When seeking to incubate a creative metamorphosis for the new urban transformation, the importance of civic engagement and grassroots entrepreneurialism has been noted (EU roadmap, 2009; European Parliament, 2011; European Commission, 2013). It is social participation that is conducive for projects closely linked to creative transformation, or the regeneration of urban landscapes (Gualini and Majoor, 2007; Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012; Peck, 2012; Uitermark, 2014). The change in what people do happens when people participate and contribute towards an improvement of the project. In order to identify the change and

characterise a shared practice, we must see how the social sector responds to the new ideas by understanding how important symbolic meanings make a city work, along with identifying the basic factors that underpin creativity, dynamic interaction between creative activities and the local spirit (MacCallum, 2009; Boonstra and Boelens, 2011; Iveson, 2013).

Based on these remarks, making sense of shared practices hinges on looking at social interactions, civic engagement and cultural practices, or, better yet still, the social values that are embedded in the Social sphere (Jacobs, 1964; Hall, 1998; Russo, 1985; Lundvall and Johnson, 1994). To analyse social awareness and patterns of interactions, big data, gathered mostly from social media portals, is useful in terms of organising an explanatory data set (Pfeffer et al., 2016). Two points are of special interest here: first, given that they contain real-time information, big data describes reflective and updated social practices (Arribas-Bel, 2014; Sevin, 2014; Bian et al., 2016); second, the huge amount of sources requires manipulating the data set via the use of filters. Or, phrased otherwise, big data analysis allows cities to crystallize certain traits among complex variations (Kitchin, 2014; Andéhn et al., 2014); for instance, cities can trace the relative patterns or attributes of different spheres within a spatial condition such as jurisdiction, neighbourhood, cluster, or city space. In this conversation, the data mostly shows us dynamics interactions, networking, social awareness, cultural acceptance, symbolic meanings and stories that people care about, as well as local context, social and cultural practices that either relate to each other or to a specific environment. Moreover, if available, this study makes use of city survey data to analyse what value is important to people who live in the given neighbourhoods.

This framework is more concerned with	Rather than
• What kind of creative sector is good for the given neighbourhood/ city? • Does the given neighbourhood/ city provide a supportive social and cultural environment for a certain creative industry? • In which part of cultural and artistic sectors should the (local) government subsidize? • How can cities deal with multiple stakeholders in an integrated framework, in an urban regeneration plan?	• How many creative centres are located in the given neighbourhood/ city? • How much does the given neighbourhood/ city produce economic returns? What about the (local) market size? • Should the (local) government subsidize the cultural and artistic sectors or not? • How can cities attract giant investors to their jurisdictions, when cities plan an urban regeneration plan?

(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Table 4.2 Key questions of this framework]

4.3 METHODOLOGY

Following this discussion, the method utilised in this study comprises three phases: firstly, measuring the concentration of people employed in the creative industries in cities and comparing it, relatively, to the national average; second, mapping characteristics of social and cultural practices via utilising big data, in an attempt to detect the shared practices between people; third, estimating from city survey data the probabilities of a change of characteristics or patterns embedded in the Social and Cultural spheres. Note that Phase 1 and Phase 2 attempt to examine the first hypothesis, and Phase 2 and Phase 3 endeavour to answer the second hypothesis.

	Purpose	Data Collection		Approach	Analysis	Research question
		SEL	AMS			
1st	Identifying the characteristics of the labour structure	Labour statistics provided by KOSTAT	Labour statistics provided by LISA	Industry approach	LQ analysis	Do cities have dense creative workers, people employed in the creative industries?
2nd	Characterising social and cultural practices	Social media data collected from Naver, Twitter	Social media data collected from Twitter	Hermeneutic approach	Big Data Analysis with Software R, Python	How cities get to know different social and cultural qualities? Do cities provide a supportive environment to generate the commons related to the creative industries? Do social and cultural practices respond to creative activities?
3rd	Articulating changes in what people do in a micro level	Civic Survey of Seoul	N/A	Bayesian approach	Survey data analysis with Bayesian model	How do cities make sense of changes in shared practices in a micro level?

(Source: elaborated by the author)

4.3.1 PHASE1 CALIBRATING INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

To begin with, this study explores the local labour structure by collecting industrial data and using a formula of Location Quotients (LQs). This formula has been widely accepted in economics, in order to analyse regional economic base, by quantifying how concentrated a particular occupation, industry or cluster (Mayer and Pleeter, 1975; Isserman, 1977; Norcliffe, 1983; Crawley et al., 2013; Morrissey, 2016). LQs measure the relative concentration of a sector or occupation in the economy of a given local area compared to the national average, providing information of what makes a particular region specialised in

comparison to the national average. In the case of creatives, due to limitations associated with the empirical data, keeping with the industry approach, this thesis, follows previous work by focusing on industrial data as an alternative data source (Caves, 2000; Turok, 2003; Jayne, 2005).

LQs make it possible to illustrate the mainstream labour force of the local industries by calculating the density of people employed in the creative industries from secondary data. This indicator refers to the industrial specification of a region relative to national employment.

$$LQ = \frac{e_i/e}{E_i/E}$$

Where: ei=Local employment in industry i, e=Local total employment, Ei=Reference area employment in industry i, E=Reference area total employment.

[Figure 4.1 LQ Analysis]

An LQ of over 1.0 in mining means that there exists a specific concentration that is higher than average in the given area, which denotes the mainstream labour force of the region, whereas an LQ below 1.0 indicates that the region is below the average level of specialisation. We classify industries that hold a significant degree of LQs and shape the labour structure of a city based on the LQs. Not only do the results include the presence of creative workers, they also allude to the atmospherics for which the local labours would be conducive. As aforesaid, however, the high-degree pool of creatives does not in itself mean the valorisation of creative ideas. For the sake of a more nuanced interpretation, this thesis seeks to identify the interaction and degree of reflection between the Social sphere and other spheres in those neighbourhoods in which creatives are concentrated. This reflection implies various characteristics about the neighbourhood, such as what values are important to the local people and what they do to achieve the valorisation or dissemination of these values.

4.3.2 PHASE2 MAPPING PRACTICES

The second stage attempts to illustrate the social mapping that accentuates important values and shared practices of the given neighbourhoods and cities. Big data affords the possibility of covering multiple phases of research and pattern analyses, inasmuch as it contains a large number of real-time observations[27]. In the sense that this kind of data provides realistic and pragmatic information, it has been considered novel sources of data (Hacking, 1983). Such a provision of information at a more granular level would enable cities to conduct interpretive analyses which were both nuanced and explanatory.

In this research, as aforementioned, we mostly collect data from social media and search engines via web scraping of messages sent between accounts by counting word frequencies. This is a popular way to analyse social media data (Schroeder, 2014). There are a number of sources from digital media, such as Wikipedia, Twitter, Instagram, Facebook or Pinterest. In applied settings, this academic study uses open access data: NAVER (provides Korean search engines and social media channels) and Twitter for the case of Seoul, and Twitter for the case of Amsterdam. The social media data has been collected by two data expert groups: ConciergeSoft in Seoul and Oscity in Amsterdam. For the sake of data analysis, this study makes use of software R and Python and creates word clouds, since Twitter data would need to be closely treated to translate the context, for instance, by making a scope of specific populations, targeted in particular times or particular places, and with specific context of messages (Thelwall et al., 2012; Schroeder, 2014). In settings, due to the limitation to get access to personal information for sorting out specific population, this study is setting geographical and periodic scopes with an analytic focus on the local context of creative activities: a particular neighbourhood of each city, Jung-Gu in Seoul, and Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek in Amsterdam, and particular times, for Jung-Gu between 2013 and 2015, and for Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek between 2014 and 2016. The case studies follow in Chapter 5 and 6.

[27] See Chetty et al.(2018). Recently, a research on economic and social problems in the United States has been performed in the Department of Economics at Harvard University by using Big data, and opened a course by an economist, Raj Chetty in 2019. Big data is classified into two types: a long data set and a wide data set. In this study, we use a wide data set, since the focus here is not to claim causality, but to characterize patterns of practices.

By providing a wide range of ways to analyse this data analysis is useful for detecting the hidden patterns and unknown interdependencies in the complex conditions of large data sets by converting nuanced contexts into a hermeneutic model, such as visual materials, via which cities can retrieve certain social patterns, changing practices or characteristics of interaction (Hochman, 2014; Housely et al., 2014), which lie outside the purview of standard economics. Albeit big data analysis greatly contributes to capturing characteristics of shared practices, it is also problematic in that the data only can be collected in real time, and there is a lack of demographic information of accounts (Mislove et al., 2011), and the detail traits are hardly distinguishable from the descriptive analysis. Consider here, for instance, a certain neighbourhood of Amsterdam that shows a high degree of awareness on cultural value, but do not indicate a detailed illustration of different qualities on cultural value. In this vein, extensive regional survey figures obviously enable cities to trace local characteristics in detail (Riddington et al., 2006).

Important here is that the primary purpose of this analytics is to claim the patterns of shared practices and human behaviour (Taylor et al., 2014). Attempted is an understanding of how big data analysis can help cities identify qualities of the commons, and if repeated, could also expose changes of qualities, which is important in cultural economics analysis.

4.3.3 PHASE3 CHARACTERISING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES

The third phase, if available, attempts to more elaborate social and cultural traits by analysing civic survey data. The civic survey is a popular methodology in gathering statistical evidence in order to examine civic participation and urban planning (Hooghe, 2003; Hewitt, 2012). Surveys of cultural backgrounds and social trends contribute towards an understanding of what people do and what is important to people in their neighbourhoods and cities – albeit, unfortunately, not all cities collect this data. In this study, due to the absence of data of Amsterdam, survey data analysis is limited to the case of Seoul for the same period, between 2013 and 2015. In order to get a more rigorous exploring line of patterns and discover the social and cultural properties of local complexity, this study conducts an interpretative analysis for the descriptive statistics through recourse

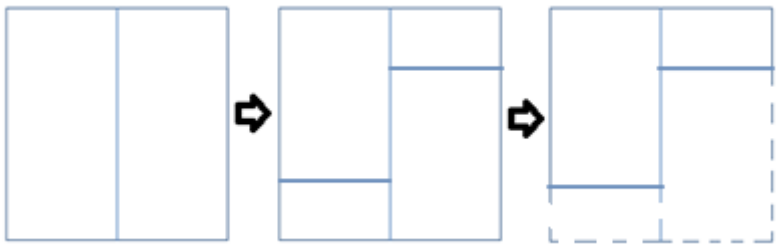
to the logic of Bayes' mathematical approach. This method is popular for visualising and comparing(probable) change in a given situation by measuring both before and after; more accurately, it presents the likelihood of change by computing both prior and posterior probabilities in the context of the conditional probability (Rossi et al., 2005; Christensen, 2011; Gelman et al., 2013). Simply put, the Bayesian approach enables practitioners to transform the given descriptive conditions into measurable datasets, and to characterise central tendency. While this logic may sound contentious, this idea is underpinned by the assumption of the Principle of Insufficient Reason[28] and the understanding of Possible Worlds[29]. The Principle of Insufficient Reason is a philosophical concept. It has been applied to mathematical formulae, and asserts that we may treat cases equally probable unless we do have sufficient reasons to regard one possible case as more probable than others (Dubs, 1942). As is discussed in this section, for example, a survey on satisfaction of the living environment in a particular neighbourhood divides its question into three: economic, social, and cultural environment. Since there is not sufficient reason to determine that one environmental condition is more likely to be satisfied, we treat the three cases equally probable by putting the prior probability as 0.33, 0.33, and 0.33. Here are three Possible Worlds: economic, social, and cultural environment. The total sum of Possible Worlds is 1. So, if the Possible Worlds are given as four sectors, the prior probability of each sector would be 0.25.

Many studies have applied a Bayesian approach for the purposes of an interpretive analysis (Marx and Slonim, 2003; Singpurwalla, 2006; Karvanen et al., 2014), among other variations, this thesis follows Hiroyuki's (2015) method. Hiroyuki's approach accommodates descriptive and context-based data, such as survey questions by providing simplified steps to calculate posterior probability with a geometrical structure. When seeking to characterise the central tendency of descriptive data, three steps are made: first, we set the prior probability of each case equally probable, as indicated in Figure 4.2; second, the probability can be updated according to accumulated relevant information. The input of

[28]See Keynes (1921), Laplace (1812), and Dubs (1942). This principle was controversial amongst logicians, yet has remained persuasively attractive and been accepted.

[29]See Hiroyuki (2015), and Huttegger (2015).

information makes the original square section divide and removes the irrelevant part of the context; the third step subsequently updates the probability by normalization of data distribution, and identifies the posterior probabilities in terms of the maximum likelihood probability.



(Source: elaborated by the author from Hiroyuki (2015))

[Figure 4.2 Framing questions with Bayesian approach]

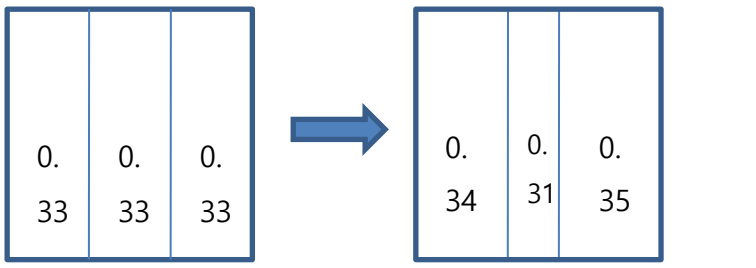
Consider, for instance, one of the questions included in a survey by Seoul city. The question concerns the level of satisfaction in an economic, social and cultural environment of a particular district in Seoul. In this case, specifically, the cultural environment includes housing and education. As indicated in Table 4.3, one can discern how the figures, at best, lay in the middle of the spectrum. The Mean value has even decreased by 11.2 percent within the period under consideration. Based on this data, the local environment does not seem promising for urban life, due to the fact that the surveys tell us that people in this district are disappointed with their neighbourhood.

	Social environment	Economic environment	Cultural environment	Mean value
2013	6.15	5.78	6.32	6.08
2015	5.65	5.44	5.65	5.58

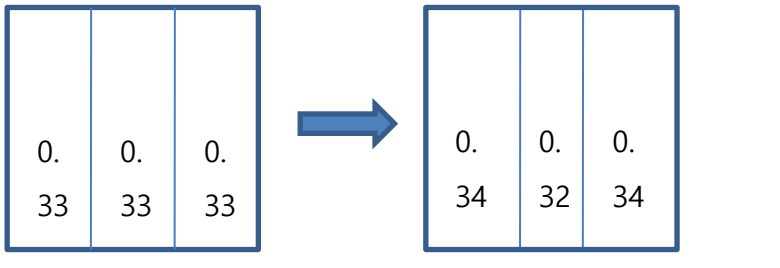
(source: elaborated by the author/ average (10 score))

[Table 4.3 Satisfaction of each environment in Jung-Gu, Seoul]

However, a Bayesian approach provides a different way of analysing these numbers. Applying the three steps represented schematically in Figure 4.2, the Possible Worlds of the urban environment is assumed to comprise three different kinds of environments: Social (denoting S), Economic (E), and Cultural (C) environments. Drawing on the logic of the Principle of Insufficient Reason and conditional probability, we set these types as social, economic, and cultural environments and the prior likelihood of each sector equally as below. With the input of information from survey data of Table 4.3, the degree of satisfaction with each environment is subsequently updated, and the posterior likelihood is calculated in the way that Figure 4.3 indicates. When further information is added, the probabilities are updated anew by repeating the second and third steps, as described in Figure 4.2, and the posterior probability is changed.



[2013]

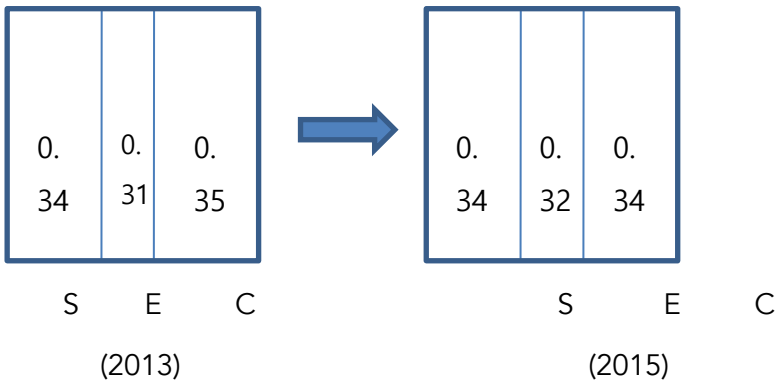


[2015]

(source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 4.3 Application of Bayesian approach to survey data]

In light of Bayesian perspective, what is at stake here is that this approach enables us to understand the composition of a dataset from a relative point of view. In the case of this neighbourhood during the period under examination, we can organise the form of the data more comparable than the way that the dataset of Table 4.3 provides, compare the composition of the given three conditions of this survey question, and characterise a major tendency.



(source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 4.4 Change in values as per a Bayesian update]

Compared to Table 4.3, Figure 4.4 provides a more simplified data frame to compare the results of each year and discover a tendency of the neighbourhood. In Figure 4.4, we can easily discern the change in social awareness of the economic, social and cultural environments over the course of two years from a relative perspective. The degree of satisfaction with the social environment remained the same, whereas it had changed with respect to the economic and cultural sectors, that is to say, the local people have been relatively less satisfied with the cultural environment. As will be discussed at length in Chapter 5, this district introduced substantial initiatives to enhance tourism by appealing to creative industries. While commercially driven buildings and busy streets generate financial income, it is somewhat dubious whether they contribute to the cultural value of a neighbourhood. The Bayes' approach enables cities to see the relative qualitative traits of the Social and Cultural spheres, in ways that the generic approach is simply not able to do.

An intriguing element of the Bayesian rule is to conduct more contextual interpretation in order to discern the comparative patterns and characteristics that are embedded in the given factors and conditions. By virtue of conducting such an approach, social and cultural characteristics are thus considered to lie outside the purview of the numeric rankings generated from surveys. Moreover, these are substantive in nature.

The questions with which this framework is concerned pertain to the qualitative aspects as opposed to the quantitative aspects of neighbourhoods and cities. For the sake of empirically applying this methodology, the following chapters examine the two urban regeneration cases of Seoul in South Korea and Amsterdam in The Netherlands.

5. MAPPING AND ANALYSING (B)

5.1 EMPIRICAL STUDY – SEOUL

5.1.1 OVERVIEW

Historically, Seoul, the capital city of South Korea, has served an important role on the economic, social, and cultural stage. On account of its social background, almost every domestic industry has arisen out of the capital city; however, since 1991, the central government has promoted a local governmental system bestowed with the authority to manage economic, social and cultural sources within their local jurisdiction. The Seoul Metropolitan government thus operated as the local government, instead of the central government. To this day, it continues to be influential state-wide as it governs the centre of business activity.

The municipality of Seoul comprises twenty-five districts. Each district, called a Gu, manages its own jurisdiction in collaboration with the Seoul Metropolitan government. The urban projects which targeted each district mainly focused on developing vacant land and reconstructing old landscapes to respond to the demands of the service economy, with the singular aim of creating economic returns in a similar vein to many other Western cities (Salet and Gualini, 2007; Fainstein, 2008[30]). However, recent urban regeneration planning has adopted a more adaptive and multi-dimensional approach to locally embedded values[31].

One reason for this shift might be due to the shadow elements of large-scale urban development, namely, gentrification or inequality. In previous years, governmental interventions had, for the most part, hastened to construct physical infrastructure, such as

[30]See Fainstein (2008), and Salet and Gualini (2007).

[31] The background information was collected by interviews with politicians in the National Assembly, local policymakers, urban practitioners, and senior researchers of a range of research institutes in Seoul.

cultural centres and creative hubs, in order to attract creative people and encourage the development of creative industries. Many cities assumed that urban creativity and revitalisation followed the same pattern of commercial driven land development, but, in fact, this was not always the case. The misunderstanding that strong urbanity stems from economic growth, without consideration of locally embedded insights, resulted in the dissolution of urban identities and eventually drove out dwellers and local shops alike. It held up a mirror to an urban reality filled with carbon copy buildings which lacked any local expression.

The shadow elements require a new conceptual approach to spatial intervention that examines this new form of urbanity while, simultaneously, appreciating the local values and social and cultural qualities of districts, neighbourhoods, and cities. Paying attention to the material symbols related to urban culture, such as history and storytelling, cities prospected for old streets, historically meaningful sites, and other monuments and buildings that instilled in dwellers a feeling of identity and local spirit (Jacobs, 1964; Nas, 2011[32]; Savini and Dembski, 2016). In an attempt to cultivate a better cultural environment, many local governments and districts struggled to justify policies that revitalised storytelling and the symbolic materials that cities possessed (Seoul report, 2013, 2014, 2015).

Among the rest of these districts, Jung-Gu, the smallest district which is located in the centre of Seoul, has a considerable amount of cultural heritage, such as palaces, streets, historical buildings, the Seoul fortress wall, and traditional housing from the Chosun Dynasty. Moreover, small and medium-sized factories and firms evoked thoughts about how this area had once functioned as an important manufacturing base; however, the urban factories and markets that failed to adapt to the new economic shift all closed. Long periods of economic stagnation accelerated the decay of old industries.

During periods of austerity, the municipality focused on cultural sectors with the expectation of economic returns from cultural businesses, such as tourism and cultural festivals. The dominant business changed over time. In particular, tourism areas appeared to be the focus of the new economic initiative, in that along the main boulevard, the sheer amount of shopping streets were overwhelming. Major streets became crowded with

[32]See Nas (2011).

tourists with commercial power. Reflecting what happened in this district, a recent study of the municipality demonstrated that the economic contribution of visitors in 2013 comprised more than 70% of total local economic growth[33].Hence, public investment appears to have changed the urban landscape and the neighbourhood looked to be improving.

Another key feature of this district is the plethora of headquarters for global companies and banking organizations, which, superficially at least, gives off the impression of being a modern business and cultural city. However, the old towns that lie behind these headquarters continue to struggle to survive. The high density of abandoned urban factories does not appear to be promising for urban qualities. With respect to urban environments, the municipality has attempted to strike a balance between the conventional work force and new industrial waves, without compromising its distinct atmosphere. In order to alleviate the deleterious effects of this industrial polarisation, the municipality promoted the cultural qualities of the local markets, while, simultaneously, supporting the rise of creative industries that financially benefited the district.

(Source: Junggu.go.kr)

[Figure 5.1 The street atmosphere of Jung-Gu: coexistence of old and new streets]

Faced with the challenge of creative transition within the emerging economy, Jung-Gu addressed two aims: firstly, to improve spatial quality through creative activities; and secondly, to promote civic engagement for the purposes of urban revitalisation. The urban

[33] stat.junggu.kr

regeneration planning was attempting to generate social and cultural values, as well as economic value. To this end, the local government needed to discover locally embedded values in conjunction with their historical and cultural interpretation, and to disseminate them within local industries. For example, urban practitioners added new content to old works by transforming a small obsolete sewing factory into a new creative space for young designers[34]. In an attempt to revitalise the cultural value and the spatial history of the city, the district promoted the symbolic meaning of cultural heritage, the Seoul fortress wall[35], as itself being a part of urbanity. The governmental intervention attempted to develop the values already embedded within the local area and encourage local people to engage in these social and cultural practices.

(Source: junggu.seoul.kr)

[Figure 5.2 Revitalising locally embedded values]

How, then, should we adapt the new economic shift and make sense of the difference between the previous approach and the new approach? What about utilising social reflections on the governmental interventions as a means through which to understand urban regeneration?

[34]stat. seoul.go.kr/ stat. junggu.seoul.kr

[35]The Seoul fortress wall was built in the 14th century to protect Hanyang (the old name of the city of Seoul), the capital of the Chosun Dynasty. Around the wall, there exist many historical buildings and symbolic spaces.

In pursuit of detecting these changes and understanding the interdependency between the different spheres, Table 5.1 briefly recalls the new theoretical framework being proposed in Chapter 4, through a comparison between the new framework and previous versions.

Object/ Unit	Previous understanding	The VBA to Cities
Cities	Characterised by market dynamics	Economic, social and cultural dynamics
Infrastructure within cities	Physical infrastructure with (un)available resources	Social infrastructure with a commons
Goods within cities	Private / Public goods Economic goods	Shared goods/ practices Economic, Social, and Cultural goods
Driver of the goods	Preference/ Surplus Production and consumption	A Willingness to contribute (WTC) Interactions/ Sense-making activities
Determinant	Transactions/ Pricing (Cost-benefit analysis)	Value proposition (Value-oriented production and consumption)
Main spheres	Market and Governance (Market-driven framework)	Cultural, Social, Market, Governance, and Oikos Spheres (VBA framework)

(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Table 5.1 Summary of the Theoretical framework]

In this new theoretical framework, based on the Value based approach (VBA), we do not see cities as places characterised by market specialities; rather, we discover cities full of

other values beyond financial outputs. Accordingly, the perspective on infrastructure is changed. Cities build buildings not only in the functional context, but also in the social and cultural senses to engender shared practices and the commons within cities. This framework thus provides a guideline of what makes city different in the new economy.

Based on the new theoretical understanding described in Chapter 4, Table 5.2 illustrates the methodological steps to be followed here.

	Purpose	Data Collection/ Time frame	Approach	Analysis	Research question
1st	Identifying the characteristics of the labour structure	Labour statistics provided by KOSTAT/ 2013 and 2015	Industry approach	LQ analysis	Do cities have dense creative workers, people employed in the creative industries?
2nd	Characterising social and cultural practices	Social media data collected from Naver, Twitter, provided by ConciergeSoft/ 2013 and 2015	Hermeneutic approach	Big Data Analysis with Software R, Python	How cities get to know different social and cultural qualities? Do cities provide a supportive environment to generate the commons related to the creative industries? Do social and cultural practices respond to creative activities?
3rd	Articulating changes in what people do in a micro level	Civic Survey of Seoul/ 2013 and 2015	Bayesian approach	Survey data analysis with Bayesian model	How do cities make sense of changes in shared practices in a micro level?

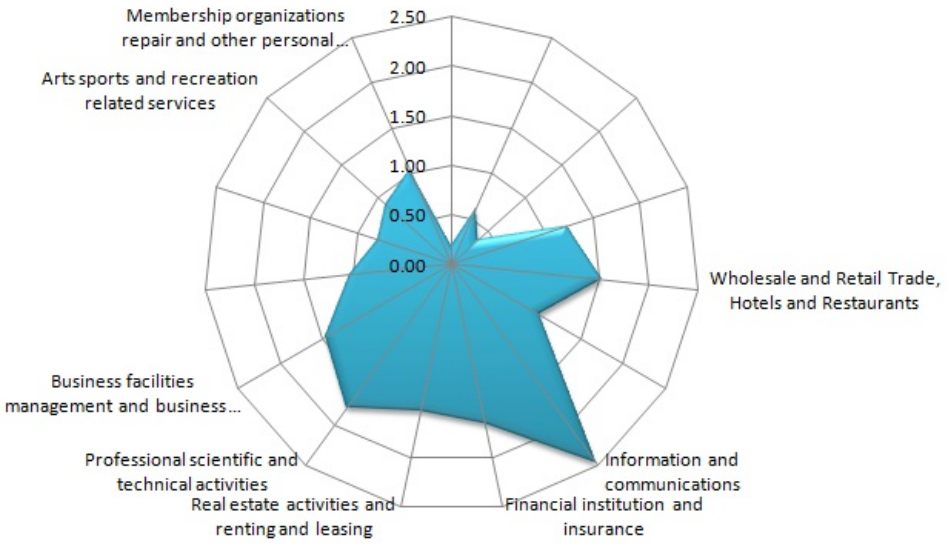
(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Table 5.2. Summary of the Methodological framework]

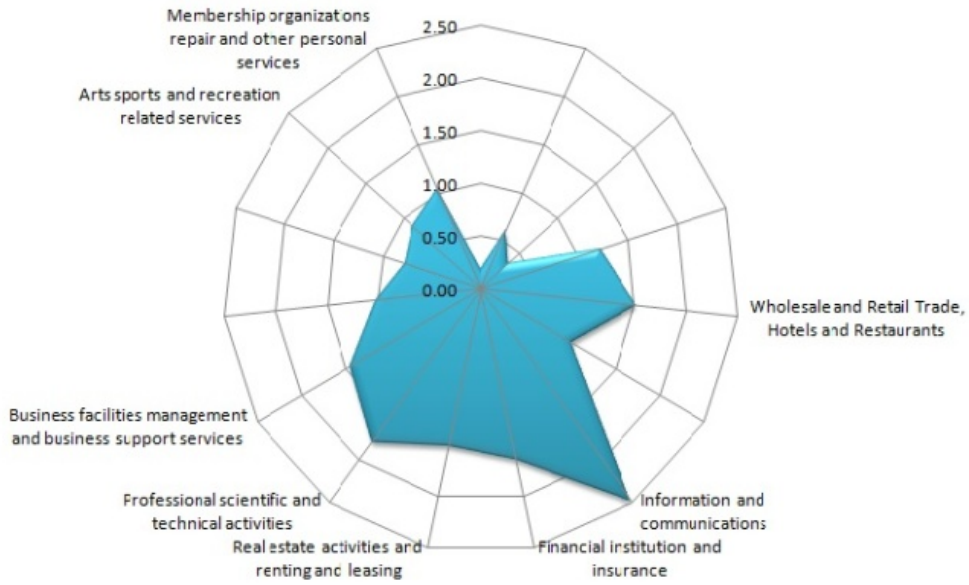
5.1.2 PHASE 1 CALIBRATING INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION OF SEOUL

It is not only economic contributions, but rather also labour mobilisation which is interdependent on the social and cultural practices of a society (Marshall, 1885; Polanyi, 2001). This is because it those who produce and reproduce creative ideas and activities that create a stimulating neighbourhood, thereby changing its character and practices. The story of creative workers, i.e. people employed in the creative industries is about the exact same. Here, the first step is to map the labour dynamics within Seoul in order to examine the concentration degree of people employed in the creative industries. To analyse the shape of labour from a relative perspective, this study collected industrial data, specifically for the years of 2013 and 2015, and applied the formula LQ to the datasets[36]. It is worthy to look into the labour mobilisation for the two years, in that in 2013 the South Korean government adopted the notion of creatives, appealing to the creative economy in order to find a way out of recession by making a creative transition and improving social and cultural qualities, and in 2015 iconic outputs of many projects aiming at the creative transition showed how the policies paid off. For instance, the Centre for Creative Economy and Innovation (CCEI) has been expanded, serving the policies for the creative transition, to the nationwide level in order to realise local creativity and innovation by supporting manifold projects and a range of creative activities. The result looks promising. Then, we want to clarify what was changed.

[36] The data has been collected via KOSTAT and Seoul Metropolitan Government, and the industrial classification meets the 9th revision of the KSIC (Korean standard Industrial Classification) following ISIC Rev.4



[2013]

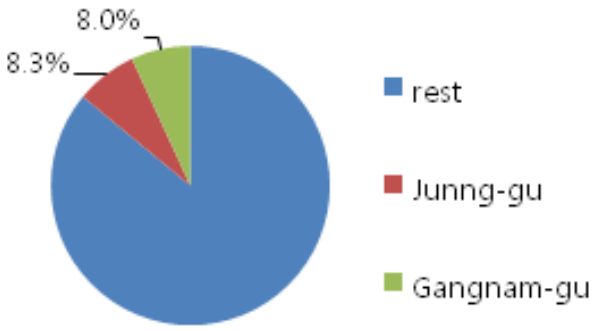


[2015]

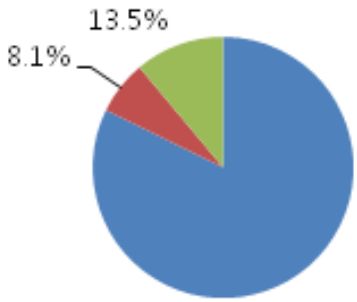
(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.3 Industrial specification of Seoul (2013 and 2015)]

Figure 5.3 indicates the density of people employed in the creative industries at the city level. This indicates that Seoul has a distinctive labour power with respect to the creative industries, such as in information and communication, financial institutions and insurance industries, scientific and technical businesses, and wholesale and retail trade and hotels. Conversely, the arts and culture sectors, social work opportunities, and manufacturing sectors barely reached 1.0 on the LQ indicators. What does this say about the district of Jung-Gu? Unfortunately, there is no data from which to construct the LQ indicator for Jung-Gu, but if the average for Seoul is already distinctive, then the concentration in Jung-Gu is likely to be exceptional as it is the centre of the creative business sector in Seoul. The same appears to be the case for the Jung-Gu district: IT and communication, financial and insurance industry, and science and technology industries have a higher concentration, whereas the arts, sports and leisure-related industries are much lower in comparison to the industrial average, as Figure 5.4 and 5.5 demonstrate. Additionally, the size of the floating population of this jurisdiction in 2013, around 11 million per day on average, indicates how crowded and busy this district is[37]. Accordingly, creativity in Seoul is more about IT and scientific research than it is about arts and design and other such creative activities. Jung-Gu is also a more technical district than an artistic one. Despite the economic recession, the concentration of people employed in the creative industries remained more or less the same between 2013 and 2015.



The number of total industries



The number of total workers

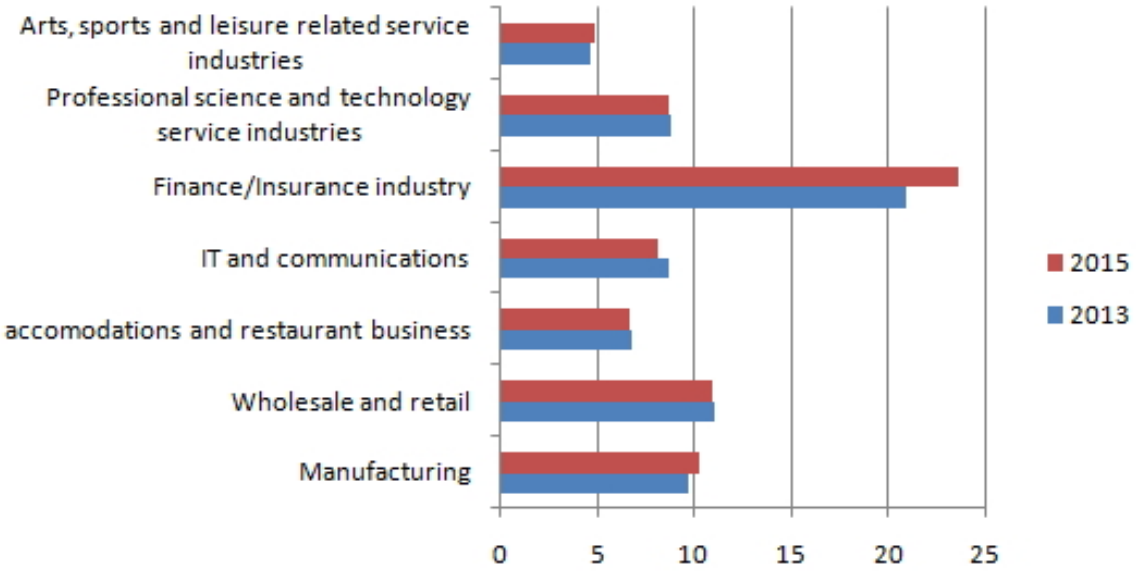
[37]http://stat.junggu.kr

(2013)

(2015)

(Source: elaborated by the author from stat. Junggu.seoul.kr/ stat.seoul.go.kr/ kostat.go.kr)

[Figure 5.4 The proportion of the whole industrial sectors of Jung-Gu in Seoul]



(Source: elaborated by the author from stat.seoul.go.kr/ kostat.go.kr)

[Figure 5.5 The ratio of employees for creative industries in Jung-Gu of Seoul][38]

[38] Manufacturing has been a traditional mainstream sector in Jung-Gu. In order to compare the old work and new works, Figure 5.5 also includes manufacturing sector, even though it is not classified in the creative industries.

What do these results mean? Florida's (2002) perspective is that the meaningful creative power of this district would spark economic growth through some mysterious alchemy of the creative industries; that is to say, works delivered by creatives would inspire a stagnant economy by means of creating new labour, heralding new insights, shifting operational processes and sharing creative and practical knowledge, which, in turn, attracts people. While this all sounds very promising, is that all there is to this story?

The superficial numbers do suggest that there is the possibility for cities and neighbourhoods to specialise in particular economic activities. While the dense labour in creative sectors is indeed conducive to fostering a creative social milieu, along with its associated practices and innovative forms of energy, the presence of creatives and their respective economic contributions, allied with the increasing numbers of visitors are not sufficient enough to confirm the notion that such an agglomeration brings social and cultural qualities (Markusen, 2006; Storper and Scott, 2009). For policymakers and practitioners concerned with promoting economic development in given cities and neighbourhoods, this identification of creative forces raises an additional question: how do contemporary cities embed creative activities in the required places? How do social interactions and urban dynamics emerge, and how can people come to view these in a reflective way?

With respect to this question, the insightful remarks of Jacobs are worthy of attention (Jacobs, 1964). Jacobs highlighted the importance of dwellers' viewpoints and life on the streets at the local unit. When Florida was striving to find an answer to what he could do for New York city in the aftermath of the attack on the twin towers, Jacobs gently, but nevertheless pointedly, commented on Florida's approach in a newspaper article.

> *Richard, you're a nice guy, but you're asking the wrong question. It's not what we should do; it's about them, the people who live and work in those neighbourhoods.*
>
> *(The Guardian, Oct 26, 2017)*

Jacobs highlighted the overlooked point which is that the value created by creative workers (new works) should be added to the old works (local knowledge, industries,

properties) in such a way that benefits them. The issue which is at stake here is about seeing how the social sphere responds and adapts to new works, and identifying the pattern that exists between different spheres. To this end, descriptive analysis is expedient for making sense of what values are truly important to the people who live and work in neighbourhoods, which is a key question of Klamer's VBA. This is where the second phase comes into focus.

5.1.3 PHASE 2 MAPPING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES IN JUNG-GU, SEOUL

Contemporary cities function increasingly vis-à-vis the interplay between the new work produced by creative people and the local responses to the emergence of creative cities. Collective reflections and interactions produce a certain pattern that characterises urban qualities or induces a change that accrues to the urban community as a practice. The practices that people share, in turn, influences the social and cultural qualities of a given community.

For the sake of making sense of the pattern or change of shared practices in Jung-Gu, the second stage attempts to find characteristics of social and cultural practices to account for and quantify what people are talking about, what is on their mind, in the specific district under investigation in this research. By means of big data, predominantly derived from social media, which contains a voluminous range of social reflections and concrete content about what people are talking about, this study characterises the complex interactions between the Social sphere and the Governance sphere via identifying the content of news and social feedback. Furthermore, this study investigates interactions between the Social sphere and the Cultural sphere by tracing conversations on culture.

By legitimately manipulating the huge data via the use of a geographical filter, this study focused on one particular district, Jung-Gu in Seoul, over the course of a two-year time span, as indicated in Chapter 4 and Table 5.2. Concerning the findings, Figures 5.6 and 5.7 present what people talked about in this district related to the Governance sphere and the Cultural sphere respectively in 2013 and in 2015. The placing and the size of the words are

the important indicators to keep in mind. Those that are further removed from the centre were mentioned less and thus form a smaller part of the discussion. The size of a word is determined by the frequency of its usage. The greater the size, then the more popular the topic is. The space between words is suggestive of connections between topics. In 2013, for example, the topics related to the mayor and the city hall were distinctively popular, while, in comparison, the topics related to the city council and citizens were not as popular; however, in 2015 it was identified that topics related to the city council and citizens greatly increased and were situated close to the two most discussed topics. With respect to the words culture and city, these were both located at the periphery of the figures for both years examined. Even so, in 2015 culture was next to the word city, which suggests that the two contents were closely connected, and thus that relevance matters.

To account for differences in language and the local context, this study examined two popular social media channels: NAVER, a popular domestic search engine providing social media channels and Twitter, a well-known global network. Upon analysing the data, it is worth noting that for some reason Twitter did not follow the local context and, in fact, at times distracted from the real issues due to the overabundance of irrelevant content, which led to this study restricting the data gathering from the nested social media and a search engine, NAVER[39]. NAVER has two different channels that serve distinct purposes: one (NAVER news including social feedback, henceforth referred to as Channel G) is mostly about activities and dialogue related to the Governance sphere, while the other (NAVER Jisik IN and Blog, henceforth referred to as Channel S) denotes social network and operates at the intersection of the Social and Cultural spheres. This study conducted web scraping of these two channels and analysed data on them between 2013 and 2015, by means of popular software R and Python in big data analysis for multiple disciplines (Wickhan and Grolemund, 2016; Dasgupta, 2018; Sohangir et al., 2018). As aforementioned in Chapter 4, the primary purpose of this analysis is to observe complex of social and cultural practices with descriptive datasets for the sake of characterising shared practices (Taylor et al., 2014).

[39]NAVER provides a popular search engine in South Korea including manifold social media channels.

In this study, thus, big data analysis is limited to characterising interactions among different spheres.

Concerning the findings, the placing and the size of the words are the important indicators. The size of a word is determined by the frequency of its usage. The greater the size, then the more popular a topic is. The placing implies the connections between topics. In 2013, as depicted in Figure 5.6, the topics related to travel, hotels, and the president were the most popular. Conversely, in 2015 it was discovered that topics related to travel greatly articulated, while topics related to the president were rarely found. Instead, the analysis shows that the word family emerged. When it comes to the placing of the words, as noted in Figure 5.7, the two words of culture and city were not relatively located in the centre for two years. Yet, in 2015 culture was placed immediately next to the word city, which means that they are closely connected. As aforementioned, relevance matters.

According to the text data mining of interactions between the Social sphere and the Cultural sphere, the results in 2013 suggest that the focus of conversation on cultural activities was mostly about leisure and travel, as well as on political issues, such as new governance and related matters. The data analysis of Jung-Gu demonstrates that issues in the Cultural sphere were connected not only by cultural content, but also via governmental interventions. Indeed, cultural topics rarely appeared to be separate from the logic of the Governance sphere.

[2013]

[2015]

Korean	English	Information	Change
여행	travel	interest in travel, culture	This is the biggest word that was located in the centre, both in 2013 and in 2015.
호텔	hotel	interest in travel, culture	It was in the centre in 2013, but decreased significantly in 2015.
코스	course	interest in travel, culture	It emerged in 2015, and was locatedin the centre, implying an increase of interest incultural activities and travel.

친구	friends	interest in relationships	It emerged in 2015 as one of the top three words in the centre.
가족, 엄마	family, mother	interest in relationships	It emerged in 2015.
지역	region/ local area	interest in local context or travel information	The word wasspecified in 2015, indicating certain cultural spaces and neighbourhoods.
마을	town/ village	interest in travel, culture or local development	
대학교	university	interest in education	Educational course was specified, such as a music course.
봉사활동	volunteer	interest in societal values	It did not exist in the data analysis in 2013, but emerged in 2015.
홍대	A particular neighbourhood for the youth	interest in cultural activities	People talked more about a certain cultural neighbourhood.

(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.6 Analysis of relevance of the words between social response and the Cultural sphere]

In 2015, the result points toward an increase in social initiatives as well as in cultural content. What people talked about in the Cultural spheres appeared to be less connected with governmental intervention. Specifically, people talked more about cultural activities related to travel. Indeed, most of what was shared on the social networks revolved around activities related to travel, while other creative activities did not get much attention. Moreover, there was no word related to government initiatives; rather, the text mining analysis indicated that people were concerned with relationships between family, friends and community.

Features of the district, Jung-Gu, with relevance to the Cultural sphere	
2013	2015
a. What people do in the Social and Cultural spheres is closely connected with governmental interventions (the Governance sphere). b. The result shows that people are interested in cultural activities related to travel and tourism. c. Characteristics of shared practices and the commons rarely seemed to be interdependent with Arts and culture, IT and banking industries – even though the sectors have a dense degree of labour.	a. Cultural activities that people talked about were mostly sophisticated and diversified. Words representing political initiatives were seldom found. b. Besides the strong interest in activities related to travel, the results show that characteristics of shared practices and the commons were more focused on relationships, such as friendships, family relationships and community activities. c. Value creation was rarely interdependent with Arts and culture, IT and banking industries – even though the sectors have a dense degree of workforce.

What about social reflections about the Governance sphere during the same period?

[2013]

[2015]

Korean	English	Information	Change
시장	mayor	political meaning	It remained at the centre of the data analysis in 2013 and 2015.
시의회	city council	political meaning	Its size in 2015 was bigger than that in2013.
시청	city hall	political meaning	Its size in 2015 became bigger than that in2013.

			* The city government opened up and shared the space of the city hall building to the public.
예산	budget	interest in public services	Its size is in the top 3, along with the word city hall and is located in the centre.
지원	support	related to political and social issues	Its size has increased, while the distance between the words, dwellers and support has been closed.
문화	culture	interest in culture	Its size has increased and in 2015 the words of projects, planning were distinctively closed to the word culture.
누리과정	public education	interest in education	The topic of the public education system has increased.
지역	region/ local area	interest in local context or travel information	The distance was still far removed from the centre, but its size increased and was closed to the words city, history, and culture.
경제	economy	interest in the economy	Its size increased and was located near the word citizen.

(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.7 Analysis of word relevance acrossthe S and the G spheres]

The pattern in 2013 testifies to the important issues related to the government and its policies. The two biggest words, among others, were mayor and city council; located around the centre of these two words were other small content indicating the local policies of which the social sphere was at least partially aware. Any words related to civic participation were hard to find. Citizen, social participation, community were located far from the centre in the form of very small sized letters. One particularly intriguing aspect of the analysis was the relative proximity between the words mayor, city council and citizen. As

seen in the results outlined in Figure 5.6, there was no word associated with IT, banking or arts and culture.

In 2015, the results underwent some notable changes. The word citizen was suddenly located in the centre and became noticeable, even though the size of the two words– mayor and city council- remained the largest ones. Urban planning, support, the economy and culture revolved around the three words, citizen, mayor and city council. The principal political issue concerning the society at that historical juncture was not simply growth, but social and cultural qualities, such as culture and city, stakeholders, sustainability and community. More specifically, the words related to community, culture, history, park and city were closely agglomerated.

Features of the district, Jung-Gu, with relevance to the Governance sphere	
2013	2015
a. Main focus was on mayor, city council and citizen; but there was little awareness of city council and citizen. b. Political issues that the Social sphere recognised were unclear.	a. Among the three primary words, mayor, city council and citizen, citizen became noticeable at almost the same size as the other two. b. Important policies appealed to the sustainable economy along with urban planning. c. The result highlighted the issues associated with social and cultural qualities more than the sheer growth of the economy.

What does this tell us? The basic assumption here is that each sphere does not autonomously operate, but rather is closely interconnected with the other spheres, as per the tenets of the Five sphere model. Hence, the emergence of creative people employed in the creative industries in cities is part of interlinked spheres. The creative workers are

supposed to serve certain values and bring new practices with them, which, in turn, contribute towards engendering the commons that are conducive to improving the qualities of the social and economic infrastructure. Consequently, the LQ analysis in the first phase verified that Seoul has dense creative people employed in the creative industries, specifically within the IT and banking industries. The significant agglomeration of people employed in the creative industries would appear to contribute to generating shared practices and engendering the commons related to the creative knowledge and activities, however, it was unclear whether their contribution has brought in any relevant share practices.

A further analytical point must be made here. The interpretative analysis of the second phase uncovered a discrepancy between the contributions of creatives and the local context in which the local people produce, reproduce, use and appropriate content. More precisely, it was questionable whether the social infrastructure in this district contributed to a supportive environment for high-skilled people as defined by the social responses in the big data. The idea of simply having creatives in neighbourhoods is ultimately meaningless if a society is not actively engaged in conversations about the new practices and the commons. Hence, this idea has to be substantially reconsidered in future.

The be-all and end-all of creative urban transition is to interpret the characteristics of what people do in the given jurisdiction as a means through which to detect the social and cultural practices that allow cities to make sense of predictable and preventable dangers, such as gentrification and unreflective urban regeneration planning, as well as in terms of identifying potential avenues for progress.

In light of these remarks, the next stage proposes to examine the important values held by people in this district by detecting changes in what people did and analysing their social responses. To this end, this study collected city survey data in Seoul and analysed it via a Bayesian approach, as the survey data contained nuanced information people's reflections on their social and cultural practices. It is important to reiterate here that not every city conducts such surveys, so the third phase is an optional one in this methodological framework for identifying the characteristics of shared practices and the commons. In the

case of Seoul, the municipality accumulated data for each neighbourhood (Gu) that this thesis draws upon in the next section.

5.1.4 PHASE 3 CHARACTERISING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES IN JUNG-GU, SEOUL

Following on from the previous discussions and with respect to the second hypothesis of this study which concerns civic engagement and the creative commons, the third stage contributes towards refining the social mapping via practices that people share. It is worth noting here that no one can determine the best social practices for a given neighbourhood, as every society has a different social infrastructure/ a different cultural practice. However, identifying social characteristics and articulating what values the social sphere deems to be of importance can help stakeholders understand the different social and cultural qualities within a given district.

One point is worth mentioning before proceeding further, which is that the importance of civic responses cannot be stressed enough vis-à-vis the creative transition within cities. This is all about qualitative and explanatory information. Survey data has been widely used for descriptive analyses in a range of academic and practical institutions (Christensen, 2011). For instance, interdisciplinary research that requires modes of hermeneutic analysis, such as in the case of economic analyses of innovation in arts and culture (Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010), or social studies that routinely utilise survey data in order to understand complicated market and social dynamics.

This study utilises civic survey data of Seoul on the district, Jung-gu, for the years of 2013 and 2015. The civic survey of Seoul has been conducted since 2003 for the whole district with a sample size of 20,000 households in Seoul each year, based on face to face interview. The sample size of Jung-Gu is 461 of 49,141 households in 2013, and 455 of 55,876 households in 2015, which is estimated to be around 1% of the total households in the neighbourhood – 0.9% in 2013 and 0.8% in 2015 (Report on Seoul Survey, 2014, 2016).

	2013	2015
The sample size in Jung-Gu (household)	461 of 49,141	455 of 55,876
Total sample size of Seoul (household)	20,000 of 3,459,093	20,000 of 4,068,308
Period of interview (Face to face)	Oct. 20 - Nov. 25. 2013	Sep. 18 - Oct. 31. 2015
Sampling method	stratified cluster sampling	stratified cluster sampling
Remark	Minimum sample size is set as 400 households to compare between districts. District of Seoul : 25 Gu Subdistrict of Seoul : 423 Dong	

By means of the Bayesian approach, we traced the reorientation of the values that local people wanted to realise and articulated an informative pattern of their social and cultural practices. The focus of the descriptive data analysis is to compare what people did during these two years and to detect a shift in their pattern of practices.

Utilising secondary data from the Jung-Gu, Seoul Survey[40]in 2013 and 2015, we categorised the contents of questionnaires into the Social and Cultural spheres, as Table 5.3 indicates. The municipality conducted the city survey related to the Social sphere in odd-numbered years, and the Cultural sphere-related survey in even-numbered years. Making use of the data on the Social sphere, this study attempts to articulate the characteristics of shared practices based on the Social sphere.

[40]Since 2003, the Seoul metropolitan city government has accumulated survey data related to the economic, social, and cultural sectors for 20,000 households. The questionnaire has been slightly changed each year. Among them, this study uses the relevant questions that were available and continuous with the time span between 2013 and 2015.

Sphere	Contents of questionnaires	Remarks
the Social sphere	- Satisfaction with social environment in the neighbourhood - Social consolidation/ trust - Social discrimination - Awareness of citizenship - Awareness of social status - Sense of belonging to the town - Social responsibility for minorities - Volunteer participation - Social network participation	Social values
the Cultural sphere	- Satisfaction with cultural environment - Satisfaction with relationships/ happiness - Interest in major festivals in Seoul - Weekend/ holiday cultural activities - Awareness of family culture - Attitudes towards cultural diversity - Participation in the fine arts - Participation in sports and leisure activities - Difficulties in engaging in cultural activities - Participation in volunteer work	For reference: This survey was conducted in even-numbered years.

(source: elaborated by the author from Seoul Survey)

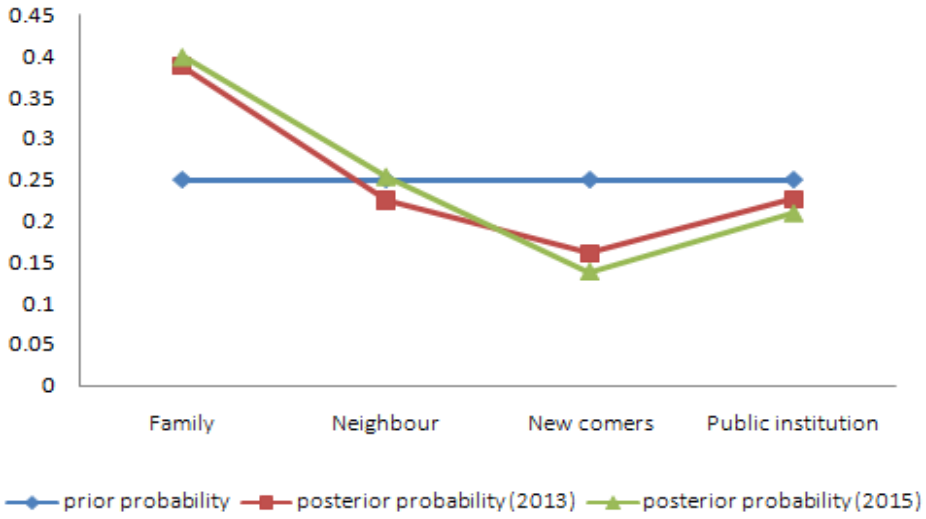
[Table 5.3 Categorisation of survey data for understanding important values]

5.1.5 TRACING THE REORIENTATION OF VALUES

For the purposes of tracing the changes in values, as represented in Table 5.3, this study attempted to focus on eight questions and compare the prior probability and posterior probability for each year between 2013 and 2015; following the results on the dynamics about the satisfaction of economic, social and cultural environments in the neighbourhood

in the previous chapter, the contents here describe seven subjects: social trust, social discrimination, social status, sense of belonging, social responsibility for minorities, participation in volunteer working, social networks that the local people want to join. Given that the city survey was divided into two parts, social survey and cultural survey, which were conducted every other year, some data was missing for some years. However, based on the available data, this analysis has tried to aggregate the following comparison.

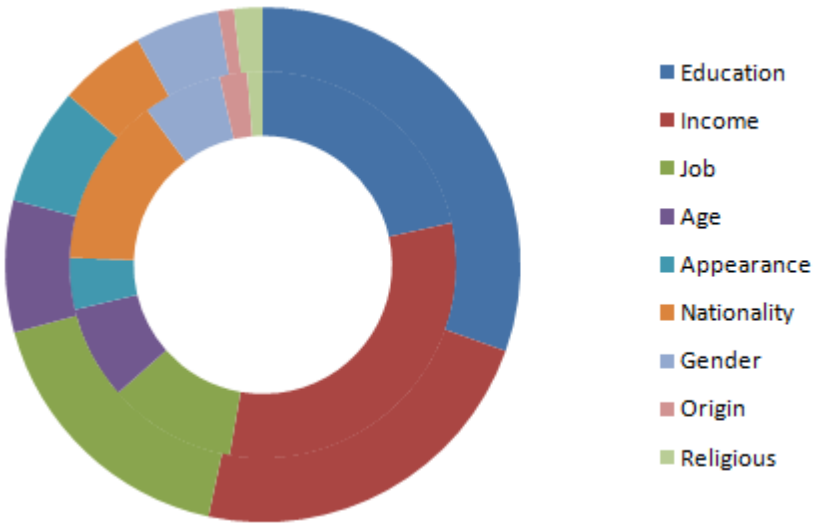
Firstly, people in Jung-gu appear to have strengthened social trust in their neighbours and family, while they seem to have gradually distanced themselves from newcomers and public institutions.



(source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.8 Posterior probabilities of Social trust in Jung-Gu, Seoul]

Secondly, with respect to what exacerbates social discrimination, the inner circle of Figure 5.9 presents the result from2013, while the outside circle presents those from 2015. The difference between the two circles pertains to a shift in local awareness about the reason for discrimination in society. In 2013, people considered that nationality and income mostly determined social discrimination, but in 2015 people in the district recognised that social discrimination stemmed from the educational level of people and type of job, rather than their income band, nationality or origin.

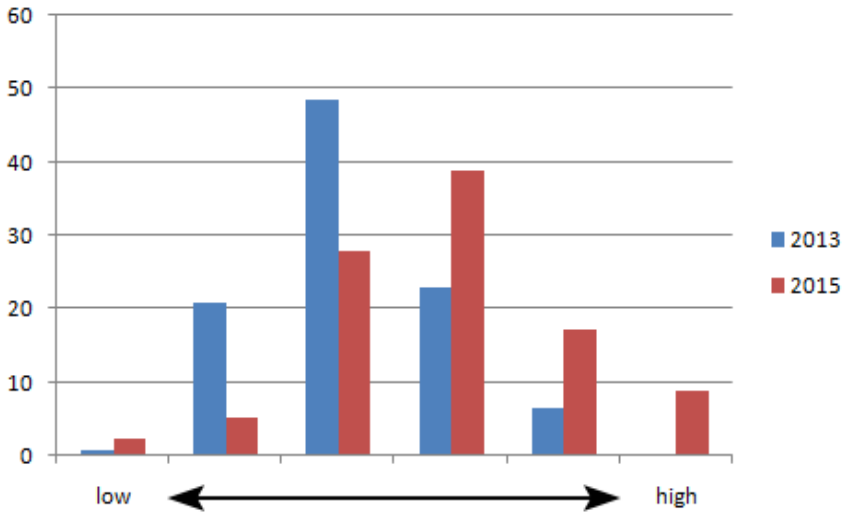


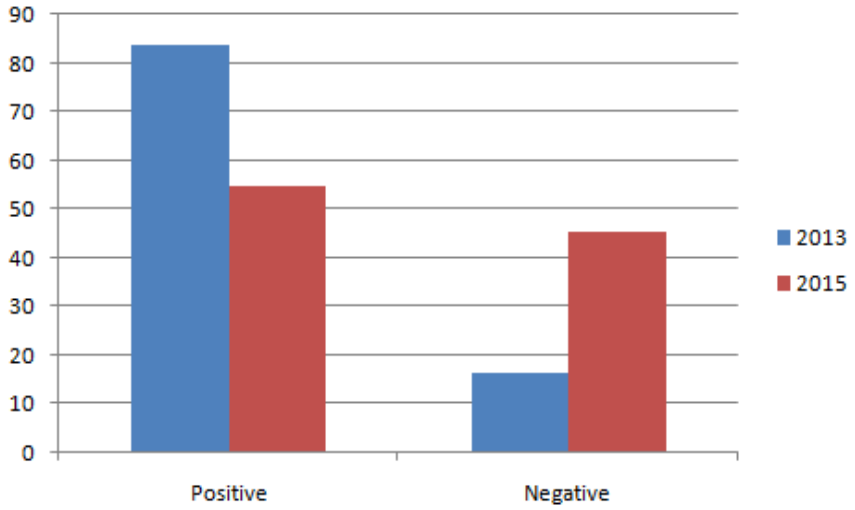
(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.9 factors of social discrimination in Jung-Gu, Seoul]

In the sense that, generally speaking, the social practice in Korean society is determined by the origin of people, the result in Figure 5.9 suggests that there was an significant change in the social practice: first, what is important to people in this district has more to do with what people do than where they are from; second, dwellers care more about people's educational level than how much money they have.

Third, on the subject of social status, the local people were more confident in 2015 than they were in 2013, and fourth, the sense of belonging to the district remained the same (around half) across the period under consideration, as Figure 5.10 indicates.

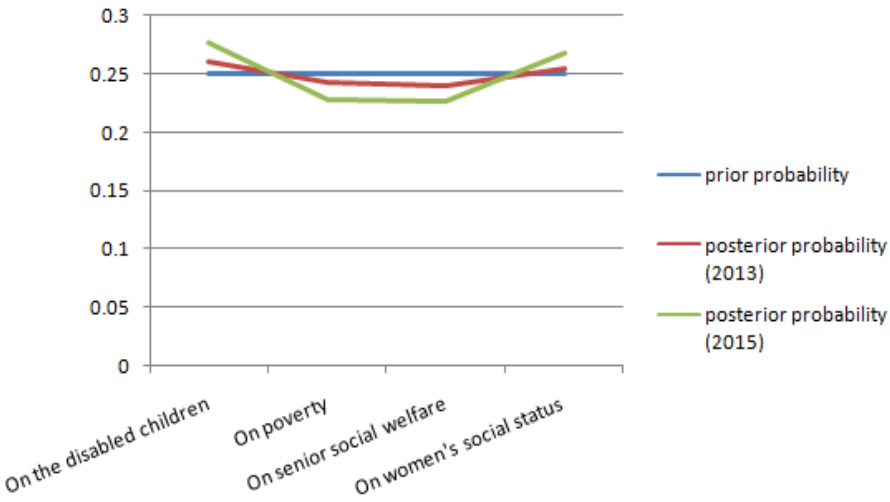




(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.10 Social status (upper graph) and Sense of belonging (lower graph) in Jung-Gu, Seoul]

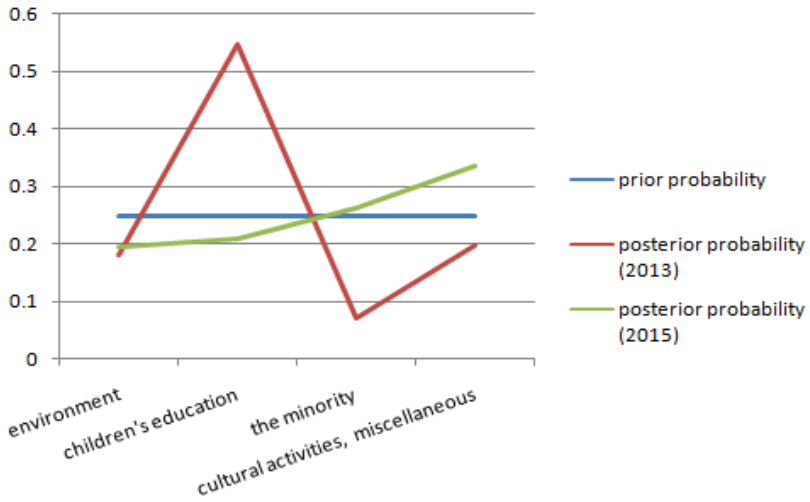
Fifth, there has been a meaningful change with respect to the awareness of the local people about social responsibilities towards minorities. Among four categories, disabled children, poverty, senior's social welfare and women's social status, awareness of disabled children and women's social status increased, while that of poverty and senior's social welfare decreased.



(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.11 Social responsibility for the minority in Jung-Gu, Seoul]

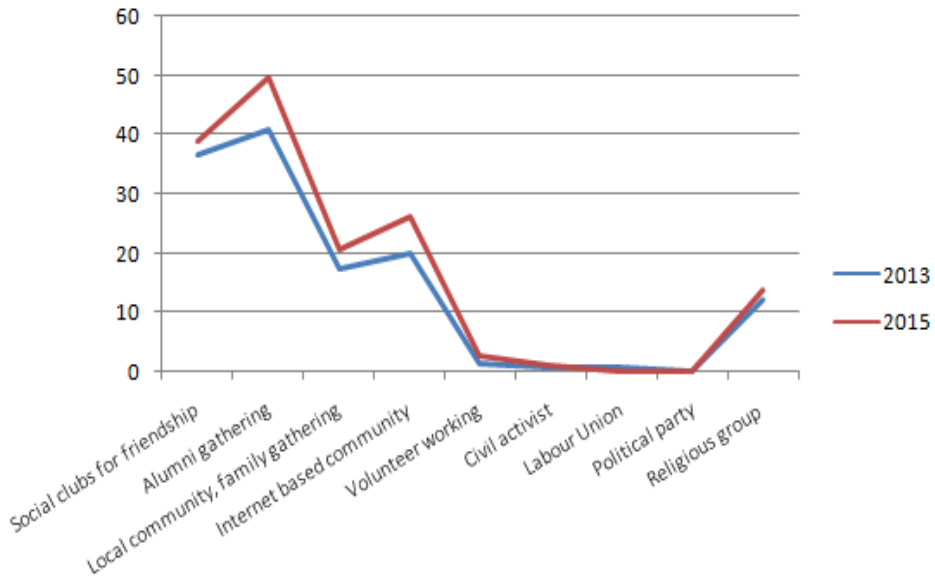
Due to South Korean traditions, responsibility for senior's social welfare was recognised as a primary virtue, but the society had little awareness about disabled children; however, the data analysis discovered that the degree of social awareness changed, as did the characteristics of the social practice.



(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.12 Participation in volunteer work in Jung-Gu, Seoul]

Sixth, in the comparative analysis of the voluntary work sector, an especially important social practice was detected. Specifically, people were more willing to contribute to cultural activities and minorities rather than to children's education. Historically, social practices related to children's education formed an important part of the society; however, what is important to people in this district clearly changed during the period under examination.



(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Figure 5.13 Social networks that local people want to join in Jung-Gu, Seoul]

Seventh, when it comes to the willingness to participate in social networks, the Bayesian analysis also discovered a change in the social practices of this district. The ratio in this district has gradually increased from 73.0% in 2013 to 75.9% in 2015. The social networks that the local people want to join are primarily social networks associated with personal and social values, such as friendship and community relationships as opposed to tose aimed at instrumental values, such as labour unions and internet-based communities[41].

5.1.6 SO, WHAT DO THE RESULTS TELL US?

The perspective that culture matters in economic development (McCloskey, 1998, 2007, 2011; Sen, 2004; Rao and Walton, 2004; Magala, 2009; Visser, 2013; Chamlee-Wright and Storr, 2015; Klamer, 2016) has moved sharply onto the agenda of urban planners in recent years (Laundry and Bianchini, 1995). This issue is mostly about improving living standards

[41]For the most part, social networking among internet-based communities in South Korea serves a particular purpose. For instance, students gather to share a specific academic achievement or improve a certain skill through these kinds of social activities. Hence, it is more instrumental than socialising.

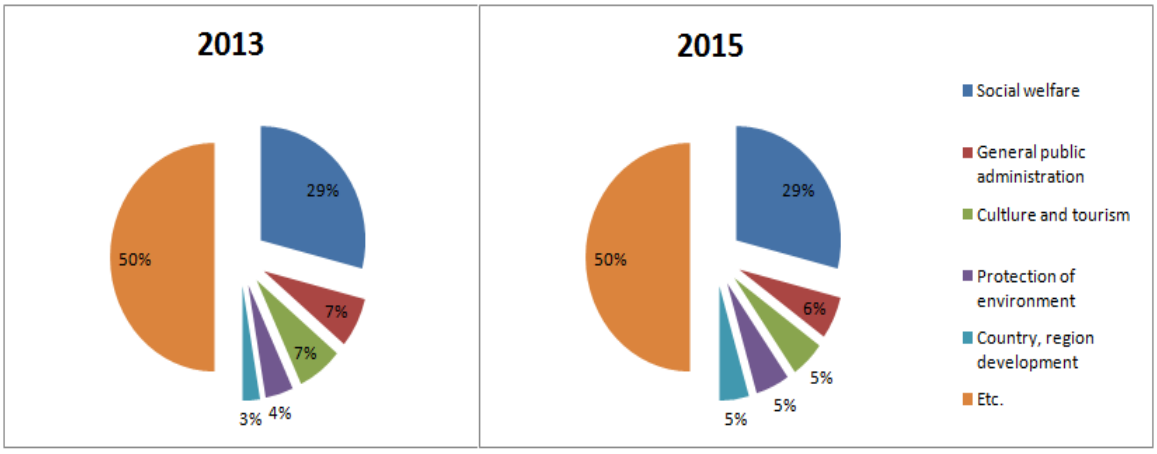
via building a supportive environment, good neighbourhood, good social and cultural qualities, and vibrant creative economy. It thus requires more than the Market and Governance spheres alone. There has been extensive debate in both theoretical and policy circles about creative urban regeneration, labour mobilisation, the rise and decline of markets and so forth. While the cluster of people employed in the creative industries in a city has been argued to be conducive to bringing about the creative transition of cities (Florida, 2002), the real issue that this thesis has brought into focus is that we must move beyond simply focusing on the agglomeration of workers in the creative industries, if we are to make their contribution economically feasible. Considering this argument, the second stage attempted to elaborate social responses by capturing what people talk about in cities and neighbourhoods. The third stage analysed the social and cultural practices that dwellers engaged in by asking dwellers what was important to them.

It is in the social context that the commons ultimately take on qualitatively different characteristics. In the case of Seoul, activities related to travel and governmental interventions were important to people in the district, Jung-Gu. Yet, there has been a profound reorientation in values within the Social sphere. Social values such as relationships and education have become more important than one's financial income, personal background and origin. Societal values like social responsibilities for minorities, specifically for disabled-children and women, have become more important to people in this district than the elderly.

What matters here are two things: first, for creative transition to occur governmental intervention is needed to sustain the society and support the commons' work, but yet such are orientation of social values cannot be derived simply from these governmental interventions; second, while the role of the market is essential for generating economic value, what people do in life cannot be entirely determined by market logic. Rather, social and cultural qualities of neighbourhoods and cities draw on practices and the commons that people share in society, districts, blocks, neighbourhoods and cities. It is important to note here that the social context matters for creative urban regeneration, and that the production capacity of the local market alone cannot bring it about. Simply put, a fresh perspective is required. The story is the same in the district of Seoul.

5.1.7 FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES

Faced with social and economic problems, the emergence of new industries and an imbalance between new modes of work and old forms that plagued this neighbourhood, Jung-Gu of Seoul, like others, has been striving for an urban transition via its creative sectors. For the sake of creative transition, Jung-Gu introduced a policy that attempted to address the imbalance between neighbourhoods in the district by improving spatial quality through cultural activities and development of the local identity. Urban planners, for instance, organised cultural events at the marketplace with an especial focus on spatial meanings and local participation, specifically the history of the local markets and other symbolic places. By addressing a plea for social qualities, the policy attempted to engineer a better neighbourhood by combining the commons that the local people created and the modernity that creative workers can bring.



(Source: elaborated by the author from Jung-Gu Stastical Yearbook/unit: percent(%))

[Figure 5.14 Top five distribution of Settled Expenditure of General Accounts]

In addition, the financial support afforded to social welfare, culture and regional development was distinctive. The municipality set up social and cultural policies within the top five of the total policy categorisation, as shown in Figure 5.14 above. The scope of the revenue from the cultural sector was the second largest after social welfare. The relevant

policy direction was more about improving the social and cultural qualities of the neighbourhood than building up physical spaces necessarily. Indeed, the number of cultural spaces, such as theatres, concert halls, museums and exhibition halls, remained almost the same between 2013 and 2015 (www.junggu.seoul.kr).

According to an interview with the head officer of Jung-Gu, the essence of the local policy for the creative economy was not economisation of cultural value, but rather valorisation of a great range of cultural values, such as the history of each neighbourhood, tangible and intangible cultural heritage and local ambience. Thus, the neighbourhoods within this district flourished both economically and culturally. The intriguing aspect of this governmental intervention was to understand that non-economic factors, such as social practices, psychological factors, rhetoric, and cultural backgrounds, eventually contribute to economic prosperity (Collins, 2004; Allais, 1974; McCloskey, 1998; Klamer, 1996, 2016). Overall, the policy they implemented sought to evoke valorisation in different spheres.

5.1.8 CREATIVE WORKFORCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSES

The analysis of the first stage discovered that Jung-Gu had two primary layers in terms of labour structure: there had been a strong industrial power in the form of small and medium-sized retail businesses in the old town, while the district also contained a meaningful concentration of people employed in the creative industries, especially in tourism associated businesses, IT and banking industries[42]. The top five tourist attractions of Seoul are agglomerated in Jung-Gu, which makes up around 80% of foreign visitors to South Korea (stat.junggu.kr, 2013). Tax data analysis identified that the clusters have created ongoing businesses[43]. Additionally, it attempted to regenerate old markets with new modes of creative work and include the local marketplace as a part of urban life and local culture beyond its formerly functional purposes. What about civic participation? What about the impact of creatives?

[42]www.junggu.seoul.kr

[43]www.nts.go.kr

To answer these questions, through recourse to the hermeneutic approach, this study collected explanatory data from big data over a two-year period and detected meaningful signals in the local context. This type of interpretative data analysis is conducive to characterising the practices that local people share. The result discovered some notable shifts of patterns in the Social, Cultural, and Governance spheres in Jung-Gu, as outlined in Figures 5.6 and 5.7.

Moreover, this study attempted to envisage the social and cultural dynamics in detail through utilising city survey data and a Bayesian approach. Due to the lack of cultural data in Seoul, the third stage focused on the characterisation of social practices. Estimating the probabilities, this study discovered several interesting findings about social practices in relation to the values that people want to realise: the degree of social awareness of the social environment was the highest of all these; the type of social network that people want to join has changed towards more socially and personally motivated networks, which is related to the willingness to contribute (Klamer, 1996). There has been also been a change with respect to the values that people consider to be important, namely: local people have greater consideration of values of social responsibility for minorities, especially, disabled children and women's social status, rather than caring for the elderly. Based on their strong identity with their own citizenship, people in Jung-Gu were also more receptive towards other people from different ethnic backgrounds, and, further, were more concerned with what people do and their educational background than how much they earn.

The intended contribution of this framework is to pave the way to characterise shared practices and the commons as creative outcomes, wherein cities might identify interactions and dynamics between different spheres economically as well as culturally, in conjunction with developing an evidence-based policy procedure for the new economy.

One important point to note here is that this methodology sets out from the basic and real issue of what values people want to realise in cities and addresses the characteristics of what people do in the creative economy. In order to open up the possibility of extending urban cases and comparing qualities within different cities, the next chapter conducts this mapping exercise in Amsterdam.

6. MAPPING AND ANALYSING (C)

6.1 EMPIRICAL STUDY - AMSTERDAM

In 2016, the OECD produced a report entitled *Better Life Index*[44]that compared the respective values of OECD members. While most indicators in this index are available at the national level, rather than at a more disaggregated level, it nevertheless provides a basic understanding of the characteristics of what values matter to people who live and work in each region. Among other issues, one intriguing comparative finding concerned the respective Life Satisfaction and Work-Life Balance in Dutch society and Korean society. The Netherlands was in the top ten with respect to both these indicators, while South Korea ranked lower than the OECD average. Most notably, there was a significant gap between the countries in terms of their respective rankings for Work-Life Balance. Dutch society placed near the top of the rankings, while Korean society ranked near the bottom despite its high-ranking GDP. This result motivated the author to identify what qualities matter the most to cities in the context of the creative economy.

In order to make sense of the social and cultural qualities of cities, the previous chapter attempted to characterise the qualities of the shared practices and the commons of a city vis-à-vis a case study of Seoul, primarily the neighbourhood, Jung-Gu. Based on the statistical analysis, it was discovered that this neighbourhood received significant benefit from the dense volume of workers in the creative industries and rich cultural streets, which were a consequence of strong governmental intervention that sought to develop tourism and IT industries among other creative sectors. Then, we examined the dynamics of the social practices of the neighbourhood. The BDA (Big Data Analysis) and Bayesian approach discovered two characteristics: first, in 2013, for the most part, the initiatives for creative transition stemmed from strong governmental intervention. Adopting the paradigm of the

[44]The index was designed to visualise and compare eleven topics that contribute towards quality of life. Related to the mainstream issue of well-being, OECD has elaborated the topics that encompass quality of life as well as material living conditions since 1961 (http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org).

creative economy, political leaders promoted creative industries, creative vibes and quality of life, such as Work-Life balance (called Wolabal in Korean), through promoting social and cultural activities; however, the level of social awareness about creative urban transition was not notable. In 2015, the BDA detected a change, in that social initiatives increased and civic participation increased with respect to certain creative industries, namely: practices associated with travel, leisure and creative activities that mattered to the neighbourhood. Second, the results of the analysis indicated that the shared practices of 2013 were mostly underpinned by generic social norms, while there were notable changes in what values mattered to this same neighbourhood in 2015. Specifically, people became more open to others inasmuch as they cared less about people's place of origin, educational level or income band, and cared more about what others do for a living. Moreover, the social awareness of disabled children and women also increased, contrary to the traditional social norms of putting senior citizens first and minority groups last; shared practices associated with children's education also became less important than those related to societal values.

Hence, it was evident that social and cultural practices had profoundly changed over the course of the period under examination. Nonetheless, the OECD index in 2016 suggested that there was something lacking. This chapter explores the missing point through a comparison with the case of Amsterdam. In doing so, we attempt to characterise the qualities of the commons in Amsterdam in the same way as was conducted in the previous chapter. One point to mention here apropos the analysis of Amsterdam is that we followed exactly the same steps in Chapter 5, with the exception of the third phase, due to the lack of city survey data, as was noted in Chapter 4. In order to compensate the absence of the third phase analysis and bring a detailed analysis, this study attempted to do interpretative analysis for three years, from 2014 to 2016, in the second phase of the methodological framework.

More specifically, this chapter focuses on two neighbourhoods, Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (West gas factory), with three reasons: first, these neighbourhoods have undergone creative transition by successfully adapting to the new economic context, such as a wide range of creative activities; second, not only did the government intervention pay off these cases superficially, but a strong social engagement also brought about the

successful urban transition beyond market-driven approach (Mommaas, 2004); third, in 2013, there was a huge amount of cutbacks in the art and culture sector due to economic recession. Despite of this, these neighbourhoods have propelled new social and cultural practices via creative activities. In this vein, it would be worthy to analyse what makes the propeller keep working.

6.1.1 OVERVIEW

Amsterdam has recently endeavoured to respond to times of austerity through instilling creative energy and building liveable neighbourhoods, as well as appealing to the creative city and establishing itself as the hub for European creative start-ups. Under the umbrella of the creative economy paradigm, practitioners and policymakers have tried to develop a creative synergy and disseminate this within urban life. Among others, Amsterdam North has been transformed into the exemplar of creatives and new urbanity, while Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) transitioned into a creative place that represented creative Dutch culture. Both serve as substantive examples of areas that achieved creative urban transition through increased creativity and productivity. The regeneration projects that took place within these neighbourhoods placed a greater focus on the process of valorisation rather than monetisation, promoted an economy embedded in culture as opposed to appealing to the economisation of culture, along with creating a plurality of values instead of a singular value, that is, financial value. More importantly, this occurred as a consequence of social initiatives, rather than merely governmental intervention (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2003, 2006, 2007; McLennan, 2004; Mommaas, 2004; Peck, 2012).

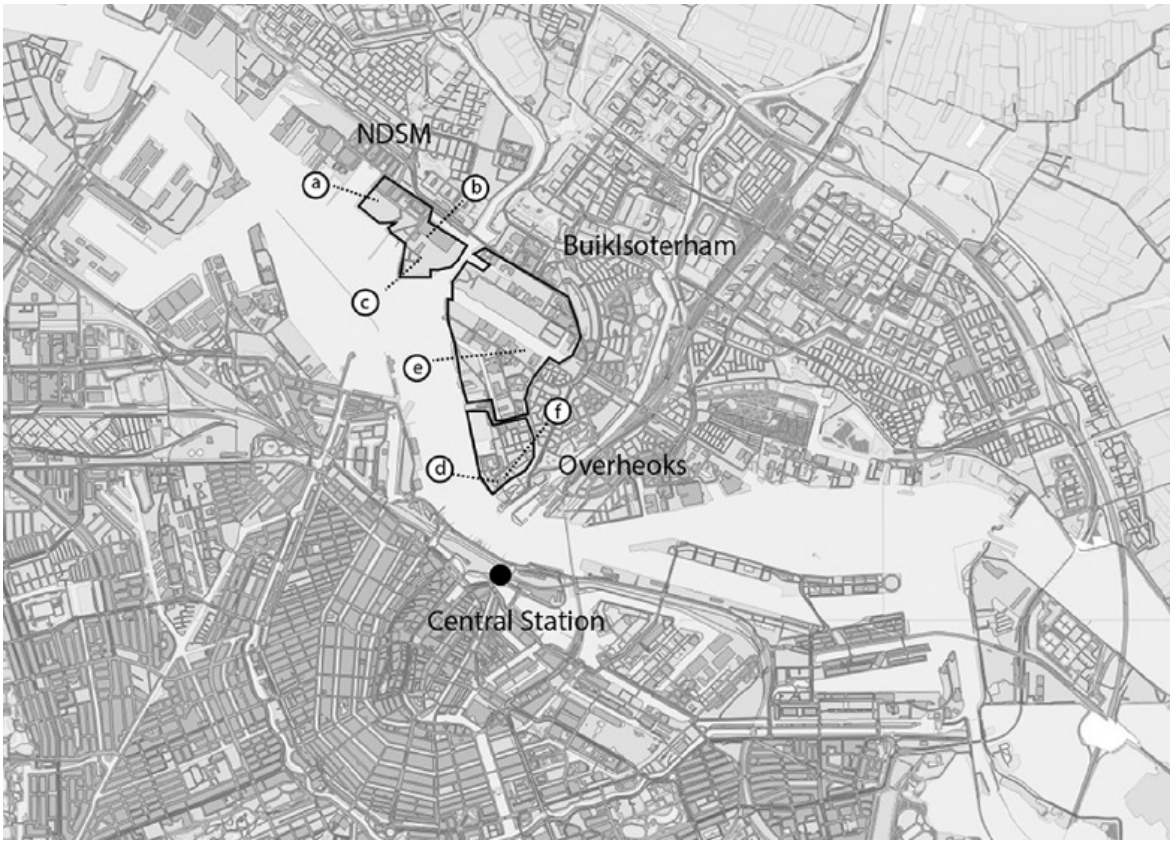
6.1.2 AMSTERDAM NORTH

Historically, Amsterdam North was an important industrial site in the Netherlands where large shipping companies agglomerated; however, when the industrial crisis hit in the 1980s, this industrial hub crumbled and gradually became a big dump site in the city. The municipality was concerned with how the decayed industrial site could be revitalised. In

common with other Western cities, such as Bilbao in Spain, the Amsterdam city government sought to appeal to the economic potential of culture.

In the late 1990s, the municipality of Amsterdam embarked on a regeneration project. This was a governmental initiative that triggered the process of urban transition. Although the logic of Governance was deeply involved from the outset of this process, this is not the whole story. Not only will this chapter illustrate via the case of Amsterdam North how culture benefited the urban regeneration for liveable neighbourhoods, it will also elucidate how an effective relationship between the city government and entrepreneurs unleashed urban creativity in the new economy.

The Amsterdam North project comprised three main areas: NDSM (Nederlandsche Dok en Scheepsbouw Maatschappij/ Dutch Dock and Shipbuilding Company) Wharf, Buiksloterham and Overhoeks.



(Source: Savini and Dembski (2016))

Indicator	Name of the place	Area
a	The Kraanspoor	NDSM
b	NDSM Loods	NDSM
c	Faralda Hotel	NDSM
d	Film EYE Museum and Overhoeks (Shell) tower	Overhoeks
e	Symbol self-built lots	Buiksloterham
f	The A-Lab Incubator Centre	Overhoeks

[Figure 6.1 The map of the Amsterdam North project]

NDSM, as a typical manufacturing industrial site, was the largest shipbuilding facility until 1984, and this huge, empty and abandoned space was reborn through the development of many creative buildings that represented modern Dutch architecture, such as, for example, Kranspoor, MTV Headquarters, Faralda hotel and so forth. The Kunststad building was transformed into ateliers for artists, while the gloomy industrial yard was transformed into a creative neighbourhood full of cultural activities. Unique combined practices deriving from creative entrepreneurship, such as private-public partnerships, benefitted NDSM by attracting people who wanted to participate.

Buiksloterham, which was also an industrial site in Amsterdam North, was transformed into an innovative urban place, characterised by the city government's attempts to shift Dutch urban planning practices from single-function development strategies towards more mixed-use urban fabrics, in the aftermath of the new economic wave (Korthals Altes and Tambach, 2008). Combining residential and work functions, which entailed the construction of new amenities, such as shops, schools and basic infrastructure, like pedestrian and cycle routes, the local jurisdiction planned to build over 2000 dwellings with a low percentage of social housing[45] (20%). City planners with a long-term view anticipated that this combined concept could meet the new market demand as well as attracting creative workers, as

[45] In the Netherlands, social housing is mostly meant housing for people with low incomes.

creative workers have different housing needs than others (Florida, 2002).Hence, the social and cultural practices of Buiksloterham are distinct from those in NDSM.

In this project, Overhoeks served as a gateway to the North due to its geographical location; it is the closest region of the three to Amsterdam Central Station. For the sake of easy accessibility to public transportation, in 2001, the city government began to run a ferry from Amsterdam central station to Overhoeks for free. Presenting the local identity through a series of landmarks, such as Overhoeks tower, the A-Lab and the Eye Film Museum, which has become a creative hotspot, Overhoeks thus provided a supportive environment to enable the creation of local cultural capital, as well as the production of new creative sources.

All three have contributed towards generating creative practices that have inspired this neighbourhood. An intriguing aspect of this project is the innovative governance that supported creative activities beyond simply market efficiency and effectiveness. Based on the public-private partnership model, policy makers encouraged social initiatives to get involved in this regeneration project, together striving for a marked improvement of the decayed neighbourhood by not only bringing out economic value, but also social and cultural values. Once again, one can discern here how the process of valorisation comes into operation. In the case of Amsterdam North, it enabled people to connect, simultaneously, to both the past and present of this district, in turn, helping them to connect the present to the future of the island by making people aware of the local identity and new social and cultural practices. With its focus on grassroots initiatives, anti-gentrification, local participation and creative start-ups, the role of the municipality of Amsterdam was as both a supporter and a gate keeper of this self-made city. For instance, renovation of the old industrial complex sought to create social and cultural values based on the local identity, by promoting local participation and designing new work spaces for civic creative activities that went beyond tourism or branding the capacity of the industrial heritage.

Moreover, the governance carefully incorporated Market sphere logic through collaborations with commercial organisations, such as Shell, ING Real Estate and MTV, in order to prevent the market from dispossessing the commons that the original residents

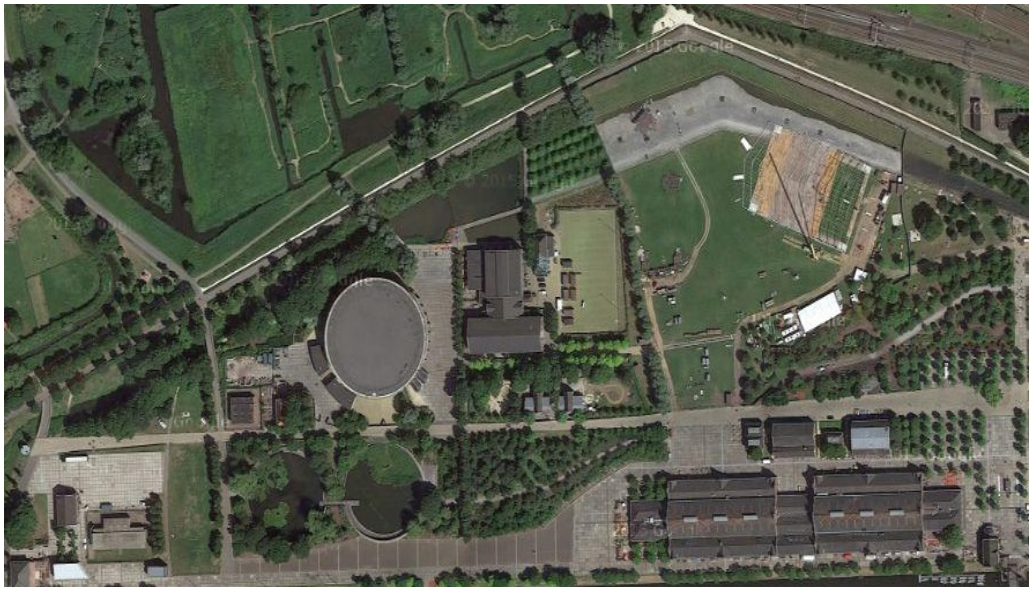
created. Hence, Amsterdam North was not simply to be about maximising private interests, rather the public-private partnership prioritised revitalising everyday life in the area. This was important for maintaining the balance between the new forms of workforce in the creative industries and the life of the local people.

As this thesis has repeatedly stressed, values in the context of the creative economy denote social and cultural qualities beyond monetary transactions. They are the outcomes that cities seek to generate and can be recognised through shared practices, which are non-commodifiable. The shared practices encourage the development of the commons that characterise urban qualities.

6.1.3 WESTERGASFABRIEK (WEST GAS FACTORY)

Located in the North-Western area of Amsterdam city centre, Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) functioned as a huge factory that produced coal-based gas in the 19thcentury. However, the decline in the industrial sector led to the factory shutting down in 1967, and, worse yet still, the brownfield proved to be impossible for people to reuse and serve conventional market-driven purposes due to the heavy pollution on the site (Mommaas, 2004). In the 1990s, a creative challenge to the contaminated brownfield created an untapped opportunity for this decayed neighbourhood. Like Amsterdam North, the governance based on private-public partnerships also desired to attract creative people to this area and revitalise the region by means of a variety of cultural activities. The primary purpose of this project was to revitalise this neighbourhood without compromising its original atmosphere. From purifying the contaminated brownfield to making it usable for a diverse range of functions, multiple stakeholders, including inhabitants, musicians, designers, cultural companies and organizations got involved in this project.

In 2003, Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) re-opened its gates to the public. The huge polluted space had been transformed into an industrial heritage site full of creative fervour. It provided a popular picnic area along with a limited number of commercial spaces, like cafes, restaurants and shops.



(Source: www.westergasfabriek.nl)

[Figure 6.2 Map of Westergasfabriek (West gas factory)]

Not only did it become a symbolic place for local people, the space also supported particular cultural activities, including fashion shows, theatres, exhibitions, and workshops. How did people determine the outcomes of this project? How did people distinguish the practices of Westergasfabriek (West gas factory)? What about the commons that people share in this neighbourhood?

(Source: www.westergasfabriek.nl)

[Figure 6.3 Westergasfabriek (West gas factory)]

In the new economic context, counting the volume of visitors or computing monetary returns are insufficient for determining the value of a space. Rather, as this thesis has continually argued, there are other values that this project generated: the local government (the Governance sphere/ societal values), in its capacity as an entrepreneur, played a key role in terms of promoting civic engagement (the Social sphere/ social values) and supporting creative activities (cultural values). This point is all the more important because the neighbourhood developed and accrued a unique pattern of social and cultural practices that, in turn, contributed to urban qualities. Hence, in order to map the complex values that this neighbourhood created, we must once again take recourse to Klamer's the Five sphere model, which is based upon a cultural economic perspective. The institutional order of this model allows for both the comparison between some of the tendencies – both actual and potential– of the shared practices and the commons within these two sites, and to characterise the outcomes of the two neighbourhoods.

For the sake of understanding what people do, it is instructive to begin with a statistical analysis so as to verify the characteristics of the workforce of the city. In particular, the creative industry has a proclivity to pursue creative projects and activities within an agglomeration of relevant business circles, in the sense that they develop specific shared practices, like social and business norms and tacit knowledge. The creative commons of cities are neither subject to the logic of scarcity nor exclusive access to natural resources. Rather, they emerge out of the practices that people share. Considering these remarks, the first phase of characterising shared practices and the commons attempts to identify the clustering of people employed in the creative industries in Amsterdam through conducting a LQ analysis, and the second phase is to understand social and cultural practices that people shared via social media data analysis, outlined in Chapter 4.

PHA	Purpose	Data Collection / Time frame	Approach	Analysis	Research question
1st	Identifying the characteristics of the labour structure	Labour statistics provided by LISA / 2013 and 2015	Industry approach	LQ analysis	Do cities have dense creative workers, people employed in the creative industries?
2nd	Characterising social and cultural practices	Social media data collected from Twitter / between 2014 and 2016	Hermeneutic approach	Big Data Analysis with Software R, Python	How cities get to know different social and cultural qualities? Do cities provide a supportive environment to generate the commons related to the creative industries? Do social and cultural practices respond to creative activities?
3rd	Articulating changes in what people do in a micro level	N/A	Bayesian approach	Survey data analysis with Bayesian Model	How do cities make sense of changes in shared practices in a micro level?

(Source: elaborated by the author)

[Table 6.1 Summary of the Methodological framework]

6.1.4 PHASE 1 CALIBRATING INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION OF AMSTERDAM

In the 1980s and 1990s, most cities in Europe carried out urban development through central governmental initiatives with authoritative power (Savini, 2012); however, when the economic depression caused by the credit crunch reduced consumer confidence, many local governments resorted to innovative transitions to stimulate local growth. Given the unstable and complicated nature of the market at that historical juncture, the municipality of

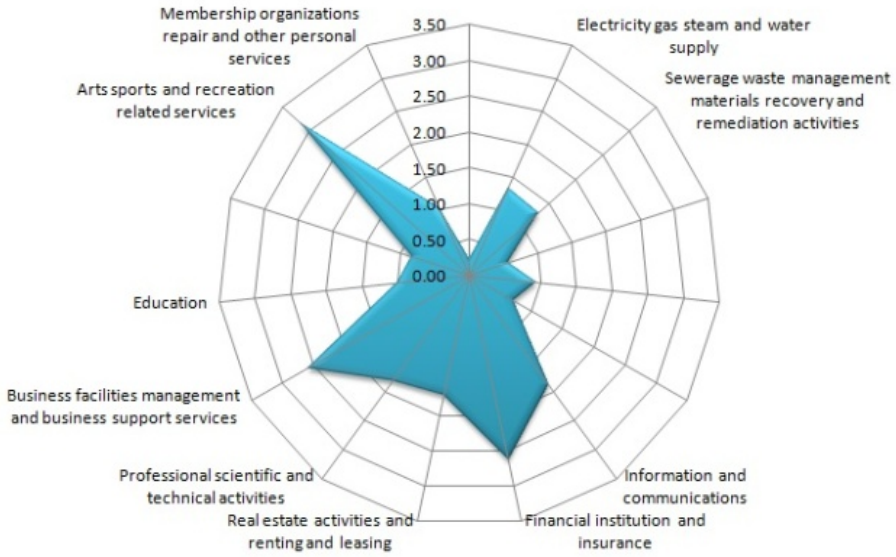
Amsterdam, like others, prioritised self-organised and small-scale civic led projects aimed at spatial change in the form of creative urban regeneration, identified the role of culture as a key driver in this process, and sought to build a supportive environment capable of facilitating creative insights on the basis of five policy spearheads: first, sharing entrepreneurship with local people; second, improving the business environment for the creative industry; third, retaining Dutch heritage; fourth, capitalising on local cultural value; and fifth, enhancing their globally competitive position (City council of Amsterdam; 2003).

However, in 2011, the Dutch government announced drastic cutbacks in the art and culture sector that amounted to 24% in 2013, compared to 2010. Provinces and municipalities also slashed their budgets (Vikenburg in Boekman 95)[46]. It was not difficult to anticipate that the period of austerity which proceeded these significant cutbacks would diminish the shape of labour in the creative sectors. In order to analyse the impact of these cutbacks, this study collected data on labour statistics, specifically industrial data in 2013 and 2015 from LISA and the municipality of Amsterdam.

As one can discern in Figure 6.4, there was an outstanding concentration of workers in the creative industries in 2013. Arts, Sports and Recreation-related services were the highest, followed by Business and Financial institutions, while other creative industries, such as Information and Communications or Professional Scientific and Technical activities were also highly agglomerated. However, Hotels and Restaurants barely reached the baseline level.

In 2015, notwithstanding the economic crisis and the €200 million (around $283 million) cutbacks in arts and culture, the creative propeller appears to have kept operating. Indeed, the strong concentration of people employed in the creative industries remained stable between these two years, with the labour concentration in the arts and culture sector even increasing at the LQ degree, of 3.17. It is clear that the economic contribution of the creative sectors was considerable during this period: creative industries in Amsterdam generated around €4.3 billion and comprised more than 40,000 businesses (Amsterdam Economic Board, Canon, 2016).

[46] See European Union (2014)



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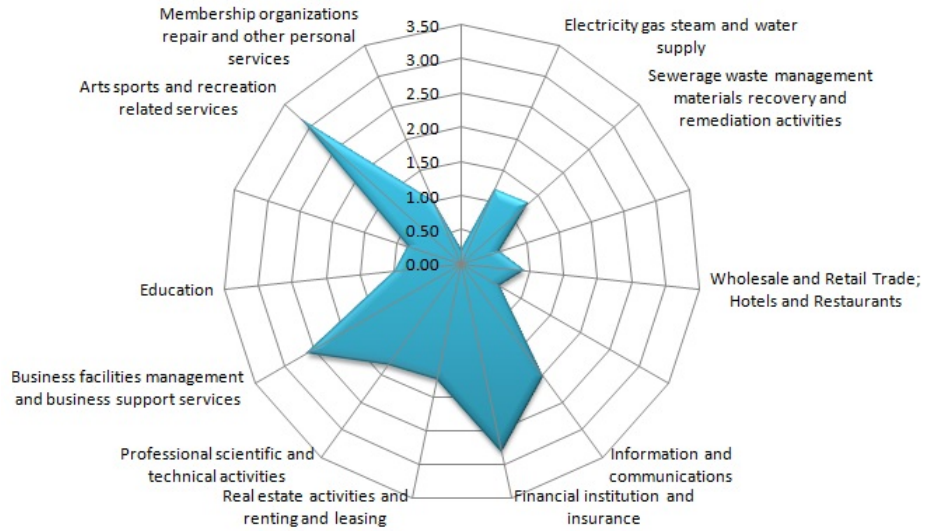


2015

(Source: elaborated by the author with data of LISA)

[Figure 6.4 The concentration of people employed in the creative industries in Amsterdam]

Examining the industrial traits of Amsterdam tells us that people in Amsterdam were able to get involved in creative activities easily, as the labour dynamics involved both production of labour and practices that people create. However, is this enough to characterise creative

outcomes like shared practices and the commons related to the creative industry of Amsterdam? In the case of Seoul, we also verified the existence of dense workers in the creative industries, specifically in the IT sectors. Yet, this does not mean that all neighbourhoods enhanced IT-related practices and the commons. As was the case in Jung-Gu, where the neighbourhood built up tourism-related practices via cultural heritage, sheer density alone did not sufficiently describe the social dynamics and life at street level in the neighbourhood (Jacobs, 1964).

It is in the context of what people talk about that shared practices can be identified, while a certain practice only becomes the commons when social sectors appropriate, protect, and develop it for the benefit of everyone[47]. Hence, the second stage brings us to the explanatory analysis of big data related to Amsterdam. More specifically, we focus on two neighbourhoods, Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (West gas factory)[48], in order to trace both the characteristics and outcomes of creative activities. Concerning the descriptive data analysis, we collected Twitter data between 2014 to 2016. As noted in Chapter 4, the primary analytical purpose of doing this is to envisage the context of what people talk about in the real world via data configuration. This idea might appear strange from the perspective of standard economists due to the fact the focus is not on monetised transactions, however, but rather involves consideration of the social reflections and cultural practices that people share, which reflects the urban qualities in a given neighbourhood.

6.1.5 PHASE 2(A) MAPPING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES IN AMSTERDAM NORTH, AMSTERDAM

From the perspective of standard economists, who are ordinarily more interested in financial transactions, market values, and instrumental purposes, approaches like mapping practices or network analysis might appear too vague to bear any weight. However, this thesis aims to demonstrate that the second stage provides expedient and practical

[47]See Jacobs (1964), Klamer (2017), and Frischmann et al. (2014).

[48]The municipality of Amsterdam compelled Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (the West gas factory) to promote creative industries and develop cultural practices via civic participation.

interpretations of the nexus between the new economy, creative activities and the constructive role of network-driven processes involving multiple stakeholders. In the sense that social network is conducive to creating and sharing practices and contributes to the urban dynamics (Collins, 2004; Jacobs, 1964; Klamer, 2016), the importance of networking and clustering has been increasingly acknowledged in contemporary society, in comparison to previous years.

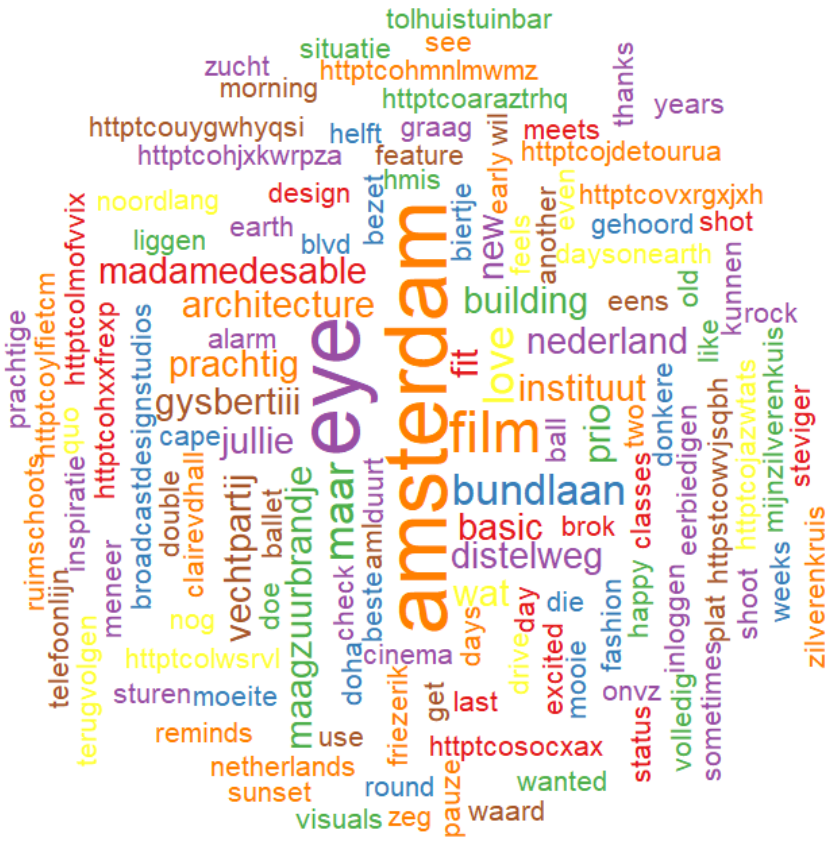
Mapping what people talk about in creative clusters benefits cities by providing a relatively clear understanding of what commons are at work within the local neighbourhood. Each neighbourhood is defined by social and cultural values that people share in the given society, and accordingly, they develop relevant practices and the commons, such as symbols, local identity, a sense of belonging, social norms, conversations and institutions. In order to identify these social practices and characterise the commons, such as in the case of Seoul, this study adopts an indirect approach to understanding what people talk about in both Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (West gas factory), by collecting descriptive data about the two particular neighbourhoods from social media via web scraping, specifically from Twitter for the years of 2014, 2015 and 2016: one month in 2014, a year in 2015, and 5 months in 2016. Like Seoul, by manipulating the huge data via the use of a geographical filter, this study focused on two specific districts, Westergasfabriek and Amsterdam North. With respect to the point that was made in Chapter 4, in this case Twitter was so popular in Amsterdam, in comparison to Seoul, that there were no serious distractions when attempting to map the explanatory data.

As depicted in Figure 6.5, the data analysis accentuates particular cultural activities, interesting places to visit, as well as the primary issues going on in the local neighbourhood. However, what is of interest in this case is not the words, i.e., the names of the popular places and types of activity there, but rather the patterns that illustrate the characteristics of practices in Amsterdam North. Four points are of special analytical interest here.

First, similar to the tourism-related practices in Jung-Gu in Seoul, there were specific practices elaborated within this neighbourhood. Specifically, the data analysis showed the prominence of practices revolving around the film industry in Amsterdam North, not only

related to the local landmark, EYE film museum, but also with respect to relevant activities like Ipm(live performers meetings) in Figure 6.5, and opnames (recordings) and cinema. This result suggests that Amsterdam North provides a supportive environment in which people can participate in practices related to the film industry. Moreover, other types of creative spaces and practices, such as Tolhuistuin (a cultural centre), night clubs, concert venues, exhibitions, institutions, TedxAmsterdamYouth, Hoplr (network for the neighbourhood), symposium halls and football clubs all benefitted this district. Creative people and relevant stakeholders have all gathered in this area: architects, designers, musicians, educators, writers and creative directors of global companies. Yet the difference between the case of Seoul and this neighbourhood was that Amsterdam North was filled with concrete creative activities, whereas the district of Seoul was not.

Second, in contradistinction to Seoul, people in Amsterdam North were cognisant of particular local streets - Buiksloterweg, Distelweg, Grasweg, Ijpromenade, Overhoeks, Asterweg, Chrysantenstraat and Sixhavenweg. As this emerging neighbourhood was specified as an iconic cultural district, it is perhaps unsurprising that the social media data highlighted certain cultural spaces. However, the results of the Seoul case showed an altogether different pattern, in that there was scarce indication of cultural spaces in the given district, even though Jung-Gu is also renowned as a cultural district. While the logic of the Governance sphere can determine the physical construction of infrastructure, it cannot contribute to the meanings that are generated via creative spaces, nor can it build social and cultural interactions. This characterisation cannot be imposed by governmental authorities or market logic, instead it can only be accrued by social initiatives themselves.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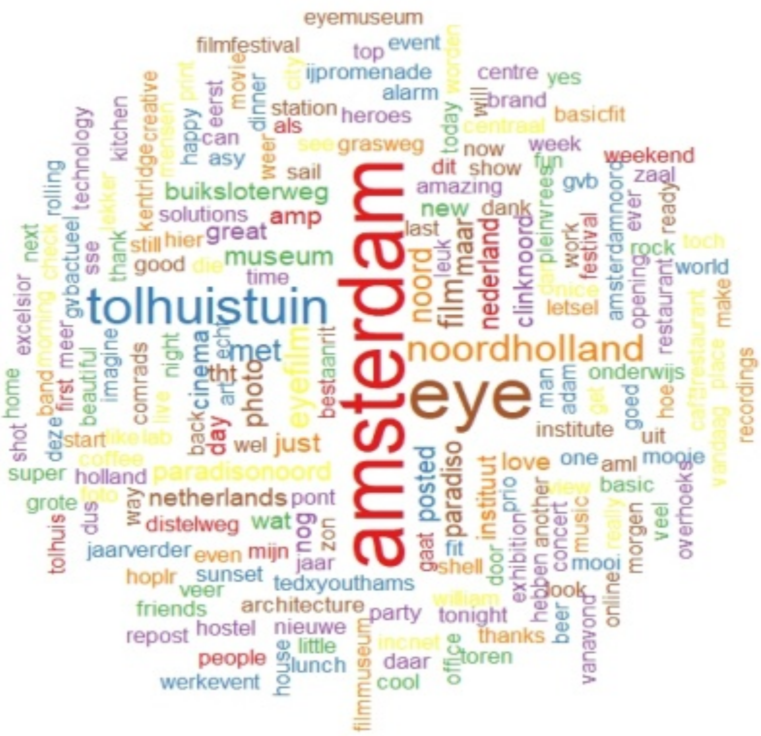
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[2015]

[2016]

(source: elaborated by the author from Twitter)

[Figure 6.5 Social awareness of the Cultural sphere in Amsterdam North]

Third, this result demonstrates that people were cognisant of the practical issue of accessibility to Amsterdam North. Since that area was isolated from the mainland, the city government provided free public ferries for people who work or live in the region to travel back and forth from the area. While previously people who missed the last ferry from the island to the mainland had to stay on the island until the next morning, in 2017 the government increased the number of ferries and enabled people to commute 24 hours a day.

Finally, contrary to the case of Seoul where people mostly shared information about what they wanted to do, people in Amsterdam North shared various reflections associated with this neighbourhood: love, relationships, happiness, beauty, dirt and feeling at home.

Evidently, Amsterdam North is a successful example of urban regeneration. It is full of creative dynamics that involve locally embedded practices, through the promotion of social networks associated with the film industry, and a range of cultural activities based on

partnerships between public and private actors, as well as alleviating the gentrification of the city centre via an ambitious urban regeneration plan that combined dwellings with creative businesses (Savini and Dembski, 2016). By promoting the social and cultural values of the local area, by sharing storytelling, local symbols, practices and narratives, multiple stakeholders have strived to enhance the qualities of the commons. In so doing, the regeneration planning bridged the gap between past and future. Resultantly, Amsterdam North went from being a detached part of the city to becoming the epicenter of the creative economy.

6.1.6 PHASE 2(B) MAPPING SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES IN WESTERGASFABRIEK (WEST GAS FACTORY), AMSTERDAM

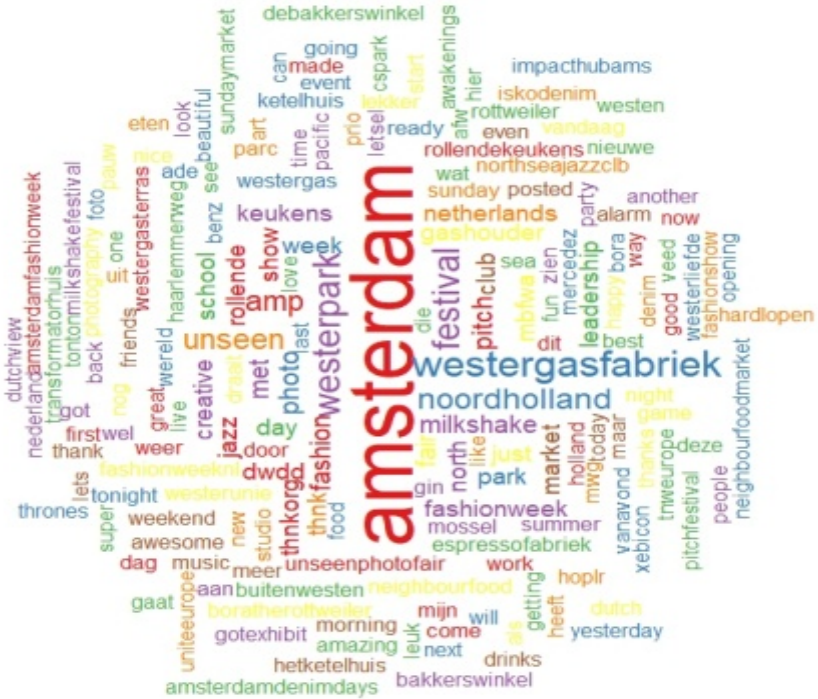
At first glance, Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) appears to be a similar case to Amsterdam North, in the sense that cultural activities also drove the neighbourhood to become a creative hotspot. However, examining this region through recourse to BDA , in fact, shows that Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) is characterised by different creative vibes and distinct social and cultural practices from those evidenced in Amsterdam North. Specifically, the descriptive data analysis identified three key characteristics of practices in Westergasfabriek (West gas factory).

First, Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) has nothing to do with provisions for dwellings. Rather, its principal function has been to support the creative activities of Dutch fashion workers. As Figure 6.6 indicates, this neighbourhood is closely connected to the Dutch fashion industry, Dutch designer shops, design magazines and young fashion designers. In addition, other creative activities comprise conferences related to technical content, food festivals, breweries, a competition for young creatives, a famous journalist's talk show, creativity clubs and music festivals.

Second, this social mapping detected a change in what people mostly did in this neighbourhood during the period under examination. In 2014, for the most part, people were aware of Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) as a popular picnic spot to go with family and friends, while in 2016 people became more interested in the TNW conference. The TNW conference is a well-known technology festival attended by the world's top

technology executives, which promotes start-ups by sharing knowledge and business skills. In 2016, more than 12,000 attendees gathered in one day, while 3,500 companies from all over the world attended the conference. Hence, the social and cultural practices and qualities of the commons that the crowd produced and shared can be distinguished from those of other creative hotspots. In addition, due to the weather conditions, creative activities in this area were apt to be limited to a certain season, namely the summer.

[2014]



[2015]

[2016]

(source: elaborated by the author from Twitter)

[Figure 6.6 Social awareness of the Cultural sphere in West Gas Factory]

Third, like the case of Amsterdam North, people also focused on specific local streets in which they were interested, along with sharing how they felt about this neighbourhood. People cited a range of names, including west park, haarlemmerweg, klonneplein, polonceaukade, westergasterrein, and shared their feelings and relationships, such as being happy, cosy, feeling at home, crazy, and even hate. Conversely to Seoul, any reference to the political context or governmental interventions was rarely found in the conversations related to this neighbourhood. Rather, people's conversations mainly centred on cultural and creative activities, as well as drawing concrete associations between particular spaces and specific cultural activities.

6.2 WHAT DO THE AMSTERDAM CASES TELL ABOUT THE CASE OF SEOUL?

The purpose of this approach was to make sense of the different characteristics of shared practices and a commons that cities produce. Why is this important? Creative cities are full of different creative activities and social practices, and, hence, understanding what people do beyond what people produce can aid cities attempts to make creative activities economically recognisable. Creative activities are stimulated by workers engaged in creative sectors. Their unique contribution to the cultural sphere is to keep cities active within the creative economy, through the generation of new ideas and approaches (Bell, 1979; Florida, 2002), as empirical studies responded to the first hypothesis of this thesis. However, one of the key points being made by this thesis is that urban regeneration requires more than the generation of creative insights alone, and instead necessitates the society actively becoming engaged in conversations about the creative practices taking place in their communities. Consequently, at the heart of the process of developing shared practices and the commons related to the creative sectors are the social responses that accept the creative ideas, appropriate them and treat them as a commons. This last point is, responding to the second hypothesis of this thesis, of critical importance for distinguishing

between why creative cities need collective workforce in the creative industry and how creative cities make sense of social responses.

6.2.1 SOCIAL RESPONSES AND CREATIVE WORKFORCE

Considering these remarks, one can discern a discrepancy between the practices of people employed in the creative industries and the social responses from society in the case of Seoul. While the neighbourhood is full of creative workers mostly concentrated in IT, media and financial sectors, historically what has mattered to people in Jung-Gu was mostly associated with the practices of the manufacturing and tourism-based businesses. Importantly, the social mapping revealed that there was no social response towards the IT industries, media and financial sectors. Hence, there was a discrepancy between what creative people contribute and what people in society do. However, what about the case of Amsterdam? What drove the creative turn there?

According to the European Social Survey in 2014, the social sector responded positively, with the rate of 88.2%, to questions about the importance of new ideas and being creative, whereas positive social responses to the importance of being rich, making money and having expensive things was only 51.3%. The result implies that Dutch society was more receptive to values of creativity and new ideas than monetary values. The data analysis conducted for the purposes of this thesis identified that the city contains a dense volume of workers across a broad spectrum of creative industries. Moreover, the social mapping of Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) reflected how the creative industries corresponded to the social practices and how the commons operated within creative neighbourhoods. The primary contribution of BDA is to characterise the different practices and the commons within these two neighbourhoods. In the case of Amsterdam North, for the most part, what people did related to film industries, creative knowledge, education for creative start-ups and creative dwellings, while people in Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) elaborated cultural practices that were associated with the Dutch fashion industry, music festivals, local food and family activities.

Comparison of characteristics of the two neighbourhoods		
	Amsterdam North	Westergasfabriek (West gas factory)
Similarity	a. People shared about specific streets. b. People shared how they felt, in relation to the neighbourhoods. c. A strong social initiative with governance partnerships d. Hard to identify governmental interventions e. The project encompassed the concept of urban regeneration	
Difference	c. Film industry associated activities were prevailing. d. Innovative approach to public transportation. e. Creative combination of dwellings and businesses	d. The creative space has mostly involved the Dutch fashion industry. e. The neighbourhood is susceptible to the weather.

Therefore, understanding how social and cultural practices benefit cities in terms of producing, accumulating and appropriating the urban commons. For instance, creative people who require a supportive environment in the fashion industry would be better suited to moving to Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) rather than Amsterdam North to realise their values and ideas that are associated with that industry. Similarly, creative people who want to associate with other people who share creative insights about the film industry would be better placed to realise their important values in Amsterdam North than in Westergasfabriek (West gas factory).

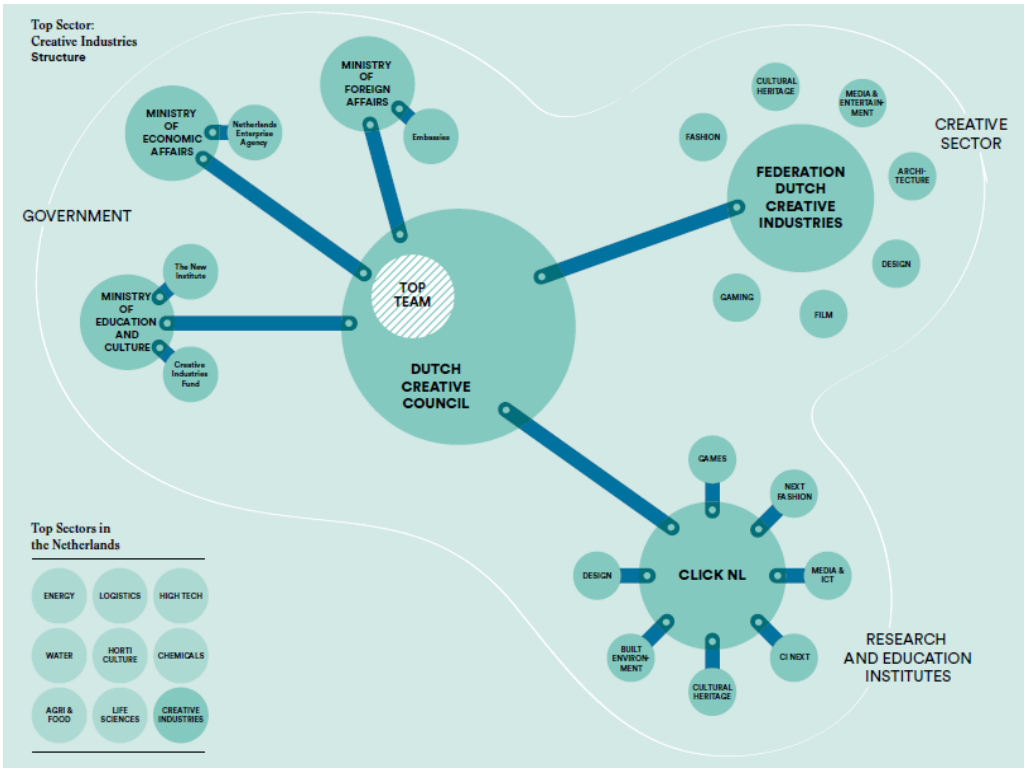
6.2.2 THE ROLE OF GOVERNANCE: REPLENISHING OR REPLACING

The cases of Seoul and Amsterdam demonstrate how neighbourhood revitalisation is driven by cultural content. While this looks like a straightforward process, there is an important analytical point that must be stressed here. The point of these two projects analysed here in the case studies was not to fulfil the requirement of replacing old

neighbourhoods with new ones, but rather to engender a vibrant street culture without displacing the existing localities. The presumption here is that urban regeneration forms part of the practices that local people share. However, the case of Seoul showed the problematic aspect of crowding-out[49]. In the beginning stage, a strong governmental intervention must be effective at mobilising resources to promote the new economy, while, simultaneously, taking into account the importance of social initiatives for sustainable neighbourhoods. The outcomes of Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) underscore that cities require constructive work practices, based not only on the generation of new ideas that creative people bring, but also the commons that dwellers themselves create, in order to make the commons and practices reflective. It would be absurd to try and evaluate which neighbourhood holds better social and cultural qualities; rather, it would be more apt to say that the better understanding that cities have of what communities create, the more likely they are to facilitate and disseminate positive outcomes.

In this respect, the role played by the Governance sphere in these Dutch cases is notable. Based on their cognisance that the new economy did not operated simply in terms of a profit-maximising logic, the municipality played the role of mediating between multiple stakeholders (Cook and Lazzeretti, 2008).

[49]See Klamer (2017).



(Source: elaborated by the author, Designing a country, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (2014))

[Figure 6.7 Governance of the Creative sector in the Netherlands]

In their intermediary role, the Governance sphere serves to facilitate the different conversations between the various stakeholders involved, as well as attracting creatives, and mobilising local symbolic factors, such as storytelling or narratives in regeneration projects. Excessive governmental intervention can lead to the social sector malfunctioning (Frey, 1997a). Consider in this regard the well-known Amsterdam creative policy initiative: in 1999, the city engaged in creating places–*broedplaatsen*-with the express aim of incubating creative spaces for start-ups (Peck, 2012). The urban revitalisation model witnessed in Amsterdam North has more or less proven its value both for start-ups and the city as a whole, with commentators acknowledging the positive and sustainable effects of cultural capital on the formerly decayed neighbourhoods (Bontje and Lawton, 2013).

However, what is of key importance here is remaining cognisant about the momentum of creative transition. As aforesaid, the Cultural sphere is not autonomous, but rather is subject to complex social interactions between the local context and manifold situational variables (Schön and Rein, 1994; Majoor, 2009; Savini and Dembski, 2016). Social initiatives count!

7. WHAT EMERGES OUT OF THIS RESEARCH?

Why governments should be so imitative, rather than innovative…

(Jacobs, 1969, p.209)

7.1 FROM STORIES

When I moved to the Netherlands to conduct my PhD research, I was searching for social and cultural qualities within the city and its neighbourhoods that went beyond purely economic capacity and towering buildings. The most important questions I had pertained to the qualities of the commons: does this city have the commons related to cultural economics? Which neighbourhood would provide a high-quality education program for my child? What about the security of the neighbourhood? Is this town equipped with a supportive medical system? Does this city support cultural and creative activities for people who live and work here? Is it safe to walk on the streets with a stroller during the daytime and in the evening? What kind of people would I encounter? Are they mostly expats or local people? Factory workers or designers? Architects or lawyers? The elderly or young couples? Who will be my neighbours? What do they do?

However, during my conversations with a real-estate agent (called Makelaar in Dutch), he repeatedly recommended to me a certain neighbourhood full of giant global companies and new modern buildings, populated mainly by people in the high-income band that worked there, as well as being full of all kinds of shops. What he was showing me had nothing to do with what I wanted. He seemed to assume that urban qualities were about monetary values. He was predominantly concerned with the financial transactions that the neighbourhood generated. His perspective perfectly followed the market logic in this respect; a market logic that is incapable of making sense of important concepts related to urban creativity or the newly emerging economy, such as the commons and shared

practices. Eventually, he failed in meeting the requirements that I was looking for. That is to say, he was blind to the difference between a "house" and a "home" (Klamer, 2016).

This thesis has examined the emergence of the new economy through recourse to creativity and what it ultimately means for cities. The profound shift that cities are currently undergoing provided the impetus to conduct this study that attempts to comprehend what this new economy is about, along with developing mechanisms through which to justify the manifold outcomes produced by this reality. Following cultural economists, who are concerned with qualities as well as quantities, this thesis sought to develop a counterpoint to the narrow perspective of standard economics, by combining a new perspective that allows for qualitative analysis without compromising its contribution to quantitative analysis.

The new economy is not driven by manufacturing industries. Rather, it is more engaged in sense-making activities, such as co-production, co-creation, and the cultural and symbolic meanings that the commons deliver. To facilitate this process of creative transition, cities are paying more attention to qualitative improvements, such as the qualities of neighbourhoods, supportive communities or forms of social empowerment, rather than simply quantitative expansion (Peck, 2012). Consequently, many cities have mobilised various resources to engender spatial changes that will make cities qualitatively different, including via attracting creatives, as the Makelaar wrongly assumed in my case.

Creative transition has occurred in some cities, but not in others. What about the case of my hometown, Seoul? What happened to this innovative urban society? Quantitative analysis demonstrated that the economic contribution of creative people in Seoul was significant. However, it appeared that their economic contribution and the huge spatial change the city had undergone had not translated into the qualities of life. That is to say, something had been missed out underneath the numbers; while cost-benefit analysis undoubtedly can show some achievements, they do not illustrate qualitative changes in a neighbourhood. Indeed, while the number of jobs points to the capacity of the labour market, it does not describe the qualities of the working places, and although number of visitors shows the popularity of a place, it does not reflect what people talk about there. What was missing in my hometown that kept creativity from being feasible? It is qualities

that count in cities. This raises the question of how people can become cognisant of the qualities that the new economy strives for?

The qualities that cities realistically seek to realise represent largely symbolic, intangible, elusive, and cultural characteristics. As such, they cannot be captured by the numbers that standard economic analyses provide. Not only have cities come to recognise this limitation, but global organisations, such as the UN and the EU, are now aware of this fact. Hence, this thesis has developed an alternative framework through which to identify the social and cultural qualities of cities and neighbourhoods, by addressing the limitations of the standard economic perspective. More specifically, the thesis took recourse to the VBA[50]to address these issues.

By utilising the VBA, this thesis has focused its analytical gaze on the things that people do to (re)produce the new economy, rather than considering how much they produce in the new industries. By adopting this approach, we can thus look differently at the example of Seoul: people generate social and cultural values that contribute to the social and cultural qualities of the city; what they do is not simply geared towards making money, but rather about enriching their life. Hence, we need a new framework that brings different values together, and that enables scholars to compare different qualities between cities and neighbourhoods. To the extent that social and cultural qualities cannot be determined, this thesis attempts to characterise different qualities. To this end, two points are of special note here: on the one hand, this thesis utilised new concepts to make sense of the social and cultural characteristics as being economically feasible in the new economic context; on the other hand, by using these concepts as a foundation for identifying and characterising the different qualities that cities possess, this research has sought to advance a different understanding of what makes cities work better in the context of the emerging economy, in

[50]The VBA was proposed by Klamer (2016). It is a new economic perspective to make sense of the emerging economy based on the notion of value. According to Klamer, economics is about making values come out, and the new economy is about activities that make lives richer. Thus, values are not limited to the financial terms of the market sphere alone, but rather should encompass social and cultural values.

the process making a contribution to urban scholars and policy makers, but also people who are weighing up where to live, work, and start a creative enterprise.

The focus of this thesis centres on what people do, which concerns their practices, more specifically, the shared practices that people share in a certain group, society, neighbourhood, or city. Why is this term a shared practice important for characterising urban qualities? Its importance derives from the fact that practices hinge upon the mutual interactions between a certain group, society, neighbourhood or city vis-à-vis the respective values that they want to realise. Resultantly, the practices that people share with one another are an expedient indicator not only for urban planners/ policy makers to understand the qualities that people contribute, but also in terms of signalling people towards supportive environments that generate a qualitatively different commons. For instance, consider a young lady who tries to make people realise their local identity through a creative activity like making a documentary. Firstly, she would need a group of people who can understand her when she speaks, so that she can have a relevant conversation. She could then develop insights, build credibility and share practices that express the shared values of the group, both as an individual and with respect to the milieu in which she belongs. The shared practices of Jean makers, for instance, are to be distinguished from those of film makers. A shared practice is not a state of affairs; rather, it is a quality-driven activity that is explanatory and conducive to developing and articulating the commons. Shared practices thus feed the commons and strengthen it. The commons of documentary filmmaking in a city like Amsterdam is fed and developed by people joining forces, talking with each other, setting up shared spaces, engaging in collaborative projects and inviting newcomers to participate, which, in turn, contributes to the shared practices and the commons of documentary filmmaking. If these shared practices were to dry up, the commons would suffer.

More to the point, the commons in cities are qualitatively different, while the qualities of the commons are reinforced by the willingness to contribute of stakeholders. The commons to which filmmakers contribute will be and necessarily must be different from the commons that IT doers operate in. Moreover, the contribution to these shared sources brings about differences in the nature of change itself. Consider here, for example, the case of an

association of creative urban practitioners in Seoul. The institution comprises people who make cities, such as developers, architects, civil engineers, artists and chemists. What they do is mostly build housing and infrastructure, price them and sell them, recuperate their costs and make profits. Given this, it would not be surprising to imagine the instrumental nature of their conversations. However, within this organisation, the story that they share is actually quite different: what they talk about and do is centred on how they can contribute to the society, not only by constructing buildings but also through building a good environment; they share resources, networks, knowledge and practices, and, in turn, create a commons related to urban planning and regeneration, deriving from their willingness to contribute. If they simply followed the Market logic, then this would not make sense. Yet, it was the willingness of individuals and firms to contribute to the qualities of the commons that makes sense of what they do. Through engaging in workshops with them, I discovered that they were acutely aware of the important values that they wanted to realise[51]. For them, money was thus not the goal in and of itself, but rather an instrument through which to valorise important values like social consolidation of the community, town and gown, as well as the cultural qualities of the street and block. Therefore, the urban commons that they create cannot be accounted for by standard economic data analyses. However, the consequences of what they do are clear: the shared goods, practices and the commons, which are promoted by the willingness to contribute, provide the answer to the question of how cities bring areas back to life. This is why this thesis adopted an interpretive analysis, which allows researchers to analyse descriptive traits or substantive hallmarks by understanding spatial contexts.

What matters here is to pay close attention to the qualitative nexus of the social and cultural dynamics, such as social initiatives, local identity, symbolic meanings and complex interdependencies, and to avoid distilling them into financial outcomes and government

[51]This process is called valorisation, which occurs when individuals and organisations realise the important values that they want to realise. These values include social and cultural values as well as economic value. In this case, people in the workshop were driven by an awareness of important values; for instance, the urban practitioners strove for building beautiful buildings, developing a balanced neighbourhood between buildings and dwellings, creating social infrastructures that improve the public spaces where inhabitants can better socialize, and establishing culturally rich blocks.

interventions. Descriptive analyses of shared goods and practices and the commons of a society crystallises such qualities, and answers the question of how cities and people identify and characterise the different qualities that cities possess.

The first hypothesis of this research is that social and cultural qualities are generated not only by the dense volume of creative workforce and their respective economic contribution, but also, as will be shown in the data analysis in the next section, via the establishment of a supportive environment that makes sense of what creative people have delivered within the local context. As aforesaid, this specific aspect is what was missing in my hometown of Seoul.

In order to verify the hypothesis and articulate this missing element, this thesis designed a methodological framework comprised of two steps: first, to estimate the density of people employed in the creative industries via collecting industrial statistics and measuring LQs[52]; second, conduct interpretative analysis focused on making sense of the qualities that people create through doing BDA[53] of social media channels. The purpose of this was to detect meaningful indicators, such as a reorientation in the values that people were striving for, as well as characterising shared practices and the commons. BDA does not determine social and cultural qualities, but can characterise the social and cultural values that people want to strive for via indicators about what is important to them, namely important issues, behavioural patterns and traces of what people talk about and do.

When possible, this research tried to characterise urban dynamics in detail by using the Bayesian approach on survey data, in the hope that this analysis would enhance the picture of the social and cultural traits or capture the mainstream context of the local area. To be sure, Bayesian analysis cannot depict everything, but it is useful in certain respects. It is

[52]This measures the relative degree of the particular labour concentration of a given region, district and nation. It does not indicate any absolute condition for industries, but rather provides a spatial pattern, such as which region or district would be a better place for certain types of labourers.

[53]BDA is an analytical methodology to analyse big data, for instance, data from social media or search engines like Google, Yahoo or Naver (in South Korea). It enables people to clean the huge data and extract what they want by designing a program for explanatory contents.

worth noting that this analysis is not intended to establish causality, but rather is more about characterising the relevance and qualities of the commons in the new economic context. This approach allows for the design of a mathematical framework that was expedient for providing a relative spectrum among survey questions. For example, people could visualise a nuanced difference in the content of questions. Due to the absence of survey data in Amsterdam, this study conducted the Bayesian analysis only in the case of Seoul. Given that this is the first attempt of its kind, further research is needed in this area.

Ultimately, what this research has sought to ascertain is the respective qualities of cities and neighbourhoods, such as the different shapes of their labour structure by analysing LQs, as well as identifying their relative social and cultural hallmarks via conducting BDA, rather than considering whether a certain labour force boosts economic growth or how much economic returns these labourers generate. In so doing, this research makes a crucial contribution to the question of how people come to be cognisant of the different qualities that cities possess.

7.1.1 FROM THE EMPIRICAL STUDIES

In order to apply this new insight to the real world, it is worth comparing different cities and neighbourhoods that faced similar problems and attempted to transition into creative spaces. What are the specific qualities of those cities that achieved such a creative transition? And why did it not work in the case of others? The creative transition appeared to work in Amsterdam, but it did not in Seoul. Hence, this study analysed two cities, Amsterdam and Seoul, more specifically, comparing specific neighbourhoods and iconic cultural and creative spaces in each city: Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) in Amsterdam and Jung-Gu in Seoul.

The major findings of this research can summarised in terms of the similarities and differences between these two cases. First, let us consider the similarities: all the urban transformation projects in the districts were designed by introducing cultural and creative content and activities within the run-down neighbourhoods. From the onset, the

governments were seeking to reinvigorate the local economy by mobilising resources and attracting creative people to these specific sites. The ambitious government initiatives organised a set of rules, developed partnerships between local governmental entities and giant private business sectors. As a result, statistics indicate that the neighbourhoods in Amsterdam and Seoul had a meaningful density of people employed in the creative industries, even though the creative sectors they worked in were highly diverse: in Amsterdam, different kinds of creative people formed the labour force, while in Seoul, it consisted mostly of highly-skilled IT workers.

Second, the data analysis highlighted key differences between the two cases. By and large, local social interaction in Amsterdam North and Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) concentrated on cultural content, while people had a strong interest in particular streets and blocks, shared creative activities and reflected on what they thought of them. They were rarely occupied by practices and issues associated with the Governance sphere. Rather, the practices that people shared and the commons were more about creative social activities, and, as such, displayed a rich mixture of social and cultural values. For instance, Amsterdam North successfully regenerated the environment by developing a unique commons related to the film industry and creative start-ups, while Westergasfabriek (West gas factory) evolved urban qualities in association with the Dutch fashion design sector and created safe spaces for families to gather together. The interactions in Amsterdam, therefore, made creative groups cluster together in certain neighbourhoods and offered up more space for the Social sphere.

In contrast to the results in Amsterdam, the people of Seoul have a marked propensity that is related to government intervention and policies, rather than practices associated with the creative commons that people were involved in. Despite this, the data analysis showed that this propensity gradually changed over the course of the two-year period under examination: the topics that people talked about shifted more towards purely cultural issues, especially those concerning travel and family; social values, such as friendships and family relationships were also more specified than formal relationships. This shift in practices reflects a reorientation of the values that people strived for. In other words, there was a marked change in what was important to people who lived and worked in these

neighbourhoods. Moreover, as social survey data was available in Seoul, this research attempted to envisage the social and cultural dynamics embedded in Jung-Gu. It found that social awareness was more focused on what people do, such as their profession, and less on their nationality, while the purpose of socialising shifted to activities related to the creation of new ideas, improving education, and sharing values and practices.

The comparison of explanatory data discovered a strong social initiative in the creative spaces in Amsterdam, and a deficiency of social initiatives in the creative spaces of Seoul. This could not have been discovered by a purely quantitative analysis. Further, the differences that this research found between Amsterdam and Seoul highlight the issue of were the initiatives lies with respect to making a society creative in a sustainable way. To what extent are governmental interventions working in relation to sustainability? The answers to these questions are provided below.

7.1.2 FROM THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: WHY IS THIS IMPORTANT FOR CONTEMPORARY CITIES?

Revitalization of brownfield[54] sites, such as those in Seoul and Amsterdam, through utilising culture is not a new idea within urban planning, especially in recent years, albeit most of these previous initiatives mostly focused on supporting the production and consumption of cultural goods via the use of a standard economics perspective. In this respect, their focus was an instrumental approach to culture: how can cities take economic advantage of culture? However, cities came to realise that standard economic analyses overlooked other important values inherent within the new economy, and thus cultural economics, a countervailing trend in the domain, demonstrated the valorisation processes of the values that contributed to these new economic activities. This is why it was worth paying attention to an intriguing phenomenon within creative sectors in Amsterdam.

[54]In urban planning, brownfield refers to land that was developed and used previously but is currently abandoned. By and large, brownfield describes land that was used for industrial and commercial purposes and is supposed to be contaminated.

Recent austerity measures had led to huge cutbacks in government support for the cultural sector. Despite this, the number of workers in the creative industries steadily increased, while, simultaneously, the Amsterdam North neighbourhood became a creative hotspot in the city. Amsterdam constitutes a different perspective on how creative content engenders sustainable urban qualities. It is perhaps unsurprising that the government introduced the initiative of the regeneration project, because this could not happen via free market logic alone. What is of key importance here is the point that this governmental initiative was taken over by the social sector, while the principal role of the governmental intervention was limited to mediating between stakeholders to develop grassroots initiatives. Whether cities or neighbourhoods generate social and cultural qualities in a sustainable way is largely dependent on these social initiatives, rather than governmental intervention, or the free market, or even the clustering of workers in the creative industries for that matter.

This represents an important contribution of this thesis to extant literature and policy makers and urban practitioners in this area, such as developers, civil engineers, city officials, investors, architects, and designers. Moreover, this research is expedient for anyone searching for a particular neighbourhood, city or block to which they can belong. There is no magic bullet for measuring the rankings of creative transition; however, the new perspective used in this research can enable cities to adopt a different approach that clarifies how to make this happen in the emerging economy.

Alongside this, the consequences of this thesis for cultural economics is that it lends empirical support to its fundamental concept that cultural value should be distinguished from economic value, and that the new economy is driven not only by market logic, but also by social and cultural practices that people share and the commons that they create. By extending the scope of the standard economic approach to society, cultural economics contributes to contemporary cities by bridging the gap between standard economic thinking and the different values that multiple stakeholders create.

7.1.3 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS THESIS TO EXTANT LITERATURE

This thesis makes three important arguments.

1. In the new emerging economy, what makes cities creative is not simply determined by market transactions or the amount of economic resources, but rather also the social and cultural qualities that people generate through valorising their values, both social and cultural values and economic value. However, social and cultural values are not detectable through a conventional economic lens. Hence, Chapters 1 and 2 argue for the need for a different type of economic approach to understand contemporary cities. Specifically, cultural economics is an expedient discipline which has provided this research with new concepts and tools to understand distinct characteristics of the new economy.

2. For the purposes of addressing the limitations of the standard economic approach, this thesis has utilised a new economic approach, that is, the VBA, along with other useful concepts, such as shared goods and practices and the notion of the commons. This is because while market transactions are important, they are not everything: there is something more. The new economy is defined by qualitative issues, such as sense-making and the symbols and knowledge that people share. They are not quantifiable, but yet they can be characterised by tracing them in terms of place-specific characters, as every city has its own social and cultural dynamics and notion of the commons. It is worth noting here that shared practices and goods and the commons are not determined by people's willingness to pay. Rather, the VBA proposes a new notion of the willingness to contribute. With respect to these points, Chapters 3 and 4 delineate the possibility of understanding contemporary cities via this new approach and its attendant concepts.

3. In order to characterise the qualities of the commons, this thesis takes recourse to different data sources for the purposes of descriptive analysis. The primary focus of this analysis was to broaden the limited data analyses one finds in standard economics and to develop a better way through which to understand the urban qualities of how people work together. Through empirical analyses of case studies in

Chapters 5 and 6, this study has demonstrated what makes some cities operate better in the context of the new economy. Chapter 5 focuses on the story of Seoul in South Korea, while Chapter 6 examines the creative turn undergone by Amsterdam in The Netherlands. The results of the numerical analyses demonstrate that in both cities, a significant degree of workers in the creative industries remains despite the economic recession and the attendant austerity measures. In fact, the creative groups in Amsterdam have become even more clustered to the extent that it is now one of the top three cities in terms of creative start-ups in Europe (the municipality of Amsterdam, 2017). The results of the interpretative analysis identified the existence of different social and cultural dynamics between Seoul and Amsterdam. First, creative sectors in Amsterdam primarily operate within the Social and Cultural spheres, while creative sectors in Seoul are chiefly concerned with the Governance sphere. Second, creatives who are socially empowered in Amsterdam have developed distinct forms of creativity. Amsterdam North, for example, is centred around the film industry, art education and a spatial balance between work and housing, while Westegasfabriek(the West gas factory) is characterised by Dutch fashion design, technology and local food. Conversely, creatives in Seoul appear to be concentrated in, above all, hi-tech technology; third, the Social sphere in Seoul became more responsive to creative and cultural activities over the course of the two-year period examined in this research. Traces from the social and cultural value mapping conducted for this research indicate that the important values that local people wanted to realise in the new economy have change. Specifically, local people have moved away from solely focusing on market or governance driven social networks, to instead consider networks more associated with the generation of social and cultural values.

7.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND WHY IS THIS RESEARCH IMPORTANT?

In 2008, I had a conversation with a banker in order to convince him that the bank should invest in a community culture project. The banker kept asking me how much of 'a good return' he would get. One would be forgiven for presuming that the meaning of 'a good return' meant financial profit; however, in fact, he did not care about economic returns at all. What really mattered to him was the valuable and viable outcomes qua the enhancement of the social and cultural qualities of the neighbourhood as a result of their monetary contribution. What appeared to be of importance here, then, was to describe or characterise any qualitative shifts that the contribution would bring about. Thinking over the deal, I thought that the best way to make the investor get involved would be to appeal to the good brand image that the bank would get in return for its contribution. I steered the focus of the discussion towards marketing and attracting potential clients, that it would be a good investment in terms of societal values, so to speak. In all honesty, my answer was not clear enough to sway his decision-making -the project was successful anyhow-as I had endeavoured to ground the bank's willingness to contribute in standard economic reasoning, which, in retrospect, did not make sense. If I were to have a similar conversation with that banker today, it would be a different story altogether. I would focus on highlighting the social and cultural qualities which his contribution would engender by articulating the values that he wanted to realise via the initiative.

It is important to acknowledge that my research is not without its limitations. Big data analysis is not wholly capable of solving all of the problems that cities face today. Even if economists and others are obviously operating this data analysis, the terminology and approaches have not yet clearly defined (Tambe, 2012; Taylor et al., 2014); however, it can help cities by providing pragmatic insights into the substantive qualities within their cities and, more specifically, among their populace. Moreover, in order to detect the changing pattern of social and cultural dynamics, this thesis analysed survey data by utilising a Bayesian analysis. However, since survey data was not available for Amsterdam, a comparative analysis was not possible in this instance. Despite this limitation, the analysis nevertheless opened up new possibilities for cities to understand their local dynamics and

characterise the different qualitative conditions that together make up society. Just as Ginsburgh developed a new notion of Baumol and Bowen's disease in response to economic thinking, and Ostrom, the Nobel Prize winner in 2009, proposed a better way through which to realise a better society by advancing a new framework in contradistinction to conservative doxa, this thesis proposes a valuable counterpoint to the quantitative mainstream approach to theorising urban creativity. By developing a balanced view, this study contributes to extant work that is looking for a more responsive way to understand the new types of economic activities. There is still much work to be done, though.

According to Allais, the Nobel Prize winner in 1998, who consistently strove to develop a more realistic version of economic science by combining psychological analysis with economic activities, the successful scholar is always trying to add some marginal improvement to the dominant theories to which everyone is accustomed. In this respect, I would like to consider this thesis as a good starting point in terms of adding some marginal improvements to how the discipline of cultural economics understands the new economy.

The last thing one discovers in composing a work is what to put first.

(Pascal, 1669[55])

[55] Pensées

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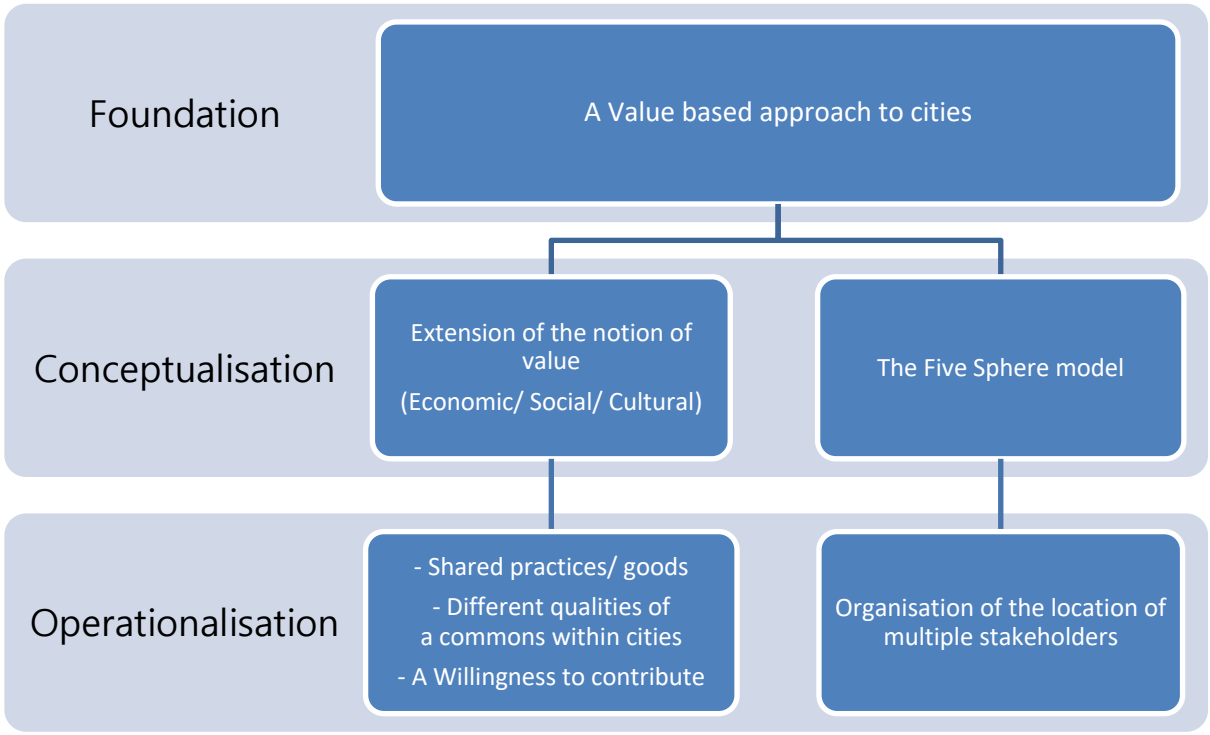
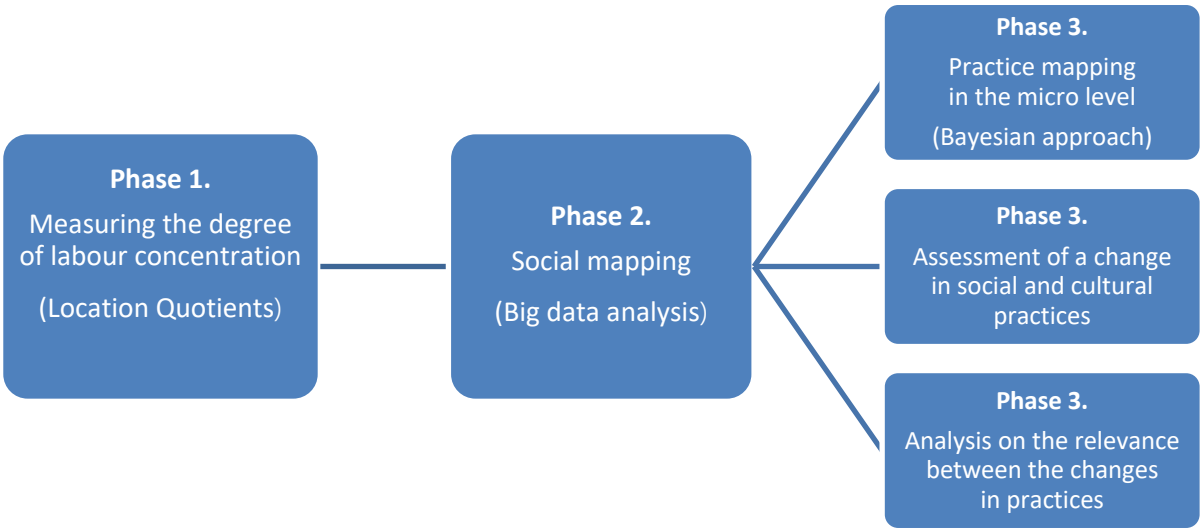
APPENDIX 1 CONTRIBUTION 1: The VBA to Cities: A flow of the new theoretical framework



APPENDIX 2 CONTRIBUTION 2: The Three Phase model: A process of the new methodological framework to organise Indicators



(Source: elaborated by author)

Phase 1.

● Purpose: Identifying the concentration of workers in the creative industries and a labour structure / dynamics/ mobilisation

● Method: Measuring the industrial concentration by using Location Quotients and industrial statistics

● Pros and cons: Providing analysis on the regional industrial strength, but the analysis has a limitation to identifying whether what people produce influences on what people do.

Phase 2.

● Purpose: Illustrating practices via making sense of what is important to people/ what people want. It notes that the primary purpose here is to discover patterns, not to determine causality

● Method: Social mapping by using Big data analysis (text mining) with social media data

● Pros and cons: Providing reflective result of social response in real time, but the analysis has a limitation to classifying exactly who contributed to creating contents.

Phase 3.

● Purpose: Detecting social and cultural practices in the micro level by virtue of Bayesian analysis

● Method: Social mapping by using Big data analysis (text mining) with data from social media and portal sites.

● Pros and cons: Providing reflective results of social response in the real time, but the analysis requires costly surveys.

ABSTRACT IN DUTCH

Deze studie onderzoekt en opent een mogelijkheid om steden met een ander perspectief te bekijken. Het merkt op dat dit perspectief niet in tegenstelling is tot de standaard economische benaderingen. Integendeel, de nieuwe benadering die dit proefschrift ontwikkelt is om de reikwijdte van het economisch denken te verbreden door het begrip waarde te onderzoeken. Dit proefschrift brengt een op waarden gebaseerde benadering (VBA) van Klamer (Klamer, 2016) om verschillende waarden te begrijpen die steden produceren en reproduceren. Steden creëren niet alleen economische waarde, maar brengen ook sociale en culturele waarden met zich mee. Waarom tellen ze? Sociale en culturele waarden dragen bij aan de kwaliteiten in steden. En kwaliteiten zijn belangrijk in de nieuwe economie.

In navolging van dit institutionele schema, probeert dit proefschrift methodologisch en theoretisch een nieuw kader te ontwikkelen. Het nieuwe theoretische kader introduceert, gebaseerd op het Five-bolmodel, belangrijke noties van een gedeelde praktijk, bereidheid om bij te dragen en een commons, na het discours van Ostrom (Ostrom, 1990). Meer specifiek plaatst deze studie die concepten in de context van hedendaagse steden, en beschrijft wat de verschillen zijn met de standaard economische benadering en hoe deze begrippen een constructief inzicht verschaffen in de fenomenen die recent in steden zijn ontstaan.

Bovendien draagt dit proefschrift bij aan een nieuw ontwerp van een methodologisch raamwerk waarmee de toepassing van deze theoretische benadering en analytische techniek kan worden toegepast om te beoordelen welke waarde belangrijk is in buurten of steden. Het primaire doel van deze poging is om verschillende kwaliteiten van steden of buurten op te sporen via een hermeneutische analyse van arbeidskenmerken, sociale en culturele kenmerken door middel van Locatiequotiënten, Big data-analyse en Bayesiaanse aanpak. Voor empirische analyse zijn er twee casestudy's: Seoul in Zuid-Korea en Amsterdam in Nederland.

De beoogde bijdrage van deze studie is om de weg vrij te maken om te begrijpen waarom kwaliteiten ertoe doen in de nieuwe economie, en om de verschillende kwaliteiten van steden te karakteriseren. Het is vermeldenswaard dat de gevolgen van dit proefschrift niet alleen zijn voor beleidsmakers en stedelijke beoefenaars die stedelijke creatieve transitie bevorderen, maar ook voor iedereen die op zoek is naar een creatieve buurt, stad of blok waartoe ze kunnen behoren. Het werd steeds duidelijker dat de vraag waarom sommige steden in de context van de nieuwe economie beter werk doen dan andere, niet kan worden opgelost door de economische resultaten te kalibreren. Er is geen enkele oplossing voor het omgaan met stedelijke dynamiek en verschillende waarden die steden samen creëren. Daarom probeert dit proefschrift op realistische wijze de vraag te beantwoorden hoe mensen zich bewust worden van de verschillende kwaliteiten die steden bezitten. Dit onderzoek heeft echter beperkingen. De methoden zijn niet geheel in staat om sociale en culturele kwaliteiten te verklaren. Voor een verfijnde vergelijkende analyse tussen verschillende buurten of steden is verder onderzoek nodig om sociale en culturele kwaliteiten inhoudelijker te visualiseren. Hoewel er nog veel werk te doen is, probeert dit proefschrift niettemin nieuwe mogelijkheden te bieden voor steden om hun lokale dynamiek te begrijpen en de verschillende kwalitatieve omstandigheden te kenmerken die samen de samenleving vormen.

ABSTRACT IN ENGLISH

This study explores and opens a possibility of looking into cities with a different perspective. It is noting that this perspective is constructed not by contrasting the standard economic approaches, but by widening the scope of the economic thinking way via probing the notion of value. So, this thesis draws on a Value based approach (VBA) of Klamer. In the sense that cities create not only economic value, but also social and cultural values, the VBA provides a useful foundation to make sense of different values that cities produce and reproduce. Why do the other values count? Social and cultural values add to the qualities within cities. And qualities matter in the new economy.

Following this institutional schema, this thesis attempts to develop a new framework methodologically as well as theoretically. Based on the Five sphere model of the VBA, the new theoretical framework introduces important notions of a shared practice, and willingness to contribute. And the notion of a commons follows (Ostrom, 1990). More specifically, this study situates those concepts within the context of contemporary cities, and describes what the differences are from the standard economic approach and how those notions provide a constructive understanding on the phenomena recently emerged in cities.

Moreover, this thesis contributes to a new design of a methodological framework through which the application of this theoretical approach and analytical technique could be applied to assessing what value is important in neighbourhoods or cities. The primary purpose of this attempt is to trace out different qualities of cities or neighbourhoods via hermeneutic analysis on labour characteristics, social and cultural characteristics by means of Location Quotients, Big data analysis, and Bayesian approach. For the sake of empirical analysis, two case studies bring in: Seoul in South Korea and Amsterdam in The Netherlands.

The overall contribution of this study is to pave the way to make sense of why qualities matter in the contemporary cities, and to characterise the different qualities of cities. It is worthy to mention that the consequences of this thesis is not only for policymakers and

urban practitioners promoting urban creative transition, but also for anyone searching for a creative neighbourhood, city or block to which they can belong.

It became more and more apparent that the question of why some cities in the new economy context do better job than others cannot be solved by calibrating economic outcomes. There is no one solution to dealing with urban dynamics and different values that cities create. Therefore, this thesis attempts to realistically answer the question of how people come to be cognisant of the different qualities that cities possess. However, this research has limitations. The methodologies are not wholly capable of accounting for social and cultural qualities. For the sake of refined comparative analysis between different neighbourhoods or cities and visualising social and cultural qualities more substantively, further researches are needed. Albeit there is still much work to be done, this thesis nevertheless attempts to open up new possibilities for cities to understand their local dynamics and characterise the different qualitative conditions that together shape society.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Youn Sun Won (1978) studied mathematics and French literature (BA, 2002) at SungKyunKwan University, Cultural Sociology in Interdisciplinary studies of performing art at Seoul National University (MA, 2004).

She built her professional career mostly in the departments of international affairs and financing in the cultural organisations both in public and private institutions in Seoul. She has taught the course for management and financing of cultural organisations at Chung-Ang University in Seoul. She currently teaches cultural economics for the executive course for the Value based approach to cities, and works as Program Director in Stichting Economie en Cultuur (SEC Foundation) in the Netherlands.

She pursued her PhD research in Cultural Economics at the Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication, following the supervision of Arjo Klamer. For the sake of PhD research project, she explored a different way of thinking within an institutional framework and practical applications for urban creative transition, participating in projects on creative industries, urban creative transition, best practices for the creative economy, and understanding a commons in cities. The trajectory of research consists of three main goals. The first is to develop a new theoretical framework that enables cities to make sense of important characteristics of the new economy beyond the economic growth. She demonstrated that the new economy is more about qualities rather than quantities, and thus, qualities count in contemporary cities. The second is to use this theoretical framework as a foundation for designing a methodological framework to assess urban qualities via empirical studies. The third is to show that cities or neighbourhoods have qualitatively different characteristics in nature. The overall objective of this study is to achieve a critical overview of why we need a shift of perspectives on cities in the new economy, and to understand what makes urban qualities different. To this end, this research attempted to develop a discussion on two topics. The one is that those qualities are dependent on practices that people share rather than sheer economic returns that people produce. The shared practices are engendered by contributions of individuals and organisations, and

promote to create a commons within cities; the other is that we can detect the differences in qualities by characterising patterns that people valorise social and cultural values, such as local identity, social empowerment or cultural diversity.