In recent decades, the importance of creative cluster development has gained increasing recognition from national and regional governments. Governments have been investing in initiatives and urban development plans that aim to create or support localized creative industries.

Our understanding of creative clusters is expanded with this insightful volume, which looks at issues of governance, place-making and entrepreneurship. In addition to its theoretical contributions, the book also presents a rich range of international case studies, including, among others, an analysis of co-working spaces in Toronto, business park development in MediaCityUK and mediapark.brussels and public–private partnerships in Warsaw.

*Creative Cluster Development* will be valuable reading for advanced students, researchers and policymakers in urban planning, regional studies, economic geography, innovation studies and the creative and cultural industries.

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Creative Cluster Development
Governance, Place-Making and Entrepreneurship

Edited by
Marlen Komorowski and Ike Picone
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For Tassilo Herrschel, in memoriam
Introduction
1 Introducing the book

The concept of creative cluster development

*Marlen Komorowski and Ike Picone*

Creative cluster development in a new era

The formulation of creative-cluster policy as a tool has its origin in the efforts for local redevelopment. It was in the 1980s that local governments in the UK and the United States began to notice how creativity can have an effect on a city’s image as well as its economy by making it a site of vibrant creative and cultural production as well as consumption (O’Connor, 2010). The notion of the ‘creative city’, which began to epitomise these policies, did not emerge until the late 1990s. Creative clusters were increasingly seen as a tool for cities, regions and nations, to transform industrial capitals into new creative capitals. An important component of this has been the evolution of the creative cluster as a way to mitigate the adverse impacts of deindustrialisation (Martin, Upham & Budd, 2015).

Governments at all levels are still initiating new projects and initiatives today. Creative cluster development as a tool has been reinvented: it is today not only a tool for urban regeneration but also a widely adopted policy measure to create sustainable growth for today’s local economies. We see that an increasing amount of investment is being poured into this development. There is evidence showing that creative cluster development takes today place in almost all parts of the globe – while originally it was only pursued in the United States and Europe (Flew, 2013; UNDP, 2013).

These developments are gaining even more momentum today. Supported by the case studies presented in this book, we presume that creative clusters will keep increasing in relevancy for policymaking during the coming years and decades. Shifting economies, being impacted by the development of so-called ‘knowledge economies’ – or other concepts that represent similar ideas of a changing economy like ‘creative and cultural economies’ and ‘innovation economies’ or ‘information society’ – are calling for novel approaches to create sustainable growth and new ways of working. While this shift is not new, only today have we gathered enough evidence to explain how different environments have coped with changing economies and can determine the impact creative clusters had on economic and social development.
As will be illustrated in this book, creative clusters have been proven to be a fitting policy tool for governments to cope with new challenges related to globalisation, digitisation and other trends impacting our cities and regions. In this book, creative clusters will be defined and analysed as an overarching concept for the many different agglomeration formations and policy approaches that are implemented to incentivise creative and cultural industries (CCI) to congregate.

Researching creative clusters

The many different facets of creative cluster research so far

The creative cluster literature field is highly multidisciplinary. The disciplines that are involved in this research field include geography, urban studies, business, economics and management studies, sociology and areas related to media and communication studies (Komorowski, 2017b). It is important to understand where the research and policy concept comes from before we can pursue to create new insights, which we aim to do in this book. Generally, the creative cluster research field can be divided into four main approaches: (1) the clustering and agglomeration approach, (2) the creative governance and urban planning approach, (3) the creative city and creative class approach, and (4) the media city and global hub approach.

Research has often looked at creative clusters through the lens of what we call the (1) clustering and agglomeration approach. This research approach has its origins in Alfred Marshall’s book *The Principles of Economics* (1920), in which he describes the concept of the ‘industrial district’. This provided the first rationale for the shift from traditional units of analysis of economics, like firms, towards a more inclusive unit. Based on this concept, the idea of agglomeration economies was formed, which highlights positive externalities that derive from the geographic clustering of firms (Rosenthal & Strange, 2004). Based on this, economists and management theorists developed the concept of clustering in the 1990s. The most well-known contribution to the topic is Porter’s (2000, p. 16) definition of clusters: “a geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by commonalities and complementarities”. However, the cluster approach has also been criticised. Authors including Martin and Sunley (2003) argue for a “much more cautious and circumspect use” of the notion of clustering, especially within a policy context. It is important to note that research in this field stems mostly from analysis on industrial production. Today, literature revolves often around design-intensive and high-tech industries (Schamp, 1997). This approach became more recently also a research tool for the analysis of localized CCIs. Picard (2008), for instance, defines a media cluster as a “specialized form of agglomeration designed to produce mediated content”. There is, however, enough clarity in the field to indicate that CCIs theory differs from
Introducing the book

traditional theories of manufacturing due to the unique characteristics of
the CCIs (Boix, Hervas-Oliver & Miguel-Molina, 2015). Creative activities
and the CCIs in general are functioning based on premises different from
those of manufacturing industries. This needs to be taken into consideration
when looking at such literature.

Many studies in the creative cluster field focus on urban policies, which we
call the (2) creative governance and urban planning approach. Research in this area
has its origins in the industrial restructuring of the 1970s and 1980s (Hutton,
2009). The concept of the industrial city as articulated by the Chicago
School’s practitioners was subverted during this time by far-reaching indus-
trial restructuring processes creating an extended urban policy crisis (Hutton,
2009). The 1990s saw the emergence of new industries in cities subsumed
under concepts like the ‘new economy’ and the ‘knowledge-based economy’
but also the ‘cultural economy’ of the city (Hutton, 2009). Scholars and
policymakers started focusing on different sectors that are supposedly favour-
able for the development of urban economies after the decline of manu-
factoring industries. Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) notice that in politics
“this boom of the concept has been apparent at the international, national
and local level, in a massive array of reports, initiatives and partnerships that
use the term cultural industries”, and that in academia “this boom has been
apparent in numerous journal articles and books on the cultural and creative
industries”.

Subsequently, the (3) creative city and creative class approach had an immense
impact on the research and policy discourse surrounding CCIs. This approach
can be seen as a sub-field of the previously described research approach. It has
the same origins but became its own leading research tradition through influ-
ential authors. Core to this tradition is the idea of the ‘creative and innovative
milieu’ that originated in the 1980s. The term was coined by the Groupe de
Recherche Européen sur les Milieux Innovateurs (Fromhold-Eisebith, 1995).
The idea of the creative milieu which focuses on the creative economy as an
upcoming policy tool (Gibson & Kong, 2005) was later applied specifically to
the economy of a location: the city. This led to the emergence of the today
often used concept of the ‘creative city’ (United Nations & Bureau de Liaison
Bruxelles-Europe, 2010). The concept has been applied in research and by
politicians to describe an urban system where cultural and creative activities are
an integral part of the city itself, the city’s economy, the city’s employment and/
or the city’s social structure.1 The creative city was first described by Yencken
(1988), who argued that cities need to foster creativity among their citizens
to be successful. The creative city concept was later popularized by Landry
investigated the concept of the creative city and highlighted creative activities as
essential, while people are considered the key resource for urban environments
and creativity the key principle of urban dynamism. In the early 2000s, Florida
shifted the focus to the human factor for cities with his famous book The
Rise of the Creative Class (2002). The creative class consists of individuals who
are professional, scientific and artistic workers, employees working in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment. Within the creative city and creative class approach, a city’s driving force behind development is the ability to attract and retain these creative individuals (Florida, 2004).

Recently scholars have contributed to the field of creative clusters by applying what we call the (4) media city and global hub approach. Research on this approach is influenced by the globalization tendencies of creative industries. One view suggests local CCIs will be overwhelmed by global forces and that policy needs to support said local CCIs to make them competitive. Amin and Thrift (1995) argue that regional economic prosperity will depend upon the degree to which regions are able to mobilize flexible and adaptable institutional strategies as well as human capital. The foundation of the trends of localization in a globalized context is based on the concept of global cities and of the global city network. Most notable is the work of the Globalization and World Cities Research Network (Taylor, 2004). This logic was also applied to the media industry, notably by Krätke (2003), who developed the concept of the global media city. Krätke’s approach focuses on globalization tendencies which enable global media firms with their worldwide network of subsidiaries and offices to forge links between urban clusters towards a global network of media production (Krätke & Taylor, 2004). Consideration of the effects of globalization is not only applied to the media industry. Cunningham (2005), for instance, stresses that creative enterprises are being transformed by the combined effects of the ‘big three’: convergence, globalization and digitization. Most notably, the concept of hubs is especially relevant for this context. Currid (2006) describes, for instance, New York as a global creative hub and explores its dominant global position. Another understanding of the term ‘media city’ recently emerged: the ‘planned’ media city. This concept refers to a media city or media park as the ‘physical, meta-planned, purpose-built hub of media and creative industry knowledge in any given urban locale’ (Mould, 2014). Another approach to creative clusters includes the analysis of cluster initiatives. This can include different kind of initiatives for the CCIs to build competitiveness and competences (Lundequist & Power, 2002).

While literature in the field of creative clusters is dispersed, we find commonalities in literature: researchers agree that CCIs do agglomerate in certain places (depending on the specific creative sector and the place) around the globe, and that clustered CCIs can create benefits for participating firms and the surrounding place. Policymakers, however, are often not aware of the divergent views and insights created by research. For a long time, the literature that influenced policy ambitions focused on concepts and primary models. For example, literature on Silicon Valley and Hollywood or the creative city stipulate governments to try to replicate such successful clusters. However, we argue that a new approach to creative cluster development is necessary to secure future successful development and that research needs to take the next step to advance the literature and understanding.
The objectives of this book

In this book, *Creative Cluster Development: Governance, Place-Making and Entrepreneurship*, we argue that the previous one-size-fits-all idea regarding clusters, often applied by policymakers and stakeholders as well as by researchers, does not work. Creative cluster development includes dynamics that go beyond the typically applied approaches of concentrating talent and capital. We argue that more attention needs to be paid to governance structures, different development strategies and the changing driving dynamics of creative clusters like entrepreneurship and location. This means that now is the right time to re-evaluate the creative cluster concept and explore new cases while going beyond existing knowledge to create novel insights that can support future policymaking and creative cluster development. The angle taken by this book highlights novel topics and brings together contributions across a range of disciplines. The objective of this book is to provide the reader with new theoretical approaches to creative clusters and critically assess how clusters are implemented by local governments and initiatives so far. The book explores new theoretical themes in connection to creative clusters and seeks to address the following questions:

- How can we foster creative cluster development and what governance structures and possible stakeholders need to be involved?
- What role does the place of a creative cluster play in its functioning and what impact does the creative cluster have on the neighbourhood, city or region?
- How can creative clusters stimulate entrepreneurship and growth in a new economy?

The book strives to provide a holistic overview on the creative cluster concept by going beyond outdated ideas and integrating thoughts on policy and urban development, collaboration, sustainability, resilience, leadership, business models, path-dependencies, ancillary activities, competition, entrepreneurship, local embeddedness and social fabrics, and create a globalized context for creative clusters. The book includes multi- and interdisciplinary approaches while offering a common language to approach creative clusters. At the same time the individual nature of each case is taken into consideration and it is subsequently assessed which approaches are suitable in light of each cluster’s individuality. And finally, the book aims to inform and improve future research as well as policymaking in the domain of creative clusters.

Creative cluster theories adopted in this book

**Defining creative and cultural industries**

In order to define creative clusters, we first need to delineate what industries are captured by the creative cluster approach, in this case CCIs. What is striking when investigating existing approaches to CCIs is the variety of terminologies
and scopes that are used to describe them: ‘cultural industries’ and ‘creative industries’, ‘copyright industries’, ‘content industries’, ‘experience economy’, ‘creative business sector’, ‘art centric businesses’, ‘cultural and communication industries’, ‘mass media’ and ‘knowledge economy’, among others.

Research on CCIs has been hampered by multiple definitions and a lack of consistent treatment and consensus on how certain activities within a specific economic or social environment can be classified as creative activity. In the UK, for example, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) defines the ‘creative industries’ as those ‘which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property’. The ‘creative economy’ is also used as a concept in the UK, unifying those working in the creative industries and those working in specialist creative jobs in other firms and organisations (Higgs, Cunningham, & Bakhshi, 2008). The term ‘creative and cultural industries’ is not in use in the UK. The European Commission, on the other hand, uses the term ‘cultural and creative sectors’, which comprise all sectors whose activities are based on cultural values, or other artistic individual or collective creative expressions (European Commission, 2012). Although both definitions show significant differences, they both address the same type of industries.

When defining CCIs, we often observe a distinction between the cultural and the creative part of CCIs. On the one hand, culture constitutes products and services which are considered as either non-reproducible (a concert, an art fair) or aimed at reproduction, mass dissemination and export (a book, a film, a sound recording). The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of Cultural Expressions defines cultural industries as ‘industries producing and distributing cultural goods or services [which] use or purpose, embody or convey cultural expressions, irrespective of the commercial value they may have’ (2005 Article 4). On the other hand, the term ‘creative industries’ in the literature often delineates industries on the basis of types of inputs and generative processes that characterize their creation (Nielsén & Power, 2011). The idea of creative industries emphasizes often the significance of creativity, such as artistic, scientific and economical creativity (United Nations & Bureau de Liaison Bruxelles–Europe, 2010).

We can therefore derive that the delineation of the CCIs is not straightforward. In this book, no direct distinction between cultural and creative activities is made, in order to be as inclusive of different research approaches as possible. However, we still acknowledge the cultural components that make CCIs so distinctive. This is why we chose the term ‘creative and cultural industries’ for this book. In conclusion, we adopt the following definition of CCIs:

Creative and cultural industries encompass those economic activities that incorporate creative processes for the creation of (mostly) cultural products and services forming a number of CCIs sectors: advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, R&D, software, toys and games, TV and radio, and video games, etc.
Defining creative clusters

Despite the generally acknowledged benefits of creative cluster development and observations on the strong clustering tendencies of CCIs around the globe, there is little consensus on the empirical features and no conceptual clarity regarding the nature of the creative cluster (e.g. Branzanti, 2015; Komorowski, 2017a). The (1) specific geographical scales, (2) sector focus, (3) features and (4) policy approaches of creative clusters are heterogeneously described and adopted. To help the reader understand these differences, we propose our own approach to define and scope the creative cluster concept.

Terms used for creative clusters span ‘creative regions’ (DCMS, 2001); creative cities (Landry, 2008); ‘creative local production systems’ (Lazzeretti, Capone, & Boix, 2012); ‘creative clusters’ (Boix et al., 2015); ‘cultural districts’, also known as ‘creative quarters’ (Evans, 2009); to ‘media cities’ (Krätke & Taylor, 2004); ‘media parks’ (Atwa, Ibrahim, & Saleh, 2017) or ‘creative hubs’ (British Council, 2019) and more. These concepts indicate that the (1) particular geographic area in which a creative cluster can be located has a very broad range in reference-size. Much of the literature on creative clusters is focused on the larger agglomerations in cities such as London, Paris and Tokyo, even though there are publications on smaller cities such as Manchester and Vancouver. However, we can also find studies on agglomerations that are outside or at the periphery of cities or research on specific neighbourhoods, or even buildings. Hence, creative clusters can be found on a hyper micro-level (including office spaces and specific buildings), micro-level (in a neighbourhood or district), at a meso-level (big and small cities) and at a macro-level (from regions to nations) (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed elaboration on the different geographical scales of creative clusters).

Where a creative cluster is located depends often on the (2) sector focus and the creative and cultural activities that are part of the creative cluster. Many authors distinguish between cultural and creative clusters depending on the primary economic activity in the cluster. But there are creative clusters (which we use as an overarching term) that have a broad focus and various creative and cultural activities are taking place in them. Certain cultural sectors within the sphere of arts and crafts often co-locate in hyper-local areas, like certain streets in a city or craft workshops. Media activities are often clustered in globally linked hubs like Hollywood, which are described as media hubs. These examples show the interdependencies between the sector focus and the location and geographic scale.

Creative clusters are also often defined by their (3) specific characteristics and features that support the development of clusters. Key elements often discussed are the importance of the co-location of subcontractors, available skilled labour and formal as well as informal communication due to a common base of knowledge as described by Marshall (1920). Other authors emphasize cooperation and governance structures in creative clusters and the community of people and entrepreneurs (Becattini, 1990). It is often possible to make a distinction in the literature between the analysis of economic and the social features of creative
clusters. On the one hand, the importance of production linkages (Porter, 2008), access to supply side externalities such as infrastructures (Gordon & McCann, 2005), network effects (Cummins-Russell & Rantisi, 2012) and supporting cultural or knowledge assets like a talent pool and supporting institutions (Asheim & Gertler, 2005) are highlighted. Such assets can include museums, art galleries, bars and restaurants, universities, science parks and incubators and so on (Machado, Simões, & Diniz, 2013). On the other hand, social resources (Baptista & Swann, 1998) and social networks (Comunian, Chapain, & Clifton, 2010) are discussed. The notion of ‘buzz’ (Asheim, Coenen, & Vang, 2007), which highlights a certain atmosphere and community interaction in creative clusters, expands on the social features described in the literature. What most research has in common is an emphasis on the place of the creative cluster or shared location that defines most of the features analysed.

Finally, the (4) diverging roles of governments and policies in the development of creative clusters show how heterogeneously the creative cluster concept is adopted in the literature. Chapple et al. (2010), for instance, distinguish between formal and informal districts or clusters. Usually, ‘formal’ makes reference to some degree of intentionality by means of urban planning and policies to develop a creative cluster. ‘Informal’ refers to a degree of organicism and spontaneity of cluster development. However, informal creative clusters can also be recognized by local policymakers and can in retrospect become a policy target. The literature describes schemes involving multifaceted programmes, aiming at for example direct economic benefits and/or increasing social cohesion and inclusion; or improving image or place identity. It is noteworthy that culture and creativity are supposed to play a role in achieving these somewhat different goals at different scales, hence leading to a rather broad variety of policy approaches and practices of what is generally labelled creative cluster development.

In order to exemplify and clarify the possible different creative clusters, with which this book is concerned, seven exemplary types of creative clusters (modified from the findings of Komorowski, 2017a) can be delineated:

1. A creative cluster can be a creative region. Creative regions are shaped through urban environments that lead to advantages like access to infrastructures and economic, social and cultural facilities; large labour pools; and spillover effects. Such a creative cluster covers big metropolitan areas. For example, Paris is often described as a creative region.

2. Creative clusters can be formed through so-called giant anchors. The giant anchor creative cluster type is driven by one or several large private or public institutions as the focal point. This cluster type is populated by firms that are mostly reliant on contracts with the focal large institution and therefore build a strong service supply network. An example is the media cluster around the public broadcaster NOS in Hilversum, The Netherlands.

3. Creative clusters can form a specialized area, which produces advantages for firms through the close proximity and density of specialized activities in