

## 9 - RAPPORT ROTTERDAM

*Art-linked employments in Delfshaven /  
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### 1. Introduction

In recent years interest in the cultural or creative industries<sup>30</sup> from the perspective of local socio-economic development and urban renewal has been growing. Presence of creative activity is often seen as a potential stimulus for development of economic deprived urban areas. Several arguments for this are used in discussions on this topic.

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<sup>30</sup> By cultural and creative industries we refer to most types of production of ‘symbolic content’, including both visual artists, graphical designers, musicians, performers, etc. We will discuss the problems with demarcation and operationalisation of these rather ambiguous concepts in the following paragraphs.

First of all, it appears the cultural industries have characteristics that make it fit reasonably well in the developing informational, global network economy: it is generally integrated in both local and global networks, often relies on new informational technologies, is service oriented, based on knowledge content, small scale, and often uses flexible labour. In other words: it is considered as a sector that is more or less prepared for the demands this new economy places on enterprises and is therefore expected to remain of importance in the first part of the new century.

Secondly, this type of economic activity appears to be 'locally rooted', which is seen as an asset for local development. It tends to concentrate in urban, metropolitan areas and therefore might create different types of economic spin off for the local economy: by generating jobs, by increasing purchasing power, by subcontracting local services, by attracting visitors, etc. At the same time, it is not necessarily dependent on local purchasing power (which in deprived areas might be minimal), because clients and consumers can be found on both local, regional, national and international scale. More over, creative industries can relatively easily be developed in residential urban areas, because they are scalable (ranging from small productive units to larger ones) and generally don't require special attention from the perspective of environmental laws.

Thirdly, creative industries might contribute positively to the image an urban area can expose to the rest of the world: precisely because of its 'modern' and innovative character and the general appeal of creative productivity to a lot of people, the presence of this type of activity could increase attractiveness of an area both for potential residents, companies and visitors. This might be of special importance for areas confronted with a negative image, for example because of the presence of social problems, that dominate the image that is constructed in the public media.

Fourthly, presence of creative producers in an urban area might give specific opportunities for development aimed at increasing (economic) participation in society of local residents and improving social cohesion. This is because of its ascribed capacities to mobilise people, stimulate exchange between people and contribute to improving the quality of the public space (safety, attractiveness, identification, etc.). This 'activating potential' stems from the special product of creative activity, namely the production of symbolic content. (Affiliation with) symbolic production (both in visual and performing arts) is often considered to be one of the important mechanisms by which people may develop their individual and collective identity and define their position in local society vis a vis other groups, which in turn can influence possibilities for economic and social participation (together of course with more 'hard' characteristics like the structure of the labour market, age, education, etc.). In other words, stimulating and recognising symbolic production and consumption that is meaningful for local inhabitants, might be an important dimension of broader initiatives that aim at improving the social and economic position of residents in economic deprived areas and involve them in development initiatives.

However, research and empirical data about the creative sector from this perspective in support of or against these arguments is not abundant. More over, the creative sector is a very diverse and fragmented one, which makes it complicated to assess the economic value of this sector as a whole: under the heading of 'symbolic production' one can classify initiatives which differ more than they have in common, both from a economic as well as from a social and cultural perspective. Therefore, to be able to validate these 'assumptions' it is necessary to examine more in detail which types of creative activity can be distinguished and to clarify which 'sub-sectors' have, don't have or might have one or more of the potential qualities for stimulating regeneration.

In this report we will try to contribute to this discussion, based on empirical data collected during research on the creative economy in the borough of Delfshaven, Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Using this data we will propose a way of classifying the creative sector and subsequently elaborate on its possible economic and social significance from the perspective presented above.

This research is carried out by order of the Rotterdam Department of Urban Development and Public Housing (dS+V), as part of broader research projects aimed at clarifying conditions under

which development programmes aimed at local economic and social development ('Wijkaanpak') might be effective. The research project has been executed within the framework of a European research network on 'new arts linked employment', in which a comparison is made between Rotterdam, Paris, London and Brussels. The European network is co-ordinated by CEFAC (Centre d'Etude de Formation et de Ressources pour l'Art et la Culture) in Paris.

The investigation thus far has focussed mainly on making an inventory of creative activity in the borough and of assessing as much as possible its socio-economic and social importance. In this report, we concentrate on socio-economic characteristics of this sector. In the final report, which will be published outside the framework of the European network, we will also elaborate on the 'socio-cultural' significance of creative activities, such as their possible potential for enforcing individual and collective identity.

The research has centred around the following research questions:

*Which activities in creative production, distribution and education take place within the borough of Delfshaven?*

*What is the economic significance of this sector in terms of jobs and income?*

*Which factors stimulate or hinder further development of this sector and what role can public policy play in this?*

The research area has been confined to one borough of Rotterdam, Delfshaven, for several reasons. First of all, a larger area would have been difficult to investigate within available time, given the size and complexity of the sector and its relative invisibility within easily accessible statistics. Even this research area has proven to be difficult to get an overview of. Secondly, we are especially interested in the way the creative sector could contribute to economic regeneration, thus we chose an area where regeneration remains an urgent objective, despite increased investments in recent years. Thirdly, it was already known that this borough is the locus of much creative activity, which means there is a lot of potential in this area for further stimulation of this sector. Fourthly, the area is relevant for the second stage of the research, dedicated to clarifying also non economic effects of creative activity, especially in relation to the development of cultural identity and social cohesion. The presence of a large number of nationalities in this borough makes it suitable for these questions.

Data for this research have been gathered by means of different techniques, mainly semi-structured interviews with key informants (producers, arts organisations, policy-makers), focussed group interviews, secondary data analysis and some participant observation<sup>31</sup>. All together nearly 50 interviews have been realised, partly focussed group interviews. A part of the interviews has been concentrated around two case studies: a complex with both residential and working areas ('Puntegale complex') which offers relatively cheap accommodation to starting companies (partly in the creative economy) and a theatre/restaurant complex which combines fully commercial theatre performances and a restaurant (dinner shows) with a subsidised stage for 'multi cultural' music and theatre performances ('Princess Theatre'). Also a number of interviews focussed on producers and consumers in the local hiphop scene, which is an important creative sub-sector for at least a part of the local youth.

Because of the fragmented and diverse character of the sector we have thus opted for a qualitative, explorative research design, aimed primarily at reaching an as reliable as possible overview of variation in the creative sector, at the cost of more quantitative representativity. This strategy was preferred over a quantitative survey design for two reasons.

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<sup>31</sup> The field work has been realised by the author, Vincent den Hengst (hip hop) and Frank Miedema (Puntegale, Princess Theatre and other producers).

First off all, getting an overview of everything that is happening in the creative sector resulted to be a complicated task, even within a demarcated geographical area. Within the broad definition of creative activity used (see next paragraph), it appeared there are so many actors, organisations and initiatives in different disciplines and sub-sectors that a standard large scale survey could never capture the complexity and variation of this sector.

*Secondly, no directory containing all these actors was available. Official statistical data and inventories on this sector proved to be incomplete and are often based on different and narrower enterprise categories than the ones used in this report. Using only official statistics therefore does not do justice to the variety and size of the creative sector and easily leads to underestimating its significance. For example, a lot of activity takes place on temporary basis or by means of self employment that is not visible in statistics. Only by combining different data sources and 'snow balling' via key informants it was possible to build up a database with creative actors that could be used as the basis for further data gathering.*

Despite of our efforts and multiple search strategies, we know this database is still not complete. Completing it and keeping it up to date would require almost continuous monitoring of everything that happens in the creative sector and more time consuming research. Therefore no hard quantitative data on numbers of jobs, income, etc. can be given on the basis of this research. Of course this can also be considered a first important research finding: the creative sector in the research area is much larger, diverse and somewhat invisible than official statistics might suggest at first sight. Thus the number of people active within this sector is also larger than one might expect, giving a first good reason for paying careful attention to this sector: it affects a lot of people who are active in this area.

A problem during the research that has affected and biased the findings, was the unwillingness of especially more successful, established commercial creative companies and artists in the area to participate in the research. Apart from having no spare time available for interviews, it often resulted they had no interest in giving data on their companies, discussion about local economic policy or co-operation with public organisations. Sometimes they referred to negative experiences with government initiatives towards their company in the past (mainly because little productive effects resulted from them, or because promises were not kept) or they expressed their lack of faith in a possible productive co-operation with public policy makers. Despite its negative influence on research results, this can also be considered a research finding: a part of the creative sector definitively doesn't want to be bothered by public policy or needs a well thought of approach strategy to build up more confidence in possible advantages of private/public co-operation.

The rest of this report is structured as follows. First of all we will give a rough sketch of the principle economic characteristics of the borough of Delfshaven in relation to Rotterdam and the broader region. Then we will present a socio-economic profile of the creative economy in this borough. We will present a classification of this sector that in our view offers a good tool to describe and differentiate between different sub-sectors in the creative sector from an socio-economic point of view. This classification is mainly based on the economic and artistic ambitions actors in this sector have. Next we will describe more in detail for each sub-sector the main activities, backgrounds of the persons involved, their reasons for settling in Delfshaven, employment, income and (possible) spin off. As far as possible, we will estimate the size of each sector. In the fourth paragraph we turn to public policy supporting the creative sector in four areas: accommodation, subsidies, income support and advise. In the final paragraph we draw conclusions on different segments of the creative sector from the perspective of local urban economic development.

## **2. Socio-economic characteristics of Delfshaven**

Delfshaven is part of the city of Rotterdam. With about 600.000 inhabitants Rotterdam is the second largest city in the Netherlands. Rotterdam is part of the south western 'Rijnmond region' (1,5 million inhabitants), the economically highly integrated and densely populated zone around Rotterdam. At a larger scale Rotterdam belongs to the 'Randstad' (5,5 million inhabitants, consisting of all major central cities and a 'green zone' in between: Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague). Although it is not an administrative entity, the Randstad is often considered as one metropolitan zone, given the proximity of these cities and their economic (and social) interdependence. Traditionally the Rotterdam economy has been based on its port (one of the largest in the world) and (petro chemical) industry. Especially since the economic crisis of the eighties however the local economy is being transformed into a more varied and modernised economy, in which service industries and 'knowledge intensive' activities are being promoted. Both the crisis of the eighties, ongoing mechanisation and this restructuring process have resulted in a massive loss of low skilled jobs.

Delfshaven (literally: port of Delft) is one of ten boroughs that constitute the municipality of Rotterdam. In 1886 this formerly independent little harbour town was joined with Rotterdam. The borough is situated in the western part of Rotterdam, adjacent to the centre. The subway-train and streetcars services take care of a good connection between the borough and the city-centre. Delfshaven, like all Rotterdam's boroughs, has a certain degree of administrative and budgetary autonomy. The borough is divided in ten districts: Schiemond, Tussendijken, Bospolder, Oud-Mathenesse, Spangen, Witte Dorp, Nieuwe Westen, Middelland and Delfshaven.

### **Figure 1: Demographic characteristics population Delfshaven**

*Source: COS (1999), Buurten in Cijfers.*

*The population consists of nearly 73.000 inhabitants, among them a significantly large number of people from the former colony Surinam, from Turkey and Morocco and Cabo Verde (figure 1). In some streets, blocks and neighbourhoods more than 80% of the residents are of immigrant ("ethnic") origin. In the whole borough about 68% is of ethnic origin, compared to 57% for Rotterdam. Immigrants, who came to Rotterdam in the period between 1960 and the present, were mainly motivated to settle in this part of the city because of relatively low rents. The population is young (figure 1): 21% is younger than 15 years, 38% between 15 and 35, 33% between 35 and 65 and 7% is over 65.*

*Most of the houses in the borough were built between 1900 and 1940. Only in the district Schiemond houses were built in the seventies and eighties. Despite a large public housing renovation project in the old neighbourhoods including some districts in Delfshaven in the eighties, in some parts the housing quality remains extremely poor. This is especially true for some parts of Bospolder, Tussendijken and Oud-Mathenesse. This is partly caused by the fact that the housing redevelopment-project ran out of money so it had to continue on a small scale in the nineties. The oldest part of the borough Delfshaven is the district Delfshaven. This part was built in the sixteenth century, as the harbour of the city of Delft. Now this area and the old canal are one of the main tourist attractions of the city. Expensive restaurants and handicrafts shops are situated along the canal. The old but carefully renovated houses are popular among the more well to do citizens.*

*In contrast with the rather poor quality of a large part of residential buildings, scattered over the borough one can find numerous buildings that are considered to be of special monumental value. In the old part of Delfshaven and Bospolder/Tussendijken there is a concentration of national monumental buildings, which are subject to special regulations and support. In nearly all other neighbourhood one can find buildings from the start of the 20th century that are considered to contribute to the quality and image of the built environment by the municipal agency for monuments. Finally, numerous formerly industrial buildings are considered to belong to the*

industrial heritage of the area and are being conserved and transformed in clusters of companies in the creative sector (Schiecentrale, Van Nelle Complex). We will return to this further on.

**Table 1. Economic activity in Delfshaven**

	<i>Number of employees</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Agriculture/Mining/Fishing industry</i>	7	0
<i>Manufacturing/construction</i>	1.944	12
<i>Wholesale/retail and repair</i>	1.841	12
<i>Hotel and catering industry</i>	667	4
<i>Transport/storage/communication</i>	909	6
<i>Financial services</i>	3.574	24
<i>Health and welfare</i>	2.341	15
<i>Other services</i>	3.887	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>15.170</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: COS (1999) *Buurten in Cijfers*

In table 1 a overview is given of economic activity in Delfshaven. About 2.500 registered companies are situated in Delfshaven. 15.170 people are working in Delfshaven, which doesn't necessarily mean that they are all living in Delfshaven. 50% are working in the service industry, the most important economic sector (24 % in the financial service and 24% in other service industry). Creative industries are 'hidden' within these categories, especially 'other services' and possibly 'welfare'. We will return to this in section 3, where we will make an 'educated guess' about the size of the creative sector.

The borough of Delfshaven has one of the highest unemployment rates in the Netherlands. In Delfshaven 10.364 people are registered as jobseeker, about 19% of all jobseekers in Rotterdam. 8.851 inhabitants in Delfshaven receive money through the social-assistance service, 19% of all welfare recipients in Rotterdam. Most of them live in the districts Nieuwe Westen, Middelland and Spangen. Depending on the definition of unemployment, this means about 35% of the economically active population is unemployed, rising to 45% in the Spangen district (source: COS Rotterdam, 1996 figures).

Especially districts like Bospolder and Tussendijken and Spangen have a high social-deprivation index because of the accumulation of different social problems. These districts have gained a bad reputation over the years due the fact that drug dealers are using this neighbourhood, especially the deteriorated houses, for selling their products. Many non resident drug buyers, among them people from France and Germany, 'visit' these neighbourhoods. Aggressive driving, fighting, and sometimes shooting, throwing needles on the sidewalks cause tension between the citizens on one hand and the (foreign) buyers and dealers on the other hand. The police regularly arrests drug-dealers and buyers and closes some of the so-called drug houses, but these problems are not really controlled and controllable (also because of fear that the problems spread to adjacent districts).

Through the years several plans have been implemented to combat the problems in Delfshaven and to physically or socially 'upgrade' the borough and increase social cohesion and participation: among are them the housing redevelopment project, the Major City Policy, Social Activation and the Neighbourhood Approach. Most of these plans aren't only targeted at Delfshaven, but also at other boroughs and districts with accumulate problems. One project just was especially designed for Delfshaven: the Community Initiative Urban-Delfshaven (CI Urban), launched in 1994 by the European Union. It has been mounted to offer relief to 'some of the most actual problems in urban areas, related to a lack of economic prospects, low incomes and unfavourable living conditions' (CI Urban-regulations, article 3). Delfshaven receives a subsidy of 7,9 million ECU's through the CI Urban. The Dutch government is obliged to double this amount of money. The Municipality of Rotterdam has also invested about 4,5 million ECU in the CI Urban

*programme. This means that in total 20 million ECU's are invested in Delfshaven under this programme. The money is used to redevelop dilapidated squares, to increase the safety in some streets and by buying and redeveloping houses, which were used by drug dealers to sell their stuff. Shopkeepers' organisations are subsidised so that their members were able to improve their skills and a school-leavers programme has been started. The Dutch Economic Institute (NEI) which evaluated CI Urban was mainly positive about the results of the project.*

### **3. A profile of the creative economy**

In this section we present an overview of the creative economy in the research area. First we will briefly present the classification we have used to structure our material. Then we present a global outline of the total creative sector in the borough. Based on several data sources and key informants we estimate the size of the sector and the number of people who probably derive income from work in this sector within Delfshaven. Then we will look from a more qualitative perspective to the activities in each sub-sector. Special attention will be given to the relation between economic actors in this sector and the area where they are situated, in terms of local economic spin off.

#### **3.1 Classification of the creative economy**

In this research we use a broad definition of creative production: every producer of 'symbolic content' as well as companies or organisations that support, distribute or facilitate creative production in one way or the other in our view belong to the creative sector and are relevant to this study. We have thus included visual and performing artists, graphic and industrial designers, multimedia producers, architects, theatres, etc. in our inventory.

Traditional ways of describing and segmenting the arts sector (by arts discipline, by quality, etc.) are not really adequate for analysis of all these different types of economic actors. For the purpose of this research we therefore use a classification that in our view offers a good starting point for analysis of the economic significance and potential of different categories. Moreover, it is a classification that corresponds well with the way respondents in the research describe themselves.

We have divided branches in the creative sector roughly in three main categories: creative production, distribution and support of creative production. These categories can be further refined.

#### **Creative production**

Creative production of course is the core of the creative sector. In this segment we make a further division, based on the main goal of creative production (as it is expressed by producers themselves):

- professional producers with mainly artistic ambitions: in this sub-sector we find the 'artists pur sang', who primarily want to create artistic products in different disciplines, who consider themselves as professionals (because of their abilities and the time they dedicate to the arts) and who want to dedicate as much time as possible to artistic production. Their professional ambitions generally also imply that they want to earn as much income as possible based on their creative production, but income maximisation is not the main goal of their creative production and does not necessarily determine the type of products they make.
- professional producers with mainly commercial ambitions: in this sector we classify those producers who consider their creative production mainly as a source of income, who adapt their production to market demand for income and profit maximisation. In this sector we find all different types of companies in the 'applied arts', such as graphic design and architecture.
- amateur creative producers: although this sector often is considered separately from 'professional production' we think amateur production also has to be taken into account in an analysis of the creative economy, because it does have economic significance, regardless of the ambitions of the producers. A problem here is that the distinction between the professional and amateur arts is not clear: it can be based on personal ambitions, quality of the creative product,

formal educational background in the arts of the producer or on income derived from creative production. Thus cultural producers that may be considered ‘amateurs’ and treated as such by some organisations (because they lack formal arts education), may consider themselves as professionals (because of the quality of their product and their ambitions in the arts sector). We have noted this to be especially relevant with cultural producers with a migrant background, who often don’t want to be labelled as ‘amateurs’, because of the quality of their productions, their ambitions and their systematic investment in further development of their artistic skills. We therefore prefer to use ‘ambition’ as the main distinction between professional and amateur production. We classify as ‘amateurs’ those creative producers who don’t aspire or expect to gain income from their activities, for whom creative production is principally a leisure activity with both artistic and social meanings and who will generally dedicate less time to creative production than the other production categories.

Of course we are talking about ‘ideal types’, used for simplifying and ordering a complex reality: not every producer can be easily classified. Still, we think it is useful to use the goals producers have with their production as an important qualifier, because it does have consequences for their economic potential and the way this can or cannot be stimulated. The division artistic/commercial we use, resembles the often used division between ‘autonomous’ en ‘applied’ art. However, ‘autonomous’ art often seems to apply to a smaller group of creative producers than the ‘professional artistic’ artists we would like to classify together. For example, many visual artists who make assignments and performing artists won’t classify themselves as ‘autonomous’ artists. Still, this doesn’t mean they function as market oriented, commercial companies that focus mainly on profit making. In our classification this type of producers therefore would be labelled as ‘professional artistic producers’.

#### Distribution of creative products

A second main category refers to all those branches that dedicate themselves primarily to distribution of creative products. In this category we find the theatres and stages, cinemas, record stores, videotheques, art galleries, libraries, broadcasting stations, publishers, etc. Of course, in a demarcated area there is not necessarily a relation between local producers and distributors: producers can sell or perform every where, and many distributors will not, or only partly, depend on local producers in their discipline. We will return to that later.

#### Support of creative production

Thirdly, there is a whole range of companies and organisations that dedicate themselves to supporting and facilitating creative production. In this sector we find:

- arts education
- arts consultancy and management
- production support

These sectors can be directed both at professional as well as amateur producers. The support agents themselves we consider in this report however are mostly professionals.

### ***3.2 The creative economy of Delfshaven: an overview***

In this paragraph we present a global overview of the creative sector in the borough of Delfshaven. We will present the number of companies and organisations per sub-sector and will try to estimate the number of working persons involved. Figures about the number of companies and jobs in the creative sector are not available from official statistical resources, since the definitions we use aren’t standard categories and many resources have to be combined. Moreover, given the informal and temporary nature of much activity, it is very difficult to determine accurately the number of jobs and employees. Still, using the information we have gathered, we will present some



estimations, mainly to illustrate how many people are active in one way or the other within the creative sector.

First of all, we will look at creative producers living and or working in the borough (table 1). Especially the estimation of the number of professional performing artists in the area has resulted to be very complicated. There is a low degree of organisation among them according to several key informants and national professional organisations. More over, many of them are not officially registered as artist or producer and don't have their own production facility in the borough (see next section). Thus, these figures probably underestimate the total number of self employed professional producers in the area.

Table 2. Creative producers

Sub-sector	Branch	Estimated minimum number of companies, organisations and self employed individuals in this sector
<i>Professional artistic</i>	Visual arts	300
	Performing arts	300
	Literary writers	Unknown
<i>Professional commercial</i>	Architecture	42
	Graphic design/internet	59
	Audio/visual and multi media production	76
	Industrial design	14
	Performing arts	6
Total		797

Sources: Company register, Centre for Research and Statistics (COS), Centre for Visual Arts (CBK), Yellow Pages, Inventory of enterprises in the audio-visual sector, Borough Guide, key informants, national professional organisations

Within the professional artistic sector we find at least 600 'self-employed' or free lance producers living in the area. We don't know how many of them actually work within the borough. We do know a number of visual artists is working in the borough, but is living elsewhere. The performing artists live within the borough, but may work all over the city and outside Rotterdam. According to figures of the centre for visual arts, about 25% of all registered visual artists live in the borough of Delfshaven. Moreover, a number of 'not registered' visual artists works in this area.

Although the population of Delfshaven consists mainly of inhabitants with foreign roots, in the professional arts sector according to key informants, Dutch, white producers are over-represented. Apart from the (popular) music sector, which is very mixed, especially within visual arts most (traceable) professional producers are Dutch and white. This is explained by the fact that formal arts education plays an enormous role in the acceptance as an artist and the quality of art production. Enrolment in arts education of migrants is still low. More over, some informants comment on the fact that norms for judging art quality are biased in favour of western art traditions. Migrant art is often portrayed as folkloric, but not as art. This doesn't mean of course there are no migrant visual artists, but their connection to the 'official' arts world is often weak and they operate within their own networks. However, within the borough two facilities exist that expose art from migrant (see next section). Within performing arts, a number of professional migrant artists are clustered around some more or less specialised booking agencies. Many of them are active in productions more or less related to their own background. For example, a world famous Surinam

story teller is living and working in the area. With the exception of music, participation of migrants in productions that have nothing to do with their background appears to be limited however.

The number of commercial companies is a bit more easy to estimate, because many of these companies can be traced in directories. Still, we have observed a high mobility of these companies, which means data is outdated fast. Moreover, (starting) freelance homeworkers in this sector are probably underrepresented in our overview. In total, we have identified nearly 200 commercial productive companies in the creative sector. Especially architecture, graphic design and the audio-visual sector are present in this area.

We have *not* included amateur producers in this overview, because there is no data that does justice to the variety within this sub-sector. Apart from 16 amateur groups (theatre, choirs, migrant group) that appear in an official overview of the amateur sector, there are many migrant organisations who dedicate part of their activities to cultural production, there are probably several hundreds of pop music groups with roots in this borough and there will be numerous individual amateur producers. More over, as indicated before, the division between professional and amateur is not always easy to make, because a number of groups that don't obtain much income from their production, do have professional ambitions.

We have also tried to estimate the number of people working within any of these branches. These estimations include all people that incidentally or structurally earn part of their income from these activities. Given the fact that a lot of work is on a freelance, temporary basis, this doesn't necessarily mean these activities are their main source of income. Moreover, especially in the commercial sector, many people don't live in Delfshaven, but only work there.

These estimations are based on information by several key informants on the average size of the companies, (including supportive, non-creative personnel) and the inventory of companies we have constructed based on a number of resources. Most companies appear to be small sized, between 1 and 3 employees. However, there is a number of bigger companies, especially in the field of architecture and the audio-visual sector. Combining all these data and recognising the fact that we know some categories are underestimated, we think it is relatively safe to estimate that at least 1500 people are working at least a part of their time professionally in creative production within the borough. This figure includes people who in official statistics might be categorised as unemployed, or as employed in other types of work, because their basic income may come for social security schemes or other work. In other words, there is a substantial creative capacity within the borough.

*In table three we present figures on activity related to distribution of creative production within the borough. Since we have focussed our sample on producers, we can only rely on secondary resources for these figures, which means some figures are not available. Moreover, many facilities for distribution are combined with other activities, such as community centres or studios for visual artists, which makes it complicated to estimate the number of jobs related to the creative sector. These numbers do indicate a variety of distribution facilities exist. However, as we shall see, these facilities are not necessarily used by local producers.*

Table 3. Distribution of creative products

Branch	Minimum number of companies, organisations and self employed individuals in this sector
Theatres/stages	7
Cultural cafes	4
Arts musea <sup>32</sup>	2
Stages in community houses	3
art galleries	18

<sup>32</sup> Moreover, five historical museums and a scouting museum are situated within the borough.

Videothèques/music stores	18
Libraries	1
Publishers	8
Broadcasting	9
Total	70

Sources: Company register, Centre for Research and Statistics (COS), Centre for Visual Arts (CBK), Yellow Pages, Inventory of enterprises in the audio-visual sector, Borough Guide, key informants

We don't have data available on the number of people working in these facilities. Because of the multi-functional nature of many these facilities it is hardly possible or sensible to separate the 'creative jobs' from the other jobs. For example, a cultural cafe might employ 20 part time waitresses working in shifts, but these jobs cannot be considered as 'creative'. Still, organising concerts or exhibitions within a bar, does attract visitors, thus generating additional income and jobs. Combining this with the fact that apart from the cafes, as far as we know most facilities employ between 1 and 4 persons, one can assume at least 150 jobs within these facilities are the result of activities within 'creative distribution'.

Finally (table 4), we look at activity related to offering support and facilities to creative producers: arts education, consultancy/management and production facilities like recording studios.

Local arts education facilities are almost exclusively geared to education in the performing arts for amateurs, together offering a broad range of artistic formation. There is a local establishment of the central foundation for arts education. The Rotterdam educational centre for amateur theatre is also situated within the borough. Moreover, many amateur production associations offer a kind of 'learning by doing' education to its participants. Finally, there are some private dance schools, specialised in different styles. We don't have much information on private, self employed arts teachers: most of them are also producers. A number of (graduated) students from the conservatory give private music classes. Within the visual arts, nearly all education (for amateurs) is provided by creative producers. Also, within community centres different types of art courses are given, sometimes under direction of local artists.

There is one facility for professional education, the Rotterdam music conservatory. This is situated within the borough, but is due to move to the centre. A youth theatre will take its place. This conservatory is one of the few if not the only western art school that has a separate division for professional education in 'world music' (such as Flamenco and Latin-American music). Plans are being made to expand this program to music styles that are popular with local migrant groups, such as Turkish music and Cape Verdian music. Just outside the formal borough border a professional dance facility for training and production is situated. Also just outside the borough, the professional theatre workshop 'Fact' is located, where over the last 25 years a large number of starting directors has realised theatre productions.

**Table 4. Education and support**

Sub-sector	Branch	Minimum number of companies, organisations and self employed individuals in this sector
<i>Education</i>	Professional art schools	1
	Amateur art schools	10

	Self employed teachers	Unknown
<i>Consultancy and management</i>		10
<i>Socio-cultural migrant organisations</i>		22
Organisation of cultural events and booking agencies		16
<i>Other production support</i>		15
<b>Total</b>		<b>74</b>

Sources: Company register, Centre for Research and Statistics (COS), Centre for Visual Arts (CBK), Yellow Pages, Inventory of enterprises in the audio-visual sector, Borough Guide, key informants

Another branch is consultancy and advise for creative producers. Within this branch we find a varied spectrum of both subsidised, commercial and voluntary organisations and foundations, often specialised in specific art forms, giving advise to both professional, commercial and amateur producers. Separately categorised is a large number of migrant organisations. These offer different kinds of services, advise and activities to their own ethnic group. Although these organisations generally primarily are focussed on improving the socio-economic position within Dutch society of migrant groups, many of them also stimulate or organise cultural production, often aimed at conserving their own cultural and artistic heritage.

Within the borough, a number of companies and foundations is dedicated to the organisation of cultural events (mainly in the performing arts) and programs. Some of them are also booking agencies for both local and other cultural groups.

Finally, a range of freelancers and companies is available for different types of production support, mainly for audio-visual production: sound studios, film editing, production assistants, etc.

Again, it is difficult to estimate the number of people working in this sub-sector. More over, people working in 'support or education', might also be active in production or distribution, or have other tasks as well within for example migrant organisations. Apart from some larger facilities like the conservatory, the 'support sector' also consists mainly of small companies or self employed free-lancers. Taking in account the possibility of 'double counting' and the fact that many self employed workers in this domain are not known to us, we would estimate at least 150 people have a (part time) job within production support or arts education<sup>33</sup>.

### Summing up

Combining all these estimations, we arrive at a total number of about 1800 people who probably derive a part of their income from the creative sector in Delfshaven. Given the fact that a lot of unknown activity takes place, we consider this to be a conservative estimation: the real number might be higher, while a lower number seems unlikely. As we saw earlier, according to the statistical office about 15.000 people are working in officially registered companies in the borough. This number however does not include many of the informal occupations within the creative sector, or producers who rely on social security for part of their income. Thus, we have included workers in our estimations that officially are considered to be unemployed, or to be working in a non creative occupation (to supplement their income). Nevertheless, these figures together suggest that around 10% of the people working in Delfshaven is connected in a way or the other to the creative sector. It thus affects the professional lives of a considerable number of people and from this perspective cannot be considered as a marginal activity.

### 3.3 *The economics of creative production*

<sup>33</sup> Not taking in account the conservatory which is due to move

*Based on the general overview of the entire sector, in this section we will elaborate on its economic significance in a qualitative way, focussing on employment, income strategies and possible spin off for the local economy. Within the available research time, it was not possible to include all sectors. We have chosen to concentrate on the creative producers, being the core of the creative sector, although of course the distribution- and facility sector also generates jobs and income. Also we will pay attention to types of economic spin off that can be generated from creative production, since this can be one of the arguments in favour of stimulating the sector. Finally we will turn to the advantages and disadvantages producers mention for settling in the borough area, which will be one of the inputs for our discussion in the next section about stimulating the sector.*

### **3.3.1 Employment and income**

The employment and income situation is quite different for the production categories we have differentiated. We will separately pay attention to the professional, artistic artists, the commercial producers and the amateur producers.

#### Professional artistic production

Per definition, the artists we have classified as professional, artistic artists are primarily geared to artistic, creative production. Most of them are as we saw self employed, free lance producers, both in performing and in visual arts. Within performing arts some production companies exist, but these are primarily active in the commercial, applied sector. Within the borough two structurally subsidised theatre and dance groups are present, but these can offer jobs on temporary basis to only a fraction of all creative producers.

*In general, producers in this sector try to dedicate as much time as possible to their creative production. Whether they can realise this ambition, of course is closely related to whether they can earn sufficient income out this production. Congruent with other findings, most of the producers in our sample however cannot realise this.*

*Although many visual artists regularly sell work, their actual income from this work is limited, taking into account the number of working hours they invest and the material costs they often make. Although total turn over may be high in some years, the real income is often low and insecure and can even turn out to be negative. Most of the respondents acknowledge this to be a structural problem: the demand for art is very low. Moreover, only few feel they have sufficient access to appropriate distribution channels or potential buyers. Clients therefore have to be searched all over the country and established networks are often important to access. Only some have long lasting arrangements with galleries.*

Within performing arts, production income has to be gained from performances or, in the case of musicians, selling of records. Artists can be directly hired for performances or can be contracted for participation in larger productions by theatre or dance groups. Opportunities for this in Rotterdam are not abundant, which means the working area for producers extends to the whole country or outside the Netherlands. Professional migrant groups traditionally have had their own 'niche' in the market, because they can perform at parties organised within their own ethnic group. For example, in the industrial area in western side of the borough regularly Cape Verdian and Antillian parties are organised that offer these possibilities. However, according to one key informant these possibilities have been diminishing in recent years, because often preference is given to DJ's over live music groups.

The fees contractors are willing and able to pay, often are low in comparison with the costs artists make: thus, as with visual artists, resulting 'artistic income' is often meagre. Also, when performance opportunities are artistically interesting, artists may agree with reduced fees.

For music groups apart from a number of hip hop-groups, so far we have little information. For performances in clubs or at parties, fees might be paid. Only a few groups have sufficient

performances to gain a substantial income from it. For performing artists the possibility to perform and earn an income from it, requires a reputation in the first place. Although many groups have professional ambitions, this reputation is not easily established, for lack of distribution possibilities and the enormous amount of groups. According to some informants commercial bookers are very selective and choose mainly acts with secure commercial potential. Some prize competitions take place in Rotterdam, that might be the gate to a wider public.

Since most producers in this sector thus earn a small and insecure income from creative production, additional income is needed. Both visual and performing artists develop additional activities and income strategies, which generally have in common that they are part-time, flexible and temporary: most nine to five jobs don't fit with the artistic ambitions and the time these consume. The following additional income strategies can be distinguished:

- assignments and other commercial creative production
- giving classes in creative production
- temporary non creative jobs, often low-skilled
- social security arrangements (see section 4)
- spouses income

Although these jobs are primarily accepted to gain sufficient income and will probably be abandoned when creative production allows so, they do have additional advantages according to a number of respondents.

First of all, especially the other creative activities might open up possibilities for the creative production. For example, one artist mentioned that assignments from a company resulted in the selling of his autonomous work. Within performing arts, the border between 'applied, commercial' and 'autonomous' production is no very strict anyhow, not in the last place because in contrast with the visual arts sector, many artists appear to combine these different types of activities. The networks of producers in both sectors thus often overlap, which means participation in applied production may give access to purely artistic work as well. Within the borough this is illustrated by two theatre production and booking companies, which represent a large number of (partly migrant) professional artistic performing artists, who are sometimes contracted for commercial, applied productions the companies realise, but who are also supported in realising their artistic ambitions (by arranging performances and giving advise).

Secondly, these activities might offer additional advantages, such as the possibility to meet other people (in contrast with the 'lonely' process of art production).

#### Professional commercial production

In contrast with the former category, for most commercial producers, creative production is their only or most important source of work and income. The producers in our sample mostly work alone. There is only a small number of larger companies in Delfshaven.

In general both most of the production as well as the supportive work is done by the producers themselves. Since their income and turn over fluctuates, most are hesitant to contract other employees. When it is absolutely necessary, employees are contracted for the productive work itself. Mostly, this is rather specialised work and demands on employees are high, which makes it difficult to find them. A number of producers incidentally works with not yet graduated trainees from college. Some companies work with professional artists who work within employment schemes and are therefore cheaper than regular employees (see section 4).

In many branches co-operation with others doesn't appear to be very usual. Sometimes producers form temporary alliances with other producers, for example with bigger projects, but many projects can be realised alone. Important exceptions to this general trend however, appear to be audio visual and commercial performing arts production. These branches have in common that the scale of production can vary enormously and that a lot supportive work surrounds the actual productions, ranging from casting actors and artists to designing the props and arranging sound,

lightning and recording. This means in these branches (temporary) alliances and clusters of producers and supporters are necessary to be able to realise the productions. As we shall see, these branches appear to be more interested in clustering and networking than for example visual artists or graphic designers.

Clients come from all over Rotterdam, The Netherlands or the world. Few commercial producers however have their clients in Delfshaven. Some work in subsidised projects for local schools or government agencies.

Although commercial production is the main objective, not all producers succeed immediately in realising a profitable business. Thus, although on a much smaller scale than with artistic producers, in this segment we also find a number of producers who supplement their income with other activities, like giving classes or keeping a part time job with a former employer (many of them have not started as a independent company immediately, but first have worked as a wage labourer within their branch).

#### Amateur creative production

Amateur production is not at the centre of this report and is per definition not aimed at creating employment or income. However, as noted before the border between amateur and professional is blurred and the sector are interrelated, especially in performing arts. Therefore it should not be treated as completely separated from the professional sector. The amateur sector is a breeding ground and practice space for many professional producers. More over, it does generate some employment and income. First of all, many amateur producers (individually and in groups) require education or direction by professional producers, for which they pay. For example, a number of amateur theatre groups develop productions under guidance of professional directors. Also, amateur groups may receive some income from performances, although this won't be their main objective.

### **3.3.2 Local economic spin off**

One of the ideas behind promotion of the creative sector is that it might generate some local economic spin off in terms of additional jobs or income (apart from the work and income producers generate for themselves). We have looked at three indicators for local spin off:

- contracting of local employees
- contracting of local services for production or distribution outside the creative sector
- local purchase of production materials and other goods

The first type of spin off was already touched upon: the number of jobs created as a result of the presence of the companies. This appears to be very modest, since most producers work alone or contract specialised employees. For these additional jobs that come available, qualifications of most of the local (unemployed) workforce generally don't match with the requirements. Thus, employees are often contracted outside Delfshaven or from the local pool of creative producers within the borough. Of course, co-operation within the creative sector for specific projects can also be considered to be a kind of spin off. Many low-skilled jobs are not available in this sector however, which means its potential for addressing local unemployment problems appears to be modest.

The second type is somewhat differentiated per branch. Although many producers try to execute the entire production process themselves, some services are very specialised and need to be contracted. This varies per sub-sector: developing films, making drawings, preparing models for sculptures, etc. The requirements on the quality of the service can be very specific, which means not all producers in the same sector will use the same service provider. Whether these services can be purchased locally is not really relevant for the producers, so that presence of large number of producers, doesn't necessarily mean there is a lot of work for service providers or subcontractors. One branch however that is quite often contracted locally by several producers in several sectors, is design and printing material for publicity.

The same seems to apply for the third possible spin off effect: it does exist, but is not very impressive, apart from spending on personal needs. The need for production material depends on the type of production. Much production is knowledge intensive and depends on modern technology, but uses relatively little production materials. In sectors that do need materials, such as some visual and performing arts, many producers claim they need special materials which can only be purchased in the city centre or other cities. In one case this specialised material was specific for Delfshaven: cloth for costumes was acquired in local migrant shops selling Asian cloth. Incidentally, producers mentioned they purposefully acquired material and services within the borough, but this doesn't appear to be the general trend.

Thus, for none of *these* possible effects, the spin off appears to be very impressive, although differences exist between sectors and we have to be careful with conclusions, given the small size of our sample. Moreover, we have only looked at production. Probably more spin off can be derived from distribution, which attracts visitors and therefore offers all kinds of possibilities for selling goods (like food and drinks) and contracting people in service-type jobs.

Of course, spin off can be defined in different ways and at different levels, which makes it difficult to unambiguously draw definitive conclusions on this topic. Increased presence of profitable companies, even if they are small-sized and using few local resources, does contribute to macro-economic performance of an area. When local residents cannot immediately take advantage from this developing sector, over a longer period of time this may change. For example presence of a large creative sector is likely to improve the image of the area, which can attract both other economic actors and jobs, new residents as well as visitors and tourists. Also, concentration of producers and facilities ranging from artistic to commercial can be a necessary 'breeding ground' and pull factor for a smaller number of economically successful companies. Moreover, one could compare the present situation with a scenario in which less or other types of economic activity would be available and investigate what effect this would have on regeneration of the area.

### **3.3.3 Reasons for settling in Delfshaven**

When for whatever reason stimulation of the creative sector becomes a policy objective, it is important to know what reasons producers have for settling in the area. We have discussed the following factors with producers in our sample, to gain more insight in their reasons for settling in Delfshaven:

- accommodation for working and living
- facilities for distribution of cultural products
- safety
- image of the area
- proximity of other producers
- proximity of the centre and accessibility

Of course, these factors do not only influence the decision to settle in Delfshaven, but may also keep already present entrepreneurs from leaving. For example, a number of commercial producers, especially in architecture, have started living in this neighbourhood as a student. When they started their company and looked for accommodation, Delfshaven was an obvious choice, because they lived there already and knew the area very well, which made finding accommodation more easy. Since other students made the same choice, from the start they generally were acquainted with other companies in the area, developed out of the same social network.



## *Accommodation for working and living*

Regardless of the variety within the creative sector on other dimensions, there is one finding that holds true for nearly all producers: affordable accommodation for production is the main reason for working (and sometimes living) in Delfshaven and outweighs nearly all other settling factors (apart maybe from proximity of the centre). Until recently, Delfshaven could offer a varied selection of mainly cheap accommodation. However, as we shall discuss in the section 4, this comparative advantage appears to be disappearing slowly and policy is now turning towards creation and stimulation of more expensive production facilities for commercial producers.

The type of accommodation required is very variable, dependent on the type of production, economic rentability and size of the company. Visual artists all need of course sufficient working area to create their products, but not all of them have sufficient resources to acquire this. Some of them have special technical requirements (such as adequate lighting, high roofs, storage space), but just as many want a dry, warm room with sufficient area to work and don't have many additional requirements.

Some, though not all, commercial producers more over require an representative location to receive potential clients. Many of them however visit their clients in their offices or exhibit their work in other locations than where it is produced: their working area is mainly for production and doesn't always serve many other purposes. Especially starting commercial producers mention the ability to obtain more area when growth of the company requires so as an factor that influences their choice for certain accommodation. Low, subsidised rents also make accommodation attractive for starters.

In the performing arts sector the situation is somewhat different. Producers live in Delfshaven, but don't necessarily work there. Contrary to other creative producers, except for a small number of subsidised groups, most of them don't have their own production accommodation for full time use, but when necessary they temporarily need to hire facilities and accommodation that is also used by others. Thus, many of these producers are less visible as 'creative producers' in the area than other producers, with their own office or production facility in the neighbourhood: they live there, but work in other locations. These producers only become visible when accommodation for rehearsal and recording is locally available (and, of course, during local events where they perform).

However, the availability of accommodation is rather limited, compared to the (estimated) size of this sub-sector. For rehearsal and recording, they often use facilities in other parts of the city or the region. Much accommodation in the area has disappeared because of renovation projects. For pop music a facility has been created in the city centre, that includes a stage, a studio and rehearsal rooms. Within the borough in some community organisations locations can be hired or used by amateur groups and at least one youth organisation offers rehearsal rooms. A local private facility is the WoWPoW studio, a commercial studio that offers promising local groups the possibility to use its facilities. This studio has facilitated a number of Rotterdam hip-hop groups that have become nationally known. Some music production in between professional and amateur production can be realised at home, with modern computer technology.

For theatre and dance groups the local production possibilities appear even more limited, also because of their demands on the type of accommodation: available theatres and stages hardly have room for local groups to practice and the artists themselves, whether professional or amateur, have few resources to hire accommodation at market prices. Rooms within community centres often are not suitable for practising.

For performing artists then, accommodation for production is hardly a reason to stay in Delfshaven. Their main reason for settling here is mainly cheap accommodation for living.

### Facilities for distribution

Accommodation may not only be needed for production, but also for distribution of cultural products. This is especially relevant for professional artistic producers and amateur performing

artists. Commercial producers generally don't use this kind of facilities, because most of the time their products will be distributed directly and only to their clients.

In general, there doesn't appear to be a very strong relationship between local production and 'official' distribution facilities at the level of the borough, despite the rather large scale presence of producers: in our sample producers in both visual arts and performing arts only modestly use local distribution facilities (theatres, galleries, shops, etc.)<sup>34</sup>.

Local galleries are little or not used by artists in our sample. They do organise their own more informal facilities for distribution. For example, several of the clustered artists organise their own expositions, sometimes in collaboration with residents, using their windows as their display. In the historical part of the borough a restaurant-owner organises expositions of paintings and photo's in the restaurant. He explicitly wants to offer a possibility to artists who have difficulties entering the official arts circuit. Together with another more or less informal gallery in the neighbourhood, also run by a refugee, it is one of the few places that exposes art from migrants (from all over the country, including Rotterdam and Delfshaven).

The same holds more or less true for performing arts. Local stages are not systematically programmed with local performing artists. There is a number of community stages spread all over the city and the borough, that can be used for both amateur and professional productions, but not per definition local artists. Another distribution channel that is sometimes used, are programs in schools. For these programs local artists are sometimes contracted.

Many producers, both amateur and professional, would be interested though in a local theatre and stage of sufficient quality within the borough, mainly to stimulate further development of the sector, but for some also to be able to enforce their relation with the local community. Especially starting artists might be stimulated by nearby facilities to reach their audience. The borough and municipality have aimed at improving this situation by supporting a commercial stage (Nighttown) and the development of the local Princess theatre (see section 4).

Local distribution facilities are thus used mainly for distribution of cultural products made elsewhere. Of course this is not necessarily problematic from the perspective of the producers: most producers are interested in reaching an interested audience or public, or potential buyers, and will use the most appropriate channel to realise this, which can but need not per definition be locally available, since their public not necessarily comes from Delfshaven. For example, one musician sold many of his records in the Cabo Verde.

Thus, few local producers from our sample mention *local, nearby* accommodation for distribution as a decisive factor for settling in the area. This doesn't mean all producers are satisfied with their possibilities for distributing their art, but at least from their perspective a distribution problem doesn't always need to be solved locally: that depends on the public or clients they aim at.

### Safety

As we saw, large parts of Delfshaven are not known for their safety, mostly because of drug-related crime. Although many producers consider this to be a nuisance and indicate they have to take special precautions, it doesn't really bother them neither. Several informants claim creative producers 'by nature' are more tolerant towards 'deviant life styles' and are not alarmed easily. Since many producers don't receive their clients in their production studio, it won't scare their clients neither: only a few want a more representative working area. Of course, drug related crime won't turn into a pull factor for creative producers. However, this attitude does mean it won't stop them either when other factors make a problem infected area attractive. Thus, they do belong to a sector that could be developed in a area despite possible social problems.

### Image of the area

As we saw, Delfshaven is an area with a very mixed population, resulting in a melting pot of life styles from all over the world and streets filled with all kinds of activity, sounds, etc. It is a lively

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<sup>34</sup> We have no information on local cafes and bars that offer stages for performers.

area with a crowded public life. One could assume that this kind of area is especially attractive to artists, who might be more inspired by the atmosphere in such a neighbourhood than by for example an average suburban residential area. However, hardly any producer in our sample considers this an important reason for staying in Delfshaven. What counts for them, is the accommodation and the proximity to the centre. Some of them put a special interest in an inspiring environment, but they relate this more to the type of accommodation and its direct surroundings, than to its location within the borough and its characteristics. Especially many commercial producers hardly relate to the area where they are working: they have little interest in the surrounding area, for they focus on their own work which as we saw is not linked to the borough. A number of artistic producers is more involved in their local urban environment, but for them the image of the area isn't very important neither. Many consider the 'Old North', in another borough, to be the real 'artists area' in Rotterdam, but moved to Delfshaven mainly for practical reasons.

#### Proximity of other producers

Contrary to what might be expected and what can be found in other research, only a few of our respondents indicate they attribute much importance to working in the proximity of other creative producers. Of course, when joining producers in whatever sector results in affordable accommodation or lower overhead costs because of shared services (such as a reception) they are interested, but clustering of creative producers does not appear to be an independent stimulating factor as such for many of them. This has to do with the way production is organised, as was discussed above.

Some of them do like to have other 'self employed' producers around them for social purposes (since a lot of them work alone), but few of them consider proximity of other producers as a stimulating factor. Many work alone anyway: their most important relation is with their clients and not with other producers.

Only some of them can afford to subcontract others, mainly with big assignments. When this is necessary, they use their network of other producers, but these don't have to be nearby: they are selected based on their quality and adequacy of their product and not proximity. On the other hand, when useful companions live nearby, these are preferred over far away companies.

Many professional artistic artists point to the nature of the Rotterdam artists, who want to work and don't want to put too much energy in maintaining an artists' scene and socialising. Recent attempts to keep alive the artists' club for example have failed. Some respondents refer to the difference between Rotterdam and Amsterdam: in the capital a much more pronounced and visible 'artists scene' exists. These respondents however deliberately choose Rotterdam, because the somewhat stereotypical artist life and scene didn't attract them.

A notable and important exception to this general finding, appears to be the audio-visual sector, dedicated to video, movie and multi-media production and, in a lesser degree, the performing arts. As we saw, these sectors are quite large in the borough and rely more on co-operation. Even small scale productions in this branch often require co-operation of several producers and specialists for image and sound, for finding locations and actors, for writing scripts, for directing productions, etc. Thus, co-operation with others is much more standard than in the other branches and proximity of other producers is more important. This is also illustrated by the fact the audio visual sector in Rotterdam has its own professional association, that actively promotes networking, by organising informal gatherings and publishing a directory of both companies and self employed producers.

#### Proximity of the centre and accessibility

Another often mentioned advantage of the area is its proximity to the centre and its cultural facilities, like the museum quarter, galleries and specialised shops for arts production. At the same time, especially the clusters of buildings at the edge of the area, are very good reachable by car from outside the city, which is an advantage for entrepreneurs who frequently work outside the city or who receive clients from outside Rotterdam.

## **4. Development of the creative sector**

In this chapter we focus on factors that influence further development of different sectors of the creative economy and that are or could be the focus for policy aimed at stimulating this sector. We pay attention to accommodation for production and distribution, subsidies and income support and advise. As we shall see, in Rotterdam and the Netherlands, policy that controls these factors is rather centralised. Income support is mainly based on national laws and facilities for production grants are nationally organised. Facilities for arts subsidies and development of accommodation are mostly controlled at the city level, despite the decentralisation of the administration in Rotterdam. Possibilities of the local borough council to influence these factors therefore are rather limited, although not absent. An example of this is the hiring of a so called ‘cultural broker’ by the borough of Delfshaven, who is supposed to bridge the gap between local needs and central facilities (chapter 4.5).

### **4.1 Accommodation**

As we saw, the most important ‘settling factor’ respondents in most sectors and branches mentioned for settling in Delfshaven is accommodation, especially for production. We will discuss some initiatives that both municipal departments and artists themselves have developed to improve the availability of accommodation for creative producers in this area. Again we differentiate between accommodation for production and for distribution.

#### **Production**

The differentiated demand for accommodation for production is met in different ways: by the market, by subsidised accommodation, informal temporary arrangements and by public and private investments in new clusters of creative and other starting companies. In general, affordable accommodation for professional artistic artists has become hard to obtain, whereas development of facilities for (starting) commercial creative companies has expanded rapidly in the last few years in the borough.

Officially, subsidised accommodation for professional artistic producers is controlled by the central foundation for artists accommodation (SKAR). The SKAR exploits about 220 studios in Rotterdam, often clustered. In Delfshaven two buildings are exploited, consisting of 26 studios in total. Comparing this number with the number of producers in the area, it is obvious this formal accommodation can only service a part of the producers, despite the fact that development of new studios is foreseen. As a result the SKAR has a long waiting list. Moreover, a considerable number of professional artistic producers in our sample point to the fact that this accommodation is out of reach for them anyway because of the high rents. According to some of them this has to do with the relative high standard level of services within these buildings, that not all of them consider necessary: they would prefer cheaper accommodation with less facilities.

Apart from this official arts accommodation, until recent years accommodation for creative production in Delfshaven consisted mainly of relatively cheap private enterprise buildings or obsolete buildings that came available to creative producers, especially within the visual arts.

Until the mid nineties groups of professional artistic producers frequently could squat empty, obsolete school buildings or other buildings to acquire working accommodation. Often this was temporarily permitted, provided costs for electricity and water were paid and the buildings were more or less kept up until a new destiny or owner for the building was found. Although insecure and temporary, the obvious advantage of this type of accommodation is the low costs, which makes it attractive to low income creative producers.

For the owners and nearby living residents, the fact that buildings remain in use can be considered an advantage from a safety and social perspective, especially in Delfshaven where deserted buildings regularly are taken over by drug addicts or homeless people. Moreover, professional producers in this kind of facilities appear to be more related to the local economy and surrounding population than most commercial producers, whose relation with their surroundings as we saw is rather minimal. An example is a group of artists in the borough who combine living and working in a group of houses to be demolished. Apart from working, they recently participated in exhibitions together with other inhabitants and actively contribute to keeping the street more or less safe by preventing a adjacent building from being used by drug dealers. Since some of these artists also work after five o'clock or live in the same building, their presence is also notable at times when many more regular companies are closed and deserted.

In Delfshaven, about 10 of these initiatives still exist or have recently started, that have attracted artists from other parts of the city. Examples are obsolete school buildings and a block of houses planned for demolition. However, along with urban regeneration projects many of these buildings are now disappearing or given a new use and few buildings that can be used to this end remain. Moreover, according to some users of these buildings, negotiations with the owners become more complicated, because from a commercial point of view it is not very interesting to leave abandoned buildings to artists. Some of these facilities have been 'formalised' and come under control of the SKAR. However, many artists regret that possibilities for obtaining informal accommodation are diminishing.

Along with the slow disappearance of informal, cheap accommodation, in recent years both public and private investments in the development of accommodation for creative producers has increased. Several of these developments take place within the borough of Delfshaven, increasing the supply of accommodation for especially the more commercial creative producers, although 'artistic producers' with sufficient income can also use these newly developed studios.

One of the central agencies active in this field is the Rotterdam Development Company (OBR). The OBR is the agency that amongst other things actively acquires, develops and sells real estate within the city from the perspective of economic regeneration and creation of structural employment. It develops projects that the 'market' doesn't consider attractive investments, but that are expected to contribute positively to the economic structure of the city. Some of these projects are public/private initiatives, others are purely publicly financed. In recent years a number of projects have been realised or are still under construction, aimed at 'upgrading' the quality of certain areas. One example outside Delfshaven is the complete 'restructuring' of a centre street (Witte de Widhtstraat) that formerly was controlled by drug dealers. By means of acquisition of a number of buildings and selling or hiring them to galleries, restaurants and other arts related shops and enterprises the number of visitors has risen and the possibilities to sell drugs disappeared.

Within Delfshaven the OBR has participated in redeveloping a number of former industrial buildings and other buildings into clusters for starting, small enterprises, many in the creative sector (see monography 1).

Monography 1: Schiecentrale: development with public funds of production accommodation for the audio visual sector
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<i>An important recent project is redevelopment of the former power plant from Delfshaven (Schiecentrale). This area, near to the river, is meant to become the centre for the audio-visual industry in Rotterdam. Based on a prognosis of an economic research institute that this is to become a thriving sector and the conclusion that this sector was underdeveloped in Rotterdam, the city council has made development of this sector one of the pillars of its economic policy. First of all, the Rotterdam has founded the Rotterdam Movie Fund for stimulating productions in the audio-visual sector. Secondly, it has facilitated the OBR to invest about 2 million euro in the development of a cluster of buildings to attract producers in this sector.</i>
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This project takes place in several stages. It started with attracting a well known national television producer who developed a studio and other production facilities. In march 2000 the 2nd stage finished. In the so-called '25KV gebouw' 46 enterprises in the audio-visual sector have started. 24 of them are companies for commercial creative audio-visual production or support (studio, location scouts, casting, it). Also, 22 professional artistic producers like movie makers have been allotted working space. For this group accommodation is subsidised by the municipality, resulting in lower rents. The SKAR has participated in allotting these studios. The central idea of this complex has been that clustering of both commercial and artistic producers and stimulating exchange and communication contributes to further development of this sector. Therefore, within the building a lot of public room for contact and exchange has been created. The location, a former industrial building near the water, is considered to be a stimulating environment for creative production. Only companies that fit within this concept, which are interested in such a cluster were allotted accommodation. More over, attention has been paid to the total composition of companies: every aspect of production, support and post production in audio-visual production should be available within this complex. An estimated 70% of the commercial producers originates from outside Rotterdam. The artists predominantly formerly worked and lived already within Rotterdam.

It is estimated that this project will generate about 300 jobs, partly flexible because of production cycles. Most of these jobs are high skilled and specialised. Apart from some spin off for catering and cleaning, no direct effects for the local (unemployed) population are expected in terms of jobs. However, the idea is that this project in general improves the economic situation and image of the area and might in the future attract more companies and employment, also outside this area.

*Future development of this project is geared towards creation of facilities for recreation, catering and living in the same area, so that audio visual producers are stimulated to come and live in the same area.*

Apart from the OBR other agencies and companies also have invested in creation of accommodation for small, (starting) enterprises in the service and creative sector in Delfshaven. With private investments the former Van Nelle Fabric (coffee), a monumental industrial building at the west side of the borough, is being transformed into high end accommodation for predominantly creative producers. Although the supply of studios will increase enormously when this project is operational, the rents will be rather high, which means that only a part of the Rotterdam creative producers will be able to settle in this building.

### ***Monography 2: living/working accommodation for starting small enterprises***

*Another recent initiative within the borough has been taken by one of the housing corporations of Rotterdam, 'Stadswonen'. This formerly public corporation that used to attend mainly to students and other young people, has developed a living/working complex in the former tax-collector's office (that has moved to another urban regeneration area in the city, the 'Kop van Zuid', on the south bank of the river Nieuwe Maas). The OBR has subsidised this project, under condition that structural employment would be created by the project. This complex, called 'Puntegale', has opened in December 1998<sup>35</sup>.*

*The complex is principally a residential building, but 26 units consist of both living and working accommodation, mainly for starting small commercial companies (apart from a larger, national internet provider that is also situated in this facility). Some of these companies are active in the creative sector. Conditions have been created to make these units attractive for starters: relative low rents, short term of notice and equipped with basic facilities like phone and internet connection. The idea is that combination of living and working makes an area more lively, because there will be activity during a large part of the day. Moreover, the corporation noticed a demand*

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35 This corporation also administers a number of smaller living/working units in the borough.

*for this kind of facility: a number of tenants were using their rental apartments from the corporation as location for their starting companies, although these residential buildings are not very suited for that purpose. Although it was expected that more professional artistic producers would also apply for these studios, it resulted that although the rents are modest, they are still too high for many artistic producers. Most entrepreneurs originate from other parts of Rotterdam. Some of them have moved from other residential accommodation from the same corporation.*

*The creative producers we spoke to in this facility all mention the price of the accommodation and other rental conditions as the main reason for settling here. The other services are an additional advantage, although these have posed some problems in the first operational year. They have deliberately chosen the combination of living and working in the same accommodation. Apart from the financial advantage of this construction, mainly social motives are the reason for this choice: it gives more possibilities to socialise and to have some distraction from working alone. In their view this results in an informal ambience that they consider more attractive than a cluster of only companies. In some cases this has also resulted in joint projects.*

*The main disadvantage of the current construction according to informants, is the fact that the companies constitute a minority in the over all complex, in comparison with the purely residential units. Residents and entrepreneurs however use the building in different ways. The corporation can not adapt itself completely to the demands of the entrepreneurs. This makes it harder to establish a number of facilities they would like to have, among which a easy accessible and identifiable entrance and shared reception for the companies. In the current situation, from the outside it is hardly notable companies are situated in this complex. Moreover, it has the reputation of being mainly a students' facility, which does no good to the 'corporate image' of the companies involved.*

#### Distribution

From the perspective of producers we saw the demand for distribution facilities is related to the aspired clientele or public. Only when these are to be found locally, developing local distribution facilities is in the interest local producers. As noted before, especially performing artists were interested in development of a local theatre facility. Of course there can also be other reasons for stimulating the development of distribution facilities at local level, namely to increase the consumption of cultural products of local residents who hardly participate in central cultural events or to attract visitors from other parts of the city. This requires production that fits with the needs and interests of the local population or the desired public. Whether this will be locally produced art or not, is not really relevant, although the combination might be fruitful for both producers and consumers.

Within the borough two public/private facilities exist, that have been subsidised under the condition that they place their stage at disposal of local performing artists, at least a part of the available time for performances. They can be considered as initiatives that try to improve distribution possibilities for local performing artists. One of these is the commercial stage/nightclub 'Nighttown', which formally is situated just outside the borough border, but which is a relevant facility for the borough population because of its proximity and the type of music it programs. This club for example organises contests for local music groups and stand up comedians, which give them the possibility to reach a wide audience.

#### *Monography 3: public/private investment in the 'Princess theatre'*

*The other public/private facility is the Princess Theatre, a restaurant/theatre in the centre of the borough, that organises so called dinner-shows on a commercial basis and leaves the stage for subsidised programs during a number of nights and afternoons in the week. This facility, which is situated in a former cinema, has been developed partly with public (European) funds, because it was considered to be both a promising opportunity to generate both commercial activity and*

employment in the area as well as to develop a professional stage that would become accessible for local creative producers and consumers, based on a program that would be attractive for the population with its varied ethnic backgrounds.

For the restaurant owner, who also owns another theatre/restaurant within the borough, the subsidy was the main reason for settling in this building in this area. There was no other specific advantage of settling in Delfshaven and the combined function was more or less accepted as part of the deal. In the theatre, the commercial and subsidised activities are rather separated domains, in terms of producers, employees and public/clients.

The commercial dinner shows principally aim at groups of personnel from all over the city and not at local population. Entrance fees (45 euro) include both dinner and a cultural program that surrounds it. For most evenings, reservations must be made, generally for groups. Programming consists mainly of a kind variety theatre, performed by principally Dutch comedians, musical artists and singers from Rotterdam. Some of them are contracted via a booking agency in the borough. For them, the theatre offers some income security, because they are contracted for periods ranging from three months to a year.

The theatre/restaurant employs a manager, 8 permanent workers and about 18 flexible workers, mostly for the restaurant and the kitchen (and some technicians). Employees in the restaurant come from all over the city, but not from the surrounding borough. According to the manager, this has to do with the fact that local job seekers often lack the necessary diplomas for the skilled functions (technique, cooking) or because their knowledge of the Dutch language is insufficient for a job as waiter in the restaurant. There is some spin off for a local photographer, internet designer and a booking agency.

The subsidised program (yearly expenditure around 90.000 euro) is co-ordinated by the organisation that also organises the yearly 'world music' festival (Dunya) in Rotterdam. Only one full time programmer can work for the program, the rest is done by the Dunya organisation and volunteers. The program pays a compensation to the theatre for use of its stage. The borough subsidises around 80% of the budget. The rest stems from entrance fees and some additional funds.

The borough, the theatre manager and the 'culture broker' (section 4.5) participate in the programming commission. For this program the theatre can be used 70 days per year. The goal is to offer a program that attracts local inhabitants, which means it consists mainly of non-western music and theatre or styles that result from fusion of several cultural traditions. The organisation actively recruits both public and artists in the borough, in co-operation with local (migrant-)organisations. Programs consist of both theatre, poetry and music performances, for a considerable part aimed at children and adolescents. Several local professional theatre and music groups have participated in this program, although artists from outside Rotterdam and Delfshaven that are considered attractive also perform in the theatre. Also, local contracting agencies are involved in finding artists for the program. Thus, the subsidised program can be considered as an initiative where local creative production, distribution and consumption go together.

The public-private construction has given the borough the possibility to develop a local theatre which otherwise possibly would not have been realised. The public-private construction however also poses some problems, that give both the manager and the programmers and artists from the subsidised program the idea that the theatre could have much more potential. The fact that the commercial and subsidised activities are two separated domains, in terms of goals, public, artists and personnel, lead to critical remarks from both sides, because neither side can fully realise its objectives. The manager regrets that the subsidised evenings render him less income, because the public that comes to performances spend little on food and drink (prices are quite high), in comparison with the commercial dinner shows.

Moreover, not all events attract much public: he would like more market oriented programming for a wider audience. The programmers and the artists however feel the evenings and afternoons that are available are disadvantageous. They have little freedom to organise the events in the way they feel is necessary and attractive and receive little support with the preparation of events. For example, for some events they would like to organise their own catering, with food that



*fits with the type of public and event. The restaurant cannot provide this. Since participation in cultural events for some migrant groups often is linked to the availability of food, this could attract more people and even be commercially interesting. Also, some of them think the technical state of both the stage and lightning is not sufficient for professional performances: it has been constructed from the perspective of the dinner shows and the restaurant and not for different types of theatre and music productions.*

*As a consequence, informants are somewhat ambiguous about this new facility: it is considered as a relevant addition to local cultural facilities, but hardly sufficient from the perspective of local producers. Its connection to the neighbourhood and local economy is confined to a limited number of days, whereas the large performing arts sector in this area could easily fill a full time available professional accommodation for both amateur and professional artists.*

## **4.2 Subsidies & grants**

Given the precarious and variable income situation of many producers, subsidies and grants can be considered as an important instrument for stimulation of especially the professional artistic producers. We won't go into detail on this topic, but sketch in rough lines the main characteristics of the system because it clearly influences the possibilities for creative producers. A key aspect of this system is its centralised and somewhat corporatist character: most funding for producers is distributed at the national or the central city level and is controlled by a small number advisory bodies and arts organisations. Local (borough) public administration has few possibilities to influence this, although this appears to be slowly changing recently, because of a growing emphasis in national arts policy on stimulation of participation of local population in arts activities, which might best be done by local agents.

Financial support (subsidies and grants) for professional creative production, both for individuals and organisations is partly organised at the national level, where funds and grants are available for different arts disciplines, both for starters and more experienced artists. Many respondents indicate they do apply for these grants, but it is not easy to get them. Some of them consider it a kind of lottery, because of the way proposals are judged and because of apparently closed character of some of the networks around these funds, which are difficult to enter.

Roughly speaking, support for production is predominantly organised nationally and stimulation of distribution and education is supposed to be a municipal responsibility. Nevertheless, a number of local possibilities exist to stimulate creative production. Despite the decentralisation of Rotterdam in boroughs, support for the arts is predominantly a central policy item. The borough administration only has a small budget for cultural policy and subsidies, directed at a number of small-scale initiatives and educational projects mainly for amateur artists.

A limited number of professional cultural organisations in Rotterdam receive structural exploitation subsidies, both in visual and performing arts. Among these are the philharmonic orchestra, a number of theatres, the visual arts musea, arts education facilities and advisory organisations. Further more, a number of possibilities exists for incidental project subsidies, both for professional and amateur artists. These are partly granted by the Rotterdam Arts Foundation (RKS) and, for individual visual artists, also by the Centre for Visual Arts (CBK). The latter organisation also mediates between professional visual artists whose work is considered of professional artistic quality and potential buyers, by keeping portfolios of artists and stimulating exhibitions. Film producers can receive support from the Rotterdam Film Fund, which was founded as part of the policy to stimulate the audio-visual sector.

## **4.3 Income support: 'WIK' and 'Job+'**

As we saw earlier, income gained from creative production for many especially professional artistic producers is often insecure and low, resulting in dependency on social security arrangements for a number of them.

The Dutch social security consists roughly of three subsystems: temporary unemployment benefits after loss of paid work ('WW'), insurance for disabled unemployed ('WAO') and social assistance for people with no income who cannot claim social insurance ('bijstand'). Especially social assistance has always been an important part of the income of many professional artistic producers. Until recent years, within the social assistance act a kind of special treatment existed for especially visual artists who could prove they were professional artists and who were able to sell some of their work or to receive grants. Within this arrangement, artists were not (effectively) obliged to apply for paid jobs outside the arts sector and they were allowed to deduct production costs from their additional income. Artists could stay in this arrangement for many years.

Since 1996 the social security policy in general however has focussed more and more on activation of welfare claimants and the temporary character of welfare dependence and the special status of artists were abolished. Many programs to stimulate people to find paid work have started and more pressure is being exercised on them. Any support program therefore, except for some social activation programmes, is supposed to be temporary and to increase people's chances of finding paid work. From this activating policy, two new arrangements especially relevant for artists have emerged: a national welfare scheme called the 'WIK' (Law for income provision to artists) and a small scale local Rotterdam experiment, called 'Baan+' ('Job+').

The WIK has become fully operational in January 1999. It is open for professional artists in the visual or performing arts (both 'autonomous' and 'applied') who have recently graduated from formal arts education or who can prove they have had insufficient income from the arts (and other work) during the preceding year. Moreover, for artists who have graduated more than a year before, a national council checks whether the artist involved actually should be considered as an artist (based on recent production, accommodation, length of the career and arts related income in the past). Artists without sufficient income who are not accepted or who don't apply for the WIK are subject to the standard social assistance regulation, which includes the obligation to apply for work. The WIK consists of a 'loan' that amounts to 80% of the social assistance benefit: dependent on the household situation and other regular income, artists in the WIK receive a social assistance loan between 480 and 770 euro monthly. This income may be increased by arts related income up to a maximum of 125% of social assistance benefit (855 – 1222 euro monthly). Moreover, visual artists may deduct production costs of 4500 euro from their income without the obligation to proof their costs (2200 euro for other artists). Real additional expenditures may also be deducted. At the end of the year artists have to submit their administration to calculate their total year income and costs. When this exceeds the 125% norm, they have to pay back the WIK-benefit they have received. Artists can participate in the WIK for a maximum of 4 years. After this period they are expected to be self providing or they return to the regular social assistance scheme. At the end of 1999, in Rotterdam about 200 artists received a WIK-allowance. For 2000 this number was expected to increase to 500.

The Baan+-programme is an experimental employment scheme that only exists in Rotterdam. It offers subsidised part-time jobs, mainly in the public sector. Participants earn a *salary* of 500 euro monthly for this work, about 80% of social assistance level. They are formally employed by a municipal agency that 'lends them out' to organisations that want to contract them. Participants are not considered as unemployed. The rest of their time can be dedicated to other work with which they can increase their income. This may be any type of work, but in most cases comes down to self employment or creation of a self sufficient small enterprise, often in the service sector. Because they don't fall under social assistance schemes, there is no maximum for their additional earnings. Wages are paid from public funds for employment schemes (not from regular social assistance funds). Organisations that employ participants in Baan+ pay a small reimbursement to the contracting agency.

Within Baan+ a special arrangement has been made for artists: the artists pool. Within this pool, artists can earn their Baan+-income with arts related work, such as temporary projects for schools or other public organisations. The rest of their time can be dedicated to creative production of all sorts or other types of jobs. After two years of participation in Baan+, artists are supposed to be completely self providing and their contract with Baan+ is terminated. They are supposed to use their Baan+ period to develop an economically solid enterprise. In January 2000 about 40-50 artists were employed within Baan+.

Both schemes are relatively new and few data exist on their effectivity. In our research most artists react somewhat ambiguous to these new possibilities. Both schemes temporarily release artists of their social security obligations and provide basic income security, which makes space to dedicate their time to the arts (as one of them said, 'I have (artistic) work enough, my problem is to gain sufficient income'). Participants in the WIK can dedicate all of their time to creative production if they want to do so. Participants in Baan+ of course have obligations to their employer, but at least they can work in arts related jobs and still have time left over for their own creative production. Less energy has to be spent on looking for jobs and income. Moreover, Baan+ offers more possibilities for social interaction and participation than full time individual, self-employed artists might have. Some artists consider this to be an advantage.

Critical remarks however are made first of all about the temporary character and length of these schemes. Starting young artists can use this time to explore whether they want to become and can be self providing professional, artistic creative producers. Together with the possibilities to receive starter grants, they are given some room to develop their professional practice. Still, two years and even four years might be a very short period to be able to proof its rentability. Many more experienced and older artists already seem to have more or less chosen to work as professional, artistic producer: for them creating an economically sound artistic enterprise has never been their main goal (although they of course would like to be able to have sufficient artistic income), and some of them doubt whether participation in WIK or Baan+ will be the trigger to do so after many years. They appear to consider these schemes as welcome new possible income strategies that can temporarily relieve them from the obligation to look for all types of temporary (non artistic) jobs and they are willing to abide by the rules these schemes have, which are more favourable than regular social assistance. They don't have much faith however in becoming self sufficient after two or four years, because the market for their products will remain insecure and their income too variable: only a few will be able to live of their artistic work. The others will have to compromise in terms of the types of creative production they are willing to make, or they have to resort to part time non creative production after all. Possibly, these schemes will therefore be mainly successful in terms of reducing welfare dependence in the long run, for creative producers that become more 'commercially oriented' as a result of participation in these schemes.

Secondly, the schemes offer income security, but far below minimum wage level. The additional income of course is not per definition secure in creative production. Because creative production is generally not sold on a monthly basis and production and living costs are made before actual selling, artists may have to live below social assistance level during certain periods, even if over a longer period they earn enough. Of course this is part of the deal, but again those artistic producers that are not especially driven by a need for income maximisation, can only participate successfully if they are willing to adapt their income strategies and artistic objectives in favour of more income security, but not all of them want to do that.

Within the WIK, the system of yearly *post hoc* calculation of real income is also problematic for some. Apart from the fact that some artists complain the administration and final accounting by the social security council take a lot of waiting time, they consider it to be disadvantageous that they might have to pay back money afterwards, because they have little possibilities to save money. In Baan+ this problem doesn't exist, because it offers regular salary and not a loan.

Thirdly, one respondent was especially critical about Baan+, because he considered it as a false competition with producers who try independently to gain some income with the type of jobs Baan+ offers. Of course, contracting a participant in Baan+ is cheaper than contracting a self

employed artist. On the other hand, a lot of organisations might not have enough funds to contract self employed artists for a regular wage: without Baan+, they might not even consider an artistic project at all.

#### **4.4 Festivals and events**

Although we have not gathered empirical material on this topic, the organisation and stimulation of creative festivals and events also deserves attention from the perspective of stimulation of the creative economy and economic spin off effects.

Rotterdam tries to construct an image as 'city of festivals'. These festivals generally attract large numbers of visitors from all over the country and generate income the expenditure by visitors on tickets, food, drinks and hotels. Many festivals are sponsored by companies. Among these festivals are a yearly national film festival, a Caribbean style carnival (street parade) with participation of local cultural migrant groups, a 'world music festival' (Dunya) and a poetry festival. Also, in the summer of 2000 the European Football Championship will be the focus of a number of cultural manifestation and festivals.

In 2001 Rotterdam will be the cultural capital of Europe, together with Porto. The lemma of this event is 'Rotterdam is many cities', referring to the differentiated population and image of the city. The city explicitly aims at developing a program which will offer attractive cultural events for all parts of the local population, thus including all types of art production. Moreover, the festival is explicitly supposed to generate more sustainable effects: an improved image of the city for residents and visitors, a further developed 'city identity' that comes to grip with its multi-cultural and cosmopolitan character and a increased participation of the local population in cultural activities. Participation of local (grass roots) organisations and producers is considered essential in this line of reasoning and they are stimulated to develop proposals for programmes for this event.

Most of these festivals and events offer possibilities for local creative producers, either by giving them a stage and an audience or by contracting them for realisation of the festival. A number of respondents were in some way or another involved in preparation for one or more of these events.

Generally these festivals are organised at city level and take place in the central area of the city. However, at the local, borough level of Delfshaven some festivals are also organised. The historical harbour of Delfshaven is the location for a yearly outdoor classical music festival. Finally, during national festive days at the end of April (Queens day) and the beginning of May (Liberation day) generally local music festivals, more explicitly aimed at the local populations are organised. These festivities generally mobilise lots of people.

#### **4.5 Advise**

Apart from accommodation and financial support, stimulation of the creative sector can also take the shape of advise and consultancy. Within the borough some commercial companies are active within specific sectors. In the recent years also some public initiatives have emerged that are directed at supporting the creative sector. Although as we saw most structural support and development in this area is realised by centralised agencies in the arts sector and by the OBR, at the borough level also some small scale initiatives take place.

For the creative commercial producers a program has been started by the economic division of the borough. It consisted of approaching a number of mostly starting enterprises to find out their needs and to gain more insight in relevant developmental factors. Some companies have received support from accountants or other specialists. Also, effort has been put in creating a 'entrepreneurs table', to stimulate exchange and contact between interested companies. In march 2000 it was however not clear yet in what way this initiative would be continued. Based on results from this

project and our own sample, it appears that the demand for this kind of public advice and support is not very high, also because many don't express much confidence in the quality of this type of support. When they do need advice, often public and private specialised facilities for this already exist. Much more concern was expressed about the reliability of public decision making, especially when this concerns decisions about regulations and spatial planning. Several entrepreneurs found they had to adapt their company development plans, because of changed public development plans, that influence their possibilities.

Although the borough is quite limited in its possibilities to develop its own cultural policy, given the centralised character of this in Rotterdam, the borough does express its interest in supporting especially the local 'amateur arts' and professional artists who want to direct their production at the local community. First of all, the borough periodically arranges meetings between local artists, to stimulate exchange between artists and the local government.

Secondly, two years ago the borough has taken up the idea of a city alderman to contract a local 'culture broker'. Recently two other boroughs have followed this initiative. The goal is to create a bridge between all kinds of local creative initiatives and central facilities for artists, based on the conclusion that the accessibility of the central facilities is a problem for many groups, because they don't know them or the rules that apply for getting support. This might be especially true for migrant initiatives, which are underrepresented in many subsidised cultural programs, although participation of minorities in cultural events has been declared as a central policy objective.

In Delfshaven two people are active in this project: first of all, the 'cultural broker', who is director of the Rotterdam Foundation of Arts Education. He is expected to use his network and position in the arts world to (informally) improve possibilities for local groups to get access to central facilities. Secondly, a functionary has been appointed for 10 hours weekly to actually develop the contacts between local artists and the government, by advising and supporting them and if necessary bringing them in contact with other organisations. To this end, a special foundation has been created that has its own accommodation that can be used for all types of local cultural events, like exhibitions. Activities until now have consisted of networking, advising artists collectives, organising exhibitions and supporting events by arranging materials, small subsidies or equipment. This project focuses on initiatives that contribute some way or another to development of the local community and participation of inhabitants in cultural activities.

## **5. Conclusion**

### ***5.1 Introduction***

In this study we have tried to shed some light on the socio-economic significance and potential of the 'creative economy' within a economically deprived urban area in Rotterdam, the borough of Delfshaven. In this section we will use these findings to discuss the possible roles the creative sector could play in socio-economic development and restructuring of deprived inner-city areas.

### ***5.2 The significance of a varied creative sector***

The case-study shows that in the research area the size of the sector in terms of companies and people involved is considerable. Much of this activity is 'hidden' within global economic statistics or other types of classification. Based on a number of 'educated estimations', we think around at least 10% of the people working (not necessarily living) in the area are at least part time professionally related to the creative sector. This number includes both professional commercial and artistic producers and facilities for distribution and support. Besides this, there is a large number of amateur producers.

Assessment of the economic significance has resulted in a somewhat fragmented image, dependent on the sub-sector and branch. In general, the companies we find in the area are relatively small sized. There is a considerable number of starting companies and self-employed entrepreneurs and artists.

The commercial companies generally centre around a limited number of producers (often just one). Their working area often covers the whole city or country, but generally little work is acquired within the borough itself. Since turn over and income fluctuates considerably, they are hesitant to contract additional personnel. When necessary, they temporarily contract free lance producers or work together with other companies. The major part of these (flexible) jobs are highly skilled and specialised and producers are quite critical about who they like to contract. Therefore, possibilities for low skilled jobs are limited, because much 'supportive' work like administration is done by the producers themselves or still requires specialised education. Around distribution facilities this is possibly different, but we have not focussed on that sub-sector.

Especially within audio-visual and commercial performing arts productions, producers and (technical) supportive personnel form temporary alliances to complete productions. These branches therefore appear to be more dependent of a broader producers' network than for example graphic designers or architects, who have more single stranded relations with their clients and often work 'alone'.

The professional artistic producers deploy multiple income strategies: their main ambition, creative production, generally does not generate sufficient income. They supplement their artists' income with other creative work, classes, low-skilled non creative work or social security provisions. In comparison with the commercial producers, they are more frequently active in productions within the local borough.

Although we have separated the commercial and artistic sector for the sake of analysis, in practice these domains overlap and reinforce each other. For example, temporary demand for additional labour in the commercial sector may be satisfied by artistic producers, who in turn can increase their income with these activities that are closely related to their core activity. Thus, the commercial sector may benefit from an available pool of artistic producers to get qualified employees. Although we have not focussed specifically on these interactions, one can more over assume that presence of professional artistic producers may 'feed' the commercial producers with ideas and creative inspiration.

Thus, in an area often one-sided portrayed as 'under developed' and infested with social problems, one can find considerable economic activity that at least partly belongs to the 'vanguard' of modern economy: integrated in national and sometimes international economic networks, based on modern informational technology (graphic design, internet, audio-visual production) and flexibly organised in small units that may cluster when necessary. This finding supports efforts to propagate a more balanced image of the area: it apparently is not only victim of all types of exclusionary processes, but also generates and attracts activity in modern economic sectors.

On the other hand, the connection with the neighbourhood and expectations about its potential for contributing to *short term* local economic development (jobs and income) should not be exaggerated. Spin off for the local community in terms of jobs or purchase of services and goods is limited. The fact that they are established within a deprived area, is hardly an issue for the producers themselves: they focus on their work and commercial relations, both of which are mostly outside the area. Besides, many of them don't live in the area neither. Possibly, from a more long-term perspective on spin off, conclusions on this topic might be more positive: because of an improved image over a longer time. more economic actors within and outside the creative sector and new residents might be attracted, thus changing more structurally economic characteristics of the area.

In the 'professional artistic sector' this appears to be slightly different. Although its economic significance in terms of jobs and income may be modest, its sheer size, implicates there is

a large creative potential in the area that can also contribute to a more positive image of the area. More over, especially within this sector several possibilities appear to exist to involve the sector in addressing some of the less positive socio-economic developments in the area, because relations between producers and the neighbourhood often appear closer than in the commercial sector. The diversified income strategies of producers leave room for involving them in different types of local creative projects. Many of them are interested in this, provided their professional capacities are acknowledged. The potential probably lies not so much in direct economic profit, but in possibilities to mobilise and involve segments of the local population. Although we didn't elaborate on this within this report (it forms part of the second part of the research), many initiatives we encountered, show creative activities can offer a promising way to achieve goals aspired within social-economic policies: it activates people, can stimulate social interaction, offers possibilities to develop different kinds of social and professional skills, etc.

### **5.3 Stimulating the creative sector**

We have explored several factors that can influence further development of the creative sector. The most important one appears to be adequate, diversified accommodation for production and, for performing artists also for distribution. In the second place, mutual benefit can probably be realised from involving local professional artistic producers in different types of local socio-economic policy initiatives in which creative production can play a role.

#### **Accommodation**

Availability of accommodation for production and proximity to the centre have resulted to be the main 'settling factors' within several sub-sectors and can be considered the main comparative advantage of the borough. Factors like proximity of other producers or image of the area are much less important, or apply only to segments of the sector. Moreover, potential 'detering' characteristics of the area, such as drug related crime, play little role in deciding where to settle. In combination with the small size of most companies, this means at least theoretically many locations could be adequate for further development or introduction of activity in this sector.

The demands on accommodation vary substantially, as a result from the different ways in which production is organised and its economic rentability. Thus, a diversified supply of accommodation is needed to satisfy the whole range of producers that is currently present. Variety concerns rental prices, demands on clustering with other producers, special facilities and, last but not least, sufficient working and storage area.

Especially the low-end, cheap accommodation stands under pressure, which is rather unfortunate because this has always been an important pull factor for producers. An impressive supply of new accommodation for the creative sector is currently being realised in the borough, but this is mainly accessible for the commercial producers. However, acknowledging the potential of the presence of artistic producers (working and/or living in the area), it could be sensible to address more systematically the accommodation needs of this sector as well. Allowing temporary use of obsolete buildings remains important, though this is hardly a structural solution. Besides, the availability of these buildings is decreasing.

In performing arts, shortage of sufficient accommodation for both practising and performing is felt as a limitation for further development. In this branch, the relation with the borough area is less visible, because producers mainly live here, but work elsewhere. However, their visibility and connection to the neighbourhood could greatly improve by arranging more possibilities to practice

and to perform. The public-private theatre within the research area confirms this, since despite critical remarks that have been made about this facility, it has benefited both local producers and consumers.

### Using local creative potential: linking cultural and local socio-economic policy

Within the commercial sector apart from accommodation little additional public stimulation seems necessary or urgent. In the professional-artistic sector however, the research material suggests that further development could elaborate on the (potential) relations at least a part of these producers has or could have with broader local social-economic development. This theme will be more thoroughly investigated in remaining research. However, both initiatives by producers themselves and small-scale projects like the 'cultural broker' or local educational programs that involve creative producers, already seem to indicate mutual benefit can result from linking the cultural and socio-economic policy domains. Stimulating this kind of activities, can give the professional artists ways of securing part of their income in 'public activities', while still being able to dedicate time to their 'autonomous' artistic production. The local community on the other hand could benefit from a larger visibility of its own creative producers, thus contributing to a more positive image of the area. Also, it might give better opportunities for more deprived parts of the population to benefit more directly from the presence of a large creative sector in their neighbourhood and to develop innovative social-economic interventions. In other words, it would look at creative activity not only from an 'artistic perspective', but also from a socio-economic development perspective.

An obstacle for such an approach could be the way in which public social and cultural policy are organised. As we have seen, within the Dutch context, cultural policy traditionally has had a centralised character. Stimulation of production by means of income schemes and grants is nationally organised, although the possibility for experiments in social security have allowed for a promising initiative within Rotterdam to meet with the need producers have for a secure basic income (Baan+). Within the city of Rotterdam, the cultural area is also one of the few policy domains that have not been decentralised to the boroughs. More over, control over accommodation is also in the hands of centralised agencies. On the other hand, for dealing with socio-economic and social problems in deprived areas, it has more or less been acknowledged that local approaches and 'bottom up'-strategies are an important ingredient for success and consequently in this field much more room exists for local initiatives.

If potential benefit from linking cultural and socio-economic policy is acknowledged, it could therefore be sensible to provide for more local possibilities to implement such an integrated policy. Ingredients of such an approach could be recognition and stimulation of locally available creative potential in different types of combined cultural/socio-economic projects, facilitating own initiatives by creative producers (since many activity already is happening) and more local public involvement in development of adequate accommodation.

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## 9 – LES RESSORTS DE LA CREATION D'EMPLOIS CULTURELS DANS LES QUARTIERS.

### PRECONISATIONS.

Il nous a semblé qu'une synthèse dynamique des enquêtes consacrées aux quatre quartiers dégagerait cinq facteurs décisionnels ou enjeux : le foncier, la proximité et les effets de seuil, l'économie de l'aide à la création d'emplois, le soutien aux projets, les politiques culturelles dans les politiques de la ville.

#### 9.1 - Maîtriser les enjeux fonciers

##### *9.1.1 Des couturiers de l'espace urbain*

La disponibilité des espaces, la modicité de leur prix ou de leur location, l'accessibilité du point de vue des transports urbains sont autant d'éléments décisifs dans les conditions de l'émergence de l'emploi culturel de proximité.

L'abondance des espaces et le bas prix pour l'acquisition ou la location s'expliquent par les deux raisons suivantes

D'une part, comme pour toute entreprise en démarrage (*start up*), la première condition de viabilité est le faible coût des charges fixes. De ce fait, il est donc logique que les entreprises innovantes s'installent dans des zones présentant ces caractéristiques.

D'autre part, les professions culturelles ont nécessairement besoin d'espace. À ce titre, on peut citer, sans aucune exhaustivité les métiers ou types de production suivants : artistes plasticiens, ateliers de graphisme, studios d'enregistrement et de répétition, showrooms et espaces d'exposition, création, montage et stockage de décors, factures d'instruments de musique, studios vidéo, design, la quasi totalité des artisans d'art, etc. ...

Contrairement à la légende de l'artiste enfermé dans sa création solitaire, les activités culturelles demandent presque toujours des espaces possédant les caractéristiques suivantes :

-ils peuvent être indifférenciés mais doivent se prêter à une grande souplesse d'utilisation. C'est ainsi par exemple que si la plupart des entreprises liées à l'artisanat d'art réclament des surfaces relativement stables, d'autres activités sont particulièrement évolutives et notamment tout ce qui concerne les répétitions, les castings, les showrooms, etc.

-ils doivent souvent être de plein pied; ce qui est le cas de la plupart des ateliers. Ce qui explique aussi en partie le peu d'engouement pour les pépinières d'entreprise qui réutilisent de grandes usines à étage élevés(des exemples à Rotterdam et à Montreuil) pour cause de promiscuité et d'accessibilité réduite.

De telles surfaces existent dans les zones de désindustrialisation : ateliers et usines désaffectés, friches, locaux sociaux sous-affectés, logements individuels vastes et sous-utilisés (anciennes maisons de cadres, par exemple, etc.) En conséquence, les emplois culturels peuvent se développer dans des quartiers défavorisés plutôt anciens, ayant eu une relation de longue durée à l'industrialisation et à son reflux. Ce caractère est corroboré par sa relative proximité des centres de production ou de légitimation; il est indispensable que ces quartiers soient correctement connectés aux réseaux de transports urbains.

Il est donc important de constater que ce qui semble être la cause première d'émergence d'emplois culturels au sein de quartiers défavorisés est sans doute fortuite, ou en tout cas, liée à certaines de leurs caractéristiques matérielles. Il est décisif d'indiquer que le caractère défavorisé du quartier ne gêne aucunement l'installation et le développement des activités culturelles. Ce type de quartier déjà assez ancien est caractérisé par une histoire sociale riche et complexe marquée, en outre, par la diversité des origines de ses habitants. Il correspond à ce qu'on a appelé les "nouveaux faubourgs".

### **PRÉCONISATIONS.**

*Le plan d'occupation des sols (ou son équivalent pour l'aménagement local urbain) devra refléter et préserver la nécessaire diversité des espaces. Il accompli un véritable travail de couturier, et tiendra impérativement l'existant pour un acquis, un fait positif . Quatre états de fait devront être particulièrement surveillés :*

*a) La disponibilité permanente d'espaces diversifiés par une politique immobilière souple pri\_vilégiant autant que possible la réutilisation de l'existant complémentaire de propositions d'investissements ouvertes.*

*b) Une attention particulière aux situations et aux expositions qui puisse aider à concilier autonomie professionnelle et convivialité sociale.*

*c) La protection des espaces non bâti.*

*d) Des impôts fonciers modérés.*

#### *9.1.2 Préserver les lieux issus de la désindustrialisation*

Répetons deux affirmations qui ont toujours du mal à être prises en compte dans les quartiers:

-posséder de vastes espaces de type friches est un important atout et non une malédiction; les capacités de réutilisation par des emplois à forte valeur ajoutée compense largement les difficultés de vacances plus ou moins longues des lieux

-les lieux culturels sont les pivots de toute action culturelle car ils sont des espaces de pratiques et de valorisation. Les quartiers étudiés ont , avec plus ou moins de conviction, tenté la réutilisation des espaces industriels. Les véritables réussites sont sans doute à chercher ailleurs : à Duisbourg, à Manchester et Liverpool, à Turin par exemple. Les quartiers considérés bénéficient avant tout de "l'effet capitale" et de la pression immobilière qui en résulte.

### **PRÉCONISATIONS**

*Préserver ces espaces et les intégrer dans une dynamique culturelle et économique à long terme. Pour les décideurs, effectuer éventuellement au préalable les travaux de viabilisation, en globalisant les secteurs d'activité et les fonctions: industries culturelles et artisanat d'art, activités artistique et techniques. Se rapprocher des expériences européennes (par le réseau Trans Europ Halles) et multiplier les visites de sites. Innover dans les formules d'accueil et/ou de cession: résidences, pépinières, baux aménagés, location ventes, etc...*

#### *9.1.3 Ouvrir et valoriser la (les) communication(s).*

Parmi les maux dont souffrent les quartiers dit défavorisés, l'enclavement est un des plus décisifs. On a noté que les quartiers étudiés sont plutôt favorisés du point de vue de l'accessibilité et de la fréquence des transports urbains, ce qui constitue une des clefs de leur fragile relance. Ces voies de communication, pour être attractives, doivent connecter les professionnels de l'art et de la culture aux centres de décision et de valorisation, ces métiers aimant souvent avoir une double territorialisation: dans les quartiers plutôt périphériques pour l'autonomie, la modicité des coûts et la dimension des espaces et un accès permanent au(x) centre(s) pour pouvoir présenter certains travaux, suivre les tendances et participer aux manifestations.

Il faut aussi prendre en considération la communication interne au quartier, celle ci concernant tout aussi bien l'insertion dans la population déjà installée que l'accueil de(s) la communauté(s) professionnelle(s) implantées. Ceci sera traité en 6.3. Mais il est essentiel d'en tenir compte dans les stratégies de communication des villes concernées. De ce point de vue, il est à noter que, hormis Rotterdam, les villes et les quartiers étudiés n'ont pas su ou pas devoir présenter une communication attractive sur ce terrain. Comme si, et nous l'avons assez souvent perçu, l'apport ou l'afflux d'artistes ou de professionnels de la culture était vécu comme transitoire. (En attendant l'arrivée de professions plus "valorisables": banques, services, etc..?)

### **PRÉCONISATIONS**

*La communication locale doit mettre en valeur la rapidité des transports urbains aux centres des métropoles qui sont les lieux de valorisation et de marchés. Elle doit aussi positiver l'image de la ville ou du quartier à travers sa dimension d'accueil des professions artistiques et culturelles comme un élément fort de sa diversité, cette dernière devant être promue comme un atout.*

#### *9.1.4 Service(s) minimum(s).*

A l'évidence le rôle que peuvent jouer les services dans l'implantation et la création est essentiel. Outre la place particulière dévolue aux transports urbains, la décision d'implantation est très souvent liée à leur présence et à leur qualité. Malheureusement, la relation qu'entretiennent les différentes communautés artistiques avec les services à la population est rien moins que lisible. Les différents rapports semblent indiquer que parmi les services publics, l'éducation est une priorité notamment le premier cycle, ainsi que les haltes garderies. Par ailleurs, il est clair que les services privés et le commerce de proximité jouent un rôle primordial, et notamment la présence de cafés/restaurants, diversifiés de préférence, de dépôts de journaux/librairies, locations/ventes de films, logiciels et autres bien culturels de proximité, les petites épicerie/bazars. Il semblerait ainsi que les services soient vécus par les communautés artistiques et culturelles non pas comme une globalité, un ensemble complet, mais comme un bloc de nécessités destiné à préserver les acquis socioculturels tout en favorisant les rapports de convivialité trans-sociaux. La qualité ou la spécificité de certains services prime sur la notion de providence.

## **PRECONISATION**

*Le maintien des écoles et la lutte pour une éducation initiale de qualité est essentielle ici. La micro économie locale aussi, qu'elle soit plus ou moins informelle ou liée aux services culturels de proximité. (Par contre une visibilité massive des services public ou de nature politique est particulièrement mal perçue par les petits entrepreneurs que sont aussi souvent les professionnels de la culture.)*

### 9.2 Communauté artistique et réseaux culturels: seuils de création, images et modes de vie. L'interstice est créateur.

La nature des infrastructures et des services- territoires, transports et proximité - est une condition nécessaire à l'émergence des nouveaux emplois culturels. Elle n'est pas suffisante pour rendre compte de situations très contrastées selon les quartiers ayant ces conditions initiales en commun.

On peut postuler dès maintenant que les autres critères déterminants sont aussi discriminants mais qu'ils ont de nombreuses caractéristiques subjectives. Il faut notamment que le quartier d'accueil soit légitimé par la communauté professionnelle ; qu'y travailler puisse corroborer l'élément d'innovation propre à ces métiers. La communauté peut être également esthétique, notamment chez les plasticiens, les graphistes et les musiciens.

Deux questions se posent alors au chercheur :

Quel est ou quels sont les facteurs déclenchant du mouvement initial ?

A partir de quels seuils (quantitatifs ou de notoriété) devient-il légitime et ou valorisant d'installer son activité dans ces quartiers ?

Concernant la première question, nous constatons maintenant que certains quartiers se révèlent plus "accueillants", pour les raisons objectives déjà indiquées. Il y a sans doute de nombreux autres "facteurs de démarrage et d'accompagnement" tout aussi décisifs. On constatera à ce stade qu'ils confortent toujours l'observation qu'il s'agit de quartiers historiquement complexes et socialement diversifiés. (On insistera, entre autres, sur la capacité de ces quartiers d'accueillir des métiers complémentaires aux métiers créatifs: menuisiers pour les décors, photogravure pour les agences de communication, informaticiens pour les logiciels de jeux, etc...)

La deuxième question reste globalement à élucider. Il est vraisemblable que certains artistes( les hommes de lettre également) ou techniciens réputés ont un rôle de "locomotive". En outre, les manifestations (vernissages et expositions, portes ouvertes, rencontres professionnelles...) ont certainement des effets de captation et de catalyse. Passée la curiosité initiale, les professionnels concernés constatent qu'une vie professionnelle (et tout autant personnelle) est possible et finissent par trouver des justifications pratiques et symboliques à l'éventualité d'une installation.

Ainsi, les mécanismes de déclenchement d'un seuil positif sont les mêmes que ceux responsables du renversement de l'image du quartier d'accueil. Par exemple, le caractère négatif prêté à un quartier à forte proportion immigrée peut être ensuite perçu comme un espace accueillant par sa diversité culturelle(phénomène constaté dans les quatre villes objets de la recherche-action), idem pour les logements (le phénomène des lofts et des ateliers rénovés joue un rôle considérable dans la décision d'installation), les cafés et les lieux de convivialité, etc. Ces mécanismes sont ceux de communautés dont les valeurs se traduisent en des relations identifiables et communes à des esthétiques et à des modes de vie. Au sein des communautés professionnelles, deux types -idéal type- de comportement se sont succédé:

les pionniers ou les aventuriers qui ont été très souvent des artistes plasticiens (à Hackney et à Montreuil) ou les musiciens (Delfhaven). Ceux ci, ayant initié un mouvement à connotation protestataire dans les années 80, se sont transformés en initiateurs et régulateurs de l'installation de d'artistes! et de groupes professionnels de plus en plus nombreux.

les consommateurs qui ont relayés les défricheurs des origines en faisant valoir les valeurs partagées, les proximités et les complémentarités professionnelles, les renversements d'images au profit de la créativité du quartier tout entier.

Ensuite des effets de seuil se manifestent: ce qui était dévalorisé est ensuite perçu positivement. Il devient non seulement légitime mais "branché" de s'installer à Hackney ou à Montreuil. L'extension numérique et tout autant la diversification professionnelle des groupes conduit à la survalorisation de l'installation comme manifestation d'adhésion aux enjeux des métiers et des valeurs acquises. La densification progressive des réseaux d'affinité et d'habitudes de travail partagé en est un des un des vecteurs les plus évidents.

### **PRÉCONISATIONS**

*Favoriser la densification des réseaux par le soutien aux manifestations de vies collectives des artistes: portes ouvertes, expositions communes, fêtes, mise en valeur esthétique du quartier, locaux collectifs, soutien à des institutions consacrées localement à la diffusion culturelle (galeries, friches théâtrales ou consacrées aux arts de la rue, au cirque. Lieux musicaux.) Les visites d'atelier ont aussi une grande importance ainsi que le développement de lieux alternatifs qui sont des pôles de réflexion, des lieux de rencontres pluridisciplinaires accueillants.*

#### 9.3 L'économie de la création d'emplois culturels

La création d'emplois culturels relève de deux séries de conditions :

- le soutien aux projets créateurs d'emplois (c.f. 4),
- la mise en œuvre de conditions favorables à l'installation des entreprises et des entrepreneurs.

Les conditions favorables à l'installation d'un professionnel de la culture se répartissent entre d'une part la référence à des conditions générales favorables et, d'autre part, la promotion de mesures spécifiques.

Parmi les conditions générales, deux sont décisives pour qu'un emploi culturel puisse être créé et surtout puisse se stabiliser (il est important de noter que les milieux professionnels de la culture sont particulièrement sensibles à la perception des conditions initiales, qu'il s'agisse de conditions matérielles ou de la perception de l'environnement) : l'aide à l'installation et à l'équipement, la réalisation de synergies professionnelles.

##### *9.3.1 S'installer et s'équiper*

La plupart du temps dénué de capitaux d'investissement, et en l'absence du soutien du système bancaire, l'artiste ou le professionnel de la culture est particulièrement vulnérable dans sa phase d'installation. Dans ces conditions, le poids des frais fixes devient un souci majeur. Comme toute profession, ceux-ci se répartissent autour de la trilogie : location, équipements, taxes locales. Instinctivement, les artistes réduisent ces frais par des approches relevant plus ou moins de l'économie informelle : transformer les locaux professionnels en locaux d'habitation (ou inversement), sous-louer à d'autres artistes ou d'autres professionnels...

Un artiste ou un professionnel de la culture qui veut durer établit donc un ratio plus ou moins conscient entre le coût de son installation et coût de son équipement. Il est vrai que l'équipement dans ce cas a un coût extrêmement variable ; mais d'une façon générale, et comparé à d'autres professions, il reste modéré (sauf quelques secteurs relevant de l'industrie culturelle). Ce sont les savoirs faire qui sont déterminants. L'implantation dans un quartier relève, consciemment ou non, de l'optimisation de ce ratio. Pour encourager toute implantation, le maintien de cette condition initiale est un préalable.

##### *9.3.2. Les synergies pour l'emploi*

Les quatre rapports ont, comme il a été noté précédemment (6.2), mis en évidence l'importance des réseaux et des facteurs déclenchant qui facilitent le franchissement de seuils (ou d'images mentales) au-delà desquels il est légitime de s'installer ou de créer. Ces facteurs créent des synergies dont les "effets" permettent justement le franchissement de ces seuils de notoriété. Ces synergies d'emplois sont essentiellement de deux ordres : elles sont professionnelles et de territoire.

- synergies professionnelles : l'expansion de l'emploi culturel n'existe que dans la diversité. La taille des quartiers des villes favorise, semble-t-il cette diversité mais elle n'est pas seule à l'expliquer. Il est notable que Hackney et Montreuil présentent une palette de situations professionnelles très large et complémentaire (mais ce n'est pas le cas d'autres communes de la périphérie parisiennes) car il est essentiel qu'il y ait une concentration technique de savoir-faire complémentaires dans un périmètre réduit. Il s'agit bien sûr d'économiser du temps mais encore davantage créer les conditions de coopérations esthétiques et techniques.

- synergies de territoire : Les synergies territoriales sont des résultantes entre attractivité du quartier, situation de la conurbation et sensibilité micro-locale. Un quartier n'est jamais isolé : la relation qu'il entretient avec une agglomération plus vaste détermine l'intérêt ou non des professionnels. Cela est notable pour les quatre sites étudiés mais explique en partie par exemple pourquoi Saint-Ouen, accaparé par la présence d'un marché aux puces de très grande dimension, n'a pas su (ou pu) créer les conditions d'un environnement périphérique favorable (avec d'autres communes périphériques, ou avec les 18ème et 19ème arrondissements de Paris). Cette configuration particulière a par ailleurs contribué à renchérir les frais fixes.

Cette sensibilité aux territoires est tout autant micro-locale que d'agglomération : certaines zones sont plus valorisées que d'autres, notamment la proximité des stations de transports urbains, les places et leur périphérie, les zones mixtes entre pavillons et ateliers.

### **PRÉCONISATIONS**

*Miser sur la formation en favorisant l'implantation de structures ou de modules relevant de l'enseignement artistique ou culturel (Hackney semble en pointe dans ce domaine mais Delfshaven et Montreuil ont aussi accueilli ou favorisé des opérations de formation artistique et culturelle.*

*Former les autorités économiques à la diversité des métiers et valoriser les implantations remarquables.*

#### *9.3.3 Favoriser le caractère spécifique des emplois culturels*

Notre propos n'est pas d'avoir une réflexion générale sur ce thème mais simplement de l'insérer dans notre dynamique urbaine et sociale. Nous considérons que les programmes généraux de retour à l'emploi ont une faible capacité de développement des emplois spécialisés mais qu'ils ont surtout une valeur de redynamisation individuelle et sociale. Les mesures générales efficaces ont trait d'une part à l'allègement du coût du travail et notamment des charges sur les bas salaires et d'autre part, l'aide à la création ou au développement des entreprises, ou aide aux projets (c.f. 6.4).

Par contre, les programmes spécialisés et ciblés nous semblent efficaces et surtout peuvent se soumettre à une meilleure évaluation et donc sont plus amendables. Le seul programme spécifique à l'œuvre dans les quartiers considérés est Baam+ (Job +) à Rotterdam.

Baam+ est un programme spécifique destiné aux artistes qui peuvent toucher des revenus par des travaux relatifs à l'art (expl : projets ponctuels pour des écoles ou autres organismes publics). Le programme offre des emplois à mi-temps rémunérés à hauteur de 80% du salaire minimum (500 euros/mois). Ils sont employés par la municipalité qui "loue" leurs services aux organismes ayant besoin de leurs prestations. ces organismes versent une petite contribution à la municipalité en contrepartie. Les bénéficiaires ne sont pas considérés comme chômeurs. Le contrat est de deux ans et les artistes doivent acquérir ensuite leur autonomie. ils sont censés utiliser le temps que leur

accorde le programme à développer leur propre entreprise et à la rendre viable (c.f. Rapport de Rotterdam. Tome 2)

### **PRÉCONISATIONS**

*Baam+ est un programme voulu et conçu par la ville de Rotterdam. Son application est locale et spécialisée. L'extension de programmes similaires pourrait se décliner sur les grandes agglomérations en relation avec les enjeux liés à l'urbanisme, à la formation et à la création dans les quartiers considérés.*

#### 9.4 Le soutien aux projets créateurs d'emplois

Il est par nature difficile aux décideurs et aux aménageurs publics de repérer l'émergence des projets qui vont dynamiser l'activité locale. Un projet est une idée transformée en force matérielle. Les processus entraînant le passage de l'un à l'autre sont complexes. Il n'est évidemment pas possible d'analyser ici les conditions optimales de la mise en œuvre de ces processus. Notons seulement que l'art et la culture constituent des secteurs propices à l'émergence de projets de qualité. Les ressorts de la création, les filiations esthétiques et la diversification technique sont autant de chemins favorisant l'innovation pour des projets nouveaux et viables. Le lieu d'éclosion de ces projets n'est pas indifférent. De même façon que les start up dans les nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication (NTIC) se localisent dans des quartiers ou des "valleys", espaces spécifiques et communs, les entreprises culturelles se regroupent autour de terrains d'identification (on parle, concernant Montreuil d'"artistic valley"). Les chemins de l'innovation culturelle sont donc des territoires imaginaires ou physiques permettant une dynamique fusionnelle. L'autre caractère déterminant du projet culturel est bien évidemment la qualité et la capacité des hommes qui les mettent en œuvre. Analyser les chances de succès d'un projet, c'est corrélérer l'idée et sa viabilité au ressort et aux compétences du porteur de projet. Le champ professionnel de la culture qui croise des petits mondes en réseaux rapprochés et de cooptations permet au professionnel singulier de mettre en valeur sa démarche, notamment par la distance qu'il met avec la conformité des différents milieux professionnels. C'est cette distance - critique, le plus souvent - qui incite par exemple le galeriste à s'installer à Hackney ou le réseau de cinéma Nova à travailler dans les quartiers de Bruxelles. Il n'y a qu'un apparent paradoxe à constater que les quartiers dits défavorisés sont en fait des terrains propices à l'innovation culturelle. Celle-ci constitue le liant qui soude les conditions favorables objectives et subjectives déjà décrites. Il importe donc que les politiques culturelles locales et les décideurs économiques puissent avoir une approche qualitative des porteurs de projet. La caractéristique des politiques de ville est trop souvent l'empilage anonyme des mesures au détriment de l'évaluation et de la confiance aux individus et à leur regroupement.

### **PRECONISATIONS**

*L'autonomie des services locaux pénalise la dynamique d'un projet. Il est donc nécessaire d'optimiser les coordinations autour d'un projet culturel. Celui-ci doit pouvoir être soutenu (mais pas forcément financé) par des décideurs ayant une expérience de la transversalité : culture, aménagement du territoire, économie, services éducatifs et sociaux, voirie, etc. Il est suggéré que des Fonds d'Initiative Locaux (FIL) soient créés afin d'aider au démarrage et à l'installation de projets jugés innovants, créateurs d'emplois, les FIL ne pouvant intervenir que sur l'amont des projets.*

*Par ailleurs, il est suggéré que des fonds de capital-risque analogues à ceux mis en œuvre avec succès par les Länder en Allemagne soient créés à l'échelle locale. La dimension culturelle en constituerait l'essentiel.*

#### 9.5 Les choix et les non choix des politiques culturelles



Le fait remarquable déjà souligné est que, dans les cas étudiés (hormis celui de Rotterdam), les politiques culturelles sont absentes dans l'origine et l'accompagnement des phénomènes d'émergence. Tout se passe comme si la société générait elle-même les conditions de ces phénomènes.

En revanche, il serait tout à fait inexact de prétendre qu'elles sont inopérantes, d'une part, parce que très souvent ce n'est pas le secteur culturel qui gère l'implantation et le développement des entreprises culturelles, d'autre part, parce qu'il existe nécessairement une relation de cause à effet entre l'image que l'on peut avoir du quartier ou de la ville et la réalité de sa politique globale.

Trois points sont positifs du point de vue de l'emploi :

C'est précisément la politique culturelle donne une image au quartier ou à la ville d'accueil, souvent décisive pour l'installation.

Les "libéralités" de ces politiques : prêt ou location d'espaces, et certains dispositifs (pépinières d'entreprises dans des locaux industriels réaffectés, programmes de formation et d'aide à l'emploi) ont certainement un effet supplémentaire par l'exemplarité et le bouche-à-oreille.

La politique d'aménagement du territoire conforte les phénomènes naissants d'émergence par des mesures structurantes : adaptation du plan d'occupation des sols et de l'espace foncier, politique des transports, revitalisation des secteurs de la vie locale qui relèvent de sa gestion tels que l'action sociale, l'école et la petite enfance, diversification des accueils communautaires et ethniques, etc...

En résumé, si l'analyse des phénomènes contraint les politiques culturelles locales et nationales à davantage d'humilité, celles-ci n'en restent pas moins essentielles par leurs effets d'image, d'exemplarité et d'accompagnement (on a pu mesurer dans d'autres villes combien des politiques trop dirigistes pouvaient avoir des effets négatifs sur des communautés culturelles très sensibles aux idéologies "libertaires").

### **PRECONISATIONS**

*La modestie des politiques culturelles est celle de la lucidité et non de l'inaction. Elles incitent ce secteur d'intervention à prendre toute leur part dans les préconisations transversales proposées précédemment. Vis-à-vis de l'emploi, les politiques culturelles locales doivent contribuer à structurer les politiques techniques ou d'aménagement existant, en accordant ses priorités aux hommes porteurs de projet et aux facteurs déclenchants.*

*Les politiques culturelles locales contribuent éminemment à l'image d'un quartier. Le pessimisme dont on abuse, notamment pour bénéficier de dispositifs supplémentaires, doit faire place aux dynamiques de la diversité, celles des capacités créatrices des individus et des groupes marginalisés et aux atouts objectifs de ces quartiers : faibles coûts, capacités d'autonomie, malléabilité des espaces. Dans son champ d'intervention spécifique, la collectivité doit soutenir elle-même quelques projets emblématiques représentatifs de ses orientations : le Princess Theatre de Rotterdam et Hoxton Hall en constituent de bons exemples (c.f. rapports respectifs).*

*Ces politiques de structuration et d'image ne peuvent réussir que si les choix stratégiques locaux s'installent dans la durée autour d'un projet fort. Le constat est fait que les villes d'Europe qui ont fait un choix clair et surtout - c'est capital - exhaustif en faveur du développement et de l'emploi par la culture en ont tiré des bénéfices considérables en dépit de handicaps qui étaient parfois supérieurs à ceux de certains quartiers étudiés ici. Les bénéfices constatés du développement récent de l'emploi culturel dans les quartiers étudiés sont fragiles. Il n'est pas certain que ce choix stratégique en faveur de la culture ait été effectif et valorisé, sauf encore une fois pour Rotterdam. Ce choix est plutôt perçu comme une phase transitoire et, d'une certaine façon, subie, comme une*

*sympathique contrainte. Mais tout faubourg est un espace fluctuant et volatile : la taille des villes peut toujours générer des migrations professionnelles comme tant d'autres eurent lieu dans le passé.*

## CONCLUSION

Les principales analyses et les préconisations issues de ce travail feront l'objet d'un vade-mecum. Celui-ci a pour but d'aider à la réflexion et l'action des décideurs locaux : Elus des collectivités locales, aménageurs, administrateurs culturels et de l'aménagement du territoire, porteurs de projets, associations artistiques et de proximité locale.

Les propositions de ce vade-mecum seront discutées et enrichies au cours de réunions élargies de Paris et de Bruxelles (le 12 et 13 juillet 2000). Elles seront popularisées, nous l'espérons, durant l'année 2001, au sein des manifestations organisées dans le cadre de « Rotterdam : Capitale européenne de la culture ».

Nous souhaitons que d'autres villes et d'autres quartiers ayant une expérience sur le thème traité ou désireux de s'y associer, puissent apporter leur contribution à ces enquêtes et à ces réflexions. Outre leurs objectifs propres, elles permettront d'enrichir la dynamique des politiques de quartier de contributions valorisantes, originales et certainement bienvenues.

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## ANNEXES

- Vade Mecum pour la création d'emplois culturels dans les quartiers d'Europe
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**VADE MECUM**  
**POUR LA CREATION D'EMPLOIS CULTURELS**  
**DANS LES QUARTIERS D'EUROPE**

Proposition pour analyse  
Saint-Ouen et Bruxelles, les 12 et 13 Juillet 2000

Ce vade mecum est destiné aux décideurs locaux, aux aménageurs, aux porteurs de projets artistiques et culturels et aux concepteurs de politiques publiques.

Il a l'intention de contribuer au développement de l'emploi culturel dans les quartiers économiquement et socialement défavorisés en Europe. Il est issu d'une recherche-action commandée par l'Union européenne (DG V) et menée sur certains quartiers de quatre grandes villes : Bruxelles, Londres, Paris et Rotterdam. Les différentes préconisations qui sont proposées dans le texte reprennent les conclusions de ce travail. Elles ne prétendent aucunement être indiscutables ni être les seules. Au contraire, elles ont essentiellement pour but de stimuler le débat afin d'aboutir à des propositions innovantes. Les quartiers en Europe ont souvent souffert de modes de dialogues trop formels et normalisateurs générant des programmes convenus et peu mobilisateurs.

On trouvera à la fin de ce texte quatre résumés des analyses propres à chaque quartier : Saint-Gilles et Saint-Josse pour Bruxelles, Hackney / Londres, Montreuil / Paris, Delfshaven / Rotterdam.

## INTRODUCTION À L'INTENTION DES DECIDEURS ET DES ACTEURS

L'emploi ne se crée pas, il se suscite. Après tant d'années d'expérience, de tâtonnements et d'effets d'annonces plus ou moins réussis dans tous les pays et régions d'Europe, la prudence est de mise. L'emploi vient certes de l'activité, mais celle-ci est volatile. Que l'on soit en phase de croissance ou de repli, l'activité se distribue fort inégalement. Surtout, sa fugacité est plus forte et plus destructrice dans les zones et quartiers fragiles. L'activité s'en retire plus rapidement qu'ailleurs, là où justement son maintien est vital.

La capacité d'emploi est donc le résultat de processus éminemment complexes dès lors que l'on travaille à l'échelon local. Or c'est de l'absence de complexité dont souffrent de nombreux quartiers urbains. La diversité et la mobilité des sociologues y sont faibles, les pôles économiques souvent limités à la distribution et situés en périphérie, la vie sociale trop cloisonnée. Les quartiers ont besoin de complexité. Nous devons travailler à introduire les ferments de la diversité si nécessaire à leur revitalisation. C'est pourquoi le développement économique basé sur la promotion de l'activité culturelle est efficace : il crée du divers et le goût pour celui-ci, comme expression de la réalité de chacun enfin reconquise.

Cette complexité peut se comprendre comme étant le résultat de l'interaction de trois phases principales :

- *le développement et/ou le maintien de conditions initiales propices à la création des emplois culturels, celles de l'émergence de nouveaux faubourgs ;*
- *le souci des métiers, la compréhension du caractère spécifique de ces emplois souvent créés dans le sillage de celui des artistes ;*
- *l'optimisation des premières implantations, les effets de mode, le rôle des politiques culturelles.*

Avant d'analyser les conditions de réalisation de ces trois phases, il est indispensable de mesurer les freins ou facteurs de difficultés qui, très souvent, entravent leur mise en œuvre :

- les choix qui doivent être faits sont à long terme. L'action culturelle qui vise à modifier et enrichir les comportements ne peut être confondue avec l'impact événementiel de la culture. D'autre part, le succès devient incertain ou fugace lorsque l'on pense à l'implantation des emplois culturels comme n'étant qu'une étape, ceux-ci devant ensuite laisser la place au tertiaire type banque ou... au retour des industries.

- les choix en faveur du culturel doivent être exclusifs ou décisifs. Sans l'affirmation très nette de cette priorité, on ne peut expliquer le succès de certaines villes d'Europe (Duisbourg, Manchester, Bilbao...) et l'échec d'autres. Le choix culturel doit être un choix économique, mais aussi l'affirmation d'un certain "style" urbain fait de valeurs esthétiques ou sociales affirmées.

Les villes et les quartiers, y compris ceux qui sont en difficulté, ne sont pas égaux au départ de l'action. Loin s'en faut. Certains ont conservé, que ce soit le résultat ou non d'une volonté publique ou comme un effet de leur rapport aux centres urbains, des espaces, des marges, des interstices propices à des activités plus ou moins informelles. D'autres héritent de conditions moins favorables pour l'épanouissement d'une diversité que l'on espérera créatrice. Raison supplémentaire pour développer une problématique forte pour des conditions initiales favorables.

## I. FAITES DE VOTRE QUARTIER UN NOUVEAU FAUBOURG / DE L'HISTOIRE A CREER



Il existe dans les grandes villes des quartiers nommés faubourgs : ils sont souvent situés au sein du périmètre de la ville et sont déjà anciens. Ils ont été caractérisés par l'afflux de nouvelles populations assez mobiles, la création d'activités nouvelles et très diversifiées, souvent informelles au départ, l'existence de commerces à bas prix et de logements peu onéreux et souvent peu salubres. La ville, se recréant en permanence, les a réutilisés, recyclés et en a souvent fait de nouveaux espaces à vivre, des quartiers à la mode "branchés". C'est ce qui peut arriver à certains quartiers étudiés dans la recherche-action, ils le deviennent grâce à l'installation des artistes et des professionnels de la culture. En période de difficultés économiques, la machine à recycler de l'urbain a fini par maintenir ou générer du divers, recomposant autre chose qu'un quartier parmi d'autres, mais un espace original, un faubourg où l'art et la culture occupent la place qui était autrefois celle de la fabrique.

Les ressorts d'une transformation du quartier au faubourg ne relèvent pas toujours d'un programme cohérent : ils sont dus pour l'essentiel à la présence de la très grande ville et doivent peu à une action totalement structurée et planifiée. Ils sont de l'ordre de l'épaisseur historique. Néanmoins, il est possible de ne pas détruire encore davantage l'histoire fragile mais particulière de chaque quartier. Dans cette perspective, la maîtrise des enjeux fonciers est cruciale. Les aménageurs doivent devenir les jardiniers et les couturiers de l'espace urbain.

#### **A. Des couturiers de l'espace urbain ; disponibilité, modicité, accessibilité**

La disponibilité des espaces, la modicité de leur prix ou de leur location, l'accessibilité du point de vue des transports urbains sont autant d'éléments décisifs dans les conditions de l'émergence de l'emploi culturel de proximité.

La nécessité d'avoir des espaces abondants et à bas prix d'acquisition ou de location s'explique par les deux raisons suivantes :

- d'une part, comme pour toute structure en démarrage, la première condition de viabilité d'une entreprise culturelle est le faible coût des charges fixes. De ce fait, il est donc logique que les entreprises innovantes s'installent dans des zones le permettant.
- d'autre part, les professions culturelles ont nécessairement besoin d'espace. A ce titre, on peut citer, sans aucune exhaustivité les métiers ou types de production suivants : artistes plasticiens, ateliers de graphisme, studios d'enregistrement et de répétition, showrooms et espaces d'exposition, création, montage et stockage de décors, facture d'instruments de musique, studios vidéo, design, la quasi totalité des artisans d'art, etc...

Contrairement à la légende de l'artiste enfermé dans sa création solitaire, les activités culturelles demandent presque toujours des espaces possédant les caractéristiques suivantes :

- ils peuvent être indifférenciés mais doivent se prêter à une grande souplesse d'utilisation. C'est ainsi par exemple que, si la plupart des entreprises liées à l'artisanat d'art réclament des surfaces relativement stables, d'autres activités sont particulièrement évolutives et notamment tout ce qui concerne les répétitions, les castings, les showrooms, les studios, etc...
- ils doivent souvent être de plein pied ; ce qui est le cas de nombreux ateliers. Ceci explique aussi en partie le peu d'engouement pour les pépinières d'entreprise qui réutilisent de grandes usines à étage élevés (des exemples à Rotterdam et à Montreuil) pour cause d'accessibilité réduite et d'un certain manque d'indépendance.

De telles surfaces existent dans les zones de désindustrialisation : ateliers et usines désaffectés, friches, locaux sociaux sous-affectés, logements individuels vastes et sous-utilisés (anciennes maisons de cadres par exemple qui sont réutilisés par des plasticiens). En conséquence, les emplois culturels peuvent se développer dans des quartiers défavorisés plutôt anciens, ayant eu une relation

de longue durée à l'industrialisation et à son reflux. Ce caractère est corroboré par sa relative proximité des centres de production ou de légitimation ; il est indispensable que ces quartiers soient correctement connectés aux réseaux de transports urbains.

Il est donc important de constater que ce qui semble être la cause première d'émergence d'emplois culturels au sein de quartiers défavorisés est sans doute fortuite ou en tout cas, liée à certaines de leurs caractéristiques matérielles. Il est décisif d'indiquer que le caractère défavorisé du quartier ne gêne aucunement l'installation et le développement des activités culturelles.

## PRECONISATIONS

*Le plan d'occupation des sols (ou son équivalent pour l'aménagement local urbain) devra refléter et préserver la nécessaire diversité des espaces. Il accomplit un véritable travail de couturier et tiendra impérativement l'existant pour un acquis, un fait positif. Quatre états de fait devront être particulièrement surveillés :*

- a) La disponibilité permanente d'espaces diversifiés par une politique immobilière souple privilégiant autant que possible la réutilisation de l'existant complémentaire de propositions d'investissements ouvertes.*
- b) Une attention particulière aux situations et aux expositions qui puisse aider à concilier autonomie professionnelle et convivialité sociale.*
- c) La protection des espaces non bâtis.*
- d) Des impôts fonciers modérés.*

### **B. Préserver les lieux issus de la désindustrialisation**

Deux réalités du bâti dans les quartiers ont du mal à être vécues comme positives par les décideurs :

- posséder de vastes espaces de type friches est un important atout et non une malédiction ; les capacités de réutilisation et d'adaptabilité démontrées par des emplois à forte valeur ajoutée compensent largement les difficultés générées par la vacance plus ou moins longue des lieux ;

- les lieux culturels sont les pivots de toute action culturelle car ils sont des espaces de pratiques et de valorisation. Les quartiers étudiés ont, avec plus ou moins de conviction, tenté la réutilisation des espaces industriels. Les véritables réussites sont sans doute à chercher ailleurs, à Duisbourg, à Manchester et Liverpool, à Turin par exemple. Les quartiers considérés bénéficient avant tout de "l'effet capitale" et de la pression immobilière qui en résulte. Il n'y a pas de véritable problématique des lieux intégrée dans une stratégie culturelle ambitieuse (Rotterdam?).

## PRECONISATIONS

*Préserver ces espaces et les intégrer dans une dynamique culturelle et économique à long terme. Pour les décideurs, effectuer éventuellement au préalable les travaux de viabilisation, en globalisant les secteurs d'activité et les fonctions : industries culturelles et artisanat d'art, activités artistique et technique. Se rapprocher des expériences européennes (par le réseau Trans Europ Halles par ex.) et multiplier les visites de sites. Innover dans les formules d'accueil et/ou de cession : résidences, pépinières, baux divers.*

### **C. Les transports et la communication.**

Parmi les maux dont souffrent les quartiers, l'enclavement est l'un des plus décisifs. Les quartiers étudiés sont plutôt favorisés du point de vue de l'accessibilité et de la fréquence des transports urbains, ce qui constitue une des clefs de leur fragile relance. Ces voies de communication, pour être attractives, doivent connecter les professionnels de l'art et de la culture aux centres de décision et de valorisation, ceux-ci souhaitant souvent avoir une double territorialisation : dans les quartiers pour l'autonomie, la modicité des coûts la proximité avec les autres corps de métiers et un accès permanent au centre pour pouvoir présenter certains travaux, suivre les tendances et participer aux manifestations.

Il faut aussi prendre en considération la communication interne au quartier, celle-ci concernant tout aussi bien l'insertion dans la population déjà installée que l'accueil de(s) la communauté(s) professionnelle(s) implantée(s). De ce point de vue, il est à noter que, hormis Rotterdam, les villes et les quartiers étudiés n'ont pas cru devoir présenter une communication attractive sur ce terrain. Comme si, et nous l'avons assez souvent perçu, l'apport ou l'afflux d'artistes ou de professionnels de la culture était vécu comme transitoire (en attendant l'arrivée de professions plus "valorisables" : banques, services, le retour des industries..?).

#### **PRECONISATIONS**

*La communication locale doit mettre en valeur la rapidité des transports urbains aux centres des métropoles qui sont les lieux de valorisation et de marchés. Elle doit aussi positiver l'image de la ville ou du quartier à travers sa dimension d'accueil des professions artistiques et culturelles comme un élément fort de sa diversité, cette dernière devant être promue comme un atout.*

#### **D. Services minima et modes de vie**

A l'évidence, le rôle que peuvent jouer les services dans l'implantation et la création est essentiel. Outre la place particulière dévolue aux transports urbains, la décision d'implantation est très souvent liée à leur présence et à leur qualité, la relation qu'entretiennent les différentes communautés artistiques avec les services à la population étant spécifique. Les différents rapports semblent indiquer que, parmi les services publics, l'éducation est une priorité, notamment le premier cycle, ainsi que les haltes garderies. Par ailleurs, les services privés et le commerce de proximité jouent un rôle primordial, et notamment la présence de cafés/restaurants, diversifiés de préférence, de dépôts de journaux/librairies, locations/ventes de films, logiciels et autres biens culturels de proximité tels que les petites épicerie/bazars. Il semblerait ainsi que les services soient vécus par les communautés artistiques et culturelles non pas comme une globalité, un ensemble complet, mais comme un bloc de nécessités destiné à préserver les acquis socioculturels tout en favorisant les rapports de convivialité trans-sociaux. La qualité ou la spécificité de certains services privés, considérés comme un élément quasi esthétique de la vie quotidienne, prime sur la notion de providence, mais pas entièrement.

#### **PRECONISATIONS**

*Le maintien d'une éducation initiale de qualité est essentiel. Celui d'une micro économie locale l'est également, surtout celle liée aux commerces et aux points de ventes de biens culturels de proximité. Celle de la restauration également. Par contre une visibilité trop massive des services publics ou de nature politique est particulièrement mal perçue par les petits entrepreneurs que sont aussi souvent les professionnels de la culture. Elle accompagne souvent des taxes locales élevées...*

## **II. DANS LE SILLAGE DES ARTISTES ET DES CREATEURS**

Quiconque souhaite promouvoir l'emploi culturel dans les quartiers doit tenir compte des spécificités tout à fait singulières de ce champ professionnel :

- c'est un secteur très créatif en activités comme en emplois, mais il est éminemment fragile, il est exceptionnellement diversifié comme ne l'est aucun autre secteur mais il se révèle à la fois aventureux et très grégaire; les leaders d'opinions ont un rôle très important.

- il relève parfois en même temps des politiques publiques et des économies traditionnelles et informelles. C'est ainsi qu'il est à la fois aisé à repérer et souvent à peu près impossible à comptabiliser. La notion d'intermittence lui est familière mais celle de temps partiel beaucoup moins.

C'est donc sans surprise que l'on a constaté que le professionnel de l'art et de la culture est très à même de s'implanter dans les quartiers d'Europe si ceux-ci présentent les caractéristiques voulues. Outre les conditions objectives évoquées précédemment, il est attiré par les complémentarités techniques et professionnelles locales en même temps que par les affinités socioculturelles. Il transforme les handicaps socio-économiques en plus value esthétique.

Mais les conditions professionnelles particulières des travailleurs culturels tendent à les rendre très mobiles. L'histoire récente les montre occupant successivement les quartiers alors populaires, les faubourgs de l'époque pour migrer ensuite vers d'autres, plus éloignés et plus pauvres.

Hier comme aujourd'hui, ce sont les artistes créateurs qui sont les locomotives du mouvement et notamment les plasticiens, plus gourmands en espaces disponibles, ainsi que certaines catégories de musiciens. Ils légitiment les lieux et font office de leaders d'opinion. Le phénomène nouveau est la présence dès l'origine des professionnels du graphisme ainsi que des métiers de la création électronique.

#### **A. Créativité en emploi et diversification.. Capacités des emplois publics et privés**

Si le secteur culturel est très créatif en emplois, c'est en raison d'une remarquable faculté de diversification. Par la créativité, le désir et l'autonomie, chaque acteur professionnel se mobilise pour une place originale ou personnelle dans la création, la production et la diffusion, chaque situation créant une véritable *niche d'activité*.

C'est cette capacité véritablement "darwinienne" d'adaptabilité, cette capillarité, qui semble être une des principales causes de croissance de ces emplois, ce, en dépit des alarmes -souvent justifiées- sur leur sensibilité à la variation des financements publics, leur talon d'Achille. Le niveau de la commande publique influence profondément l'activité du secteur : directement par le volume commandé, indirectement par sa capacité de régulation et de confiance.

Par ailleurs, la diversification des savoir-faire et l'adaptabilité renforcent l'aptitude à la proximité professionnelle et d'affinité; elle explique en partie la capacité de ces métiers à l'entraide rapprochée, voire à certaines formes d'autarcie de la production en milieu plus difficile.

Une coupure apparaît nettement entre activités créatrices d'emploi et activités d'exercice d'un emploi. Ou plus précisément entre les projets générant ces activités créatrices et les actions, mécanismes ou dispositifs aboutissant à ce qu'un emploi potentiel devienne effectif. La capacité d'emploi devient un indice capital de la dynamique d'un projet culturel. La culture se caractérise par sa faculté de pouvoir souvent remplacer le capital financier par des innovations formelles et relationnelles, génératrices de travail. A l'inverse, les emplois relevant directement du service public, sont beaucoup plus aisés à cerner, mais ils ne montrent pas une aussi forte capacité d'emploi. Celle-ci n'est évidemment pas nulle, elle varie avec le niveau d'intervention de la collectivité publique et, au départ, par sa capacité à maintenir les emplois existants (on le voit concernant les conceptions mises en oeuvre par la ville de Rotterdam qui peuvent être présentées comme à la fois interventionnistes mais aussi complémentaires d'une économie et d'un marché de l'emploi qu'elles s'efforcent de décrypter et de valoriser).

#### **B. Le souci des métiers**

Les décideurs doivent développer une véritable compétence quant à la riche nomenclature, les besoins spécifiques et les savoir-faire des métiers de la culture, notamment vis-à-vis des artistes interprètes, des techniciens, des professionnels de la facture et de la maintenance, des artisans d'art. Ils sont quantitativement tout aussi importants et surtout nécessaires que les artistes créateurs, les créatifs de la communication, les professionnels de l'audiovisuel, les cadres de l'ingénierie. Le choix culturel des décideurs implique donc qu'il soit en même temps global et à long terme, mais aussi diversifié et très peu normalisé, qu'il développe une compétence spécialisée qui fait souvent défaut dans l'expertise des projets, surtout dans les quartiers (l'expertise des projets est souvent un accompagnement des créateurs et porteurs de projets innovants).

#### **PRECONISATIONS**

*Il est d'abord nécessaire d'avoir la volonté d'attirer et la capacité de mobiliser les artistes, ceux-ci pouvant susciter la venue d'un secteur entier. Cela est possible par des aides à l'installation, par la possibilité d'exposer ou de se produire, de travailler dans la ville.*

*Il est tout aussi important que cette implantation s'insère dans une dynamique de proximité, qu'elle soit géographique, liée à des services professionnels ou d'affinité. En ce cas, la proximité est créatrice de synergies.*

*Il faut pouvoir construire une véritable expertise des projets, dont la compétence s'exerce sur trois points : la faisabilité générale, la capacité d'emploi, les spécialisations techniques et professionnelles. Cette expertise est préalable à un possible soutien ciblé à des projets d'entreprises culturelles, notamment pour l'installation et l'investissement initial ou les aménagements.*

### **III. EFFETS DE SEUIL ET DE MODE. LE ROLE DES POLITIQUES CULTURELLES**

Les métiers de l'art et de la culture sont sensibles aux effets de mode. C'est sans doute le résultat de trois facteurs convergents : les contenus professionnels (l'art est, entre autres, une forme particulière de communication), la nécessité d'utiliser des savoirs professionnels spécifiques et de proximité (selon les techniques utilisées, les matériaux, les modes de valorisation), le besoin d'affinités esthétiques et sociales.

Certaines professions nouvelles s'installent, liées à des services techniques auprès des artistes et des ateliers de création. Elles sont souvent dans la mouvance des métiers du graphisme ou ont trait à la communication. Cela génère un certain climat de renouveau, même s'il est partiel. Il passe par la diversification des métiers induits : cafés et restaurateurs se relancent ou s'installent ; des services peu développés jusqu'alors -reprographies, gardes, livreurs, presse, etc...- apparaissent. C'est par ces emplois induits que se manifestent les signes tangibles d'une relance. Aussi peu rigoureuse scientifiquement soit elle, la notion de "climat favorable" où se croisent la nécessité économique et la mode est essentielle. Elle traduit qu'un cap est franchi, que sous l'influence des prescripteurs informels que sont les artistes et les créatifs, l'installation dans un quartier "défavorisé" devient légitime. On assiste à un processus qui lie les "pionniers" du début aux groupes plus tardifs, professionnels et consuméristes. Un effet de seuil transforme le choix singulier en dynamique sociale.

Pour bénéficier de ces effets de seuil et stabiliser les implantations, le rôle que peuvent jouer les politiques culturelles locales paraît important, ces politiques étant comprises comme un effort finalisé à moyen et long terme en faveur du développement culturel local. La recherche-action a, dans un premier temps, montré que les choix de création et d'implantation d'emplois étaient assez peu sensibles aux affichages culturels localisés et bien davantage aux politiques d'aménagement en amont, visant à créer ou maintenir les conditions initiales décrites précédemment.

Mais, par ailleurs, constat est fait que les politiques culturelles, à l'oeuvre dans les villes et quartiers étudiés, n'ont qu'une faible connivence avec les processus de création des emplois culturels (sauf à Rotterdam). Ceci les distingue des réussites observées dans d'autres cités d'Europe. La cause principale en est sans doute l'atomisation de la décision dans les très grandes villes. Cette carence conduira nécessairement à la reprise des phénomènes de nomadisation déjà évoqués et ce, à plus court terme que ne l'envisagent les décideurs.

#### **PRECONISATIONS**

*Elles s'inscrivent dans la nécessité de promouvoir des politiques culturelles locales qui puissent contribuer à amplifier et consolider les créations d'activité. Elles doivent notamment inclure les éléments suivants :*

- être le fruit de choix stratégiques et à long terme, se doter d'une véritable expertise des projets et de la capacité de soutien aux porteurs de projets ;*
- avoir une vision la plus complète possible du développement culturel, et en particulier dans les liaisons à entretenir entre l'aide à la création ( ou aux moyens de la création) avec les services à la population et plus généralement des actions de démocratie culturelle ;*
- lier la réalité des quartiers, leur situation post-industrielle, avec une politique des lieux qui les concernent et les représentent ;*
- encourager les formations culturelles, notamment en direction des jeunes des quartiers concernés ;*
- communiquer sur le développement des ressources grâce à l'économie de la culture, le renforcement des liens et des services, l'image de la singularité, de "l'identité" nouvelle ou retrouvée.*

### *1/ Structure et méthodologie de la recherche*

Peu de données fiables sont disponibles à l'heure actuelle quant à l'emploi culturel sur le territoire bruxellois, l'étude menée à Bruxelles s'est articulée autour de trois démarches méthodologiques complémentaires afin de palier ce manque d'information et de données officielles. La recherche a procédé une approche descriptive générale tentant de mettre en lumière les conditions économiques, sociales, politiques et urbanistiques du champ culturel et socioculturel bruxellois. La seconde approche méthodologique s'est concrétisée sous la forme de sondage via un questionnaire ad hoc adressé à un échantillon représentatif d'opérateurs de terrain . Par la suite, un enrichissement du propos grâce à de multiples rencontres avec des opérateurs et des personnes – ressources actifs dans le champ étudié.

### *2/ Etat des lieux*

L'offre culturelle bruxelloise très riche et éparse dans contexte urbain, évolue dans un cadre institutionnel complexe. La partition bilingue de Bruxelles déteint sur la bi-polarité des structures, des opérateurs et des programmations reconnus, mais cette tendance devient caduque dans le cas des structures émergentes. La présence interculturelle très importante à Bruxelles, nourrie par de multiples mouvements migratoires, a créé une audience métissée caractérisée par des attentes de consommation et des formes de production culturelles très diversifiées.

Par ailleurs, le déficit flagrant de la gestion urbaine à Bruxelles, comme en témoigne de nombreux chancres et les terrains vagues signalés en plein centre ville, a constitué pour le secteur culturel un champ d'action tant d'un point de vue infrastructurel via notamment la ré-affectation souvent précaire d'espaces à l'abandon qu'au niveau de leur engagement citoyen, et ce, par leur présence dans des quartiers fragilisés.

Bien qu'aucune volonté politique significative n'ait favorisé jusqu'à présent la réalisation concrète de ce potentiel, de nombreux opérateurs culturels urbains créent les premières et fragiles ouvertures vers un développement économique et axé sur une logique de proximité et vers un emploi durable. La recherche de terrain a permis une collecte d'information traçant les contours de l'emploi réel ou latent des organismes culturels et socioculturels à Bruxelles mais également permis de définir de manière plus claire l'impact de ces secteurs au niveau social, urbain et politique ainsi que les difficultés patentées qu'ils éprouvent à établir leurs activités.

Une première distinction dans la structure de l'offre culturelle bruxelloise, s'est opérée entre organismes subventionnés par les différents pouvoirs publics et structures informelles. Le tissu culturel de Bruxelles révèle une proportion grandissante d'associations offrant des services culturels se situant en dehors du cadre institutionnel classique. La reconnaissance de leur travail auprès des instances compétentes est lente et insuffisante pour la création d'un volume d'emploi stable. Notre analyse met en lumière le rôle moteur de ces associations dans la revalorisation du territoire urbain au niveau de la réhabilitation d'infrastructures mises en jachère, de la (re-)découverte de la citoyenneté dans certains quartiers en difficulté et d'une manière moins quantifiable, du développement économique local et global.

### *3/ Potentiel de développement de l'emploi*

La démarche quantitative a permis d'établir différents ordres de grandeur au sujet de l'emploi culturel à Bruxelles via l'exploitation des données officielles et des enquêtes de terrain. Sur base de



ces estimations, l'enquête a pu inférer un potentiel de création d'emploi correspondant à 1 nouveau poste pour 3 postes rémunérés actuellement au sein des associations contactées. Nous précisons que cette estimation correspond aux besoins réels et immédiats de ces structures pour maintenir leur activité et non pas au degré de certitude de la création de ces postes à court terme.

En ce qui concerne les aides à l'emploi : un dispositif très large d'aide à l'embauche a été mis en place à différents échelons du domaine d'intervention publique (dès les années 70 au niveau fédéral, puis de plus en plus décentralisé à la fin des années 80). Parmi les différentes initiatives du PRC (Plan de Résorption du Chômage), des dizaines de programmes peuvent être cités sans qu'aucun d'entre eux n'aient -à notre connaissance- fait l'objet d'une étude d'impact sur le développement de l'emploi culturel. Cette situation handicape fortement les démarches précises d'identification des sous secteurs, des structures, des types d'activités qui seraient à même de maximiser l'utilisation des PRC dans une logique de long terme et non pas d'emplâtre.

En outre, le nombre total des emplois permanents ne doit pas masquer le volume considérable des bénévoles actifs au sein de ces structures, correspondant selon nos estimations à 2,5 bénévoles actifs (pour la plupart au chômage) au sein d'une association culturelle pour un équivalent temps plein salarié.

Quant à la création d'activités porteuses en terme de financement d'emploi nouveaux, quelques pistes sont à explorer et prennent corps autour des constats suivants :

- la distorsion entre la demande de services culturels de plus en plus " exigeants " et une offre dépassée humainement et financièrement,
- l'émergence de nouvelles pratiques, structurant l'offre culturelle de demain et traçant les contours des besoins culturels futurs,
- la force d'attraction importante de Bruxelles à l'échelle européenne,
- un public jeune grand consommateur mais aussi créateur de culture
- une ville en quête d'image
- un potentiel de reconversion des infrastructures à l'abandon inexploité,

L'appel constant au financement public ne s'accompagne pas ou rarement d'un argumentaire renouvelé promouvant de nouvelles missions , touchant de nouveaux publics. Un manque d'esprit entrepreneurial nous semble marquer la sphère culturelle bruxelloise. Parallèlement, les pouvoirs publics n'ont pas suffisamment intégré le rôle moteur des structures culturelles dans la valorisation de la ville. De nouvelles formes d'opérateurs très à l'affût d'enjeux sociaux " nouveaux " (urbanisme, multiculturalisme, redéfinition des arts contemporains,...) possèdent cependant des atouts majeurs pour défendre une position centrale dans l'attribution des subsides dans le secteur culturel- du moins au niveau urbain. Ce double problème, basé sur un manque de transversalité et de concertation induit des phénomènes de repli et d' " hyper-spécialisation " des intervenants culturels et politiques et handicape dramatiquement la réalisation de projets culturels innovants dans le contexte bruxellois actuel.

**The economic viability of new arts jobs in Europe's inner cities  
UK - London Borough of Hackney**

Background

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Local history

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A New Arts Business: Circus Space

A Traditional Arts Centre: Hoxton Hall

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1. Background

1.1 National context and policy

At the time of writing (April 2000), UK unemployment is at its lowest point in the decade, 1.2 million. New government priorities around social exclusion are set to tackle the most persistent inequalities through special programmes like New Deal for Communities, Health and Education Action Zones and the New Deal for the Unemployed. Most of these programmes explicitly integrate a cultural component into the range of community regeneration they support.

Best Value, part of a wider reform of local government and a new duty on local authorities, took effect on 1 April. Best Value aims to ensure continuous improvement in cost and quality of all local authority services. Guidance was issued by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport to all local authorities on developing a cultural strategy, based on the following principles:

based on local community needs

addressing the full range of community needs and fair access for all

linking with other strategies and plans

centred on consultation and participation

geographically flexible, not necessarily defined by administrative boundaries

developed by a single authority or a consortium of authorities

not prescriptive in terms of cultural content

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Approximately 650,000 people (2.5% of the economically active population) were employed in the cultural sector in 1991 (a 34% increase since 1981)\*

In the cultural sector, subsidised organisations on average raise half their income from commercial activity (catering/merchandising), but a third of them operate at a loss (around £100 million in 1993/93)

The funding focus of much of the new money (Lottery) is on capital rather than revenue grants.

#### Regional ñ London

London's gross earnings in the cultural sector are now estimated at £9bn and accounts for some 220,000 jobs.

In periods of economic growth, investment in West London far outstrips that in the East. Agenda 21 aims to reverse to East-West London imbalance.

There is a strong London bias in the distribution of support for culture - 25% of the UK's supported arts organisations are in London. 50% of all business support for the arts goes to London and 75% of this goes to museums and galleries.

London of course still suffers from an absence of metropolitan government and the subsequent lack of a coherent, sustained policy for the whole of the capital. The election of a mayor in May 2000 and the formation of a London authority promise to release new energies and vision.

#### Local - Hackney

One rumour freely used as fact is that the London Borough of Hackney has a larger creative and artistic community per head of population than any other area in Western Europe. This unsubstantiated proposition should be set against the stark reality of Hackney's deprivation:

Hackney's population stands around 190,000, of whom around 30% are of minority ethnic origin.

The population has declined by 50% since the turn of the century and continues to drop

One third of incomes in Hackney are below £5,000 per year, two thirds below £10,000.

49% of Hackney residents live in social housing

Unemployment runs at 14.6% (Feb 99) or 21,354, for the economically active population and around 30% for young people, more than three times the national rate and 50% of the jobless are long-term unemployed

Long-term illness is the highest in London

2 in 5 Hackney children live in households with no one in employment

'Tackling Poverty in Hackney' March 1998 Strategic Policy Unit LBH

There are additional qualitative factors to poverty when it is set against the wealth of a world-class city like London. Hackney has no tube station (although that is set to change in the next 10 years). Hackney suffers the irony of bordering the City of London, a global financial centre, which brings its residents few benefits and the shock of comparison. There has to-date been little success in

scaling up the interest of the City's corporate sector in fighting the persistent deprivation on its doorstep.

## 1.2 History

Hackney in the 18th century provided a market garden to the rest of London, with landmarks like Loddiges of Hackney - the largest hothouse in the world.

With the arrival of the railways, clothing, footwear and furniture industries rose to prominence. This century's decline in manufacturing saw an increase in unemployment and abandoned industrial buildings.

The ethnic diversity of the borough goes back to the 17th century, with a Jewish community and an early Black presence. Since the 1950s, Hackney has attracted large Turkish, Asian, Vietnamese and African populations.

## 1.3 Political and economic framework

Hackney has been a solid Labour constituency for years. Unfortunately, rather than bringing the benefits of stability, this has resulted in a reputation for corruption and an inability to face the challenge presented by such persistent and serious deprivation. Political in-fighting has been rife. Recently, the departure of yet another Chief Executive has left the authority without permanent leadership.

Since the departure of large-scale manufacturing, Hackney has developed as a small firm economy, with the clothing and furniture sectors still present.

## 2 Employment in the arts

### National context

In the UK the cultural sector employs nearly around £1.4bn and brings in a revenue of some £60bn (DCMS).

### Training and education context

Nationally professional development resources are in great demand - 74% of 16 year olds in London continue in education (52% in 1984).

London has some 229 colleges offering courses in the arts and cultural industries - 41 in theatre, 29 in dance, 26 in music

Art & design, performing arts and media studies comprise the third biggest programme funded by the Further Education Funding Council

### 2.1 Hackney - known employment data by sector

Cinemas: The Rio and the Lux account for some 25 full- and part-time jobs.

Clubs: these establishments are known for opening and shutting fast, but Hackney has 5 well-known clubs, which bring in world-class DJs and large crowds of young people. In addition, club nights take place at a variety of venues and this sector probably accounts for a large amount of casual work for people involved in music, lighting, multi-media and allied roles. It would probably be fair to estimate that at least 100 people are employed on an erratic basis in this sector. (awaiting further figures)

Galleries: there are around 100 gallery spaces, (of which around 30-40 are only galleries) both established and very new or part of a multi-purpose building. It would be legitimate to estimate that they service over 300 individual artists (not all Hackney-based) every year, as well as community arts exhibitions. They also account for at least 150 full- and part-time jobs for those involved in their administration. In some cases the artists themselves are running the spaces.

Designer-makers: 159 designer-makers took part in the Hidden Art open studio event in 1999; some of the studios included several artists, so that a closer estimate of those working in the Borough, including those who did not take part, is probably around 300.

Youth arts facilities: there are about 35 distinct youth arts programmes on offer, some within youth clubs, some in the arts centres and some in community facilities. Each of these programmes will employ some 3-5 tutors, but probably very few full-time staff. Estimates of numbers working in the arts with young people would be around 150. Some of these may be working artists.

Theatres and theatre companies: the combined 12 known organisations account for some 100 full-time, part-time and temporary jobs. These overlap to some extent with the staff of:

Arts Centres: 25 established centres employ around 100 staff. Again many of the jobs are sessional or part-time.

Recording Studios and Music Management: awaiting figures

Arts development agencies: there are around 20 of these, producing a total of around 45 jobs.

The 1992 study 'Hackney - the Cultural Workshop of London' put the total number of jobs in the whole of the cultural economy at 3,500 full-time and 2,000 part-time, excluding the self-employed. It identified some 750 cultural organisations with an estimated turnover around £400 million.

The general agreement is that most people organisations have increased their staff teams, but that many of the jobs are part-time, temporary, casual or seasonal. If we make an estimate for the self-employed of around 1,500 and increase the 1992 to a of 6,000, this gives a total of 7,500 making their living in the cultural and socio-cultural sector.

### 3. The main growth factors for jobs in the arts

It is now acknowledged by academics and politicians that the cultural sector plays an important part in regeneration and conversely, regeneration programmes are now core funders of arts activity and arts buildings nationally. In 1993/94 the Department of the Environment spent £39 million on the arts within the context of its various 'urban programmes' and this sum has continued to grow

#### 3.1 availability of space

Hackney stretches over 1,950 hectares, with large open spaces (Hackney Marshes has more football pitches than any other borough in the UK) and industrial wastelands.

The rapid development of South Hackney into a fashionable village of bars, clubs, galleries and expensive lofts (£300K for a studio) causes artists to doubt that the Council's stated commitment can safeguard their living and working spaces in the neighbourhood. Hackney Council's 1995 Development Plan states:

"The council will normally resist the loss of an arts, culture and entertainment facility unless it is satisfied that an adequate replacement will be made or a continued arts, culture or entertainment use is no longer required" and

"The Council will encourage the provision of new works of art or performing art space as part of new development"

This has not protected local artists from being pushed out of cheap housing. These live/work spaces have been the basis for the cultural growth in the neighbourhood. The Arts Support Agencies state that the shift in the artists' population makes long-term planning impossible - there are doubts as to who will be left to participate in events.

Dereliction:

In Hackney Wick for instance 35,000m<sup>2</sup> of business/commercial floorspace lies unused, over 50% of the total business/commercial space in the area. This is an area where a perception of inaccessibility damages potential to grow and transport becomes a major issue for giving life back to the area.

The Hackney Wick Single Regeneration Budget programme plans to improve this quarter, with cultural elements built into the vision. Because the area is still very cheap, there are signs that it may host refugees from the displaced arts community from Hoxton and Shoreditch.

The local authority produces a yearly brochure of spaces which can be hired:  
46 performance spaces, 47 exhibition spaces, 24 craft workshop spaces,  
5 rehearsal spaces, 2 cinema/video screening spaces, 2 cafe/bars, 1 sound studio. The rates for these tend to be too high for young artists, however.

### 3.2 quality of projects

Interviews and meetings with artists in the borough provide the best insights into issues around the growth and survival of the cultural sector. The points below relate to the swift new developments around the Hoxton/Shoreditch hub:

a renewed emphasis on recognised qualifications and training highlights this activity as one of the principal sources of earning for arts organisations

the qualifications and the curricula are not always felt to be appropriate or important by the arts organisations themselves, but pragmatic reasons force them to deliver courses

there is a shared feeling that young people are given false expectations of their potential for success in highly competitive arts fields by the new qualifications, which are based on training which is too short and under-resourced to build up the skills required

the new system of student loans means that most college-leavers have heavy debts - this has implications for their early experience in cultural employment: as long as they are not earning proper salaries, they are exempt from repayment of their student loan.

the poverty which results from the loan trap causes far more young people to remain in the family home, unable to afford London rents. This also has a qualitative impact on their early experience of work in the cultural industries

the loan trap effectively keeps young people dependent on their families and wary of entering normal jobs. Ironically, this encourages both artistic experimentation and innovative ways of generating income outside the official work circuit. It makes for a volatile and ephemeral arts community which moves where space is cheapest. A floating population of people work irregularly across a number of artforms and occupations, developing a much wider range of skills than their predecessors.

It is important in the context of such fragile arts activity to identify the major projects which do provide stable employment - those which have undergone or are undergoing major renewal are asterisked:

Geffrye Museum\* - recently opened its new Design Centre (ERDF + lottery)

Hackney Empire - 18th century music hall bidding for lottery funds

Hoxton Hall - established community arts centre within the Hoxton hub

Rio Cinema\* - newly re-opened cinema (August 99)

Chats Palace\* - cross-cultural neighbourhood arts centre

The Round Chapel\* - church refurbished as community centre

New projects:

Town Hall Square Cultural Quarter - an integrated plan for 2001 includes:

Ocean Music Trust - £17million music venue opens Sep 2000

Historic Houses

Sutton House (National Trust) with gallery and concert space

Major cultural events:

The Hackney Show - in August every year, now in its 38th year, 140 stalls, performances and participation workshops

Stoke Newington Festival - open air park event

Hackney Summer University - an August event targeting 14-25 year-olds and offering a huge array of arts and learning possibilities

'Blowdowns' - the demolition of condemned tower blocks - have become major cultural events, with a celebration when the towers are pulled down! The next in the series, a block called Barkway Court, also involves an artist in residence to create an exhibition around the memories of ex-tenants.

èHidden Artí ñ twice yearly studio trail to promote the work of local designer makers and artists

Established Cultural Support Agencies:

Despite its disadvantages, Hackney includes some of the more innovative and successful arts support groups. This has had an effect on the local cultural life which has yet to be quantified and analysed in detail:

Perpetual Beauty Carnival Club - a training and development agency for Caribbean carnival projects

Mazorca - supports local designer-makers with 'Hidden Art' events, promotional activity and training

Freeform Arts Trust - one of the oldest and most respected arts development agencies, responsible for bringing art into physical regeneration projects, now in demand nationwide but still involved in the Borough

Groundwork - national environmental agency involved in culture (outdoor sculpture trails etc)

Local Agencies which make an ongoing contribution to culture:

Hackney Council for Voluntary Service - umbrella organisation for voluntary and community groups

Hackney Agency for Volunteering - recruits and deploys volunteers

Hackney Education Business Partnership - promotes learning through partnership - artists' placements, arts events in schools, opera, drama projects

Educational establishments in the cultural sector

Cordwainers College - ERDF funds - 'Leather Centre' & shoe design

Hackney Community College - 31 sites in Hackney - 45 of the 100 part-time courses are arts-linked - from Turkish Music through Electronic Arts to Jewellery making. Full-time training in a range of arts/media disciplines.

Bibliotech

Lux Centre - ERDF funded - in Hoxton

Metro New Media - opened 1998, with ERDF support - public/private training initiative in new technology offering short courses to organisations and business with a focus on creative uses of technology - especially graphics and animation

Circus Space\* - see case studies funded by:ERDF/Dalston City Challenge/City Fringe SRB

Flagship world-class circus training establishment. Developing a degree course linked to one of the established drama schools. Has attracted substantial private funding from the New Millennium Experience Company to train 120 artists for the Millennium Dome

Circus Space aims to create: 70 permanent jobs, 143 temporary jobs, support for 36 SMEs and has developed 1800m<sup>2</sup> of derelict terrain.

### 3.3 Public policy

New national regeneration policies and programmes in the UK in the last two years have begun to articulate the role of culture in economic development.

Successive programmes have promoted cultural spaces and activity:

Hackney's Objective 2 status since 1994 has brought funds into the cultural sector (£12million ERDF to 36 projects in Hackney, total including match funding: £30million)

The national Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), now on its 6th round, increasingly stresses 'bottom-up' development and community participation, which in turn brings in cultural animators and the community arts groups

Comprehensive Estates Initiative set up to tackle the worst housing developments and has integrated public art into its plans, with artists employed from the early planning stages to contribute to the new built environment (Holly Street Estate in particular)

Agenda 21, stemming from Rio, with the objective of delivering sustainable development, links up with cultural initiatives in that they can enable local communities to get together, organise and celebrate in a sustainable way.

Hackney 2000 - partnership of private, public and community sectors - targeted 7 areas for development between now and 2020 and one of them is titled 'A place to enjoy yourself' pointing to Hackney as a cultural hub.

Renaissi, an independent company, has grown out of the successive regeneration programmes and stresses culture in its regeneration plan. It is now officially independent of the council (and acts as its 'regeneration consultant' in that it manages all its large programmes). This removes the action from the immediate political difficulties suffered by the Council.

Renaissi manages the following programmes on behalf of the Council:

- Heart of Hackney - 1995/7 years -£120 million scheme and some 20,000 residents, includes culture and has already funded over 100 projects
- Haggerston Single Regeneration Budget (£35 million)
- Hackney Wick - 1997 for 5 years (£70 million)
- City Fringe - 1996 for 5 years - a partnership between the City of London and the City of Hackney
- Woodberry Down and Stamford Hill - 1998 for 5 years

.East London and Lee Valley - an Economic Assessment (June 1996 - CRESR/CEEDR) identifies cultural industries as a key economic cluster of activity

The Lottery Funds have made a significant impact on arts activity in Hackney: Hackney is third on the league table of lottery money recipients, receiving £45 million in 1998, of which £14 million



came through the Arts Council specifically for culture, but a majority of the remaining funds cover projects which have a cultural component. In addition, this year's Millennium Festival awards will add another £500k to the resources going to the sector

The New Deal for the Unemployed (national program) has provided trainees to a number of arts organisations in Hackney, but numbers in the Borough have been lower than expected. Arts organisations find the restricted funding available for training and administration in this programme causes its own pressures on their functioning.

4. Case studies

Circus Space - flagship new training centre

Hoxton Hall - community centre established in the 1970s

5. List of contacts and interviews

Research has been done through a series of telephone interviews, face-to-face meetings and a focus group, as well as consultation with the Council's Learning and Leisure officers

Telephone interviews: 10

Face-to-face interviews: 5

Focus group - 23 July 1999

12 local arts organisations attended a meeting hosted by the Arts & Culture team to share ideas and experience of current issues in the cultural sector in Hackney

## Synthèse du rapport de Montreuil

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Le choix de la ville de Montreuil s'explique par ses caractéristiques originales et très significatives en matière de création d'emplois culturels. Cette étude s'est appuyée principalement sur une analyse concrète du terrain soutenue par des témoignages, et des expériences pratiques de professionnels du secteur. On notera que les éléments statistiques, rapidement obsolètes, n'ont pas permis d'obtenir de résultats fiables. Un observatoire culturel est en préfiguration à Montreuil et devrait remplir cette mission de rassemblement de données statistiques.

### *Contexte général*

La ville de Montreuil, avec ses 95 038 habitants, est la première ville du département et la troisième commune de l'Île de France. Une population à dominante jeune (les moins de 25 ans représente 20% de la population), qui explique la priorité accordée par la ville aux questions de l'enfance et de la jeunesse. Aujourd'hui, les premiers recensement de 1999 semblent attester du fait que Montreuil se dépeuple. Montreuil se divise en trois zones urbaines : le « Bas-Montreuil », qui est le lieu d'une vie culturelle intense et qui concentre de nombreuses petites entreprises du secteur de l'image et du son; le « centre ville » de Montreuil, où coexistent les services publics de la villes et certains équipements culturels, ainsi que les petits commerçants; enfin « Le Plateau » qui possède la plus grande partie des cités d'habitat social ancien de la ville et des pavillons.

Montreuil compte 40 000 emplois et 6000 chômeurs, dont un taux de chômage longue durée qui s'élève à 42%. La ville connaît une forte demande de locaux commerciaux et tente depuis 1985 de réhabiliter d'anciens sites d'activités à travers la résorption des friches industrielles. En 1999, de nombreuses friches ont été réinvesties par des entreprises et des projets sont en cours pour 2000. Montreuil mène une politique d'implantation ciblant principalement les entreprises spécialisées dans l'image.

### *Etat des lieux des emplois culturels*

L'installation de nombreux artistes à Montreuil contribue à construire une image dynamique et créative de la ville : sans que l'on puisse évaluer le nombre d'une manière exacte, on sait que Montreuil compte 480 plasticiens (peintres, sculpteurs, illustrateurs, graphistes...) et 26 artisans d'art (ébénistes, ciseleurs, restaurateurs de tableaux...), 400 musiciens professionnels.

A la créativité artistique vient s'ajouter le foisonnement d'entreprises culturelles qui fabriquent les images de demain. En effet, 350 entreprises, principalement installées dans le Bas-Montreuil, sont impliquées dans l'audiovisuel, la photographie, la publicité, les arts graphiques et le multimédia. Montreuil a acquis la réputation d'être une ville très créative dans le domaine de la vidéo et du son. Au niveau de l'emploi, les entreprises culturelles représentent 13% du tissu économique local et emploie plus de 3500 personnes avec une forte proportion pour les entreprises travaillant dans la chaîne graphique et le multimédia. Au total plus de mille créatifs et leur nombre est en constante augmentation.

Montreuil comporte des équipements culturels « traditionnels » avec un statut public ou parapublic, proposant des activités liées au développement culturel de proximité qui sont essentiellement initiées par les services municipaux. Le secteur public de la culture est un important pourvoyeur d'emploi soit 200 emplois que l'on retrouve dans les services municipaux de la ville et dans d'autres structures qui emploient du personnel en partie mis à disposition ou rémunéré par la ville (la Maison Populaire, la café La Pêche...).

La ville accueille 150 associations culturelles recensées, parmi lesquelles une cinquantaine de compagnies de théâtre et 500 comédiens. Ces associations répondent à un besoin nettement identifié, à l'extérieur du champ institutionnel. A l'heure où le monde associatif, menacé par un changement de législation, s'impose de plus en plus comme créateurs d'emplois, il devient urgent d'imaginer un nouveau statut pour encourager le développement des initiatives culturelles de

proximité. Ces associations sont représentatives d'un tissu économique peu stable par l'emploi de nombreux bénévoles et peu de soutien financier. De nombreuses associations se trouvent confrontées au problème de l'espace alors que la ville présente de nombreux lieux non occupés.

### *Les nouveaux emplois culturels*

L'étude menée sur les nouveaux emplois culturels a été réalisée dans la zone du Bas-Montreuil, où la mixité activité/habitat est la plus riche, auprès d'une quinzaine de chefs d'entreprise, de responsables ou de membres actifs d'associations. Ces entretiens furent complétés par d'autres sources d'informations, notamment l'étude menée par l'association Intertices, qui a servi de cadre de référence à l'exploitation du quartier.

Le quartier du Bas-Montreuil est un lieu chargé d'histoire, un lieu où se côtoyaient habitants et artisans et où la proximité joue son rôle. De ce passé, le Bas-Montreuil a donc hérité d'un tissu industriel ancien constitué de petites et moyennes entreprises dans les secteurs de la métallurgie-mécanique et du bois, ainsi qu'un grand nombre d'entreprises artisanales dans l'imprimerie, la menuiserie... Si beaucoup ont disparu, laissant de vastes friches ou des ateliers vides, il reste une activité diversifiée importante. Certaines friches ont été investies par de jeunes entrepreneurs culturels. Le Bas-Montreuil révèle aujourd'hui une activité foisonnante et de nombreux espaces en voie de reconversion. Les emplois observés dans le Bas-Montreuil n'ont pas grand chose à voir avec la norme dominante. Ils répondent à des caractéristiques particulières qui leur valent le qualificatif d'« emplois bizarres » ou d'entreprises non « ordinaires ».

Les entreprises culturelles fonctionnent selon une logique de projets et s'adaptent aux aléas des commandes. La tendance est donc à l'embauche d'équipes en fonctions de projets, c'est pourquoi les emplois de courte durée dominant et qu'il est difficile d'assurer la permanence des emplois. Par ailleurs les relations entre employeur et employé est originale dans le sens où il n'existe pas de relations de subordination et mais des relations de confiance et d'échanges. La notion d'échanges de services et le sentiment d'appartenance à une communauté sont très présents dans les entreprises du Bas-Montreuil. Le recrutement s'effectue souvent par voie informelle, à travers un réseau de connaissance, ou par le bouche-à-oreille. A quelques exceptions près, le recrutement se fait par relations. Le collectif qui en résulte dépasse largement le cadre de l'entreprise pour s'inscrire dans un ensemble plus vaste, celui de la « communauté artistique ». C'est ce collectif d'appartenance qui, en formant des filières et en fondant la confiance nécessaire à l'emploi, structure l'embauche. Quant aux motifs de cette vague d'installation dans le Bas-Montreuil, ils sont le fruit d'une combinaison de facteurs attractifs évidents mais aussi latents :

- des facteurs d'ordre économique et matériel (disponibilité des espaces, modicité de leur prix ou de leur location, proximité de Paris et accessibilité du point de vue des transports urbains) sont autant d'éléments décisifs dans les conditions de l'émergence des emplois culturels.

- l'immensité des espaces et leur caractéristiques esthétiques sont aussi une des raisons du succès. Il convient d'ajouter que la caractère défavorisé du quartier ne gêne aucunement l'installation et le développement des activités culturelles.

- des facteurs d'ordre subjectif, symbolique et affectif (effets identitaires, d'image et de mode) ont pour certains, participés dans leur choix d'installation à Montreuil. Les jeunes entrepreneurs récemment installés aspirent à un mode de vie qu'expriment largement les pratiques sociales en vigueur dans le quartier : désir de convivialité, atmosphère de village avec la présence de nombreux cafés, commerce de proximité, métissage culturel... Ajoutons également que le Bas-Montreuil est un quartier très en vogue dont les vertus viennent renforcer un mouvement amorcé il y a déjà plusieurs années : une popularité qui explique aussi cette vague d'installation. Autant de raisons qui tiennent certes en partie à la nature particulière de la banlieue, mais aussi à l'histoire singulière de Montreuil.

### *Des obstacles au développement de proximité*

La proximité et la complémentarité des entreprises culturelles sont des critères important d'échanges professionnels dans les cours réaménagés. En revanche, les échanges sociaux sont plus

variables à l'extérieur de cadre « privé » : il existe des réseaux, mais les gens semblent se rencontrer très peu par rapport à leur proximité. Il n'y a pas de lieux de rencontre, d'espaces de convivialité à proprement dit. Mais le réseau ne se limite pas à Montreuil et les sociétés n'hésitent pas à faire appel à des entreprises extérieures à Montreuil, pour des raisons de prix ou de qualité de service. La proximité géographique n'opère qu'à condition de sauvegarder les intérêts économiques.

Face à cette situation et pour renforcer le rôle de la proximité, la ville de Montreuil veut relever le défi de la proximité en mettant en œuvre deux projets : une initiative de regroupement d'entreprises liées aux domaines de l'image, du multimédia et de l'exposition, le projet de « Système Productif Localisé » et le projet d'insertion, qui aura pour objectif de faire bénéficier de l'émergence du secteur des nouvelles technologies, de l'information et de la communication à Montreuil, à des jeunes en difficulté d'insertion. Mais les entretiens avec des professionnels confirment que la mauvaise image du quartier, le poids désincitatif des taxes et la mauvaise volonté municipale sont autant d'obstacles au développement. De manière générale, c'est toute l'action municipale en matière culturelle qui est sévèrement jugée. Il semblerait que l'argent public soit mal utilisé et que la municipalité privilégie une politique apparente de diffusion au détriment d'une action en profondeur. La municipalité semble engager de nouvelles réformes dans sa conduite des affaires culturelles.

Les activités culturelles se sont développées de manière spontanée, et malgré la volonté municipale. Pour favoriser la création d'emploi culturels, la municipalité doit parier sur ces nouvelles activités qui, si elles ne rapportent pas immédiatement à la Ville, peuvent s'avérer créatrice d'emploi à long terme. La municipalité doit s'engager dans la structuration de l'existant pour le doter des conditions initiales appropriées. Il manque à Montreuil un pôle culturel de référence qui apporte la visibilité nécessaire aux multiples entreprises culturelles installées à Montreuil.

## **New arts linked employment in Delfshaven, Rotterdam**

Synthesis

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### **Introduction**

The study on Rotterdam consists of an inventory of creative activity in the borough of Delfshaven, an assessment of its socio-economic importance and an analysis of development factors. The study is based on qualitative, explorative research.

#### *Diversity within the creative sector*

In this economically deprived area of the city about 70.000 inhabitants are living. Population is relatively young and has mostly non-Dutch roots. Unemployment is high and some districts are confronted with drug-related criminality. It is situated relatively close to the city centre and (during day time) has good public transport facilities.

The case-study shows that in the research area the size of the sector in terms of companies and people involved is considerable. We differentiate between professional artistic and commercial producers, based on their principal production goal. Much of this activity is 'hidden' within global economic statistics or other types of classification. Based on a number of 'educated estimations', we think around at least 10% of the people working (not necessarily living) in the area are at least part time professionally related to the creative sector. This number includes both professional commercial and artistic producers and facilities for distribution and support. Apart from around 200 commercial companies, several hundreds of self employed creative producers are present. Besides this, there is a large number of amateur producers.

Assessment of the economic significance has resulted in a fragmented picture, dependent on the sub-sector and branch. In general, the companies we find in the area are relatively small-sized. There is a considerable number of starting companies and self-employed entrepreneurs and artists.

The commercial companies are small. Their working area often covers the whole city or country, but generally little work is acquired within the borough itself. When necessary, they temporarily contract free lance producers or work together with other companies. The major part of these (flexible) jobs are highly skilled and specialised. Therefore, possibilities for low skilled jobs are limited, because much 'supportive' work like administration is done by the producers themselves or still requires specialised education. Especially within audio-visual and commercial performing arts productions, producers and (technical) supportive personnel form temporary alliances to complete productions. The professional artistic producers deploy multiple income strategies: their main ambition, creative production, generally does not generate sufficient income. They supplement their artists' income with other creative work, classes, low-skilled non creative work or special social security related provisions called 'WIK' and 'Baan+'. In comparison with the commercial producers, they are more frequently active in productions within the local borough. Although we have not focussed specifically on these interactions, one can assume that presence of professional artistic producers may 'feed' the commercial producers with ideas and creative inspiration.

Thus, in an area often one-sided portrayed as 'under developed' and infested with social problems, one can find considerable economic activity that at least partly belongs to the 'vanguard' of modern economy: integrated in national and sometimes international economic networks, based on modern informational technology (graphic design, internet, audio-visual production) and flexibly organised in small units that may cluster when necessary. This finding supports efforts to propagate

a more balanced image of the area: it apparently is not only victim of all types of exclusionary processes, but also generates and attracts activity in modern economic sectors.

On the other hand, the connection with the neighbourhood and expectations about its potential for contributing to local economic development should not be exaggerated. Spin off for the local community in terms of jobs or purchase of services and goods is limited. The fact that they are established within a deprived area, is hardly an issue for the producers themselves: they focus on their work and commercial relations, both of which are mostly outside the area. Besides, many of them don't live in the area neither.

In the 'professional artistic sector' this appears to be slightly different. Although its economic significance in terms of jobs and income may be modest, its sheer size, implicates there is a large creative potential in the area that can also contribute to a more positive image of the area. More over, especially within this sector several possibilities appear to exist to involve the sector in addressing some of the less positive socio-economic developments in the area, because relations between producers and the neighbourhood often appear closer than in the commercial sector. The diversified income strategies of producers leave room for involving them in different types of local creative projects. Many of them are interested in this, provided their professional capacities are acknowledged.

### **Stimulating the creative sector**

The study explores several factors that influence further development of the creative sector. The most important one appears to be adequate, diversified accommodation for production and, for performing artists also for distribution. In the second place, mutual benefit can probably be realised from involving local professional artistic producers in different types of local socio-economic policy initiatives in which creative production can play a role.

Availability of accommodation for production and proximity to the centre have resulted to be the main 'settling factors' within several sub-sectors and can be considered the main comparative advantage of the borough. The demands on accommodation vary substantially, as a result from the different ways in which production is organised and its economic rentability. Thus, a diversified supply of accommodation is needed to satisfy the whole range of producers that is currently present. Variety concerns rental prices, demands on clustering with other producers, special facilities and, last but not least, sufficient working and storage area.

Especially the low-end, cheap accommodation stands under pressure in this area though, which is rather unfortunate because this has always been an important pull factor for producers. An impressive supply of new accommodation for the creative sector is currently being realised in the borough, but this is mainly accessible for the commercial producers. Acknowledging the potential of the presence of artistic producers it could be sensible to address more systematically the accommodation needs of this sector as well. Allowing temporary use of obsolete buildings remains important, though this is hardly a structural solution. Besides, the availability of these buildings is decreasing.

In performing arts, shortage of sufficient accommodation for both practising and performing is felt as a limitation for further development. In this branch, the relation with the borough area is less visible, because producers mainly live here, but work elsewhere. However, their visibility and connection to the neighbourhood could greatly improve by arranging more possibilities to practice and to perform. The monography on a public-private theatre within the research area confirms this, since despite critical remarks that have been made about this facility, it has benefited both local producers and consumers.

In the professional-artistic sector the research material suggests that further development could elaborate on the (potential) relations at least a part of these producers has or could have with broader local social-economic development. Both initiatives by producers themselves and small-scale projects that involve creative producers, already seem to indicate mutual benefit can result from linking the cultural and socio-economic policy domains. Stimulating this kind of activities, can give the professional artists ways of securing part of their income in 'public activities', while

still being able to dedicate time to their 'autonomous' artistic production. The local community on the other hand could benefit from a larger visibility of its own creative producers, thus contributing to a more positive image of the area. Also, it might give better opportunities for more deprived parts of the population to benefit more directly from the presence of a large creative sector in their neighbourhood and to develop innovative social-economic interventions. In other words, it would look at creative activity not only from an 'artistic perspective', but also from a socio-economic development perspective.