RENEGOTIATING THE COUNTERCULTURAL AND ENTREPRENEURIAL IDENTITY:

THE CASE STUDY OF NDSM-WERF REDEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

In the time span of years 2000 and 2013 the former industrial area NDSM-werf (Amsterdam, the Netherlands) was increasingly redeveloped into the "creative district". Around the year 2000 a group of former Amsterdam squatters and artists "Kinetisch Noord" initiated the NDSM redevelopment process themselves. In this master thesis, the NDSM urban redevelopment is thus analyzed as distinct from the classical capitalist redevelopments of "creative districts" that are usually succeeded by countercultural gentrification (Marxist theory). Contrarily, an ethnographic insight into the case-study allows to identify a moment of collaboration between the counterculture, city council and the private investors. As a result, a different theoretical angle into the "creative district" redevelopments is proposed and a theory of countercultural collaboration by Fred Turner (2006) is introduced to investigate the redevelopment of NDSM-werf and to demonstrate how the countercultural and entrepreneurial identities were renegotiated in the initial moment of redevelopment. Moreover, in this master thesis I analyze NDSM-werf website *ndsm.nl* which today constitutes a contemporary cultural form of identity construction and a stage for power struggle. In this study it is argued that today the offline power struggle between the different interest groups on the district is significantly enhanced by the online struggle: online ethnographic analysis of *ndsm.nl* illustrates how the identities of counterculture and entrepreneurs are renegotiated in the virtual space of NDSM-werf as well.

Keywords: NDSM-werf, Kinetisch Noord, creative city, creative district, Fred Turner, counterculture, collaboration, identity, ethnography.

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

During the past decades many cities across the globe have experienced a certain hype of redevelopment from industrial into the so-called "creative cities". From Beijing to Berlin, this process signifies a vast range of urban, political and cultural change. The definition of the "creative city" is inextricably related to the concept of the "creative class" – a term that was explicated by Richard Florida in his study *The Rise of the Creative Class and How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (2002) in which the author suggests the prosperous economic development of the city being directly dependent on the "creative" bohemian districts of "creative people" – artists and cultural industry employees. The controversial book in turn triggered a tide of ceaseless debate and harsh critique on the neo-liberal governmental policy regarding the "creative cities", "creative class" and, finally, the "free immaterial labour" (Terranova 2000; 2004; 2010). In contrast to Florida's account, theorists such as David Harvey, Richard Lloyd and others elucidated the process of the neo-liberal city development as symptomatic to a capitalist regime: a process when squatters and artists by living and making art in particular districts "add value" (Harvey 2001) to the land, are subsequently evicted and replaced by so-called "creative industries" and their employees - "neo-bohemians" (Lloyd 2001) that in turn start "mimicking" the counterculture-squatters (Currid 2009). Contrarily, Terranova argues in her study (2004), that capitalist businesses and the culture/subculture are always already structured within the same global economic processes, and, therefore, it is a fallacy to say that the former appropriates ("incorporates") the latter: "Incorporation is not about capital descending on authentic culture, but a more immanent process of channelling of collective labour (even as cultural labour) into monetary flows and its structuration within capitalist business practices" (Terranova 2004: 80).

In this master thesis, a case study of NDSM-werf urban area (Amsterdam, the Netherlands) will be analysed that was redeveloped into the "creative district" around the year 2000 by means of collaboration between the countercultural and entrepreneurial interest groups. This case study will be hence considered as presumably distinct from the classical capitalist "creative district" development "through conflict" and gentrification described by two contrasting theoretical accounts (Florida on the one side and Marxists on the other). My assumption is that the ideologically distinct countercultural and commercial social groups in this case study are not simply opposing

enemy barricades where one of the sides (i.e. the counterculture) is necessarily a victim; conversely, they both interrelate into the same global economic processes and, even more, collaborate and cooperate to profit from each other. Therefore, the NDSM district history (both geographical and virtual) is also not the story of the squatter subculture swallowed, "mimicked" or gentrified by the corporate industries or ruthless governmental plans. As a result, a parallel will be drawn between the case study of the NDSM and the postwar collaboration of American counterculture, entrepreneurs and the government as described by Fred Turner (2006) claiming that NDSM-werf requires a different angle of theorization – namely one based on countercultural collaboration.

Starting in year 2000, the former dockyard NDSM-werf district has been transformed into a commercial real estate area "Media Wharf" (or the "International place for creative industries"). Previous to this redevelopment, the squatter community (in the time span of 1993-2001) initiated the project of transforming the district from the abandoned shipyard to a "creative district" themselves and their efforts were funded by the city council of Amsterdam. Subsequently, "creative industries", mostly branches of mainstream media such as MTV and Nickelodeon, started to relocate to the district. In this study, my aim is to scrutinize the past history and the present situation of the NDSM-werf district and its community of dwellers/artists and creative industries' employees; focus of this inquiry is whether there was/is an (identity) conflict between the two groups, namely the "counterculture" of artists and the creative industries and, in its wake, between the community of artists and the city council. By interviewing the NDSM community of artists and former squatters as well as the employees of the "creative industries" I intend to investigate how these distinct groups interacted, coexisted, and collaborated in the past. Besides interviews with actual and former participants in this process, I will also examine various online sources, including the website *ndsm.nl*. The websites/platforms representing the NDSM district not only facilitate community communication, but they also constitute a contemporary cultural form of identity construction and a stage for power struggle. My assumption is that these websites and the website developers/initiators behind them can reveal how the identity of the NDSM district community is constructed as ambivalent and how it is constantly renegotiated between the countercultural and entrepreneurial. Lastly, my aim is to demonstrate that NDSM-werf district was/is a contested public space (both geographically and virtually) where such conceptions as "community" or "creativity" are redefined. As a result, the main research questions of this research paper are: How

are the identities of the NDSM communities of squatters and artists renegotiated between the countercultural and entrepreneurial? Secondly, what role does the community website *ndsm.nl* play in the geographically based community interaction? And finally, how the website ndsm.nl representing the district constitutes a contemporary cultural form of identity construction and power struggle?

These issues will be scrutinized invoking Marxist theoretical paradigm on the network economy, neo-liberalism, "creative city" and "creative districts" by cultural theorists and philosophers such as Manuel Castells (2000), David Harvey (2001, 2005) and Allen Scott (2006). The methodological framework of the thesis will be constituted of ethnographic research: interviews with actual participants, analysis of archival material/various documents, websites and discourse analysis.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: EXPLICATING THE CONCEPTS AND POLICY OF THE "CREATIVE DISTRICT", "CREATIVE INDUSTRIES", "CREATIVE CLASS" AND THE NEW ECONOMY

One to two decades ago the concepts "creativity", "creative industry", "creative city", "creative class" (or "neo-bohemia") were the buzzwords commonly used in cultural theory, academia and public discourse at large as they were deployed by governments, city-planners and businesses on a global scale. Today this city-planning and policing trend of the neo-liberal economies is seemingly undergoing a change and assuming a new, modified form and character. The "creative city" and "creative industries" theory and research field is evolving accordingly: recent years were marked by skepticism towards this academic issue often paralyzed by identical findings that could be encapsulated into a formula of "(countercultural) community neighbourhood" → gentrification → "creative district" and "creative class" (in this paper this process will be explicated as the "classical capitalist development"). As a result, some alternative ways of theorizing this research topic started to pop out such as, for example, testing the "creative industries" clustering outside of major global cities (see the special issue for the "creative geographies", 2010), etc. Thus in this research paper I propose to reconsider the definitions of the "creative city" or "creative district" primarily as "historical", i.e. as subject to the changes of the corresponding cultural and sociopolitical economic situation. In other words, this chapter aims at delineating the theoretical concepts of "creative industries", "creative class" and "creative district" and to explicate how these conceptualizations change historically starting from the first studies on the research topic in the middle of the 20th century, then proceeding with the more recent conceptualizations including the popular study of Richard Florida (which appeared as a critical point in this research field), and the successive Marxist critique of the "creative city" phenomenon in general that boomed right after various propagations of the "creative economy". Doing so, my aim is to further reconsider the urban redevelopment (both past and present) of the NDSM Werf district in Amsterdam which seemingly underwent all the necessary stages of the transformation into the so-called "creative district" and to investigate how this particular project has evolved from its

establishment till the present, what new forms it acquired and how a "creative district" can be theorized today from a cultural and social theory perspective.

It is generally agreed among cultural theorists today that although the term "creative class" (together with the concepts of "creative district", etc.) was substantially popularized by Richard Florida (2002), a particular theoretical idea of "creativity" and culture being the stimuli for economic development of the cities had been prevailing in economic, political and urban discourse (academic or non-academic) long before Florida's book actually arrived. As urban and cultural theorists Davide Ponzini and Ugo Rossi remark, the "culturalisation of urban policies" together with the ideas of "urban regeneration" (2010: 1039) were prevalent already since 1980s in the Western world (North America and Western Europe). For example, as Gibson notes, in 1984, cultural theorists and geographers such as Allen Scott indicated the significance of the cultural industries to economic development of the post-Fordist countries (Gibson, 2010: 1). However, the substantially striking shift in "creativity" conception took place around the turn of the millenium when the public use of the term "creative" was literally expanded from only cultural and artistic domain into the entrepreneurial and scientific. Therefore, the first section of my research paper is primarily concerned with providing an explicit overview of the theory and the definitions of concepts of these interrelated phenomena of "creativity", "creative district", "creative class" and "creative industries" and herewith drawing links between these concepts asking how, when and why they initially emerged and became so relevant in current economic/political and academic discourse. Moreover, as these concepts were introduced under the global conditions of the neo-liberalism and the New Economy it is instructive to position the "creative city" and "creative industry" or "creative class" in an outline of these historical phases of political and economic development drawing from studies of Allen Scott (2006), Manuel Castells (1999; 2006), David Harvey (2001; 2005), and other (mainly Marxist) theorists.

However, in this chapter I will propose to depart from the now common explication of the "classical capitalist development" of creative clusters and the general antithesis between the "commercial" and the "countercultural" social groups employed by academics suggesting that the NDSM-werf case-study of redevelopment into "creative district" requires a different angle of theorization. Although still upholding a Marxist view towards the capitalist phenomenon of "creative economy", my aim will be to demonstrate that NDSM Wharf redevelopment requires a more nuanced theory of co-

development and co-evolution between the countercultural and commercial cultural/economic sectors. For my assumption is that the countercultural groups may sometimes collaborate with the city developers and governments to implement the contemporary utopias of "creative economy". Therefore, a theory of countercultural collaboration by Fred Turner (2006) will be invoked which may provide a new theoretical framework for "creative cluster" development analyses.

Significantly, all concepts (creative district, creative class or creative industries) belong to the same umbrella term "creativity" which is today already considered an obscure and dubious term in academia. Importantly, the meaning of the term "creativity" expanded considerably along the hype of the creative economy: today its meaning is related not only to arts or culture, but also to many more human activities. However, do the concepts "creative class", "creative city" or "creative industries" reveal different aspects of the same sort of "creativity" phenomenon? Or may the term "creativity" be rather considered as indicative for an ideological configuration of the neo-liberal economy? Importantly, these different concepts primarily refer to basic socioeconomic units: the "creative city" and "creative district" are geographical concepts; "creative industries" is an economic category, whereas the term "creative class" is a socioeconomic (or socio-demographic) group. It is therefore instructive to define each of these categories separately asking how they are interconnected; what role the term "creativity" plays in the formation of these phenomena; and which of these concepts is the most revealing and productive for the actual analysis of the NDSM-werf redevelopment and the present sociopolitical situation in the district. As a result, the main questions of this theoretical section are: What are the theory models to explicate the development of the NDSM-werf from the countercultural area to commercial district? Can a different angle of theorization (the theory of co-development and collaboration) be applied for analyzing the "creative district" developments, namely the NDSM Wharf case study? Which of the terms allows to demonstrate the current shifting strategy of the "creative city"?

1.1. Creative industries versus Cultural industries

The cultural industries have transformed dramatically during the past century: from barely crafts, publishing, television, radio to game, (digital) design and

advertising, from local businesses to global corporations and conglomerates, etc. In today's academic literature cultural and creative industries have been explicitly theorized/criticized from the perspectives of particular modes of production such as hive-sourcing (Caldwell, 2009), modes of labour or precarious labour conditions (Terranova, 2004), intellectual property rights (Ross, 2007), to mention only a few. Importantly, the term "cultural industries" has initially referred to cultural, communication or art production. However, around the turn of the millennium a new concept "creative industries" was introduced that significantly expanded the scope of reference of the term embracing more human activity spheres such as software and was directly related to the globally pervasive hype for "creative economy" (a term popularized by John Howkins, 2001). Thus, it is essential to draw a distinction between these concepts (cultural industries vs. creative industries) pointing out to the historical and economic/political conditions of their emergence. As a result, in this chapter my aim is to delineate how the cultural industries have changed throughout the last century under the conditions of neo-liberalism and why they became so relevant for the global economies.

The cultural industries can be primarily defined in terms of their production specificity. According to the British cultural theorist and sociologist David Hesmondhalgh (2002) the cultural industries: "have usually been thought of as those institutions (mainly profit-making companies, but also state organizations and non-profit organizations) which are most directly involved in the production of social meaning" and "deal with the industrial production and circulation of texts" (12)[1]. These industries include television, radio, internet, newspaper, music recording, publishing, advertising, live performance arts, design, etc. Significantly, the research on the "cultural industries" begins along the emergence of the radio, film and press industry. The culture industry theory and critique starts from the Frankfurt School theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer and, more specifically, their study "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception" (1944). In their seminal study, the German philosophers define the "culture industries" in terms of the mass-production of standardized culture products: films, radio and magazines, etc. Significantly, they remark the increasing commercialization of these cultural industries claiming that "arts" should be entitled rather as "businesses" under the conditions of late capitalism

[1] The author uses the definition "texts" in a broad sense, i.e. the "texts" can be a film or a music piece, etc. see Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 12

(Horkheimer and Adorno, 95). According to the philosophers, these industries produce culture that eventually results in the appeasement and mesmerism of the working masses leaving them politically unconscious. The production of the entertainment businesses, or the cultural industries, is structured in a mentally undemanding way to rest and amuse the laborers, to make them to conform to the prevailing capitalist political and economic setting: "Entertainment is the prolongation of work under late capitalism. It is sought by those who want to escape the mechanized labour process so that they can cope with it again." (Horkheimer and Adorno, 109). Importantly, the definition of culture industry in the study of Horkheimer and Adorno is broader than just an economic category: it is not the industries per se (industries as units of economy, as private businesses) that authors are concerned about but rather the then "new media" industry in general and its production of easy entertainment as a cultural phenomenon and an outcome of capitalist world. It is significant that today, under the conditions of networked capitalism, the "culture industry" as defined by Horkheimer and Adorno assumed yet considerably more power in global economy and incorporated much more of social everyday lives: a human is not only a passive consumer but also an active "prosumer" of culture industry today.

It is significant, that cultural industries underwent a remarkable change precisely under the political and economic conditions of neo-liberalism and the New Economy: not only the scope of industry branches has exploded (from graphic interface design to digital games industries, etc.), but also the very nature of the culture industries became much more business and profit – oriented, elevating the cultural industry's importance to the global economy. Undoubtedly, the cultural industries were also considerably impacted by the digital revolution of the 1980's and the subsequent reorganization of production and labor in most of public life spheres. Apparently, the cultural industries themselves became closely related to the upcoming models of network capitalism[2] and were considerably impacted by the ideological configurations of neo-liberalism. It is precisely these ideological configurations that were later transposed into the creative industries' policies and governmental strategies that today are increasingly spreading across the globe.

According to Hesmondhalgh (2002), the "rise of the neoliberalism" started within the Long Downturn (1970-1990**)** in America (and subsequently in other capitalist

[2] The „creative industry" networking theory will be explicated in the "creative district" section of this chapter

states) - the crisis of the late capitalist economies that forced them to seek ways to regulate the inflation and productivity growth. The methods of regulation adopted by major capitalist states were the implementation of "free market" and "intense innovation" which included the "investment shift towards service industries, internationalization and organizational innovation" (Hesmondhalgh: 88). Accordingly, the ideology of the neo-liberalism was based on an idea of "liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade."(Harvey, 2005: 2). Non-surprisingly, as any industry, service or social sector, the cultural industry was started to be perceived as subject to market structure and market relations as well and, therefore, apt for re-organization according to market standards.

An insightful account on the entrenchment of neo-liberalist ideology into global economies is provided by David Harvey (2005). In his study, the author argues that it was precisely the class conflict (or, more precisely, an attempt to restore the elite class power) that led to the neo-liberalist regimes from 1970s onwards. The growing socialist and labour power across the world (Western Europe countries such as Scandinavian region, Italy, France, etc.; US; and some South American states such as Argentina and Chile) threatened the economic and political "position of ruling elites" (Harvey 2005: 15) which in turn started the implementation of neo-liberal governmental strategies such as particular tax reforms that increase the wealth of the upper classes. The main virtues, accordingly, became the private entrepreneurship, privatization, deregulation, competition and "flexibility" (an ability to adjust to different labour markets, to re-skill). As a result, the main ideological configurations of neo-liberalism that were later transposed into "creative economies" on a global scale were precisely these characteristics which could be equally developed in private businesses, governmental plans but also in ordinary individuals. It is significant, that these characteristics (especially innovation, competition and flexibility) have long been the main prerequisites of the cultural labour. Thus, (non)-coincidentally, the cultural industries suddenly became to epitomize a model for economic development in general in a neo-liberal state. As a result, according to Hesmondhalgh, employment in cultural industries grew significantly between the years of 1980 and 1990 in US along with the conception of cultural industry as a "prestigious form of profit making" (2002: 92). Moreover, interestingly, it could be also claimed that if neo-liberalism was triggered by the class conflict as proposed by Harvey, then what we know today as "creative class"

(introduced in the next section) is exactly an outcome of this conflict: "creative class", after all, increases significantly the class polarization in society as it sustains the hierarchical view towards classes.

However, the most remarkable shift in economical paradigms from which the cultural industries were interpreted took place around the year 2000 when the cultural industries were suddenly started to be entitled as "creative industries". Importantly, this shift in entitlement signifies not only the contested definition boundaries between the cultural and the creative industries (Markussen et al. 2008: 24); more importantly, it signifies "creativity" as becoming an ideological configuration of the neo-liberalist state. In other words, the "creativity" at this moment of history and economic paradigm becomes expanded in definition: not only it becomes a buzzword in arts and culture but also in businesses, sciences and many other human activity spheres.

Cultural theorist Andrew Ross (2007) remarks that the concept shift from "cultural industries" to "creative industries" is "usually credited to the UK's incoming New Labour administration of 1997, whose zealous modernizers renamed the Department of National Heritage as the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), and promoted, as its bailiwick, a paradigm of self-directed innovation in the arts and knowledge sectors of the economy" (Ross, 17). If one compares the term "creative industries" of the DCMS to the term "cultural industries" proposed by Hesmondhalgh, it appears that the former is a much more expansive term than the latter, i.e. if the "cultural industries" are directly related to cultural production, or the *text* circulation and production in Hesmondhalgh's study, then the concept of "creative industries" is much more *liquid* and has a far more complex meaning. Firstly, the term "creative industries" does not necessarily refer particularly to the cultural content. In other words, in the UK's DCMS mapping document of 2001(1998), the "creative industries" were considered as consisting not only of arts and culture (design, architecture, publishing, game, etc.) but also, importantly, software and computer industries which, as Ross remarks, increased the UK's revenues significantly. Similarly, Richard Florida's (2002) definition of the "creative industries" that will be presented in the next section extends art and culture sphere and thus embraces much more occupational spheres such as law, business, etc.

The DCMS mapping documents (the first edition in 1998; second – in 2001; third - 2006) were published with an aim to define, measure and promote the creative industries in the UK. Importantly, another mission of this document was to

substantiate the claim of the economic importance/contribution of creative industries to the national economy by means of measuring the input to GDP (4% of GDP in Britain was accounted for creative industries in 1998 according to *Mapping the Creative Industries: A Toolkit, 2010*), export, employment and businesses. In 2001 DCMS mapping document, the "creative industries" are defined as "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of economic property" (*Creative Industries Economic Estimates (Experimental Statistics). Full Statistical Release*, 2010) [3]. These industries include advertising, architecture, arts and antiques, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure, software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio (ibid). As a result, "creativity" together with highly developed skills becomes a motor to generate "economic property". Such notion introduced by UK's DCMS became a model of economic development applied in various nations on a global level.

Cultural theorist Angela McRobbie (2004) in her critical analysis of the UK's DCMS document (2001) reveals the main points of this governmental strategy: it is the "creativity" stimulation (arts and culture being the model for productivity growth in general) and "individualization" of labour. According to McRobbie, the main points and the ethos of "creativity" of this document originally comes from a book "Living on Thin Air" (1999) by journalist and writer Charles Leadbeater in which the author praises creativity as an accelerator for economic growth. McRobbie further suggests, that the same ethos of creativity in DCMS paper originates from a "redundant modernist conception of individual creativity as an inner force waiting to be unleashed" (McRobbie, 1). Importantly, the DCMS document proclaims that the potential of creativity is attributed to every member of society (not only artists but also businessmen, for example) and thus that creativity stimulation is encouraged to be implemented from the early years of formal education. In other words, the notion of "creative" encompasses much more than the cultural sectors, and instead launches the epithet as a desirable feature of every entrepreneur or innovative businesses.

This brief introduction allowed me to trace the historical evolution of the cultural/ creative industries linking their development to political and economic

[3] Data taken from the official DCMS document „Creative Industries Economic Estimates", 2010: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/77514/CIEE_Full_Release_Dec2010.pdf

conditions of neo-liberalism and its ideological configurations. Moreover, it demonstrated the increasing significance of "creativity" to the economy in general. Apparently, the term "creative industries" is a "constructed" term introduced to represent a particular governmental strategy explicitly echoing the tenets of "creative economy" and thus it differs significantly from the concept "cultural industries" which is a general economic category of cultural production. However, the economic category of cultural/creative industries does not provide a sufficient theoretical framework to theorize the specific case-study of NDSM Werf: the term itself is not "flexible" enough to theorize the shifting trends of the "creative city". To put it differently, "creative industries" is only one social actor in the redevelopment of the NDSM wharf which does not encompass the whole variety of ideological actors and interest groups that clash when the "creative city" policy is introduced in urban territories.

1.2. "Creative class" versus "Neo-bohemia"

As was mentioned in the previous section, the rise of the neo-liberalism was caused by an attempt to restore the economic and political power of the "upper class". However, according to Harvey (2005), the definition of the "upper class" under the conditions of neo-liberalism extends its common meaning: the dominant "elite" class broadens out to the class of entrepreneurs, finance sector and, significantly, the new industrial sector – computing, internet, media, retail, etc. (ibid, 31). In line with the expansive definition of "cultural industries" the term "creative" now also adds a class dimension, connoting those who can think "entrepreneurial", "innovatively" and "out of the box". The latter part of the definition also forms what is known today as the "creative class".

The term "creative class" was coined by Richard Florida in his influential and controversial book "The Rise of the Creative Class. And how it's transforming work, leisure, community, & everyday life" (2002). In this study the author argues the emergence of a new, (economically) influential and in US increasingly growing class "whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content" (8). However, the "creative" work is not necessarily artistic and the definition can be confined to "complex problem solving" (ibid). Therefore, the "core" of the "creative class" consists of artists, scientists, engineers, architects, designers, etc. and the remaining "creative professionals" - businessmen, lawyers, doctors, etc. As the new

"creative" class is fundamental for the economic growth, the contemporary economy, according to Florida, should be termed as "creative economy"[4] implying that it is indeed creativity that should be considered its' basic resource (cf. the governmental strategy *Creative Britain*, a report of UK's DCMS published in 2008, see *Mapping the Creative Industries: A Toolkit, 2010: 20*). As a result, the "creative economy" is geographical, i.e. the economic development of the cities is also directly dependent on the density of the "creative class". And vice versa, the "creative class" tends to "migrate" to particular – "creative" - cities (Florida, 2002: 242). These measures are estimated by Florida by an assessment tool - "Creativity Index" - an analysis of the "creative" work employment figures in different US cities; or "innovation" (patent) rank per population and high-tech industry figures; and, also, by the "Gay Index" – an index of tolerance and social diversity in a particular city. Furthermore, Florida introduces a rule of the 3T (Technology, Talent and Tolerance) that according to the author, is an essential prerequisite for a successful economic development in the city. The most successful "creative" city combines and upholds all three factors into its politics.

Non-incidentally, neo-Marxian theorists blamed Florida's theory for serving as a universal manual of the "creative city" and "creative industry" implementation. As Geert Lovink and Ned Rossiter (2007), for example, remarked when *Der Spiegel* magazine ranked Berlin as the "number one" city of "creative class" in 2007 according to Florida's proposed indicators (Talent, Technology, Tolerance), Florida compels cities to work according the same scheme of "creative economy" and creates a public misconception of what is actually the real economic situation of Berlin: "The seductive power of such indicators inspires the proliferation of hype-economics, transporting Berlin from a "poor but sexy" city to an economic nirvana populated by cool creative types. But the problem with such index obsession is that it functions through circumscription and the exclusion of a broader range of economic indicators that contradict such scenarios" (Lovink and Rossiter, 2007: 13). Moreover, Florida's theory was also criticized for the unfounded relation between the "creative class" and the economic growth of the city. Some academics insightfully queried whether the concept of the "creative class" itself universally applies to a global scale: "There is minimal evidence for the existence of a creative class in Britain, for example, nor for

[4] The term "creative economy" is however, not originally Florida's concept. See, for example, John Howkins' "The Creative Economy", 2001

the assertion that "creative cities" outperform their drab brethren economically." (Miller, 2007: 45).

The critique of the term "creative class" by Marxist cultural theorists and their counter-arguments of an overall existence of such class are undoubtedly valid: the definition of "creative class" by Florida is so broad that almost any occupation could finally be attributed to it. Similarly, the term "creativity" is expanded on such a degree that it becomes obscure: "creativity" does not simply refer to culture, intellect or arts but knowledge, innovation, entrepreneurship and numerous other characteristics. Thus, it can be claimed that under the conditions of "creative economy" all spheres of life are mobilized to extract "creativity" as a monetary resource that is able to generate profit. As media theorist Olga Goriunova (2012) observes, the "creative economy" leads to a particular "hype" for "creativity" enacted on various scales of human activity: "Psychology and other cognitive sciences research individual mental activity, build models of creative processes, and analyze creative individuals, creative products, and creative environments. The focus is on creativity as the production of something innovative and applicable. Such studies are put to work in developing "techniques of creativity" and in working out the organizational aspects that would allow for an increasing number of employers to discover and apply creative capacities for innovation. " (31). Creativity becomes a material quality to be developed individually and herewith applied on a massive scale in different economic sectors in order to foster the productivity growth in the network economy.

If the term "creative class" is obscure, so are the tools of "creativity index" or "tolerance index" dubious methods to assess and forecast the successful economic development of cities and urban areas. The "successful" economic growth does not necessarily occurs on "creative" areas as defined by Florida. Interestingly, here a paradox occurs: the areas of high density of "creative class", such as "creative districts" may not necessarily emerge "naturally", but such urban "composition" is eagerly fostered and generated by governments and urban planners on a global scale by various forms of "creative city" implementation. However, there are numerous examples of failed urban development projects today which were planned by the governments according to clichés of "creative clusters".[5]

[5] For an example of failed urban developments, see an article by BAVO (Gideon Boie and Matthias Pauwels), 2007.

As a result, in this master thesis a more accurate definition is employed to define the particular dwellers of "creative" areas – "neo bohemia" – a term by Chicago-based social theorist Richard Lloyd, author of the book "Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the postindustrial city", 2006). Although Lloyd follows some important observations made by Florida (Lloyd, 69), his analysis and, importantly, attitude towards the "creative city" issue largely departs from the "creative economy" advocacy and in this sense verges the neo-Marxian paradigm. Lloyd's ethnographic account on Chicago's creative district "Wicker Park" suggests using the term "neo-bohemia" instead of the "creative class" to highlight the genealogy of the term and the genealogy of the lifestyle of an artist. In other words, by introducing the word "bohemian" to the "creative industry" theory, the author aims at attributing the "mythic imagery of bohemia" (here the author mentions, for example, Paris in the 1920s) or "bohemian ideology" to the "creative industries" discourse (Lloyd, 2006:16). As Lloyd remarks, "bohemia is more than just a likely cliché deployed by media observers. In fact, the traditions of the artist in the city, shaped both by material exigencies and cultural identifications, create a blueprint for contemporary action in a neighborhood like Wicker Park." (2006:12). It must be added here that the concept of "neo-bohemia" in Lloyd's terms has a different meaning than that of Florida's "creative class": the former refers to specifically artists and cultural sector/industry workers (cultural entrepreneurs) whereas the latter is not as definite. Moreover, the term "neo-bohemia" has a countercultural connotation as Lloyd demonstrates a "paradox of how a sociocultural space that has long been understood in terms of marginality within and in opposition to the capitalist economy can suddenly emerge as a source of comparative advantage for new capitalist strategies" (ibid: 17). Importantly, the neo-bohemians perceive themselves as a part of artistic and even countercultural group which traditionally has been regarded as opposing the dominant sociopolitical/economic system. So are they conceived publicly – as partly countercultural social group, a part of "bohemia". "Bohemia is both a place and a state of mind" (48) – contends Lloyd drawing reader's attention to the specificities of contemporary urban planning ("creative districts") and the lifestyle of a contemporary creative. In contrast, for Florida the member of the "creative class" is also a programmer, digital laborer, entrepreneur or a person of any other occupation.

Significantly, both theorists ground their claims by analyses of similar case studies – particular urban areas or the "creative districts": Lloyd – Chicago's

Wicker Park and Florida – various US city case-studies. However, as the definitions of the main social actors of these case-studies tend to differ, it leads me to an assumption that these distinct terms – "creative class" on the one hand and "neo-bohemia" on the other - emphasize different parts of the same socio-demographic group. The "creative district" after all consists of both the "creative class" and the "neo-bohemia" according to their respective descriptions: not only artists/creative entrepreneurs live in clusters of cultural industries and particular cultural facilities/activities but also lawyers, managers, etc.

In my research paper, I will use the term "neo-bohemia" instead of "creative class" for several reasons. Firstly, as was mentioned previously in this section, a category of the "creative class" is too vague and does not point to the significance of "counterculture" for the formation of "creative clusters", for example. In contrast, the concept neo-bohemia directly refers to a particular class that follows and mimics a lifestyle of the so-called "bohemia" – which in some respects could be considered a "counterculture" of squatters, for example. Hence, an identity of the neo-bohemia is in such cases renegotiated between the entrepreneurial and countercultural. Moreover, the "counterculture" might also renegotiate its identity according to the entrepreneurial neo-bohemian ideology: apparently, a sharp line cannot be drawn between an artist and an entrepreneur in contemporary culture and economy. This issue will form one part of my case study analysis of NDSM Werf.

1.3. "Creative districts" – clustering of networks

In previous chapters I provided definitions and theorizations on the concepts of "creative industries" and "creative class". Although these concepts (the economic category and socio-demographic group) are relevant for the case-study of the NDSM Werf , they, however, are quite "fossilized" or, in other words, have very definite meanings: they do not benefit to provide the research models to theorize the NDSM district redevelopment and, importantly, do not answer the question of how the strategy of the contemporary "creative city" is shifting nowadays. In contrast, the term "creative district" allows to transcend its category of a geographic concept: it allows to embrace all three categories in one; it provides a possibility to grasp the current shifts of the trend of "creative city" taking place on the virtual NDSM Werf space as well. Thus I will

firstly define the "creative districts" in terms of their cultural/urban/economic specificity and theorize their development process invoking studies of Scott (2006) and Castells (2006). Subsequently, I will present a model of "classical capitalist development" that has served as a formula of analysis for the "creative districts". Finally, I will argue that this model is not subject to all case-studies and that it is precisely NDSM Werf that requires a different theoretical angle of theory.

In Europe, as I have already remarked previously, the "creative industries" governmental plan was first officially established in 1997 by the British New Labour administration. This trend of policy fostered a particular tide of urban redevelopment processes across the globe: the idea of "creative districts" was since celebrated in governmental plans ("creative city" policy), in particular academic writing (Florida 2002) or in turn hardly discussed by Marxist thinkers and philosophers (Deutche and Ryan 1984; Pasquinelli 2011 among others). According to these theories and city policing records (such as DCMS mapping documents introduced earlier), "creative industries" tend to cluster in the "creative districts" – urban areas of "large bohemian population" (Nathan, 2007: 128). Accordingly, the "creative class" and "neo-bohemia" are usually the employees of the "creative industries", including both artists and scientists, or, if it is a case of creative high-tech industry - "high-tech service professionals" (Nathan 2007). As a result, the "creative districts" are culturally specific vivid urban sites that integrate the culturally rich environments (leisure activities, entertainment, cultural amenities – all that makes the district appealing for the "creative class" to live) with commerce (creative industries, various businesses, trendy restaurants and boutiques). In other words, in such districts the sites of leisure and labour tend to converge as suggested by media theorist Mark Deuze (2007).

As I have argued in the introduction of this chapter, it is essential to situate the "creative district" phenomenon under the conditions of the New Economy demonstrating that the "creative industries" clustering in the "creative districts" is closely related to the model of network capitalism and the "organizational innovation" - a re-organization of markets and businesses into networks. According to Castells' definition, the New Economy (Castells, 2000 (1996) or the "network economy" (Castells, 2006) is "informational", "global" and "networked" capitalist economic process (or a re-organization of economic structures) that initially emerged around the year 1990 in United States. The New Economy was largely influenced by the digital revolution of the 1980s and is generally based on "knowledge-based" information

production and circulation. Therefore, its main product is information itself whereas its main industries are information technology and finance. Moreover, it is a process running on a global scale through a network and interaction of businesses, capital and markets. This transformation of business organization and management or "networking", as well as the "broadening of the markets" (or globalization) are essential features of the New Economy. As a result, the "creative industry" clustering in specific urban areas is a particular kind of "networking" based on knowledge and information exchange. Interestingly, although the cultural industries that cluster into "creative districts" are focused on the *global* services, their geographic clustering is in fact at the same time very *local*.

The motivation of "creative industry" (both "low-tech" and "high-tech") clustering in particular geographical areas across the globe under the conditions of the New Economy are complex. However, majority of academics in the research field agree that geographic clustering is determined by both the economic and social factors. As insightfully suggested by an American geographer and social theorist Allen J. Scott (2006), the "creative industries" cluster driven by the goals of labor agglomeration in the (global) networks of competition and cooperation between firms, markets and cities. By agglomerating the creative industries and producing the networks of labor force and interfirm relations in specific geographical sites, the businesses, markets and cities increase their competitive advantages, enable the division of information and the process of innovation. Another reason of clustering Scott remarks is that the geographic area in which labor-agglomerated production occurs is able to generate some authentic "surplus value" for the production itself: "The particular traditions, conventions, and skills that exist in any given urban area help to infuse local products with an exclusive aura that can be imitated by firms in other places but never completely reproduced."(Scott, 2006: 10). To put it simply, the production becomes authentic because of the "label" put by the particular geographic place. The "label" helps to distinguish from other similar products in the market, acquire popularity and thus conquer a niche in economy. And vice versa, Scott suggests, the distinguishable production increases the authenticity of the place where it was produced (ibid) which increases not only interfirm but also intercity competition. As a result, there is a number of examples that meet with Scott's theory. One of such is the Silicon Valley: the geographical clustering (area of southeast San Francisco) of industries which is flagged by the material nature of its product (Silicon). Another example might be Amsterdam

that is currently attempting to refashion itself as "Appsterdam" – a city known for apps and app makers.[6]

The economic clustering of industries is also undoubtedly stimulated by the benefits of "social clustering" or, in other words, creating social networks between professionals. It is especially relevant for the "creative industries" – both low-tech and high-tech – for the cultural/creative work sector is obviously related to everyday life, style and identity issues. In his ethnographic research on new media industry clustering in Sillicon Alley, Manhattan, New York, Andy C. Pratt (2000) observes that occupational socializing (in Pratt's study – "cybersuds" parties, for example) is essential for the new media workers: it contributes for reaching career - working one's way through the numbers of new media aspirants; for firms various events provide an occasion to find suitable employees (Pratt, 2000: 430); it provides an indispensable sense of community; and finally, it endows the new media workers with a particular "identity" which in respect may be defined as in-between of geeks and artists. Pratt remarks: "Many workers talked about the salience of their identity as part of "new media", a point that is buoyed by their interaction with a "community" of like-minded workers (…) Moreover, it is also linked to a particular elective affinity group associated with lifestyle, music, aesthetics, décor and clothing." (430). Interestingly, here Pratt's ideas verge the previously discussed Lloyd's or Florida's theory of neo-bohemia and creative class: "social networking" in all cases (Pratt's, Lloyd's or Florida's) is explicitly related to "alternative" lifestyle, particular identity (a mixture of artistic/bohemian/countercultural and entrepreneurial) and the hype for "creative economy".

Creative districts also often emerge in urban zones that already have a particular historical or cultural legacy, i.e. former squats, artist neighbourhoods, abandoned, former industrial areas[7] (Krueger and Buckingham, 2009; de Kloet, 2009; Tremblay and Battaglia, 2012). The global urban development trend of abandoned factory/district revival that sometimes are already colonized by squatters/ (radical) activists or artists and investing into these areas to gradually develop the "creative

[6] For more information abour Appsterdam, see http://appsterdam.rs/.

[7] In their analysis of sustainable „creative cluster" development geographers Krueger and Buckingham remark: „Developers have long identified urban areas, particularly those containing abandoned industrial or warehouse buildings, colonized by artists and craftspeople for low rents and good studio space, such as Boston's East End, London's Wapping, and New York's SoHo, as places in which to invest, and they brand as desirable residential opportunities for an urban elite." (Krueger and Buckingham, 2009: iv).

districts" instead is one explicit form characteristic to the "creative city" policy. The factories in former industrial areas are brought back to life and transformed into artists' offices, "colonies", lofts, industry clusters or gradually – hip and expensive neighbourhoods. Although the phenomenon is not new and already gained considerable theoretical attention, it is still increasingly spreading around the globe – the same processes appear not only in Western Europe and the U.S. but also in China (Keane, 2007; de Kloet, 2009) and post-Soviet Europe. Apparently, the process is mimicked and cloned across the globe and it is directly related to the global conditions of economy and governance – most likely neo-liberal policy.

The urban and cultural theorists and philosophers such as David Harvey (2001), Matteo Pasquinelli (2008; 2010) and other cultural thinkers (Lovink and Rossiter, 2007 among others) extensively analyzed the "creative city", "creative industries" and the urban district redevelopment phenomena mainly from a post-Marxian cultural/urban/political perspective. According to their respective studies, the processes of "creative city" policy implementation proceed in several stages. First, artists' communities and squatters settle down in abandoned urban zones, often former industrial areas which occupancy is not seldom condoned, supported or even initiated by the state/city council. At a later stage, the same city council or the private landlords (generally speaking, the owners of the space) start to transform the district, evict the squatters or artist communities to gradually establish a "theme park" of businesses and "creative" industries. The "creative districts", interestingly, can be both high-tech and low-tech (or mixed) industry clusters, although some authors (Nathan (2007) or Kerr (2007), for example) tend to define "creative districts" exclusively in terms of high-tech industries (or digital media companies in Kerr's study). Indeed, the majority of industries in such districts often are of media branch, thus the districts are sometimes entitled as "media pools".

It is important to distinguish between the two opposing academic barricades that formed regarding this academic issue: the "creative districts" proponents and critics. The proponents (Richard Florida) consider the urban transition from countercultural (or simply culturally diverse) to commercial area as a positive urban development and stress the economic advantage to the city of such transformations. Neo-Marxist theorists, contrarily, emphasize the social/cultural problems "creative district" developments generate such as eviction or "gentrification", lack of affordable housing, violated rights of the counterculture, and, importantly, the appropriation (and

"mimicking") of countercultural ideas/ideals practiced by the "creative industries". Therefore, I will now present briefly the Marxist critique of the "creative districts" which has significantly contributed to the "creative district" academic research and which has also been very relevant to the case-study of NDSM Werf. Nevertheless, my aim will be to further demonstrate that the case-study of my research requires a more nuanced theory of the "creative district": a theory of co-development and collaboration.

1.4. Neo-Marxist critique

According to David Harvey (2001), culture today is largely based on "monopoly rent" that is often a main driving force in urban planning initiatives and strategies. Harvey defines monopoly rent as directly dependent on the uniqueness and authenticity of a location/quality/commodity or service: for example, monopoly rent is higher when the location or object is in some way idiosyncratic: "Monopoly rent arises because social actors can realize an enhanced income-stream over an extended time by virtue of their exclusive control over some directly or indirectly tradeable item which is in some crucial respects unique and non-replicable" (2001: 395). Therefore, in the case of creative district redevelopment, the owners of the location (be it the city council or private owners) assume a monopoly power over the district by investing in its urban development with an idea to later "extract monopoly rent" from those who want to use the area or building (the artists, and later - the businesses). Therefore, the reason why the city council or private landlords often lend artists places to live in a particular district is that of a supposition that the artists "add value" to the district only by living and creating in it. As a result, monopoly rent increases when the place or an object gradually assumes collective symbolic capital and cultural significance – in NDSM case it is the "arty", "counter-cultural", "bohemian" environments (cf. Scott's (2006) idea of "product aura").

However, once monopoly rents rise, the gentrification process of the district is inevitable, i.e. the artists can no longer afford high rents and are forced to leave the area. The process of gentrification is generally concurrent with the "creative city" or abandoned factory revival urban projects (Deutsche and Ryan 1984; Pasquinelli 2008; 2010). As a result, the redevelopment of the squatter/artist area into a hip cluster

of industries ("creative district") is the direct outcome of "creative industries" policy. Such redevelopment is usually followed by a conflict between the squatter/artist communities and the city council or the "creative industries" themselves which mostly results in counterculture gentrification. The "creative class" (Florida, 2002) or "neo bohemians" (Lloyd, 2005) are the (creative) industries' "labourers" (Lloyd, 2005) that inhabit the area after gentrification and, interestingly, tend to emulate the lifestyle and environment of the former artist communities and squatters.

The "creative district" developments when the "creative class" is invited to live and work in particular urban zones by the city municipality are often "manufactured" as cultural activists BAVO (Gideon Boie and Matthias Pauwels) in their article "The Murder of Creativity in Rotterdam: From Total Creative Environments to Gentripunctural Injections" entitles it (2007: 154), i.e. the hype of creativity is sometimes invoked as a management tool to attract regular workers/inhabitants to the district. In their critique of the "Lloyd Quarter" urban project in Rotterdam, BAVO demonstrate that the inhabitants of this "creative district" are not the "neo-bohemia" or artists, but people who are able to pay the high housing rents and/or are bound together by particular shared identity: "Instead, it *[creativity – E.M.]* has become elevated to a lifestyle and is broadened to include all kinds of people that know how to enjoy a certain urban extravaganza and/or identify themselves, rightly or wrongly, with a bohemian way of life (managers, yuppies, CEO's). Creativity is, therefore, turned into a logo, a mark of authenticity or distinction, for top of the range urban developments that are implemented in a good-old top-down fashion."(155). The "Lloyd Quarter" in Rotterdam is thus precisely an example of such "hyped" creativity and "manufactured" identity of the counterculture. In Pasquinelli's work analogous situation is found in Eastern Berlin; in Deutsche and Ryan's article on gentrification it is the Lower East Side of New York.

Marxist critics are thus explicitly concerned of disclosing the social and cultural problems "creative districts" generate. However, the counterculture is often understood as a particular "victim" of this capitalist process and their actual role in urban redevelopments is often under-estimated. For example, in his account on the "creative" redevelopment of Berlin, cultural theorist Pasquinelli argues that the transformation of countercultural into commercial zones leads to the "extinction" of the politically engaged underground: "the good old underground has become part of the cultural industries and the spectacular economy as well as our life has been incorporated

by a more general biopolitical production (that is the whole of our social life has been put to work.)" (2008: 3). Moreover, the theorist suggests that countercultures generate particular culturally rich environments that are subsequently exploited by capitalism: "There is therefore an immaterial architecture yet to be uncovered, or more specifically, an economy of the immaterial that is fed **unconsciously** [my accent – E.M.] by the art world and underground subcultures."(ibid). To put it differently, Pasquinelli asserts that the countercultural identity of resistance that once was articulated in underground cultural activities (squatting, for example) is gradually defeated and incorporated by the capital. There is no doubt that capital exploits "alternative" culture but does the latter really feeds the former "unconsciously"? After all, the "underground" can never be considered as "autonomous" from capital, or, in other words, the "alternative" culture is always a part of the "mainstream", as remarked by Terranova (2004:80).

In this section a Marxist critique on "creative districts" was introduced that represents a common theorization model based on ideological antithesis between the countercultural and commercial identities. In these cases, the counterculture is usually a victim of gruesome urban planning policy, i.e. the artists/squatters are evicted due to the rising rents of housing by the land owners/city councils. At a later stage of redevelopment, the "alternative" culture is emulated by the "creative class" or "neo-bohemians". Thus, according to this theory the two social groups ("counterculture" or "creative class") have clearly defined identities that ideologically and politically oppose to one another. However, the counterculture does not always necessarily possess a very strict ideology/ is not necessarily politically engaged; and conversely, the "creative class" is neither essentially concerned with enterprise. If I were to adopt the two clashing paradigms articulated by Florida versus Pasquinelli/Deutsche and Ryan, I would investigate the NSDM wharf case asking the following questions: how can we theorize the process of the "creative district" development when it is precisely the counterculture that initiates the urban development of "creative district" (and not vice versa)? What was the role of the Amsterdam underground in the NDSM Werf district redevelopment process? Were the first NDSM squatters indeed the "counterculture" of politically engaged activists or was their identity renegotiated between the countercultural and entrepreneurial? Perhaps the ingrained distinction between the counterculture and commerce is overall arguable under the contemporary cultural and political conditions. As a result, I will now propose a more nuanced theory of

countercultural/entrepreneurial collaboration as a different scenario of the classical capitalist development.

1.5. Fred Turner and the countercultural/entrepreneurial collaboration

The previous section delineates a classical capitalist view vis-à-vis a classical Marxist view on the development of "creative districts" in terms of opposite interests: squatters versus commerce, artists versus entrepreneurs. However, as I have stated in the introduction of this essay, the NDSM Warf history differs from this classical antagonistic model. Drawing from Fred Turner's study *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (2006) my aim is to demonstrate that the NDSM district developed through collaboration between artist/squatter communities and city council/creative industries, rather

than through a conflict between these ideologically distinct groups.

In his study (2006) Turner analyzes the conception and development of the computer and the Internet as digital utopias and "tools" for democracy. He examines post-war American countercultures (e.g. the New Communalists in the 1960s) and analyzes these countercultural movements/activisms as contributing to the conception of the Internet as a democratic public sphere. Turner demonstrates how the cultural entrepreneur Stewart Brand together with other San Francisco Bay Area developers – the Whole Earth Network - initiated and sustained a long-term collaboration (1968 – 1998) between the American countercultural activists, Silicon Valley entrepreneurs, and American military researchers. According to the author, this collaboration was caused by a communal vision and based on shared virtues of these distinct social groups (i.e. the counterculture, entrepreneurs, and the government): they considered the Internet as a potentially powerful instrument for developing democracy, the belief in technological salvation, etc.

Similar to Terranova, Turner attempts to demonstrate that the collaboration between the counterculture, entrepreneurs and/or the government is symptomatic to the logic of capitalism: "This book, then, does not tell the story of a

countercultural movement whose ideals and practices were appropriated by forces of capital, technology or the state. Rather, it demonstrates that the New Communalist wing of the counterculture embraced those forces early on and that in subsequent years, Stewart Brand and the Whole Earth Network continued to provide intellectual and practical contexts within which members of the two worlds could come together and legitimate one another's projects"(8). As a result, the utopian idea of computing was not "incorporated" or "poached" from the counterculture by the industries or governmental institutions. Conversely, both the counterculture and the entrepreneurs shared and publicly shaped their conception of the Internet. Moreover, the counterculture voluntarily participated in the popularization of the digital utopia. As Jodi Dean remarks in her account of Turner's theory, the New Communalists in fact embraced the ideas of military research turning the conception of the computer from an "instrument of oppression" (Dean 21) to a tool of democracy: "In taking over systems theory and the collaborative practices of military research, then, the New Communalists assumed as their own the basic practices and suppositions of their opponent." (Dean 20) As a result, this commonly shared vision of the democratic Internet made the two ideologically distinct social groups to collaborate and to draw ideas from each other which gradually resulted in the blurring boundaries between the two groups: many countercultural activists became the digital industry employees. It is important to remark that although the countercultures and the team of Stewart Brand initially aimed at contributing to democracy by popularizing the utopian conception of computing, this collaboration gradually began to serve and even enhanced the corporate marketing and neo-liberal modes of governmentality through "adoption of cybernetics and reproduction of its logics" (ibid 22) and the "spreading of control mechanisms" (ibid). Moreover, collaboration blurred the countercultural ideology: the New Communalists who were initially fighting bureaucratic governmental institutions and corporate conglomerates gradually started to serve and work for them.

The three concepts "creative industries", "creative class" and "creative districts" introduced in the previous sections allowed me to build a research paradigm of the "creative city" and "creative economy" and to trace the volatile nature of this paradigm. It is significant, that the entitlements of these concepts change according to different political/economic turns and ideological configurations of the 20th and 21st centuries: the negotiations between the concepts cultural/creative industries or creative class/neo-bohemia primarily signify the contested nature of these terms and definitions

and, most importantly, it discloses that "creativity" is an ideological configuration of neo-liberalism. However, the concept "creative district" proved to be the most revealing for the actual analysis of the NDSM Werf for it embraces other two phenomena, namely the "creative class" and "creative industries" and finally it allows to investigate the shifts of "creative city" trend taking place today.

In the chapter that follows (Chapter 2) a factual history of the NDSM Werf will be presented which in some respects echoes the "classical capitalist development". However, to challenge the theory of countercultural appropriation by the capital, in the third chapter I will propose an ethnographic insight into the particular breaking-points of the NDSM redevelopment history: the period of the year 2000 when the redevelopment was initiated and started; and the present condition of the "creative district" as a part of the "creative city" policy. Hence, I will investigate the identities of the so-called counterculture and the entrepreneurs – the main social actors of the NDSM redevelopment - and subsequently will ask: does the logic of collaboration as defined by Fred Turner may well be applied to a case-study of NDSM Werf historical formation from countercultural to entrepreneurial area? Moreover, what are the shifting strategies of the contemporary "creative city" that the analysis of the present NDSM Werf enables to grasp?

1.6. Issues of methodology: qualitative ethnographic research

In this master thesis I employ a method of ethnographic analysis to investigate the redevelopment of urban territory NDSM Werf and its community constituted of various social actors/interest groups: the counterculture, entrepreneurs and the "neo-bohemia", industries, among others. It is therefore instructive to introduce the methodology in detail and present a set of methods this methodology suggests to employ analysing geographically based communities. As a base for the methodological framework I invoke a collection of articles on ethnography published in *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (eds. Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). First of all, ethnographic research is a qualitative, "interpretative" and critical methodology that has been vividly reforming the social, political sciences and the humanities starting from the 1970's. The

qualitative methodology combines some method principles of (post) positivist, (post) foundationalism, post-structuralism, constructivism theoretical paradigms and other research fields such as psychology and sociology or theoretical perspectives such as Marxist, queer or feminist theory that can seem even contradicting each other (Guba and Lincoln, 2005: 192). Significantly, ethnographers Denzin and Lincoln (2005) remark, there are evident uncanny kinship relations between qualitative research methodology and colonialism. In fact, the first ethnographic research might be derived from colonial research of the "Other" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:2), usually from a vantage-point of the colonizer upon the colonized. The qualitative method, however, was later appropriated by many different humanistic, social, economic and political disciplines as a tool to analyze human group life and behavior. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that a large part of today's ethnographic research is precisely "decolonizing" or, in other words, aimed at establishing social/political equality through theories of gender, critical race, feminism, etc.

However, qualitative research has been often (unfortunately) understood as a contrary to quantitative studies (the "hard sciences" based on precise quantitative measuring) which determined that the method was under recurrent criticism in academia. Even more, as the ethnographic analysis, for example, has been often embedded in a kind of personalized first-voice narrative full of descriptions of various personal subjective observations in the field or research, thus, the qualitative research methodology, has been often accused of being "non-scientific", even "journalistic" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 8), subjective (and adding subjective value), lacking empirical evidence, etc. In comparison, the quantitative analysis is considered as based on the value-free measurement of evidence and causal relationships between variables (ibid: 10). Nevertheless, during the past decades many previously quantitative-only sciences embraced methodologies of qualitative research.

Significantly, the method itself is largely interdisciplinary: it is employed by a wide array of social, political and humanist scholars from anthropologists, social and political scientists to economy or health care academics. Qualitative methodology embraces such research methods as fieldwork, case-study, interviewing, interview and interpretive analysis and/or analysis of cultural texts, participatory inquiry, observation, analysis of collected empirical materials such as various documents, archives or other artifacts and even personal experience (ibid, 25). Such eclectic methodology allows an analyst to rationally adjust a method to her research.

The qualitative researcher chooses the most relevant and adequate methods to her research topic. This choice depends on the research issue, context, research possibilities and many other factors. As a result, in my research I largely relied on the methods of interviewing (see the recorded interview list in Appendix1), case-study, interpretive analysis of interviews, discourse analysis, and the analysis of diverse documents, archives, and other empirical materials/texts such as websites. However, interviewing as a strategy of research formed the largest part of my analysis. Therefore, it is instructive here to briefly explicate on the method of interviewing itself, its objectives, styles and its relevance to contemporary academic research.

Following theorists Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey ("The Interview. From Neutral Stance to Political Involvement", 2005) my aim is to define the most applicable form of interviewing to my research paper. The authors distinguish between various forms and strategies of interviewing such as structured, group, unstructured, formal or informal interviewing, as well as "oral histories", "creative", gendered or postmodern interviewing, etc. If the structured interview is based on one beforehand prepared questionnaire which is then submitted to all respondents (the set of questions does not change), the unstructured is usually an "in-depth (ethnographic), open-ended interview" (Fontana and Frey, 705) which does not prioritize prepared questions and which generally depends on the context, time and conditions under which the interview is taken. Moreover, if the structured interview is aimed at gathering precise data, the unstructured "attempts to understand a complex behavior of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (ibid, 706). Furthermore, (focus) group interviews is also distinguished as a separate branch: focus group interview is steered by interviewing a group of people (which are in one or another way connected to a particular issue) at the same time and moderating a group discussion. However, the boundaries of these different formats are not strict and they can mix together. As a result, although in my research I interview a focus group – a group of people that was or is in one or another way connected to the redevelopment/present situation of the NDSM Werf district - my own method falls rather under the section of unstructured, informal interviews and even oral histories. More precisely, in my research paper I try to capture different perspectives or points of view of my interviewees on the historical formation of the NDSM Werf as "creative district".

Besides interviewing and various document/discourse analysis, I also intend to analyze websites representing the district. Therefore, part of my research will be constituted of online ethnography as a separate branch of qualitative research directed to online text and aimed at analysing the construction, mediation and negotiation of online identity in online communication.

This object of analysis (the websites such *ndsm.nl*) is highly problematic and triggers many methodological questions such as: should a website be treated as a cultural text/document, representation or rather a social public sphere? How can we define websites as ethnographic research objects? How are the identities mediated and negotiated in online environments? For, apparently, an online text – a post in a blog, website or social platform – complicates the traditional methodologies offered by ethnographic research as remarked by online ethnographer Annette N. Markham (2005). Hence, the methods employed by an ethnographic researcher such as interviewing, participant observation, fieldwork, must be adjusted in some way to analyze an online text. Significantly, in the respective article, Markham reveals that although online ethnographic research has long been exclusively focused on the online representation and online identity issues, more recently, i.e. after the turn of the new millennium, the online ethnographic researchers' gaze started to focus on the interplay of online and offline life (Markham, 798). As a result, my own research is precisely an example of such interplay: my interviewees are inquired about both an online and offline environment of the district. More precisely, I designed questions for my the participants such as: "What role does the websites such as ndsm.nl play in the NDSM Werf district community life, i.e. organization of events, etc.? Do you use the website *ndsm.nl* to communicate with NDSM community?". Generally, the website ndsm.nl is analyzed as a sovereign cultural object/text that represents the district culturally/economically/politically, serves as a public sphere for the district dwellers/artist community/various companies, reveals the identity struggles taking place both offline and online, provides some important empirical material and documents for ethnographic analysis, etc.

Significantly, it must be added, that this research paper dissociates itself from any positivist ambitions to reveal one "truth" which would explain the exact sequence of events that took place on NDSM Werf or the causality of the present district situation. Importantly, the accounts given by the research participants may vary significantly, regarding the representation of the NDSM past or the interpretation of the

present situation. Even more, the "official" history of the NDSM redevelopment may differ considerably from the one told by the research participants once personally involved in this redevelopment. However, it is precisely through the "multi-vocal" accounts given by my interviewees of different social backgrounds and even political views, I will try to answer the question of what are the politics of representation of the NDSM Werf.

This discussion of the NDSM district community and its online activity will be also aimed at contributing to the larger academic debate of the virtual and geographical community interaction by scrutinizing "the intersection of online and offline life, addressing community cohesion, interpersonal ties and connectivity in a mobile and technology-enabled world, and synergies between the geographic place and online interaction." (Haythornthwaite & Kendall, 2010: 1088).

2. FROM ABANDONED AREA TO "CREATIVE DISTRICT": THE FACTUAL NDSM-WERF HISTORY AND REDEVELOPMENT BEFORE AND AFTER THE YEAR 2000

The NDSM district is located on the River IJ bank in the northern part of Amsterdam. The district bears magnificent historical and cultural significance: the NDSM-werf is a former shipyard area which after World War II was the largest shipyard in the Netherlands and one of the biggest in Europe. After the turn of the millennium, the main buildings of the former NDSM-werf area remained preserved by the city council or local initiatives and acquired a status as national monuments in 2008: the major shipyard building (that today is transformed into the Art City or "Kunststad", see Figure 1) of 7,000 m², the former carpenter workshop, the last endured shipyard crane. All these buildings that once served the logistics of the shipyard were "conserved through use", i.e. preserved in one or another way by renovation, refurbishment and repurposing. In this section, I will introduce the factual historical timeline of urban and economic development of the NDSM-werf area focusing on the countercultural struggle that took place in this district in the time span of 1984-2000 and the district redevelopment period that started after the year 2000. The history will be situated in this chapter as it is represented in various official documents and public discourse such as NDSM-werf websites, a documentary about NDSM-werf district and published/recorded interviews with Eva de Klerk, official documents of Kinetisch Noord, etc. (See Apendix 2: List of sources and references for the factual analysis of NDSM-werf) as well as the previous studies on the NDSM site such as "Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord" research project (2002-2003) conducted by researchers and architects Ana Džokić, Marc Neelen and Milica Topalović in accordance with Amsterdam Municipality North (Amsterdam SDAN)[8]. Moreover, the NDSM district development will be positioned in the general context of Amsterdam squatting movements. As a result, this chapter serves as a factual timeline

[8]"Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord" research project (urban/architectural/social analysis of the site) was conducted by Ana Džokić, Marc Neelen and Milica Topalović together with the Municipality Amsterdam Noord (Amsterdam SDAN) between april 2002 and june 2003. The research was funded by European Union. In this master thesis I invoke this urban analysis mainly because it contains valuable archival material as well as actual interviews conducted on the site when the redevelopment started around the year 2000. For an explicit timeline of the NDSM redevelopment project in the time span of 1984 and 2003 and the list of all social/economic actors involved in the redevelopment plans see Urban Catalyst research project: http://www.stealth.ultd.net/stealth/projects/03_amsterdamnoord.tmp/download/book_1.pdf

of NDSM-werf evolution supported by an analysis of various (archival) material. Then the next (third) chapter will enrich and challenge the factual knowledge about the history of NDSM shipyard redevelopment by providing an analytic and ethnographic insight into the initial moment of collaboration between different social groups of NDSM-werf. Moreover, the third chapter will investigate the shifting strategy of the "creative district" supported by an online ethnography of the NDSM website *ndsm.nl*.

In 1984, the shipyard went bankrupt and the area got partially abandoned: apart from several former shipyard workers' families' residences, the district was officially unused. Rates of criminality in the NDSM area increased considerably. The shipyard itself was bought by private business company "Vervaco"[9] and turned into a warehouse in 1993. However, at the same time the unique abandoned area started slowly to attract squatters and artists including Eva de Klerk[10], squat community activist, who later, significantly, became the main NDSM district redevelopment figure and initiator. For squatters the NDSM district became a potential squatting spot[11].

Figure 1. Shipyard of NDSM-werf. *Picture from personal archive.*

It is important to mention here, that the Amsterdam squatting culture in the second half of the twentieth century has been extraordinarily vivid and fairly large-

[9] See Urban Catalyst book 1: p.21.
[10] See Eva de Klerk's personal website www.evadeklerk.com
[11] According to some information sources the area was already squatted throughout the nineties. However, this issue – whether there were squats before the year 2000 - will be discussed in the next chapter.

scale. As urban theorist and geographer Edward Soya (2000) remarks, Amsterdam's "urban uprising of radical expectations and demands" (125) was started in the 1960s by the Provo movement and their "White Bikes Plan" (ibid). The "full-scale" Amsterdam squatter movement began around 1970, combining squatter interests in housing issues with the "women's liberation movement, the anti-nuclear and peace movements, the protests against apartheid (a particularly sensitive issue for the Dutch) and environmental degradation (keeping Amsterdam one of the world's major centers for radical Green politics); as well as against urban speculation, gentrification, factory closures, tourism, and the siting of the Olympic games in Amsterdam" (Soya, 2000: 126). The burst of organized Amsterdam squatter movement dates back to 1975 when the massive demonstrations and riots took place against the redevelopment of Neuwmarktbuurt (a local neighbourhood district) into a business area. One of the strategies to protest against such redevelopments was moving into the building which is about to be demolished and squatting there, i.e. living illegally. This was usually done to preserve the neighbourhood not only from gentrification but also from the business/corporate expansion to the city: "Actions were framed as attempts to conserve the social and physical fabric of neighbourhoods and the city generally" (Uitermarkt, 2004: 227). Significantly, the squatters aimed at confronting the authorities (the government, city council and private capital owners), and promoting an alternative lifestyle (counter-cultural, alternative stance towards living in a community, work, etc.). As a result, the Amsterdam squatter movement was not simply concerned with housing issues; it was also a part of an international cultural and radical political movement and a particular "state of mind".

However, after 1980, the number of squats in Amsterdam began slowly to decline: part of the squats were legalized (turned into "breeding places"), some were evicted. In 1990, there were already only around 4,000 squatters left in the city (Priemus, 2011:2). Around year 1990 - 1998 a number of old Amsterdam warehouses and former factory areas were increasingly evicted leaving dozens of squatters and artists homeless or without an affordable workplace. This neo-liberal city development led to the rising rents or eviction, gentrification process and particular cultural "emigration": the artists started moving to other cities – Rotterdam, Berlin, etc. (Owings, 2010; Urban Catalyst, 2002: 129).

Accordingly, from 1990-onwards the NDSM north district along the river Ij started to experience the trend of the so-called "creative city" policy - the

governmental city development strategy increasingly implemented all around Europe. As Eva de Klerk in one of her published interviews[12] remarks, "in the nineties suddenly (obviously) the banks, and developers and the city government wanted to create this river bank area into like Wall Street or Manhattan along the river.". The unique historical and cultural environment of NDSM area became a major target of commercial developers. A number of various projects and initiatives attempted to redevelop the riversides of the Ij including the NDSM-werf district. One of such attempts was The Amsterdam Waterfront Finance Group (1990)[13] which aimed at refashioning the river Ij banks into sophisticated business/living areas. Although the plan was already prepared by famous Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas, the project failed in 1993 due to the withdrawal of important investor ING bank. Nevertheless, the Amsterdam municipality was putting lots of efforts to frame the vision of Amsterdam North redevelopment. In 1999 the council introduced a 30 year continuous future development plan "Panorama Noord" which was mainly concerned with increasing the potential use of the land, i.e. expanding its housing and business sector yet preserving the unique environment. Significantly, the plan already proclaimed giving priority to "experimental environment for knowledge-intensive and creative business"[14].

Meanwhile, due to the mounting threats of eviction in various parts of Amsterdam, activists, squatters and artists were uniting into various unions and guilds throughout the nineties mainly in response to these commercial redevelopment plans and projects in Amsterdam such as the Amsterdam Waterfront Finance Group. For example, in 1993 "The IJ Industrial Buildings Guild" was established by the squatters who were forced to move out of the squats or workshops on the southern river Ij banks. The aim of the guild was to promote the "alternative" development of abandoned Amsterdam areas, to protect them as cultural spots/monuments from commercial interests and to legalize the alternative use as practiced by squatters. Similarly, a community of activists, artists and squatters formed in NDSM area as well (with Eva de Klerk in the forefront) who joined forces and embarked into a struggle to gain rights to the NDSM district and to preserve its environment, i.e. its cultural, historic and social

[12] See de Klerk's interview with SFU Dutch Design school: http://www.evadeklerk.com/ndsm-interview-sfudutchdesign/

[13] Amsterdam Waterfront Project was conducted by various public and private partners. However, a withdrawal of the ING bank investments caused „a shadow on future plans of the IJ-Embankments and on future public-private partnerships", see the „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord" research, p. 21.

[14] „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", Book 1: p.31

fabric. It is significant, that the majority of members of this NDSM community were from other squatter communities such as already mentioned "Industrial Buildings Guild" and the community of the "Graan Silo" squat on the southern banks on the IJ which was relentlessly evicted in 1998 and later transformed into a sophisticated housing and office area[15]. Subsequently, the NDSM community started a think-tank together with the city council, housing corporations and entrepreneurs with the aim to acquire a right to participate in processes of city planning. Significantly, a manifest "Stad als Casco" (in English "The City as a Framework") was written in 1997 by squatters and artists that declared the bottom-up approach towards city governance and planning[16]. However, the initiative did not work out at first and the community was not accepted as equal partners in urban planning by the council. As a result, the nineties were marked with the intense rivalry for the river Ij banks between different interest groups (squatters, council and real estate developers).

However, suddenly around the year 1999 both interest groups of the NDSM redevelopment started to reach for a consensus. It was a time when an important policy was introduced by the government: the "Breeding Place Policy" which was aimed to secure affordable working places for start-up artists and non-commercial cultural entrepreneurs. It is, however, not to say that breeding places emerged only around 1999 – in fact, the phenomenon of breeding places has gradually formed throughout the nineties: already from the 1990s onwards, the considerably shrunken squat movement seemed to be divided into "hard" and "soft" squatting. According to cultural theorist Uitermarkt (2004), the "hard" squatters were still very political and radical, whereas it was precisely the "soft" squatting that became a form of contemporary "breeding place" – a place where people were gathering/living in particular area not only to squat, but also to do many other activities (usually legally), such as creating arts, holding events or simply skating (Uitermarkt, 2004: 237). Such "breeding place" ideas persisted till the turn of the millenium and then were embraced by the policy makers which resulted into the "Broedplaats Beleid" or the "Breeding Place Policy" (ibid) and the foundation "The Fund for Breeding Places" (1999) launched by the Amsterdam municipality. In fact, the city of Amsterdam devoted 41 million euros in the year 2000 to fund various start-up artists and breeding places of

[15] Data from „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord"", Book 1, p.74.
[16] which today could be compared to the increasingly spreading trendy ideas of "civic economy" (sustainable, small-scale local governmental policy)[16].

which 6.8 millions went to NDSM Werf breeding place[17]. Significantly, Eva de Klerk, the initiator of the NDSM redevelopment, was also one of the main figures of the establishment of the "Fund for Breeding Places".

The breeding place policy was not only aimed at "legalizing" the particular squatter/artist initiatives but also at preventing the increasing gentrification and suspending the fleeing artists and various institutions/initiatives that were leaving Amsterdam area due to ruthless evictions and corporate expansion. Thus the breeding place policy appeared to be a "way out" both for the city council and the squatters/artists for it was supposed to equally serve the interests of both ideological groups: the squatters received an opportunity to keep their living/working spaces; it converted squatting into a legal activity; it increased the economic value of the neighbourhood. But also, significantly, it sustained an increasingly spreading trend of the "creative economy" by implementing an "alternative" model of city development. Importantly, as cultural theorist Merijn Oudenampsen (2007) remarks, Amsterdam city's municipality has explicitly declared refashioning the city according to the "creative city" and "creative economy" models with an aim to compete with other global cities. Therefore, the "creative district" redevelopments in Amsterdam and the breeding place projects were only a part of a vast city management and imaging process, or a "branding exercise" (Oudenampsnen, 2007: 165) of the city government.

Therefore, it can be claimed that around the years 1999 - 2000 the city council changed their perspective and vision about urban development by introducing the breeding place policy. But more importantly, it was also a historical turn when the counterculture itself, namely Eva de Klerk with the officially established artist/squatter community "Kinetisch Noord" also changed their tactics. This period (from 2000 until 2013) in the NDSM district history is precisely what makes the NDSM case significantly distinct from the classical capitalist development and therefore, it is precisely the period which I am focusing on for this thesis. For it is a turning-point when the NDSM artist community, i.e. Kinetisch Noord, with Eva de Klerk as its leader started to collaborate with the city government and entrepreneurs. However, it is also a very contentious period, which historical interpretation requires critical scrutiny.

[17] See „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", p.20.

2.2. Countercultural/entrepreneurial collaboration period: the "creative district" NDSM Werf

In 1996 - 1999 the Stadsdeel Noord or the Northern council of Amsterdam[18] has bought the NDSM shipyard back from the private company Vervaco and started to engineer the possible uses of the land. In an interview with Rob Vooren, an urban planner of the "Panorama Noord", published in the "Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord"" (Book 1, p.60) it occurs that the city council had an intention to develop a specifically "creative" area that would "add value" to the land in a course of time: "So we thought if we could arrange that we have a kind of continual program here – it will give us the benefit to know the area, plus we create some time, an image, culture on this place that you can see as a base for the further development.". Thus, in october 1999, the city council of Amsterdam North launched a contest for the "creative proposals"[19] of NDSM shipyard redevelopment "into multipurpose cultural meeting point" (ibid) and announced looking for a cultural entrepreneur who would undertake this project and propose a "vision, program and a business model"[20] for the redevelopment. Around thirty applications were submitted by various individuals and groups for this contest.[21] However, this competition was marked with success for Eva de Klerk: Kinetisch Noord leader won the contest to become a "cultural entrepreneur"– a mediator between the city council, artist community and the businesses. As a result, in February 2000 Kinetisch Noord and de Klerk signed the temporary lease of the main shipyard building, obtained 10 million euros funding for refurbishment both from the city council and from the Amsterdam Breeding place funds[22] (Amsterdam Broedplaats Fund) and started implementing the "alternative development" strategy (as the developer herself names it in various sources): together with the Kinetisch Noord she began to invite other artists and creatives to live and invest into the main building – the shipyard – to refurbish and equip the interior. Importantly, around 3 million euros were

[18] Amsterdam is divided into different city councils which in respect are quite sovereign in their governance. For example, the NDSM Werf is under supervision of the Stadsdeel Noord, or the council of the northern Amsterdam. Thus, it is precisely Stadseel Noord that is responsible for NDSM Werf urban, cultural, social development.
[19] „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", Book2. p.26.
[20] „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", Book2. p.30.
[21] „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", Book2.
[22] The complete sponsor list is as follows: Fund Broedplaats Amsterdam, the Department of Social Development (DMO) and Economic Affairs (EZ), the Dutch ministry of Housing, Regional Development and Environment (VROM) and by investments of Kinetisch Noord members.

invested by the artists themselves into the refurbishment. The "alternative development" was started by the "end-users" – artists and creative entrepreneurs as the new tenants. As Eva de Klerk in one of her published interviews with the SFU Dutch Design school remarks, the "alternative development" is supposed to combine the interests of both the artists/squatters and the commercial actors of the redevelopment: „This is an approach whereby all concerned participate equally in its development processes. The focus is on the needs of the end users and of providing room for creativity and innovation. Commercial interests are dealt with differently. Rather than hit and run tactics, the approach is one of collective development and management."[23] The "alternative development" or "bottom up" strategy entailed the collective participation of a community in NDSM shipyard redevelopment process. The main governance was ensured to the community itself (the "end-users" – i.e. artists and district dwellers; not the actual owners of the location or the city council). Hence, every artist and creative entrepreneur could invest in the shipyard to build her own place for a workshop. Moreover, every member of the shipyard could have a right to participate in the shipyard politics, governance and decision-making when negotiating with the city council. Significantly, the "alternative development" strategy granted Eva de Klerk international recognition among city developers: the former squatter gave lectures and guidance to such cities as Berlin and Yokohama not only on how to implement "bottom-up" politics in local neighbourhoods but also on how to use a "collective approach with various parties" (de Klerk's interview with SFU Dutch Design School), or, put differently, on how to ensure collaboration and mediate between the artists, creative industries and city councils.

The result of the NDSM shipyard redevelopment that started in year 2000 was indeed fascinating: an Art City ("Kunststad" or the "Self-Made City", see Figures 2 and 3) together with the Skate park were gradually built inside the former shipyard building. The project was finally completed in 2007 and as it is stated on the personal website of Eva de Klerk, it is today a largest breeding place in Europe[24]. As artist Thomas Schall in a short documentary about the NDSM redevelopment[25] recalls, the Art City was aimed at both the artists and the creative entrepreneur start-up businesses: „In 2001, Eva de Klerk, who initiated the project, started with the operational plan to

[23] The complete interview can be watched here: http://www.evadeklerk.com/ndsm-interview-sfudutchdesign. See Apendix 2.
[24] http://www.evadeklerk.com/ndsm-werf/
[25] See Appendix 2, short documentary by Krishna Kaur.

build 120 studio offices, a hiphop dance studio and a Skatepark together with 40 artists. Although there were some subsidies, around 120 artists also took their own money to then build their own offices. (…) If you want to get an office in the NDSM building, you have to be a creative person or group of people who are just developing their business.“. As a result, Art City was a utopian and internationally recognized architectural project: the main shipyard building was transformed into an “inner town” consisting of various art workshops, design and other creative entrepreneur businesses and studios. Moreover, the building was planned according to the philosophy and strategy introduced by the manifesto “Stad als Casco” written by Eva de Klerk and other former squatters in 1997: the community of “users” of the art workshops or, in other words, the “bottom-up” social actors – artists/former squatters could equally participate in the building/planning process with other interest parties.

Figure 2. Inside the Art City. *Picture from personal archive.*

Just after the redevelopment started, other parts of the NDSM district started to increasingly develop as well and many other initiatives (together with businesses and industries) moved to the district: theatre studios, recording studios, a hip-hop school, several restaurants, a windmill and a sustainable energy company emerged. Below, I cite an official NDSM creative district planning document “Innovation Case-Study Template of the NDSM Werf” (2005) by Eva de Klerk (See Appendix 2) in which the figures of area allocation are demonstrated:

"The building projects on the NDSM Wharf (Total 85.000 m2):

- Infrastructure and Fire Safety Measurements 20.000 m2
- An art village in the NDSM Warehouse with ateliers, studios and working space 20.000 m2
- Theatre working space (12 studio's) for site-specific theatre 2550 m2
- Performance spaces for exhibiting art work, theatre, dance and music 6.000 m2
- A skate park 1.750 m2
- Recording studio's and a hiphopschool 3000 m2
- An experimental climbing object 450 m2
- A windmill in the crane and a sustainable energy company
- A restaurant built with second hand and sustainable materials
- Mobile gardens and a mobile library on the outdoor premises (outdoor premises 50.000 m2)
- Docklands Warehouse for large events, flea markets and house parties 6.000 m2"

However, it is essential now to remark, that it was not only the Kinetisch Noord foundation that was credited with the entire redevelopment of the wharf. In 1999, together with the Kinetisch Noord initiative another foundation was established by the city council North, i.e. the programme Noord Lonkt![26]. This research programme/foundation was concerned with assembling the private investors/corporations - a consortium of developers (named as BV Durf) which would invest in the district and also finance the maintenance of the area. Thus, the Kinetisch Noord was finally acknowledged only as a "stakeholder" (only 5% of the stakes belonged to "Kinetisch Noord" in 2002)[27] of the redevelopment and did not gain full governance/ownership. For example, the financial investments into the district and many other issues were not under the Kinetisch Noord supervision. Kinetisch Noord was rather the "users" of the shipyard who could participate in creating the shipyard redevelopment vision and plan.

[26] The partners of the Noord Lonkt strategy were the Stadsdeel Noord (Amsterdam city council of the north), 3 housing corporations, the Chamber of Commerce, a private investor and Annemieke Roobeek (University of Amsterdam). See Urban Catalyst book 1, p.22.
[27] „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", Book2.

Thus, not surprisingly, the low level of governance and decision making granted for the Kinetisch Noord determined a conflict that later (around 2002-onwards) aroused between them and other interest parts, i.e. the city council of Amsterdam North and the private investors (or BV Durf in general). As it is remarked in "Amsterdam.tmp.Urban Catalyst Amsterdam Noord" research, the conflict was caused also by the changing Dutch political milieu that apparently influenced the further plans of the Stadsdeel Noord as well. [28] This conflict was focused on many problematic issues of governance: for example, the further development of the wharf (the maintenance of other NDSM buildings); the maintenance and responsibility for the outdoor area, etc. Significantly, from 2002-onwards Kinetisch Noord was gradually losing a lot of interest and responsibility zones they were credited with by the council at the beginning of the NDSM redevelopment project. In fact, except the main Art City building, the whole surrounding area started to slip from their hands.

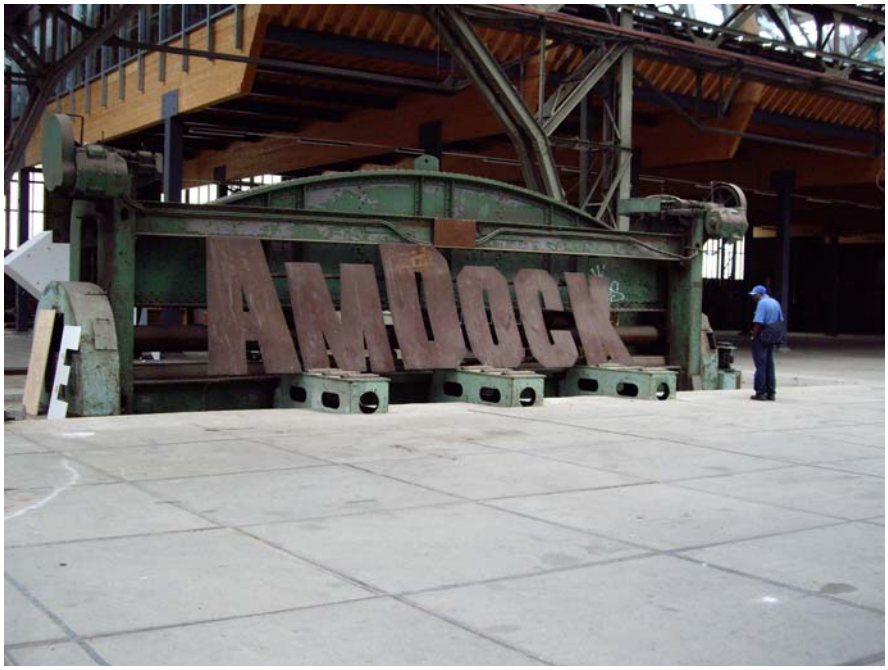

Figure 3. Inside the Art City. *Picture from personal archive*.

As a result, in the time span of 12 years (2000 and 2012 - the beginning of the Art City project till its actual materialization) a number of shifts and changes occurred on NDSM Werf both culturally and economically that were largely unexpected for the Kinetisch Noord, the foundation of the artists and former squatters who initially

[28] For a more explicit descripition of this change, see „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", Book2: p.47.

developed the project. Firstly, not only the Art City expanded considerably (a lot of "newcomers" started to rent the workshops) but also the whole district became a sophisticated and expensive area full of businesses and industries. The district of artists and creative entrepreneurs attracted corporate interests: in 2007 the former carpentry workshop (another monumental building of the Wharf as mentioned in the beginning of this section) was occupied by the headquarters of the MTV Benelux corporation and other music/entertainment TV channels: TMF the music factory, Nickelodeon and Comedy Central among others.

To make a precise timeline of (creative) industries that have moved into the NDSM area after the year 2000, I approached the Department of Research and Statistics in Amsterdam (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek (O+S), Gemeente Amsterdam, Dienst Advies en Onderzoek) who provided me with a complete list of the various companies on the NDSM area (data from 1990-2011). Interestingly, only around 15 companies have moved into the area in the time span of 1990-2000, whereas around 230 companies have located in the district between 2000 and 2012. It is important that the largest firms (100 working people or more) have moved in between 2005 – 2011:

HEMA B.V. moved in year 2005
Philadelphia Zorg Amsterdam - in 2007
MTV Networks B.V. - in 2007
MTV Networks Productions B.V. – in 2007
VNU Media B.V. – in 2010
Red Bull Nederland - in 2011.

Other big industries (50-99 working persons) moved into the area also in the time span 2005-2011:

USG Restart - 2004
Horecapa B.V. - 2005
Sentax B.V. - 2007
Reinders Bouw B.V. - 2008
Pantar Amsterdam (Onderhoudsdienst) - 2008
Tweakers.net B.V. - 2010
@Leisure NH B.V. – 2011

Significantly, however, the majority of industries that have moved into the NDSM Werf district belong to the "creative sector", according to the data provided by the Department of Statistics. In the timeline that follows (table 1) it is demonstrated that most of specifically creative industries have moved into the area between years 2007 and 2011.

2000	Chedi Consultancy B.V.; QI;
2001	Lemz; Stichting Kinetisch Noord;
2002	Heren 5 Architecten B.V.; M. Woerde Beheer Amsterdam B.V.; P. de Lange Beheer Amsterdam B.V.; Silees Workshop;
2003	Pfatz Promotainment; Anton der Kinderen; Floor Wesseling;
2004	Motive Gallery; IDTV Live360 B.V. ;
2005	Heer & Meester Film; Pi-2; Stichting Artery;
2006	Maarten Steen; Metaalrestauratie Amsterdam; Carelain Bergtop; Timivar;
2007	MTV Networks Productions B.V.; MTV Networks Polska V.O.F.; MTV Networks B.V.; Butterfly Concepts B.V.; Realsigns; Beta Beat Amsterdam B.V.; Dawn B.V.; I Care Producties B.V.; Vrolijk Meubel en Interieurbouw; conny deerenberg interieur achitectuur;
2008	More creative; Rock NRG; O+A architectuur en stedenbouw; Miktor & Molf; Marjolijn Stappers stereographics; alweerik audiovisueel; Elvira Vroomen; Hantzen Ploeger; Marc Faasse Fotografie; Atelier Joris Speelman;
2009	Eva de Klerk; Stichting Festival Classique; Roman Huijbreghs; Jakob Rheinlõnder; XFade Productions; Workroom; Urban Symbiose; Edberry Creative; Petra Parrink; Jeroen Samwel;

	Romke H³nd; Valerie van Leersum; Atelier Okan Akin; Maartje Korstanje; Hanneke de Munck, beeldhouwster; Heleen van Eendenburg restaurator; Geels Fotografie; J.A.M. Lanslots; Marcia Nolte; B.O.O.S.; Bram Oosterhuis Sturio; Atelier Ro Pagers; Hristov; Atelier Ro Pagers; Octant Objects; H.R. Schut; PubliekeWerken Int.;
2010	Nieuw Dakota B.V.; Own Thing; Marketing Business Groep Holland B.V.; Space & Matter; TENT circustheater producties; Artame; Eva Klee, beeldend kunstenaar; Remmel; Stoepkrijt; Jennifer Joan; Kreykamp; DNADN; Miss Mandy; Cherry Blossom Interactive; B.V. Turbinetanker
2011	Jeroen van Leur; Kopriva Film; Sofie Doeland, Scenograaf & Theatermaker; Revents; Florian Sperzel; iLLi & Tich; Lex Pott; Bau-Haus; Samen met Max B.V.; Veldsvorm;

Table 1. A timeline of creative industries that have located in NDSM-werf area in the time span of 2000-2011. Data provided by the *Department of Research and Statistics in Amsterdam.*

With the increasing dominance/presence of mega corporations such as HEMA and MTV, the tension started to rise again between the artist community Kinetisch Noord, industries, and the city council. For example, in the last quarter of the decade the Art City tenants and former Kinetisch Noord members (today better known as an organization Toekomst NDSM)[29] unsuccessfully tried to acquire ownership of the

[29] Those members of the Kinetisch Noord foundation who remained in the area today are working for the Toekomst NDSM foundation. Toekomst-NDSM integrates the interest of the Kinetisch Noord members, Art City tenants, Skaterpark representatives among others.

shipyard. Moreover, Kinetisch Noord completely lost their supervision and charge of the outer district area life organization, namely the planning of events and festivals, etc. Finally, the most recent loss of the Kinetisch Noord/Toekomst NDSM was the right to supervise the main community website and platform *ndsm.nl*. In a sense, Kinetisch Noord that was once an equal developer of the wharf failed as an organization and was deprived of all its power in decision making. Instead, a new foundation was established by the city council to undertake former Kinetisch Noord responsibilities - the Foundation NDSM (Stichting NDSM) which aim today is to mediate between the artist community Kinetisch Noord/Toekomst NDSM, the creative industries/other commercial sector in the area and the city council. Significantly, the URL of the website *ndsm.nl* was appropriated by the city council and later also entrusted to the newly established Stichting NDSM.

As a result, in this chapter I delineated the factual timeline of the NDSM district redevelopment in the time span 1984-2000 invoking a number of official documents, archival and visual material. Moreover, I employed the interviews published in „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord" research project in 2002-2003. All this information could be briefly summarized into a scheme of NDSM historical evolution and the shift of the main social/economic actors on the site:
NDSM 1984 - abandoned area (city council Amsterdam North; private land owners) →
NDSM 2000 - shipyard redevelopment project "Art City" (squatter union; Kinetisch Noord; BV Durf; Stadsdeel Noord) →
NDSM 2013 - creative cluster (Art City "newcomers"; industries; corporate expansion; Stadsdeel Noord; private developers).

Moreover, throughout a second chapter relations between different interest parts were analyzed and the conflict was revealed between the Kinetisch Noord foundation, the City Council of Amsterdam North and the private developers BV Durf which started around the year 2002 and continued to the present. However, several contradictory moments appeared in the factual history. For example, what determined that some squatters started to collaborate with the government and private investors back in year 2000? Moreover, why Kinetisch Noord foundation finally failed as an organization? What determined that it (Kinetisch Noord) was firstly endowed with great power and responsibilities by the council and later it was deprived of all its spheres of dominance? How this conflict between different interest parts has evolved during the past decade, i.e. from year 2000 till the current NDSM Werf? Thus, in the third chapter

my aim will be to provide an ethnographic insight into this factual history of NDSM redevelopment and to introduce yet another perspective into this conflict and the initial redevelopment phase by interviewing the social actors that had no voice in the (factual) history. As a result, in the chapter that follows I will present the differing conceptions towards the NDSM development providing the accounts of different interest groups that either were once involved in the redevelopment or are today directly involved in the further development of this district.

3. NDSM PAST AND PRESENT RECONSIDERED: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AND THE WEBSITE *NDSM.NL* ANALYSIS

The initial hypothesis of the thesis was that an alternative model of "creative district" theorization - a more nuanced theory of collaboration between the counterculture and other ideological groups - can be applied to the case-study of NDSM Werf. Moreover, some questions were raised: whether there was and still is conflict/power struggle between the artist organization, land owners and the government? Secondly, was/is there an (identity) clash between the artist community Kinetisch Noord (which were the first tenants of the NDSM shipyard including the former squatters), the newer incomers of the Art City that were invited after the year 2000 - the creative entrepreneurs and art businesses employees (the "neo-bohemia" in Lloyds terms) and the (media) corporations increasingly located in the district such as MTV? Finally, how the concept of "creative district" allows to reveal the shift of the power struggle from offline to online in the contemporary network economy?

Therefore, in this chapter, I will investigate both the past and the current state of affairs of the NDSM Werf redevelopment invoking the ethnographic method and interviewing the former and the recent NDSM social actors which will allow me to evaluate the past and the current stage of the interest conflict/power struggle. To be more precise, in this chapter I will interview these "interest groups":

- the initial members of the Kinetisch Noord who were directly involved into the Art City redevelopment proposal which was submitted to the city council of Amsterdam North in 1999, but have left the redevelopment after it started;
- other former members of Kinetisch Noord who have stayed on the shipyard till the present day and today are still involved into the Art City activities;
- the "newcomers" of the Art City who only recently entered the NDSM-werf;
- the representative of the Stichting NDSM - an opposing interest group to Kinetisch Noord[30].

Moreover, I will also further invoke the "Urban Catalyst" research as an important collection of archival material and interviews published in 2002-2004 - just after the redevelopment has actually started.

[30] For the complete list of interviewees, see Apendix 1.

Besides the actual interviews I will also perform the ethnographic online analysis of NDSM online sources which will provide the research with a comprehensive base for theorizing the "creative district" policy and the convergence of countercultural and entrepreneurial identity. As a result, this section will consist of two parts. In the first part, I will further analyze the conflict of the NDSM past between the Kinetisch Noord and other interest parts asking what actually determined this conflict and how it evolved after the redevelopment started. Moreover, invoking the information derived from the interviews, I will also attempt to reconstruct the moment of collaboration between the counterculture and other ideological groups that occurred in year 2000 and will question what actually impelled the counterculture of former squatters to collaborate and what consequences this collaboration had for the counterculture itself and for the redevelopment project in general. In the second part of this chapter, a current website *ndsm.nl* as a community platform will be investigated together with an interview of this website developer Elien van Riet with an aim to reveal how the identity renegotiation today extends the physical space into the virtual. NDSM-werf district will be analyzed as a contested public space where the meanings of "community", "creativity", "public" and "private" are constantly redefined.

3.1.Collaboration and power struggle: Kinetisch Noord

The dramatically shrunken squatter movement in Amsterdam around the turn of the millennium was determined by numerous factors. Naturally, the declining number of squats coincided with a weakened ideology of squatting, the political need/will for resistance in general and the declining urge for actual housing. As it was mentioned in the second chapter, the "hard" squatting was gradually replaced by "soft squatting" that was focused rather on work/leisure activities than housing or ideology. Then the Breeding Place policy was introduced that in fact legalized such "soft" gathering spaces which were now publicly accessible and "hip" places. Herewith, the identity of the "countercultural" rebellious and politically engaged squatter was increasingly transfigured into a "hip" neo-bohemian.

According to my interviewee former NDSM artist/squatter and sculptor Edd Vosser who himself participated in the squatter movement as well as the Art City

redevelopment back in year 2000, due to the rising rent prices in the nineties, many artists who were already living in the NDSM area were about to move out. There was a rising conflict all around Amsterdam between squatters and the big companies. As a result, around the year 2000 Eva de Klerk suggested for the artists to participate in this innovative redevelopment to save their working spaces. However, as Edd remarks, in many such cases of squat transformation into a breeding place the squatters/artists collaborated with the government and/or private developers mainly because they thought the funding would be allocated to preserve the unique squatting/workshop spots from breakdown and extinction. According to another speaker former squatter Hessel, the project of NDSM Werf redevelopment into a breeding place provided an opportunity for squatters to squat "legally". Interestingly, as Hessel remarked, around the time when Breeding place policy emerged, the squatting movement became much more culture (rather than housing) oriented which meant that people were squatting driven by the matter to have space to work, to create and retain their autonomous culture rather than to live.

However, according to another interviewee Casper Oorthuys[31], despite the collaboration and a reached consensus to redevelop the NDSM shipyard into an Art City, a conflict started slowly to occur between the foundation Kinetisch Noord and the city council/private investors mainly because the NDSM district started to transform into an expensive area. Accordingly, the prices of the workshops in Art City started to explode as well which changed the whole philosophy of project. Although Kinetisch Noord was responsible for the further Art City and surrounding area development and governance in 2000, in later years, due to financial reasons mainly, more and more initial participants of the Kinetisch Noord (initial redevelopers/first renters) were replaced (and finally "pushed out") by the newcomers. In such manner, the initial developers lost their power in this financial and political power struggle between the land owners, new incomers and old-timers. Casper confirmed my initial knowledge that the first participants of the NDSM Werf redevelopment together with the first artists – renters of the workshops – gradually lost not only the possibility to supervise the Art City, but also the foundation Kinetisch Noord, and together with it – the website *ndsm.nl*[32].

[31] Casper Oorthuys – the performance artist and member of Kinetisch Noord who was one of the first renters of the Art City workshops.
[32] The website ndsm.nl analysis is provided further in this section.

However, respondent Casper admitted that such sequence of events, i.e. the redevelopment from countercultural to commercial district and the constant struggle for power and authority to district development has been always predictable: "We knew we were used from the very beginning, also Eva *[Eva de Klerk – E. M.]* knew." The artists collaborated with the government for their own benefit, according to Casper and Edd – to remain in the district, to prolong the reasonable rent contracts in the shipyard, to have a right in area development decisions. Interestingly, some former squatters after the Breeding Place policy was introduced even started to work in governmental units with an aim to claim power and, as Casper put it, to "push" their ideas. The squatters considered the "legal" way being more efficient than resistance to governmental units.

The subtraction of power and decision making in further NDSM district redevelopment from Kinetisch Noord was determined by complex reasons. For example, according to my interviewees Casper and Edd, there is a widely spread public conception that there was a squat in the NDSM district before the redevelopment where the squatters and artists were squatting illegally[33]. Thus it is not surprising that later when the redevelopment started other interest parts considered it untenable that the Kinetisch Noord demanded the shipyard that did not actually belong to them. Whereas in fact the artists on NDSM were always paying rent (even if it was an affordable rent) before the redevelopment project and later, in the time span of 2000-2002, even invested a considerable amount of money themselves to renovate the shipyard as well and thus now they should be acknowledged as equal shareholders of this project[34]: "When the people use the word squat or artist they often try to put us away as people who do not take responsibility and it is for us very important to get awarded that we are not somebody playing and fooling around but this is what we built [the redeveloped Art City – E.M.], and we are proud of it and we want to keep it". Apparently, for the Kinetisch Noord members it is very relevant to be acknowledged publicly that the Art City is their original project. Naturally, the lack of acknowledgment results to the loss of power and rights.

[33] Significantly, the notion of the squat in NDSM area before the year 2000 can be found not only on official website but also was confirmed by my other interviewees Ruud van der Sluys or Elien van Riet who confirmed the "official" history version of NDSM squatters. For example, in an interview Ruud van der Sluys claimed: "People used to grow weed here… Parties, drugs, alcohol… But now it is organized. People pay rent here… But it is another situation than twenty years ago."

[34] As mentioned in the second chapter, Kinetisch Noord had only around 5% of stakes to the decision making of NDSM redevelopment.

During the interviews, it was also important to analyze how the former Kinetisch members themselves judge the conflict and power struggle and which interest part ideologically is the most discrepant to them. Interestingly, Casper and Edd do not blame the government for the loss of shipyard governance but the private owners of the land. For the loss, as Casper and Edd - the first participants of Kinetisch Noord - reveal, was largely determined by the private real estate company Biesterbos. This company started buying the wharf land from the government already 20-30 years ago. Today around 60 % of NDSM district area belongs to this company which is, importantly, consistently concerned with the economic development and corporate expansion in the area[35]. As a result, this determines that the most important decisions regarding the district have always been mostly dependent on the private investors and precisely this real estate corporation. In other words, the main power holders of the district (both offline and online) are not the government for the Kinetisch Noord members, but the private land owners. On the other hand, the government is also concerned with the expansion of industries in this area: "The more the land is developed, the more taxes from this land are going back to the local government. That's why the government needs HEMA." – explains Casper.

It is significant, that the renegotiation of alternative/entrepreneurial identity also took place on the level of counterculture itself. During the research process it emerged that the conflict and power struggle occurred not only between the different interest groups of NDSM district, i.e. Kinetisch Noord, city council and private investors/developers, but also in the very foundation Kinetisch Noord. Thus, in this chapter I suggest to focus not only on the "outer" but also on the "inner" conflict – the differences in ideological stances of foundation members themselves vis-à-vis the city council and private developers. Revealing the "inner" conflict will contribute to substantiate the argument of the countercultural/entrepreneurial collaboration and the dramatic evolution of the NDSM warf during the past decade: the failure of the Kinetisch Noord and the NDSM "creative cluster" formation.

Just after the NDSM shipyard redevelopment started in 2002, an interest conflict occured between the Kinetisch Noord members themselves: not only a lot of former Kinetisch Noord members were suddenly fired by Eva de Klerk in 2002, but also the two other major initiators (Jaap Draaisma and Hessel Dokkum) also left the

[35] The corporate expansion of media companies project mediawarf.nl is also generally under their supervision.

foundation. In Urban Catalyst research in 2003, de Klerk claims that the conflict between her and Hessel or Draaisma occurred mainly because their interests diverged regarding the leadership positions and the further vision of the project. Significantly, as soon as de Klerk started working on the shipyard redevelopment project in 2000, she was not anymore concerned about the evicted former squatters and their housing/workshop issues. According to a published interview in Urban Catalyst, de Klerk proclaimed working on this project for the "new" and young artists/cultural entrepreneurs: "The Breeding fund – it was not because these old people that used to squat 20 years ago, it was because of the new groups starting now. All these old guys from the past, now they think "Oh, but actually it's our work". But because it became a success, everybody wanted to come in and be the director. (…) We want to start something new, we want to have another approach, we want to experiment also with how to organize"[36]. As a result, de Klerk did not want to sustain the old model of squatting and planning; in fact, she distanced herself from all squatter movement and ideology in which she was once involved. The Art City, according to de Klerk, now had to serve primarily the start-up cultural activity/businesses and the new generation of cultural entrepreneurs.

To assess the reason of the initial conflict between Eva de Klerk and other Kinetisch Noord members, I approached the former squatter Hessel who was once an active ideologist and practician of the squatting movement in Amsterdam dating back to the 1980's and who together with Eva de Klerk established the foundation Kinetisch Noord and started to frame the plan for NDSM redevelopment project. Importantly, in the beginning Hessel was reckoned as a "spiritual leader" of the redevelopment by other Kinetisch Noord members whereas Eva de Klerk was considered rather as a "matchmaker" and "promoter" but not necessarily the main initiator.[37]

According to Hessel, the plan of the shipyard redevelopment was based on the DIY (Do It Yourself) ideas which meant that the organization process was supposed to be a bottom-up, non-professional approach to planning of architecture as well as community. However, as Hessel remarks, the DIY idea or the self-organized community idea never actually materialized in NDSM case: after receiving the subsidy from the government, Hessel, de Klerk and other enthusiasts had to resign the role of the main

[36] „Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord", Book 1: p.147.
[37] This information is derived from the actual interviews I conducted with other former Kinetisch Noord members.

developers or the "leading persons" as Hessels puts it, and accept some "outside" people to the redevelopment who were not squatters and had some explicit commercial interests in the site. This meant that the autonomy of project organization on NDSM Werf appeared to be a des-illusion for Hessel. At this point, the actual process of the shipyard redevelopment diverged from the initial expectations behind the project and so did the paths of Hessel and Eva. Hessel intimates that it was precisely Eva who bestowed the leading positions of the redevelopment process to the "outsiders" too easily and did not fight for the rights to an initial plan. However, at the same time, my interviewee admits that without accepting the conditions dictated by the government, the funding would not have been allocated for the shipyard redevelopment. To sum up, the collaboration between Hessel as an ideological leader of the redevelopment and Eva as the "manager" (or "promoter" in Hessel's words) resulted into a conflict between them regarding the very administration and future of the shipyard. Thus, Hessel together with several other organizers disassociated himself from the NDSM district redevelopment in 2001-2002 and never embarked into this project again. For them this project was simply a "failure".

Not surprisingly, Hessel is today very sceptical about the current "inner town" of the Art City developed in the shipyard. The reasons for such discontent are complex: he thinks that there is a lack of the common "vision" how the shipyard should look like/be organized. In other words, the Art City reminds him an office building where hardly any "real" artists can be found. However, what is really lacking to Hessel is the (sense of) community which was the fundamental element of the initial DIY or bottom-up NDSM redevelopment project: "the people [that Eva de Klerk invited into the redevelopment; and the recent newcomers of the Art City – E.M.] had no idea of DIY, they just wanted working space. And that's what you see now: people there are almost not connected to each other" – Hessel remarks.

After the unsuccessful project of NDSM Werf, Hessel started a new project "Urban Resort" together with some other former NDSM enthusiasts such as Jaap Draaisma.[38]. This project, contrary to NDSM case, was loaded with the ideas of squatting, DIY, bottom-up organization and sustainability. What is more, Jaap Draaisma was later also involved with the first digital platform of Amsterdam "De Digitale Stad"

[38] As stated previously, Draaisma was involved in the Art City development back in 2000 with Eva de Klerk and Hessel.

which was a very well known tactical media[39] in Europe. Apparently, the objectives as well as ideology and political vision of Draaisma/Hessel significantly diverged from de Klerk's although once they were all involved into the same Amsterdam squatting movement.

Having reconstructed the moment of collaboration and the past interest conflict I will now attempt to research the current stage of the NDSM power struggle by choosing to investigate the virtual NDSM environment which today allows to identify the "creative cluster" evolution and the "creative city" policy in general.

3.2. From offline to online gentrification: the story of the URL *ndsm.nl*

The conflict, or rather an incongruity in the conception and representation of NDSM district community and development, has been visible on the virtual NDSM space as well during the past decade. Thus, I will now provide a short historical overview of the past websites devoted to NDSM area and subsequently introduce the current website *ndsm.nl* and will pose questions: how the struggle between different ideological views is reflected and constructed in online "version" of space? How do online contests involving virtual space interfere with the offline struggle?

There were several websites representing the NDSM district before the year 2012 supervised by different NDSM interest parties. The most well known/important one –the URL to *www.ndsm.nl* – was under the artist community Kinetisch Noord supervision from the moment of its very establishment. However, it is essential to remark that the creation of the *ndsm.nl* was fully covered by the Amsterdam Stadsdeel Noord which invested six million euros in this website development. The website had several functions: on the one hand, it had a section representing the history of NDSM Werf and the delineation/timeline of the shipyard evolution emphasizing the squatter and artist significance in this redevelopment process; on the other hand, it included the shipyard artist community blog with the NDSM events/activities/projects agenda. Significantly, the website was a commercially independent platform supervised by the shipyard artist community itself and intended for the district and Art City issues.

[39] See, for example, an interview of Geert van Lovink, David Garcia and Andreas Broeckmann on tactical media http://www.tacticalmediafiles.net/article.jsp?objectnumber=52950

There was also another website that today does not exist anymore as a sovereign website - *mediawharf.nl* [40]– which had a completely different mission: it was a map of industries/companies/corporations located on the NDSM Werf. Additionally, it was aimed to advertise the district for commercial investors and invite other industries to settle in the "creative" area. This website, importantly, was supervised by Biesterbos – the real estate company mentioned by my interviewees (see the beginning of the chapter). The websites (*ndsm.nl* and *mediawharf.nl*) seemed to be independent from each other and supervised by different interest groups of NDSM. Accordingly, the websites served different functions and hence proclaimed different conceptions of what is the "community" or "creativity" in the NDSM district context. For *ndsm.nl* supervisors these concepts were initially connected to the Kinetisch Noord – former squatter and artist community; for the *mediawharf.nl* developers they were a part of the "creative industries" policy and the "creative city" development model alleging the successful economic development of the city as directly related to the "creative" urban areas.

However, recently a great change occurred in the virtual sphere of the NDSM district. On 22nd November, 2012 the newly refurbished website *ndsm.nl* was launched and the previous websites - *mediawharf.nl* together with the former version of *ndsm.nl* – ceased to exist. Significantly, the new website was launched by the "Stichting NDSM". The Stichting NDSM, as was shortly mentioned previously, is the recently established foundation for NDSM district public representation and community activity organization. The URL to *ndsm.nl* was initially owned by the Kinetisch Noord artist community. However, from 2012 it is owned by the city council and was entrusted to the "Stichting NDSM" organization for supervision and development. To investigate this change in NDSM online environment – a transformation of *ndsm.nl* website - I interviewed both the members of Kinetisch Noord Casper and Edd and the Stichting NDSM representative Elien van Riet. It was important to me to reveal why this change

[40] Significantly, today the NDSM district is also known as "Mediawharf". "Mediawharf" is, interestingly, also an NDSM development consortium of real estate corporations such as Fortress bv, Het Fort Onroerend Goed and BIESTEROS (which is, in fact, the main land owner of the district).[40] The vision of this development project is expanding the number of various (especially media) corporations, creative businesses and other facilities such as restaurants, hotels and events in the area: "At Media Wharf old historic hangars are being restored for creative (media) companies, cultural (educative) establishments, studios, restaurants and cafes and retails in all different sizes and shapes" – states the Mediawharf on the *ndsm.nl* website. Although mediawharf.nl does not exist anymore as a sovereign website, today its idea is put under the newly established website *ndsm.nl* heading "Mediawharf": http://www.ndsm.nl/bedrijf/mediawharf/

occurred and what impact it had for the prevailing interest conflict between the two opposing interest groups, i.e. the Kinetisch Noord and Stichting NDSM. Moreover, I interviewed some regular renters/artists of the Art City (or the newcomers who were not involved into the initial NDSM Wharf redevelopment) to investigate what role the old/new versions of the *ndsm.nl* played for the Art City artists and for them personally, i.e. whether they used the website at all, etc. By interviewing the artists and the website developer Elien I also intended to analyze how the new version of the *ndsm.nl* transforms the conception of NDSM "community" and "creativity".

The new website *ndsm.nl* converges the two functions of the previous websites (former version of *ndsm.nl* and the *mediawharf.nl*): it advertises the district for company expansion and economic development; it introduces the onlooker with the NDSM district, its artists and industries; and, importantly, it is intended to serve as a platform for the NDSM "community" itself. In other words, the website is a part of the NDSM community building effort initiated by the newly founded organization Stichting NDSM. However, how the very notion of "community" was and is perceived by the Art City newcomers and old-timers? Significantly, the conception of the NDSM "community" during the first years of Art City redevelopment was very important to both the old-timers and new-comers of NDSM Werf: "We are trying to perceive ourselves as a communal group. Democracy is our main goal. We try that with all the tenants here. By finding a common ground we grow together instead of being torn apart." (artist Marc Koolen, in the short TV documentary on NDSM district[41]). However, the interviewees I spoke to (Kinetisch Noord representatives Casper and Edd) denied the myth of NDSM community claiming that today the Art City (former shipyard) is not a community breeding place but rather an office where creatives come to work without even knowing each other. The same reluctant attitude towards the existence of NDSM community was testified by other two speakers – the Art City newcomers and creative industry workers – product designer Jeroen van Leur and circus producer Cahit Metin. Jeroen remarked: "There's no community here. I think there should be but there isn't really…". Cahit confirmed this notion saying that people come to the Art City only to work – like to any other office. As a result, the notion of community and what it entails is significantly different today than it was during the first years of redevelopment.

[41] For the documentary, see vimeo.com/34709834.

However, the conception of NDSM community is enthusiastically supported by Elien van Riet, community manager at the Stichting NDSM and developer of the new website *ndsm.nl*. According to Elien, the new website was established with an aim to "gather all organizations, industries, artists and cafés to one place and to connect all of them online because previously they were quite scattered.". The website today, as a result, is sort of a hotchpotch representing the district from cultural, industrial, commercial and entertainment perspectives. It is divided into several sections such as "news", "dock activities", "stories" and "members". The website is designed in a manner to equally represent the businesses, various organizations, events, renters and rentable workshops/buildings/offices, possibilities to shop, events, artist or entrepreneur stories. When opening the website, various categories of this NDSM "social/economic/cultural life" might pop out on a single front page (see the website). Moreover, importantly, it is designed in such a way that each member (a person, a business or an organization) of the NDSM wharf in one or another way connected to this district (whether through culture, businesses, renting, etc.) can create her personal account and also make a personal profile (see the "members" section) where one can find how this person/business/organization is connected to the NDSM district and sometimes his/her (or her company's) information, i.e. the e-mail address or telephone number. The website also has a particular kind of "news feed" where all the relevant information can be posted by any participant of the district and website. Furthermore, it has an event calendar under the section heading "dock activities". Finally, the "stories" section is aimed at wharf representation. In this section one can find the "stories", i.e. interviews or various written accounts/posts of the past and present NDSM district participants such as Eva de Klerk, for example, or different entrepreneurs; past NDSM events; and other relevant information about the district and its dwellers. In result, the new website has evident resemblances to social media platform format.

Elien reveals that the purpose of the foundation "Stichting NDSM" (and hence of the new website) is to mediate between the industries, artists, city council and the publicity: "MTV came, HEMA came and the process of the gentrification started. So now it is a great challenge to keep this diversity here but also to stimulate this development. We want it to be a diverse area. The concept of the website is to create online the space the same as offline.". Apparently, on the one hand, Elien is working to negotiate the diverse community of the NDSM district and induce the communion between the ideologically distinct social groups. On the other hand, the new website

converges the identities of the old-timer artist community (identity of counterculture echoing the radical political squatter movement which was against the bureaucratic institutions, etc.), the creative industries employees or the newcomers of the Art City and various corporations at the same time blurring the ideological boundaries and the historical conflict between them.

Another interesting detail about this new website that must be mentioned here as well is that the website developers and designers aimed at creating an "exclusive" website from various perspectives. First, as it was mentioned previously, the website was created to resemble contemporary popular social media platforms (such as Facebook, for example). Secondly, it aimed at "integrating" in Elien's words, or including the (personal) information about the artists/former squatters (who in turn did not want to be "integrated"). Thirdly, as Elien reveals to me, the website designers also wanted to create a manifesto for the Art City along with this website[42]. And finally, particular slogans were created for the new website by the same designers such as "*rebel with a cause*", "*change the rules*" or "*this place, it's you*". These slogans were released in the form of simple badges and distributed during the opening event of the new website. When I inquired Elien what these slogans actually meant for this website and for NDSM, she could not clearly explicate except claiming that they were aimed at manifesting that "there is still place to do it your own way" on the NDSM wharf. Thus, on the one hand, the resemblance of these slogans to the DIY and countercultural squatter movement ideas according to which the shipyard was once redeveloped, were reborn along the establishment of the new website. On the other hand, these slogans were empty signifiers like some advertising catchwords. As a result, the slogans were rather marketing tools for the website as well as for the district in general. Indeed, the historical symbolic capital in Harvey's terms that the shipyard possesses (the history of the NDSM as a place of rebellious squatters/artists that were living and creating here) is the most valuable resource in monetary terms. Hence, the new developers of the NDSM aim at employing the historical rhetoric of the NDSM initial redevelopment project.

According to Elien, before this new website appeared displacing the old one, there was a taut negotiation between the artists, especially the old-timers from the Kinetisch Noord, the foundation "Stichting NDSM" where Elien works, district developers and the city council (Stadsdeel Noord). The issue of this negotiation was to

[42] The idea of manifesto , however, has not materialized yet.

solve a question of who has the right to own the URL to the main website. Shall it be given to the old timers - the initial redevelopers of the Art City - who were in fact the administrators of this website from its very establishment, or shall it be assigned to the newly established Stichting NDSM which would refresh the website and perhaps the whole area? Finally, the artists literally yielded the URL of the *ndsm.nl* to the government which again intensified the conflict, according to Elien: "So they lost their rights to the URL and of course this is a very sensitive subject now as you can imagine.(…) Now our aim is to integrate them again also to this website. We need to keep that diversity both offline and online so that the website would not be left only to the corporations." This claim of Elien illustrates the importance of the artists/squatters to the further district development and corporate expansion: it is precisely the "creativity" that makes the NDSM district so special and which attracts the investments. A great paradox emerges in Elien's statement: the "old-timers" of the district are no longer needed for the actual offline development, but they are needed online as signs and labels of "creativity". And creativity, as laid in the theoretical part, is the essence of contemporary hype of "creative economy".

For this ethnographic research it was essentially important to fully comprehend how the artists themselves actually experienced this "loss" of URL. Thus I approached them asking how did they feel about it and my initial assumptions about the loss of power and authority together with the website were partially confirmed. On the one hand, the loss of the URL to the website was extremely disappointing for them. As Casper remarks: "NDSM was not popular. And we made it popular. The same with the website – we made it popular and we want credit for it. And if they want to take it away – OK – take it away. But we are not going to help." As a result, the gentrification of artist community switched from offline to online within the deprivation of URL – the artist community Kinetisch Noord lost the right to govern their own virtual public sphere and hence to be publicly acclaimed and recognized as the main NDSM district social actors, initiators and developers. On the other hand, Casper was at the same time ambiguous about the loss of the website. He remarks: "But also it was never a strong website [the old version of *ndsm.nl* – E.M.]. We did not need advertising ourselves or to communicate – if I want to communicate I just walk to my neighbour. I don't need to use Internet for communicating.".

As a result, Kinetisch Noord artist community refuses to collaborate with the Stichting NDSM and, as my interviewees Casper and Edd asserted, they are

reluctant even to be included to the main NDSM website today. However, it is indeed the "diversity" mentioned by van Riet that guarantees the cultural symbolic capital of the area in Harvey's terms and ensures the district is prevented from the monopoly rents of the district land going low. Therefore, it can be claimed that although the collaboration strategy is again initiated in the virtual space by the Stichting NDSM, this time the collaboration is simulated and works rather as a strategy of the "creative district" commercial development.

4. NDSM RECONSIDERED: THE POWER AND IDENTITY STRUGGLE OFFLINE/ONLINE

The case-study of NDSM-werf Amsterdam is an illustrative example of the "creative city" development according to the clichés of the global fever for the "creative economy". Such urban development – clustering of low-tech and/or high-tech industries in particular districts which have previously been vivid urban areas of counterculture - has many clones in various parts of the globe. However, as I have argued throughout the text, the case study of NDSM-werf at the same time differs from the classical capitalist development model based on antagonism between counterculture and commerce that was extensively theorized by both the neo-liberal and neo-Marxist thinkers. The analysis of the case study NDSM-werf performed in the previous chapters of this research paper has been generally focused on two issues: firstly, it was aimed at demonstrating that this particular case study requires a different theorization model of the "creative district" development, namely one based on collaboration rather than contraposition between the counterculture and ideologically distinct social groups. Secondly, the timeline of the historical shipyard development was traced and scrutinized in order to re-evaluate the power struggle of the NDSM "creative district" between the ideologically distinct social groups from the moment of its initial formation to the present and herewith to define the past and current politics of the district. The clash of identities and power was analyzed not only offline (by ethnographic research and interviewing of redevelopment participants and current social actors) but also online, i.e. invoking the websites of the NDSM-werf and assessing them as sovereign research objects. Thereby, the politics of representation of the NDSM-werf was investigated revealing how such notions as "community", "creativity" and "counterculture" are re-conceptualized in the present NDSM "creative district" and represented to the public.

The case study of NDSM-werf provided an opportunity to grasp the seamless shifts and changes of the "creative economy" and "creative city" trend by tracing the NDSM "creative district" development throughout the time span of 2000-2013. Firstly, the ethnographic analysis (interviewing, online ethnography and the analysis of websites) revealed that different ideological actors of the NDSM redevelopment have been holding distinct visions of the NDSM-werf development:

1. The private **land owners** of the NDSM geographical space (mainly Biesterbos) have been increasingly extending their influence and authority in the decision making since the redevelopment started. Importantly, the land owners/private developers have been concerned with following the trend of the "creative economy" and developing the district by increasing its industry and corporate expansion. However, Biesterbos envisions NDSM not only as an area of creative industries, but rather as a district of particularly media industries; land owners attribute the whole district expansion paradigm "Mediawharf". Hence, the future vision of NDSM area according to the land owners is a modern media industry cluster. Such district expansion vision is overtly declared on the official website *ndsm.nl* in which the district developers emphasize the "alternative" and "creative" environment that is specifically appropriate for "creative" and innovative industries. However, despite this official future vision, a number of regular mega - industries are also increasingly locating in the district, such as HEMA or Red Bull. Importantly, the expansive definition of "creative" in "creative industries" that is employed by the district developers and land owners is a rhetorical and strategic move to lure investors and broaden the concept itself to include a wide range of business activities that are not necessarily related to "artists" and "culture". Thus, the strategy of land owners exactly corresponds the ideological configurations of the "creative economy" and the theories of its main proponents such as Florida (who expanded the term of "creative class") or the UK DCMS documents (which expanded the term "creative industries" accordingly). Moreover, by expanding the meaning of creative, the district developers renegotiate the countercultural and entrepreneurial identities of the artists, former squatters and various industry/office workers confining the whole social/economic diversity of the area under a single term – creativity.
2. After the redevelopment of NDSM shipyard started around the year 2000, the common (future) vision of the "**counterculture**" of NDSM-werf, or the old-timers of the redevelopment has gradually diverged. One part of the redevelopment enthusiasts (basically the former squatters or the community Kinetisch Noord) at first believed in an idea of a non-commercial breeding place aimed at start-up artists and thus remained in conflict with other social groups of the project when the redevelopment happened to be commercially-oriented. Some initial organizers even left Kinetisch Noord and the project Art City

shortly after realizing the further development does not meet with their expectations. The other part (Eva de Klerk and the newcomers of the Art City) have further collaborated with the commercial developers, the government and the land owners, even though the latter were increasingly detracting the rights to governance and decision making from the Kinetisch Noord. Importantly, the "newcomers" of the Art City today do not share the same identity of the initial project organizers: the creative industry employees/ creative entrepreneurs I interviewed did not even know about the negotiations still taking place between the Art City initiators and the city council. As a result, they consider the industry expansion in the area as a positive outcome of district and city development. Also, the "newcomers" do not consider themselves a "community" of the district (which was an initial idea of the old-timers).

3. The **municipality** has been concerned at accommodating the interests of different groups: recently it has established the foundation "Stichting NDSM" which is aimed at building the NDSM community anew and ensuring the further collaboration between various social parts.

As a result, NDSM-werf Amsterdam remains on the verge of the global "creative city" competition. What is exceptional in the context of the academic "creative city" research, though, is that the "counterculture" today is perceived as a precious component of the "creative district": the "old" counterculture needs to be co-opted and preserved in order for the "new" creative district to retain its "hipness" and economic attractiveness for the potential investors (interest of the developers) or tourists (interest of the city council). Thus, the "counterculture" is not evicted or gentrified as in Barcelona or Berlin as delineated by Harvey and Pasquinelli: the old-timers of the redevelopment still have their workshops in the Art City (although do not share the rights to decision making anymore). As Elien van Riet, the developer of the new version of *ndsm.nl* website has testified, the strategy for the current "creative district" NDSM is to retain the "cultural diversity" on the area and to sustain a public view of the district as "alternative" place where the counterculture and the commercial interests intersect, co-operate and exist in concord. This particularity of NDSM case-study, thus, exemplifies the shifting trend of the "symbolic capital" valorization in "creative districts". In his study Pasquinelli claimed: "The contemporary phenomenons of financialisation and gentrification are examples of new techniques of valorisation (based on speculative rent) still to be comprehended by cultural activism and art world." (2010: 3). The "new technique of

valorization", though, is not necessarily always related to gentrification: the case study of NDSM exemplifies a different scenario of "valorization" when the "underground" and the businesses are "concerted" in collaborative manner.

I started the argument by looking for the various theory models that would provide me with a base and supporting tools to investigate the NDSM redevelopment from past till present. Thus, I distinguished between the three realms that are fundamental for this research topic ("creative industries", "creative class" and "creative district") and attempted to define them as distinct categories ("economic category", "socio-demographic category" and "geographic category" respectively). Each of these categories revealed different aspects of the same neo-liberal ideological configuration and illustrated how the meaning of "creativity" itself has dramatically changed after the year 2000 from barely cultural and artistic to entrepreneurial, "innovative", etc. However, as it appeared throughout the first chapter, the term "creative district" allowed to combine all three concepts and proved to be the most productive term to analyze the NDSM-werf case-study. The "creative industry" economic category investigation clarified why it was precisely various sorts of cultural industries that became models for the successful economic development of the neo-liberal state: their features such as flexibility, organizational innovation, competition and collaboration were the factors that led to geographical clustering of the cultural industries into "creative districts". Similarly, the socio-demographic term "creative class" explicated by Florida suggested that the "creative districts" form in particular urban areas of high density of highly skilled, creative and tolerant people. However, neither the theories of the "creative class" nor the "creative industry" clustering were sufficient for the argument I wanted to make about the NDSM-werf: the NDSM district redevelopment has not formed "naturally" because of the high concentration of highly skilled and tolerant people or the "creative industries". NDSM-werf district redevelopment was initiated and fostered by a particular group of artists and former squatters that shared the same vision of redevelopment together with the government and the land owners. This shared vision was actually based on the same utopia of "creative economy" that was firstly promoted by the neo-liberal governments and which was finally embraced by the "counterculture" itself.

It is important to remark, however, that by proposing a model of "collaboration" I do not want to argue that other Marxist theorists have not yet theorized the collaborative aspect of the artists and businesses relation. My claim is that in this

particular case-study the moment of collaboration is exceptional in the sense that the redevelopment was launched as a particular business plan from the very beginning: it was precisely the counterculture of former squatters that initiated the project of NDSM-werf redevelopment anticipating the commercial future of this project. The idea of the Art City was also represented by de Klerk in various sources as an extremely "flexible" place that is able to transform and change according to shifts in history, economy and culture. Therefore, this kind of collaboration is different from the "alliance" mentioned by, for example, Pasquinelli who in his text on the redevelopment of Berlin remarks: "Throughout Berlin and the whole of Europe, we are witnessing the condensation of a peculiar form of cultural capital as the leading force behind real estate and the "creative cities" strategy of city councils eager to attract both investments and highly-skilled workers. As a result, the real estate business has established a perverse machinery in alliance with the art world and cultural producers." (2008: 6). In the Amsterdam case, the "machinery" was initially launched not even by the real estate businesses but by the artists and squatters themselves. It is also remarkable, that the countercultural idea of the "breeding place" was not "appropriated" by capital investors or the municipality but the counterculture itself embraced the idea of the "creative district" before the development actually started. By launching the collaboration process, Eva de Klerk and the former squatters Kinetisch Noord in fact operated according to the ideology of the New Economy and its main tenets such as flexibility, re-skilling and entrepreneurial spirit: they have successfully conformed to the changing politico-economic conditions becoming cultural entrepreneurs, working in collaborative teams with the city developers and government and generating innovative urban project of the NDSM district.

Therefore, I invoked the theory of countercultural collaboration by Fred Turner to draw a parallel between these otherwise very different utopias, namely the Internet and the "creative district" redevelopment. Just as the Internet was once considered a powerful tool to develop democracy, so similarly was the redevelopment of the wharf: the idea of the shipyard redevelopment was to primarily accommodate the interests of various ideological groups, i.e. the municipality, the squatters and also the land owners. In other words, it was a kind of legal settlement between the squatters and the government/land owners that allowed them to squat "legally" but this settlement also turned out to be beneficial to the democratic image of the city of Amsterdam and its municipality. However, just as in Turner's delineation of the Stewart Brand cultural

entrepreneurs, the image of shipyard project "democracy" gradually began to serve the real estate companies while also enhancing the corporate expansion in the district. The counterculture has insensibly donated their creative energy and participation voluntarily and popularized the utopia of the creative district redevelopment. It was precisely they who in a sense "appropriated" the ideas of capitalism and not vice-versa. This has gradually led to their abating authority/rights to district governance. And finally, it must be added, that the counterculture itself became a marketing tool for the corporate NDSM district development and, as was mentioned previously, today it is "preserved" as an essential part of the area in public discourse as well. The remarkably similar situation happened with Stewart Brand and the Whole Earth network: their ideas were later used as "prototypes of a new and ideal form of networked sociability" (Turner, 2006: 218) not only by the Wired journal but also in other entrepreneurial discourse at large "in order to conjure up and legitimate a particular social vision" (ibid).

As a result, this shared trajectory of development resulted in the blurred identity of countercultural and entrepreneurial forces of the NDSM-werf. Significantly, countercultural community primarily associated themselves to the political resistance against bureaucracy and governmental institutions but eventually some of the former squatters even started to work in governmental institutions, including Eva de Klerk herself who was counselling the Amsterdam municipality regarding the breeding places. Thus, Eva de Klerk and the former squatters, by initiating the collaboration process contributed to shape a contemporary public conception of both the "creative districts" and the "counterculture". According to this conception, "creative districts" are vibrant cultural areas that can successfully combine the countercultural ideals and the corporate interests. It is not co-incidental: the "levelling" power of the New Economy eliminates the differences between ideologies and obviates resistance and political discontent of the grassroots.

The offline struggle that today still persists between the old-timers of the Art City and the municipality/land owners is significantly enhanced by the online struggle for the contested virtual space – the website. As online ethnography and the historical website investigation has shown, the new NDSM website *ndsm.nl* today becomes a platform and tool to play off, simulate and manage the identities and the public conceptions of the fundamental social and cultural categories such as "community" or "creativity" from different ideological perspectives. The owners of the website *ndsm.nl* URL become the main actors of the identity struggle game and assume

the power to determine the public representation of the NDSM area. According to Castells (2006) the power struggles are transferred to the digital network sphere in the network economy: "since politics is largely dependent on the public space of socialized communication, the political process is transformed under the conditions of the culture of real virtuality. (…) It also implies that presence in the media is essential for building political hegemony or counter-hegemony – and not only during electoral campaigns" (Castells, 14). As a result, the virtual space – the website *ndsm.nl* – is a crucial political platform in which both interest parts, i.e. the Kinetisch Noord and the city concil/land owners seek to establish their dominance, exercise power, instil their version of NDSM redevelopment history and shape the public opinion about the area. Currently, as the main website is under the supervision of Stichting NDSM, the main power is rallied in the hands of commercial interest groups which in respect are concerned to renegotiate the identity of counterculture. The countercultural identity is thus also blurred on the new *ndsm.nl* website and presented as an integral part of the commercial creative industries. The countercultural "creativity" is a valuable resource for the NDSM district developers creating a buzz of "new", creative economy and the successful creative development.

Significantly, the *ndsm.nl* website today is mostly instrumental not for the "community" of artists or creative entrepreneurs (be it the newcomers or the old-timers) but for the (creative) industry sector that increasingly expands on NDSM-werf: the new website serves as a contemporary "agora" for marketing. Thus "clustering" of industries today is equally important both offline and online, i.e. geographically and in virtual space. As it was delineated in the previous chapters, the industries started to locate in the area only in the second part of the decade, i.e. after the redevelopment of the shipyard was about to finish. Recalling Scott's remark that a particular place can add a "surplus value" for the industry production, or Harvey's idea that the monopoly rent of the land rises in relation to the authenticity of the place, it is not accidental that such industries as MTV or Nickelodeon chose NDSM: the "surplus value" of the area was generated by the artists and cultural entrepreneurs who had their workshops in the Art City or its surroundings; moreover, it was also the historical significance and monumentality of the former shipyard. However, Scott has also argued that industry clustering is driven by economic benefits such as inter-firm collaboration, competition and agglomeration for innovation (e.g. Silicon Valley). However, the economic reasons may not be major ones for a contemporary industry clustering. Contrarily, it might be

the "social clustering" and the exclusive aura of the district that may be the main cause why the NDSM area is still attractive for the new coming industries and businesses. For example, in an online correspondence with the game company "Rough Cookie" (game design and development for high-end mobile platforms) which moved into NDSM area in 2012, I discovered that the main reason for this company to move in NDSM area was simply "affordable space that was large enough to accommodate the expansion we were expecting at the time.". The company, apparently, does not mention the possible collaboration with other firms, etc. Moreover, none of my respondents - newcomers of the Art City - mentioned the (office) cooperation as their primary goal of moving in the shipyard. As a result, the collaboration today presumably is not as relevant at the level of inter-firm collaboration. However, significantly, the clustering of firms today has undoubtedly transcending the offline environment and moving partly to online space. In the website *ndsm.nl*, various kinds of firms and businesses, foundations and offices are laid on a map of NDSM economic milieu. Thus it could be cautiously claimed that it is precisely this new website, i.e. not the physical agglomeration but the online agglomeration that benefits the contemporary industry clustering. Ensuring a "diversity" (as Elien van Riet, a developer of *ndsm.nl*) of various reputable successful businesses guarantees building a "hegemony" or "counter-hegemony" as remarked by Castells.

Unlike the classical capitalist development based on social, political and cultural "conflict" described by Florida or neo-Marxists, it is apparent now that the counterculture of the first NDSM artist/squatter communities, named the Kinetisch Noord, assembled by the creative entrepreneur Eva de Klerk, collaborated around the year 2000 to work on the same urban project of NDSM redevelopment and cultural vision of the "creative city". The two distinct social groups (together with the city council) shared the same conception of the collaborative project, i.e. NDSM urban development as integrating the cultural and entrepreneurial milieus. Therefore, this specific case-study differs significantly from a classical "creative district" redevelopment models explicated by Pasquinelli, Harvey and Deutsche/Ryan among other cultural theorists that have extensively analyzed "creative city" developments from a Marxian viewpoint: the "underground" or "counterculture" of NDSM has not opposed to the bureaucratic systems in 2000 but sustained its views; the Kinetisch Noord was never evicted but, contrarily, is sustained today which guarantees the cultural diversity and "added value" of the area. As a result, the particular case-study of NDSM cannot be theorized according to the usual theoretical framework and demands

another angle of theory – one which emphasizes the collaboration between the counterculture and commercial interest groups.

As was mentioned in previous chapters, there is a number of similar urban developments taking place at the moment across the globe. Therefore, I will now introduce three distinct examples of such urban projects that herewith exemplify three different scenarios of urban developments. All of them will be compared to NDSM Werf case-study looking for differences and similarities in order to demonstrate that the findings of my thesis may be applicable to a particular type of "creative district" developments. First explicit example is the Bonnington Square – area of south London, Vauxhall, which back in the 1980's hosted around three hundred squatters from all around the world. The squatters lived in roughly one hundred buildings illegally and developed a whole infrastructure for the sustainable community: a café, milk bar, food shop and a night club. Due to the mounting threats of gentrification, in 1994 the residents of the Bonnington Square formed a housing cooperate and obtained a subsidy to found a public space – The Bonnington Square garden – which presumably saved the residents from eviction. However, as it is common to such neighbourhoods, the area attracted commercial interests and a number of other activities started to locate nearby: various businesses, office buildings, etc. In addition, two skyscrapers are planned to be build in Vauxhall in the near future. Apparently, the case of the Bonnington square is in many instances a very different development than NDSM Werf: it was generally not the counterculture of London squatters that initiated the redevelopment of area into a "creative district". However, this case-study is a good example when the community is not gentrified and achieves a relative autonomy. Thus, the Bonnington Square case raises questions such as why the local community that formed there was preserved by the council and how such case illustrates the shifting "creative city" strategy and symbolic capital formation.

The second example is the art centre "Winzavod" in Moscow, Russia. The former winemaking enterprise was redeveloped into a sophisticated art zone of galleries, shops, cafés and studios. The Winzavod creative space has also a great impact on the commercial development of surrounding area. The case study thus necessitates an investigation of the role of artists in this redevelopment and the formation of "creative district". For as my case-study demonstrated, the role of artists themselves is often considerably under-estimated in such developments.

There are, however, case-studies that are identical to NDSM Werf urban redevelopment. I would like to mention here the Mile End in Montreal, Canada, which was already analyzed by Tremblay and Battaglia (2012) in terms of urban regeneration. Importantly, just as the NDSM Werf, the Mile End is also an explicit example of collaboration between the artists and other interest groups. Although the researchers identify the social problems of gentrification this urban regeneration creates, it is precisely the collaboration between artists and entrepreneurs that could significantly contribute to the understanding of creative clustering.

As a result, in some cases of urban redevelopments, the change of perspective from which we evaluate the contemporary clustering - identification of collaborative moment and assessing the artist/countercultural role - might be critical to understand the current trends of "creative cities". However, my case-study illustrates, that the "creative district" research today should be effected not only in geographical space but also virtual which today is an equally important subject of analysis to investigate the "creative city" policy. Under the conditions of the network economy, the ethnographic analysis of online sources (such as community websites) reveals the contemporary platform for power struggle where the politics of "creative district" representation is exercised and where the public conceptions of terms such as "community" and "creativity" are constantly shaped according to different ideologies and political tenets.

CONCLUSION

The source of inspiration for this master thesis came mainly from Fred Turner's study (2006) in which the author proposed an idea of the countercultural/entrepreneurial/governmental collaboration in the development of cyberculture and the "digital utopia". The idea of countercultural collaboration was applied to the NDSM district case study which in some fundamental aspects differs from the case studies of other "creative city" redevelopments (such as Manhattan or Berlin) researched by the "creative industry" theorists. Therefore, the aim of this study was to demonstrate how the NDSM Werf historical and economical district development evades the classical capitalist urban development model based on a "conflict" between countercultural and commercial or governmental interest groups usually resulting in counterculture gentrification.

Although during the ethnographic research process it emerged that there has always been an ideological conflict between the NDSM countercultural and commercial interest groups, it also proved that there was a moment of collaboration when both the NDSM former squatter/artist group Kinetisch Noord and the city council together with the creative industries collaborated on the Art City project. The collaboration was driven by the shared vision of the district development. Therefore, contrarily to the theoretical debates surrounding the "creative city" issue, I proposed a different theoretical angle suggesting that the counterculture is not always a victim in the creative district development processes but both interest groups may cooperate based on their own objectives and profit. It is significant that the idea of the NDSM district redevelopment was not initially generated by the city council or the industries, but was initiated by the counterculture itself. In fact, the counterculture was the first to embrace the "creative city" economic development trends emerging in the neo-liberal economies worldwide. Eventually, the collaboration resulted in diminishing counterculture rights to actual district governance and decision making, and, even more importantly, added to the weakened identity of the countercultural ideology. This brings one back to Fred Turner's case study of countercultural/entrepreneurial collaboration as symptomatic to the logic of late capitalism and an idea of Jodi Dean (2010) that everything is turned into economic profit by capitalism, even its critique or

countercultural activism: "communicative capitalism captures critique and resistance, formatting them as contributions to the circuits in which it thrives" (2).

However, the NDSM case study also demonstrated that this conflict of interests today transcends physical space; the online NDSM websites become platforms and tools to play off, simulate and manage the identities and the public conceptions of the fundamental social and cultural categories such as "community" or "creativity" from different ideological perspectives. The owners of the website *ndsm.nl* URL become the main actors of the identity struggle game and assume the power to determine the public representation of the NDSM area. As a result, the identity of counterculture (as reluctant to the governmental institutions or commercial interests) is blurred on the new *ndsm.nl* website and presented as an integral part of the commercial creative industries.

The future prospect of this research would be expanding this topic into a comparative analysis in which I would compare the NDSM Werf redevelopment to the similar urban transformations taking place in a post-Soviet country Lithuania. As a next case-study I would choose the urban redevelopment "Art Factory – "Loftas" (Vilnius, Lithuania) – the former electrical engineering factory transformed today into entertainment, event and cultural centre. Significantly, the project in many respects resembles the redevelopment of NDSM Werf: it was also initiated by artists themselves and today it is an explicitly commercial art venue. Comparing the urban projects in countries of different historical backgrounds would provide the "creative district" research paradigm with an account of how the same processes of "creative city" policy trend is intrinsically related to the neo-liberal policy. Moreover, my aim would be to demonstrate that although the process of "creative city" policy in both regions is similar/ identical, it assumes different cultural meaning that depends largely on the collective historical memory. The transformation of the factory being the symbol of Soviet Russian occupation trauma in Lithuania into a neo-liberal "theme park" of entertainment is somewhat uncanny and highly problematic. Taking into account that the phenomenon of the abandoned districts/factories revival and transformation into commercial real estate areas in the new post – Soviet neo-liberal European regions is relatively understudied, I would investigate what is the collective memory of the Soviet factory for the post-Soviet country and what cultural meaning the urban redevelopment from abandoned Soviet factory to the "creative district" assumes. This comparison, I believe, would significantly contribute to the "creative city" study field.

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWS AND ONLINE SOURCES

Hessel Dokkum: a former squatter, initial redevoper of the Art City and the former member of Kinetisch Noord. Artist of installations and sculpture. Interview date: 1st March, 2013.

Jeroen van Leur: product designer and developer; newcomer; working in a workshop of Art City. Interview date: 7th January, 2013.

Cahit Metin: working in a workshop of Art City for the circus production company. Interview date: 7th January, 2013.

Casper Oorthuys: the member of the artist community Kinetisch Noord; theatre artist; secretary and commissioner intern of the organization "Future NDSM" or "De-Toekomst NDSM"; working in a workshop of Art City; Interview date: 11th December, 2012. (Recorded).

Elien van Riet: community manager for the newly established foundation "Stichting NDSM"; developer of the refurbished website ndsm.nl; Interview date: 27th November, 2012. (Recorded)

Ruud van der Sluis: the former worker of the shipyard; responsible for the history of NDSM public representation; a supervisor of the virtual NDSM-werf museum (ndsm-museum.nl). Interview date: 20th November, 2012. (Recorded)

Edd Vosser: the member of the artist community Kinetisch Noord; former squatter; sculptor; working in a workshop of Art City; Interview date: 11th December, 2012. (Recorded).

Rough Cookie: game design and development company which moved into the district in 2012.

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF SOURCES AND REFERENCES FOR THE FACTUAL ANALYSIS OF NDSM-WERF

In this research paper a number of references are made to various official online information sources of NDSM-werf district.

Online references:

1. The official website www.ndsm.nl: the general information of the NDSM district and its redevelopment including some historical facts and figures; the list of businesses, foundations and other activities that are situated in this district today.
2. The personal website of Eva de Klerk, the main redeveloper of NDSM Werf www.evadeklerk.com. The website contains various documents, videos and other references regarding Eva de Klerk and the official history of NDSM redevelopment.
3. The website of the (former) Kinetisch Noord: www.toekomst-ndsm.nl

Video sources:

1. A short documentary about NDSM Werf that presents the history of NDSM in the time span of 1945-2007 (director Krishna Kaur in collaboration with the Historsich Archief Tuidorp Oostzaan Bellissima and Eva de Klerk) which can be found both on the Eva de Klerk's personal website and bellissima.net: http://www.bellissima.net/index.cfm?page=detail_video&videoid=4421&title=Videoarchief
2. Recorded interview with Eva de Klerk made by SFU Dutch Design school (2011):
3. Recorded interview with Eva de Klerk by the Danish Architecture Centre (Dansk Architectur Center), 2010: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vYINhmRp1Rg

Archive Material:

1. "Innovation Case-Study Template of the NDSM-werf". *Web*. *www.thelearningnetwork.net/.../KinetischNoord*

Ana Džokić, Marc Neelen and Milica Topalović, Amsterdam Noord.tmp. Urban Catalyst of Amsterdam Noord. (2002 – 2003). Research conducted in collaboration with the City Administration Amsterdam Noord (Rob Vooren, Con Vleugel, Ted Zwietering). Book1 and Book2 (see Biliography).

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

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