

# Creative Hubs and Urban Development Goals

**Policy Report** 





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## Introduction

The Creative Economy has become one of the centrepieces of public policies since the 1990s. Creative and cultural activities (CCAs) bring together technology and culture, help to develop and sustain national identity, and support economic activities that are key to the wellbeing of communities. Since the 1990s, those activities have become a frequent focus of economic and social development policies, both in the Global North and the Global South. Currently CCAs are promoted from two different perspectives: on the one hand, for their potential to drive development through cultural activities, such as handicraft, heritage and tourism. On the other hand, it has also been encouraged for its capacity to create intellectual property (IP) and to sustain innovation, for instance, from information technology related activities.

CCAs have proven to be resilient and dynamic sources of development, even in the face of severe economic downturns. Much recent research points to the fact that attracting and retaining creative workers within areas of high creative economy activity is key to this. It produces a virtuous cycle: an initial offer of good infrastructure, cultural amenities and assets, affordable property prices, and efficient transportation attracts those professionals to a neighbourhood or a city, bringing income and producing indirect economic impact to the area. This then brings more development, attracting more creative workers, reinforcing the cycle. Fostering CCAs has been part of public policies because of their capacity to promote economic diversification, urban recovery, rural development and heritage protection.

The project "Creative Hubs and Urban Development Goals (UK/Brazil)" was developed by researchers from Queen Mary University of London (QMUL) and the University of Sao Paulo (USP), building upon the methods and results used by QMUL researchers on the four-year project "Creativeworks London". Creativeworks London was a Knowledge Exchange Hub for the Creative Economy, led by QMUL and funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council to undertake research on key aspects of the creative economy in London and to develop innovative approaches to knowledge exchange between universities and the creative economy. The "Creative Hubs and urban Development Goals" project had two key objectives: The first was to better understand two creative hubs, their organization and impact on the community. The second was to pilot the use of 'creative vouchers' to promote exchange between university researchers and creative companies, in order to contribute to their development and economic sustainability.

Two supplementary reports, on Creative Hubs and on the Voucher scheme were produced, and this report summarizes their findings and suggest policy actions.

# The Creative Economy in São Paulo

CCAs, understood as including IT development, publishing, audio visual production, education and culture, advertising, design and architecture, performing arts, research and development, fine arts and heritage – accounted for 1,8% of Brazilian jobs in 2013. Those activities present agglomeration economies and large urban areas present higher concentration ratios. Thus, the city of São Paulo has two times this proportion of creative jobs, while the State of São Paulo is 40% above the Brazilian average (see Table 1). In the period between 2006 and 2013, while employment in the whole economy grew 45% in the State, CCA employment grew 60%, confirming that CCAs present higher dynamism in the economy. Fostering CCAs is thus an important strategy to boost economic development.

Table 1: Creative jobs in total jobs in 2013

Brazil	1,8%
State of São Paulo	2,5%
City of São Paulo	3,7%

Source: RAIS IBGE 2013

IT development accounts for half of CCAs jobs in the State of São Paulo (in 2013), followed by Publishing and Audiovisual production. Fine Arts and Performing Arts represent 5.4% of formal jobs, but this number may be underestimated because there are significant numbers of artists who are not formally employed (Table 2).

Table 2: CCAs jobs per activity in São Paulo State

Job percentage
52.4%
12.2%
10.4%
6.8%
4.8%
4.4%
3.5%
3.1%
1.9%
0.4%

Source: RAIS IBGE 2013

There is strong geographical concentration of CCA activity within the State: the greater São Paulo area accounts for 71,9% of CCAs formal jobs, followed by Campinas and surrounding cities with 14,2%, and São José do Campos region, with 2.3%. The remainder of the State represents only 13.9% of CCAs jobs (Figure 1).

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São Paulo
Campinas
São José dos Campos
Sorocaba
São José do Rio Preto
Ribeirão Preto
Santos
Bauru
Central
Marília
Araçatuba
Presidente Prudente
Franca
Barretos
Registro

Figure 1: CCAs in São Paulo State Regions

Source: RAIS IBGE 2013

"Creative Hubs and Urban Development Goals" Project Findings

The main project lines of work were related to the study of Creative Hubs and to the implementation of the voucher scheme with selected CCA companies. The term 'Creative Hub' has been used to describe a variety of phenomena, from co-working spaces to studios to online platforms, with different manifestations offering a varied range of tailored services. These might include desk space, studio space, or lab space, as well as networking, mentoring, and business support. It has been used to highlight the dynamic, diverse and contested nature of the range of spaces and organizations studied, driven by a strong sense that this diversity is often missed in policy discussions that implicitly draw on models of innovation spaces more commonly associated with activities linked to science and engineering-based research.<sup>2</sup> The aim of the pilot project has been to sharpen up understanding of the operation of types of shared creative spaces and organisations within the creative economy in Sao Paulo, in order to help to refine policy making and enable improved governance of hubs, and thus to improve support for the creative economy. It has focused particularly on hubs as relatively small and diverse ecosystems of activity and support for creative businesses / organisations. The 21st Century creative economy is becoming more and more dependent on this type of hyper-local, agglomerative, micro-clustering activities hence their importance for study in the context of Sao Paulo.

Vouchers were conceived to promote knowledge exchange between creative businesses and university researchers, in order to allow small companies to access knowledge from research institutions<sup>3</sup>. The purpose of the original CWL Creative Voucher Scheme (2012 – 2016) was to promote co-created research between SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) in the creative sector and partner higher education institutions (HEIs) - as well as independent research organisations (IROs). According to the Arts and Humanities Research Council (2012), the scheme allowed SMEs to gain free access to academic expertise in order to help them grow and succeed<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Dovey, J.; Pratt, A.C.; Moreton, S.; Virani, T.E.; Merkel, J.; Lansdowne, J. (2016). *Creative Hubs: Understanding the New Economy.* British Council.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Virani, T. E.; Malem, W. (2015). *Re-articulating the creative hub concept as a model for business support in the local creative economy: the case of Mare Street in Hackney*. Creativeworks London Working Paper Series Number 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Shiach, M., Riedel, J., Bolfek-Radovani, J. (2014). Fusing and Creating: A comparative analysis of the knowledge exchange methodologies underpinning Creativeworks London's Creative Vouchers and London Creative and Digital Fusion's Collaborative Awards.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Shiach, M., & Virani, T. (2017). Cultural Policy, Collaboration and Knowledge Exchange. In Cultural Policy, Innovation and the Creative Economy (pp. 17-30). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

The implementation and rationale behind the 'creative' voucher was loosely based on 'innovation' vouchers. The latter are a policy instrument that are mainly used to allow SMEs to access expertise from knowledge providers such as HEIs or research and development organisations (R&Ds) or public research organisations. They were first introduced in 1997 and are now used widely in Europe due to their ease of implementation and their role in facilitating knowledge exchange for relatively small sums of money. They are in effect a policy instrument meant to further and to promote knowledge provider-industry relationships.

Universities are knowledge providers that, for several reasons, remain underutilized, and the creative voucher scheme was devised to encourage the dissemination of their expertise among creative entrepreneurs and small and medium size companies (SMEs)<sup>5</sup>. This is particularly important in Brazil, as most of the research universities are publicly funded institutions, and actions to enhance knowledge dissemination can improve their social impact and the return of public investment.

Two hubs were chosen for the study: Impact Hub and Ori. The choice of hubs aimed at creating a clear contrast between cases: Impact Hub is part of a global franchise, and despite its social impact mission, actually brings together several start-ups that are not directly related to that motto. In contrast, Ori is an informal hub, created and sustained by acquaintances and friends with personal and ideological ties. Both of these hubs are representative of some of the types of micro-clustering activities taking place in Sao Paulo's creative and cultural economy. Preparatory meetings at each hub were conducted, when the project and its aims were presented to each hub manager and several companies, and companies presented their specific knowledge demands. Five vouchers were deployed, two in start-ups from Impact Hub, and three in Ori companies. Companies from both hubs were at early development stage, from different industries, and some were already formally established while others were in the process of organizing themselves as companies. Five researchers from the University of Sao Paulo, selected according their knowledge and personal profile, were invited to take part in the project. Creative vouchers contributed to the costs of the researchers' time as well as of the time committed by businesses to the collaboration. Detailed discussions on hubs and vouchers can be found in the specific reports, Table 3 provide a brief summary of hubs and Table 4, basic information on each company.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Virani, T. E. (2015). Mechanisms of collaboration between creative small, medium and micro-sized enterprises and higher education institutions: reflections on the Creativeworks London Creative Voucher scheme. Creativeworks London Working Papers.

Table 3: Hubs and their characteristics

Hubs	Business Model	Community	Companies	Funding Sources	Relationship to the Territory
Impact Hub	Co- working franchise	1) Community created after the construction of the Hub, promoted by a professional  2) social transformation through innovation – discourse  3) little engagement  4) creation of a new organizational culture  5) governed by market principles	1) companies at the level of acceleration and scale, skills with management tools	personal funding     angel investor     sponsoring member	1) little relation between the territory and the community 2) territory chosen by the hub: prime area and good facilities and convenience
Ori	Early childhood school	1) Community created before the hub, self-managed  2) social transformation through education  3) high engagement 4) governed by ideological principles	companies at the ideation and prototyping level, little ability with the business management tools	Public funding through public notice     crowdfunding	1) strong relationship between the territory and the community - personal bonds 2) territory chosen for the relationship with the community

Companies from Impact Hub are in more advanced stages in their life cycle, and are able to interact with large companies and technology companies due to the presence of those corporations in the hub. Entrepreneurs from Impact Hub were better prepared to develop business models than Ori's companies, and are familiar with funding mechanisms from the start-up ecosystem. In addition, due to the hub's connections, Impact hub companies have greater access to international networks and business resources and tools.

Table 4: Voucher Recipients

Hub	Company	Activity	Assigned Researcher
Impact Mobicity Hub	Mobicity	Platform for urban mobility, carpooling	Erick Rosa
	promotion and management for company employees	(ECAUSP)	
Impact	mpact Work in hub Coworking spaces booking app and website	Eduardo Zancul	
HUD		(Poli USP)	
Ori Maternativa	Marketplace for entrepreneurial mothers (products and services), network for discussing on motherhood, labor market for women and feminism	André Fleury	
		(Poli USP)	
Ori Multidão/CaosArte	Platform for event and arts festival content co-creation, associated to a network of artists from different artistic expressions	Julia Taunay	
		(Poli USP)	
Ori	Ori Mirim	Early childhood education project	Leonardo Gomes
			(FEAUSP)

Moreover, voucher projects showed that the contrast rests on a deeper distinction: companies involved are from two different fields, the Innovation Field (start-up Work in Hub) and the Field of Culture (companies Maternativa, Multidão/Caosarte and Ori). A "Field" is a set of organizations and institutions that interact in common markets and areas of activity, which share perspectives and information sources that shape their interpretations and decisions, each participant has access to different resources and possess different degrees of influence and power over each other<sup>6</sup>.

The concept of Field is particularly useful to understand how companies in each hub share perspectives and modes of action, which reflect their social and economic contexts. While companies from both Impact Hub and Ori are in early stages, the differences they present are related to a greater extent to the fact they belong to different fields.

Companies, or aspiring companies (as some of them are not yet formally established) from Ori had little familiarity with business management tools and their processes, which prevent their development, and they operate through an exercise of collaboration and sharing, within the organizations and with the surroundings. That translates into a greater sense of identity and belonging to the community, which enhances their impact. Ori's companies have greater access

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Anand, N., Peterson, R. A. (2000). When market information constitutes fields: Sensemaking of markets in the commercial music industry. Organization Science, 11(3), 270-284.

to symbolic and aesthetic resources, however little to funding sources, which is typical of the Field of Culture.

Companies from Impact Hub have better tailored business models, and a clearer view of the market. They have access to support from specialized agents like business incubators and accelerators, and to a range of funding sources, like angel investors and venture capital funds. In the Innovation Field, entrepreneurs have to attract investors. To get to them, they have to demonstrate a capacity to grow quickly, and to accomplish that, they may change their business proposition ("to pivot" is the market jargon) if there is no prospect of reaching the required market share in the expected timeframe. Thus, companies from the Innovation Field may abandon concepts or ideas because of low growth ratio, even when they are represent good market opportunities.

Vouchers facilitated access between the two fields, and the clash between perspectives led to an interesting synthesis in some cases (as it will be further detailed), which could not be achieved if one relies only in practices form one Field. In addition, vouchers promoted interplay between university and companies, researchers interacted with creative entrepreneurs, provided their expertise, helped to focus or to redirect their demands, and translated existing knowledge into a new language to make it accessible to them. In return, they were able to apply concepts in diverse settings and gained broader perspectives that enriched their research. Vouchers also fostered multidisciplinary action: some projects promoted discussion forums at the university, with the participation of researchers who were not involved in the vouchers, which led them to understand and become interested in the Culture production chain.

# Implications for Policy

This project will elaborate on four findings that have policy implications:

- Sao Paulo's Creative Economy stands at the intersection of two different fields, Innovation and Culture, and promoting knowledge exchange between them can greatly benefit both sides.
- Creative vouchers showed that that universities and research institutions can play a key role in bringing expertise to creative companies, and can be instrumental in bridging those different fields, helping both sides to reach better results.

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- Observations from the project support the extant literature, indicating that workforce
  qualification, digital infrastructure, access to funding sources and market are among the
  critical factors to promote CCAs.
- 4. There is a need for Brazil-focused taxonomies of creative and cultural activities.

#### Fields of CCA

The Innovation Field and the Field of Culture move at a different pace, and present both diverging and complementary characteristics, but players from each Field can learn and benefit from each other. The Fields can be thought of as areas of agglomerative economic activity with differing priorities. Where the Field of Culture is primarily concerned with sustainability, while the Innovation Field looks to 'take off' as soon as possible. This means that different tools and experiences make up the bulk of the skillset adopted by both field of creative workers (See Figures 2 and 3).

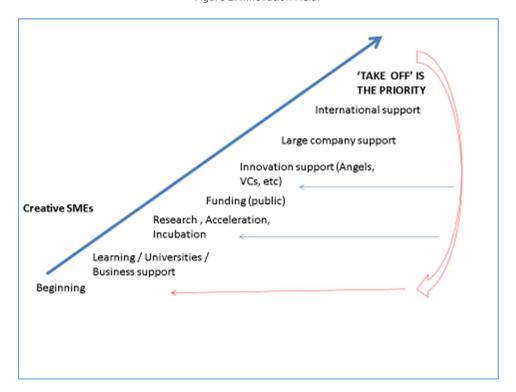


Figure 2: Innovation Field.

Funding (public)

Drawing on and from community

Beginning

Project

'TAKE OFF' IS
NOT THE
PRIORITY

'SUSTAINABILITY' IS
THE PRIORITY

'SUSTAINABILITY' IS
THE PRIORITY

Figure 3 Field of Culture

Entrepreneurs who play on the Field of Culture can learn how to develop their businesses and reach economic sustainability by using practices from the Innovation Field. Players on the latter Field can gain a more collaborative angle and develop resilience if they adopt perspectives from the Field of Culture, especially to cultivate lower market growth ratio initiatives. Multidao/Caosarte exemplifies how the interaction can generate new insights and business models. From an initial idea of developing their existing festival into a sustainable business, the entrepreneurs came to realize that their biggest value was in the network they have developed and fostering and managing it could bring more artistic and economic results. Changing their perspective was only possible because they were introduced to concepts from the Innovation Field by the researcher. However the process was far from simple, it required challenging some entrepreneurs' deep-seated assumptions, which required not only knowledge, but also interpersonal skills from the researcher. Thus, public policies should encourage interaction and knowledge exchange between those Fields, by promoting exchange programs, vouchers schemes aiming to bring together entrepreneurs from those fields.

# Creative vouchers, knowledge exchange and universities

Creative vouchers have now demonstrated the role of universities (HEIs) as effective knowledge exchange organizations in the context of Sao Paulo. As knowledge developers, HEIs have access to the latest research findings on each subject, and are able to share this with creative entrepreneurs, not only because of their expertise, but also because, as non-profit organizations, they are frequently perceived as "neutral" agents, especially by entrepreneurs from the Field of Culture, who sometimes display some scepticism towards consulting firms and other knowledge providers. HEIs can act as effective conduits for creative and cultural entrepreneurs to reach the market, and public policy can enhance their role, by promoting programs that support knowledge exchange initiatives, such as the Creativeworks London project (http://www.creativeworkslondon.org.uk/)

However, one should not build the assumption that once SMEs and HEIs are granted access to each other, through policy instruments like voucher schemes, a successful working relationship is guaranteed. Access is only the first step in the collaborative process, there are a number of steps that have to be negotiated with regard to the promotion of collaboration between HEIs and SMEs. These steps require actors and organisations to have the ability to speak multiple disciplinary languages at once; essentially this means that the brokership that usually underpins collaborative projects in this case is not uni-linear but multi-layered and highly complex. In this context the role of the knowledge intermediary (KI) is paramount, and it was through the core research team acting as KIs that the vouchers were able to mostly be a success.

The results of the voucher scheme confirm research from the original scheme and show that:

- Creative workers engage with a number of different actors that speak different collaborative languages, actors are needed that are able to communicate on multiple levels and through multiple organisational structures.
- The collaborative process is not simply a dualistic one between university and industry but multi-layered involving a number of knowledge brokers (KI) in different positions in-between and at the interstices of these organisational structures<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> It is worth stressing here that SMEs in the creative sector are more likely to be micro-organisations (fewer than 10 persons); universities are not. The lack of organisational symmetry between them is often a problem that needs navigating.

 Administrative expediency with regards to implementing these voucher schemes varies from university to university which point to potentially large departmental differences that can affect the intended collaborations.

There needs to be a management of expectations when it comes to negotiating the outcomes of such collaborations since universities and industry move at different speeds and value different aspects and outcomes.

Universities are also conducive to the development of open and nurturing environments, and there are several initiatives based on incubators and accelerators inside universities around the globe that show the importance of this. At the beginning of this project, one start-up from INOVALAB@POLI, an innovation laboratory from Escola Politecnica which houses a pre incubation initiative together with the University Student Entrepreneurship Club (NEU) was among the companies planned to receive a voucher. Despite problems in the start-up that prevented them from continuing to be involved in the project, it was clear that INOVALAB/NEU constitutes a Creative hub and provides support and infrastructure in a way that resembles other more established hubs such as Impact Hub. University-based incubators, especially those with a grassroots nature like the one studied, i.e., with strong student participation in its organization, have the advantage of being open and accessible to all students, with few restrictions, and can be very helpful in promoting new ventures. The government can support existing initiatives inside universities, and transform some of the existing public facilities into student incubators, establishing partnerships with universities and technical schools, to attract their young entrepreneurs and to support their activities.

## **Promoting CCAs**

Creative workers need not only specialized skills and talent, but also business and managerial knowledge in order to pursue sustainable economic development, as is typical of micro and small enterprises. Thus, workforce training has to balance creative knowledge and skills with knowledge from a range of other areas, including business management skills. However, despite the fact that the absence of business knowledge is recognized by creative entrepreneurs, there is still a need, especially for those related to cultural activities, for business management jargon and practices to be translated into a language that is both accessible and acceptable to them.

Digital infrastructure is a shared requirement of all businesses nowadays. Virtually any business cannot develop fully without good digital access, and CCAs are no exception. Cultural producers and tech-based businesses need proper infrastructure to thrive and the government has a unique opportunity to upgrade its existing digital access venues into dynamic nodes of

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entrepreneurial action, providing not only infrastructure, but also support and technical and managerial knowledge.

CCAs demand funding and market access in different levels: technology-based CCAs enjoy a better structured funding and market access path, while cultural activities rely heavily on public funding, and, in part due to that fact, do not actively seek market access. Thus, technology-based CCAs can benefit from more financial resources from the current modes: angel capital, venture capital, and funding from incubators and accelerators. On the other hand, culture-based CCAs need to be trained to use a range of funding sources, which demand return-seeking and market-share growth rationales. That is not the way that cultural entrepreneurs currently frame their activities, and they thus need support to seek for that kind of resource. Refundable sources can provide a sustainable business model, one that is not reliant on public funding, which can be applied to support early-stage cultural entrepreneurs and activities that do not attract large audiences in the present moment.

Vouchers and Hub research also provided insights that are relevant to the development of urban policy. Promoting the creative and cultural economy has been recommended when urban regeneration is needed, and this project gave a more fine-grained view of that effect, showing that hubs have a different impact in their neighbourhoods, according to their Fields. The very presence of a global brand such as Impact Hub creates positive externalities, giving a sophisticated aura to the vicinity and helping to attract other businesses. Its community, as they move and circulate, consume services, goods and culture from local producers and retailers, and their presence help to create a contemporary business atmosphere. However, Impact Hub has only a light relationship with its territory, in the sense that its entrepreneurs do not promote local activities, keeping an arms-length relationship with the locality.

Ori exemplifies a different relationship with territory. Its entrepreneurs keep close ties to locals, and they understand they have to promote activities within the local community. Although less numerous, they create a more intense impact in the community. However, their economic impact may be smaller in numbers, as this hub houses many fewer people. Ori's engagement with the community originates from how it has been formed: its entrepreneurs were acquaintances before joining the hub, and some were raised in that vicinity. Thus, they feel connected to the space. Impact Hub entrepreneurs, on the other hand, come from different neighbourhoods and do not have personal ties to the community.

To promote urban regeneration, policy makers need to attract both hub profiles: large or international hubs promote the local image and bring economic impact, while local hubs connect

to the community and can bridge the gap between local realities and global initiatives. Keeping a portfolio of different hub profiles brings a bigger impact to the urban tissue.

As this project has shown, different kinds of hubs generate different profiles and need different forms of infrastructure to support them: large hubs need good access, public transportation and a high-quality service offer, which usually means more expensive real state. Small hubs on the contrary, need affordable facilities, which means being situated in less developed and accessible neighbourhoods. Thus, there are conflicting requirements that have to be managed. Differences also arise from the fact that large hub communities are built after hubs themselves are established in a location. Social ties and connections, and shared identity have to be constructed, which takes time and effort. Small, cultural hubs are, in some cases, built from an existing group or community, identity and social connections are already established.

#### Brazil – oriented taxonomies of creative work

Finally, as an international collaborative endeavour, this project showed the importance of global initiatives for learning and development. While there are a number of international exchange programs for higher education and research already established, they need to be also fostered for creative entrepreneurs. On the one hand, they share similar challenges regardless of their location in the world, and thus can share solutions to their foreign counterparts. On the other hand, they face different hurdles due to their particular local context, and exchanging knowledge and experiences can broaden their perspective and bring new insights to them.

It is however important to note that there are monumental differences between what are classed as creative and cultural activities within the discourse of creative economy studies and across and indeed within nation states and regions. A standardised approach to measuring the creative and cultural economy is currently being worked on by organisations like UNESCO and UNCTAD<sup>8</sup>. However, one standard approach does not exist and governments, from especially the Global South, are often forced to refer to the work emanating from the Global North – especially the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States who seem to dominate the narrative. This being said, and while the work from these countries provides an important first step, there is a danger that it does not relate to the case in Brazil – for instance, the creative and cultural economies of Sao Paulo and London, while sharing some similarities, are fundamentally different. While they might face similar issues involving the after effects of post-industrialisation and job creation, they structure their economies differently and therefore have different

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Isar, Y. R. (2013). Creative Economy Report: Widening Local Development Pathways.

methods of accruing and cultural and creative capital. This is the key – investigating what the factors are that accrue these assets in order to manifest them through economic activities of agglomeration. The trick is that there is no trick – only hard work, experience and trial and error. It is therefore incumbent on governments to begin developing policy that creates their own taxonomies and methodologies of recording these types of activities in order to gauge the levels to which their respective economies are being affected by creative work – and indeed what this work constitutes.

#### Final remarks

Developing and supporting the Creative Economy has been the recipe for economic development and urban regeneration for more than 20 years. Creative activities have been shown to have greater dynamism and resilience than other industrial or traditional service activities, and thus, CCAs has been promoted by a number of countries and cities to create jobs and income, and to promote faster economic growth and to foster local identities. This project has shone new light on some key issues and proposed important policy implications, extending conclusions from the extant literature. Table 5 presents a summary of policy implications.

Table 5: Policy Implications

InterField exchange	Programs to promote knowledge exchange between the Field of Culture and the Innovation Field are needed
Universities as knowledge exchange agents	Universities can be used as conduits for creative entrepreneurs reach knowledge they need
Universities as nurturing environments	Incubators and Creative hubs in universities need support as they are very effective promoters of entrepreneurship
International exchange	There is need for international exchange programs for creative entrepreneurs.
Workforce training	Cultural entrepreneurs need business management training, in their "language"
Digital Infrastructure	Good infrastructure is a necessary condition for the success of any venture
	The government can transform existing infrastructure into Creative hubs
Funding and Market access	Tech-based entrepreneurs can access funding from existing sources, Culture-based entrepreneurs need to be trained to search and use private funding
Local impact	Impact is enhanced by a mix between large, international and local, community based hubs