The Creative City: *An Obituary?*

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 21st century, many metropolises in Europe and Asia discovered the creative city as a new policy approach towards an open, innovative, culturally rich and future-oriented city. Many cities commissioned creative city reports, held creative city conferences, developed creative quarters in neglected urban districts to accommodate creative industries, applied for membership in creative city networks. The subject was in the air. Much happened since But has the creative city paradigm kept its promises for artists, creative minds and art institutions? The paper will argue that the concept has forced local economic development agencies to take notice of the important role of creative industries for the local economy, but it has lost much of its political importance. At least the hope that the creative imperative raises the civic support for local cultural development did not live up. However, the creative paradigm opened the doors for other paradigms, such as the smart city or the start-up city. These concepts triggered off a boom of entrepreneurial creative start-ups, who benefitted from new digital technologies, though also from the changing urban environment that had already favoured the creative city discourse for a decade.

The Creative City, a New Vogue

After initial impetus in the 1980s to use creativity as an elixir for the economic viability of a city, the renowned gurus and prophets of the creative city, Charles Landry (Landry 2000; 2006;2012; Landry et al. 2011.) and Richard Florida (2002; 2005) had introduced and widely communicated the initial keywords for a worldwide movement . It inspired politicians, planners, architects, journalists, marketing gurus and even local economic development agencies. Additional impetus for the way to the creative city came from many sides: At the end of the 20th century, the cultural and creative industries were discovered as a new, economically significant sector. They provided economic arguments for more creative, future-

oriented urban policies. Art-minded investors had learned that cultural events increase the attractiveness of functionally obsolete iconic industrial buildings. Gallery owners hoped that a creative urban policy would provide new impetus for their art and bring them new art lovers. Event organizers in turn expected that they will benefit from creative city policies that raised the number of entertainment spectacles at public spaces. City governments invested into cultural and creative centres and transformed selected inner city industrial quarters, which structural change had left obsolete. They could not be demolished and re-used in economically more profitable ways; because they were protected by heritage regulation. The creative city became a popular subject of countless student studios at colleges and theme of scientific research projects. And finally, marketing agencies quickly understood that this hitherto neglected or even unknown facet of city politics offered excellent city marketing opportunities. But what mostly inspired political acceptance of the creative city paradigm was probably the fact that creativity is a largely positive concept. In contrast to the social city or the eco-city, the creative city paradigm is not ideologically burdened. Nobody would argue or even basher against creative city politics. Which mother, which teacher would not like creative children? Who does not crave for a more creative administration? Which entrepreneur would not welcome creative employees? Industrial enterprises are always looking for creative engineers and designers who develop marketable innovations. They had learnt that good design sells better. Not surprisingly the creative city label was also much welcomed to attract the attention of the media.

All this explained the broad enthusiasm in many cities of the world for the creative paradigm. Continuously competing for investors, highly skilled workers, tourists and events, cities welcomed the creative vogue.

The Promises of the Creative City Paradigm

But what were, what still are the promises of the creative city? A broad range of cultural, economic, structural, social, but also administrative dimensions characterise this paradigm:

Art and culture have a high priority in the creative city. There, a broad and diverse range of cultural infrastructure satisfies the demands of city residents; cultural flagship projects excite local politicians and attract tourists with their ideas; creative cities cope with the structural change of the economy and drive forward innovative developments. They are, at least is the much-articulated promise, magnets for highly qualified specialists and executives (and their families). Creative cities are preferred targets of the so-called creative class, when searching a new job, a new location for starting a business. According to Richard Florida these are not just the urban "bohemians", artists, theatre and film actors, musicians, architects, designers and those who consume their products and services in the cities, but all those city dwellers who have studied at a university, including lawyers, bankers or doctors and whom Richard Florida has branded the "creative class". Creative cities are places where cultural and creative industries flourish. This long neglected or at least underrated segment of local economies gives impetus to the local economy and provides younger citizens, particularly the new millennials with jobs. Creative cities can, and that is another frequently used argument, raise the competiveness of cities for investors, investments and skilled workers. And more: The creative city uses its architectural heritage for a future-oriented urban policy. It promotes the conversion of buildings that are no longer needed for traditional businesses. The creative city makers know about the importance of public places for urban culture and as playgrounds for creative actions. The creative city strives for attractive cultural infrastructure, for flagship museums built by international star-architects, who then added their icons to an attractive cityscape that harmoniously combines history and modernity. The creative city is also a place that encourages entrepreneurship bringing new urban production back to the multifunctional,

densely built-up inner city. In the creative city, social integration and inclusion have a high political, especially socio-cultural value. There, culture is not only understood as a consumable product and as entertainment, but above all a means of education. The creative city is an open city, a liberal and tolerant, multicultural and cosmopolitan city. And, not to forget, the creative city is a learning city.

Though what is creative city? Can a city as whole be creative? Why are some cities considered to be creative, and others not? Why they are creative, why others are not?. Is the creative city a magnet for creative people, for the newly discovered "creative class"? Is it a centre a centre of cultural/creative industries, of/and of knowledge industries? Or is it rather a city with a local government, open for creative action? Does a creative city benefit from a creative, innovative, and flexible local administration? Or is it in the end just a city with a creative image for whatever reason, branded by clever urban marketing agencies, renowned opinion leaders and prominent celebrities. Answers to such questions vary. In his influential book, Charles Landry offers the following definition of a creative city by referring to creative milieus:

"A creative milieu is a place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region – that contains the necessary preconditions in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. Such a milieu is a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success."(Landry 2000,133)

This well-worded definition, however, does not yet show all the pathways to make a city creative. This is done in an earlier study, on which the book is based (see Bianchini et al. 1996). There, the "ingredients", or rather the criteria for assessing the creativity of a city, hence the success factors of creative cities were given as follows: hard factors are a precondition to unleash creativity potential; history matters; individuals representing and promoting local culture are considered necessary; a liberal climate of cosmopolitan milieus and open discourse in a city are a must: networks of players in the sector play an important role; organizational capacity must be available: cultural events that attract cultural communities, media and visitors must act as plug-in catalysts: finally, the existence of visible creative spaces, such as cultural districts, museum quarters or locations, determining the cultural and creative image of a city, is essential. In addition to these criteria for assessing a creative city, which had been formulated already 15 years ago, - long before the creative fever has flooded European cities and infected planners and policy makers and triggered of creative city development in may cities, more ingredients of successful creative city policies are: an established national or even international cultural image; established clusters of cultural industries; renowned institutions of advanced art and media education; a broad spectrum of innovative high tech milieus; a spirit of conviviality, and last but not least affordable space for creative production and housing for the more affluent and the many precariate members of the creative community. Creative cities are also cities which benefit from more creative spirit in local administrations and from politicians who not only show understanding of the stated goals of the creative image, but also implement it through creative action. The hope is that creative administrators are looking for visionary solutions for complex urban projects to overcome obstacles, and that they can creatively interpret legal regulations.

When the creative imperative emerged, mainstream media were particularly keen to profit from the general interest in creative cities. It has been a good occasion to report about a creative city and to illustrate the respective local success story with images, supporting the creative message. In 2002 such a report in the US based journal Newsweek with contributions from local journalists in Marseilles, Kabul, Newcastle/Gateshead, Austin, Tijuana, Cape Town,

Zhongguancun and Antwerp communicated the message that more or less all cities are creative anyway or have at least a certain creative dimension (Newsweek 2002), And city governments, mayors and their urban marketing arms are always happy to read that they are creative places attracting tourists and some creative job–seekers.

Even the UNESCO promoted the creative city vogue, by launching a network of creative cities in 2004, covering seven creative fields: Crafts and Folk Arts, Design, Film, Gastronomy, Literature, Media Arts, and Music. The initative. aims ....*to strengthen cooperation with and among cities that have recognized creativity as a strategic factor of sustainable development as regards economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects. By joining the Network, cities acknowledge their commitment to sharing best practices, developing partnerships that promote creativity and the cultural industries, strengthening participation in cultural life and integrating culture in urban development plans* (UNESCO).

In absence of any criteria, which assess the creativity of an applying local government, cities could apply for membership, just by giving a convincing reason of a special local creative capital, such as "outstanding" gastronomy (Popayan/Columbia) , particular focus on literature (Iowa, Edinburgh or outstanding passion for music (Bologna, Sevilla), craft and Folk art (Aswan, DSanta Fe) or design (Graz, Berlin, Montreal and others). Depending on the rhetoric skills of local marketing agencies and committed civil servants, each city, whose representatives like to travel to other "creative" cities, and budget managers, who are willing to pay fees and travelling for the commitment, and pass the critical eyes of a creative jury can become members of the creative city network. An offspring of the *UNESCO Creative City Network* is the *UNESCO Cities of Design Network*, a network that brings Cities of Design together, learning from the members experience to promote design in the post industrial society.

The Creative City Vogue in Europe and Asia

At least for a brief period of time, some cities in Europe and Asia have entered the creative city vogue and jumped on the attractive bandwagon.
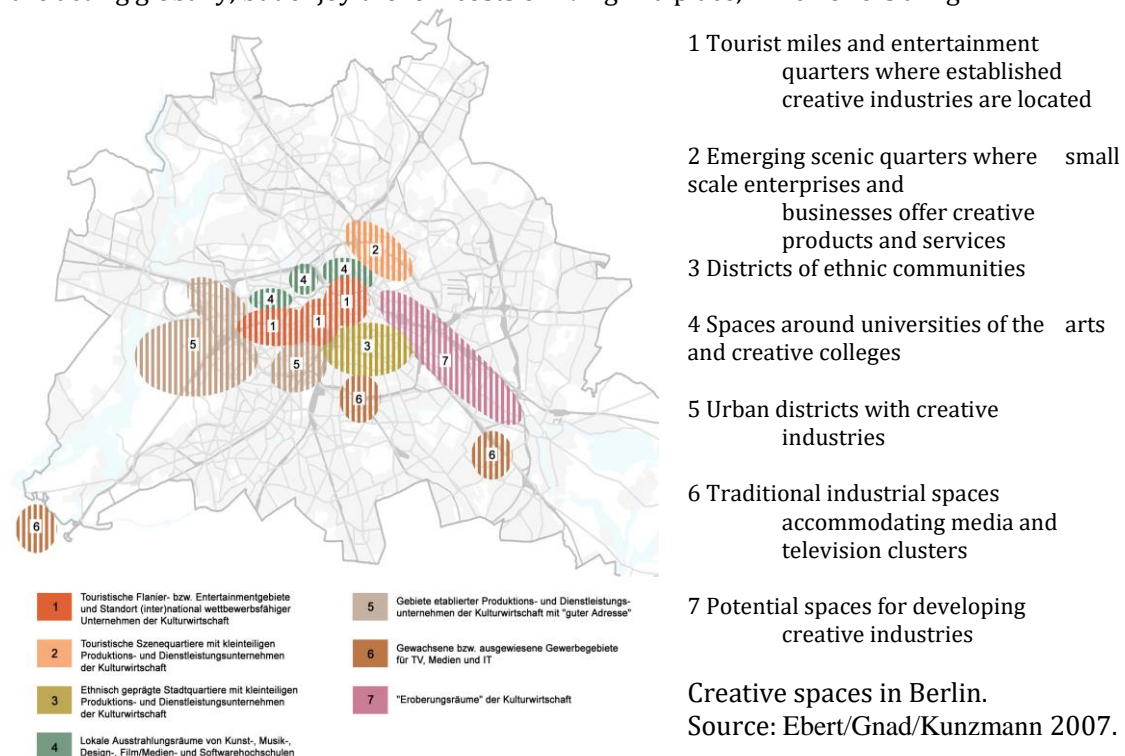While European cities are comparatively relaxed, Asian city governments welcomed the creative city vogue. In Germany, Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, the Ruhr or Potsdam were among those cities or city regions, which seized the creative vogue to promote projects that focussed on the development of creative spaces and creative industries. In Japan, the cities of Yokohama and Osaka initiated creative city projects. Taiwanese local governments welcomed the creative paradigm to revitalize obsolete industrial precincts, and Chinese cities (among others Beijing, Shanghai or Nanjing) grasped the chance to convert rundown urban spaces into creative quarters. (Tang/ Kunzmann 2009; 2011). A few exemplary profiles of local efforts in Germany, China, Taiwan and Japan to benefit from the creative vogue are given thereafter.

Berlin: Together with Paris, London and Vienna*,* Berlin is a European capital of culture (Gressillon 2002). The city has been a centre of culture, even before it became the capital of Germany in 1871 (Richie 1998, McDonough 1998)). It were the kings of Prussia, who established the cultural traditions of the city in the 17th and 18th century. In order to demonstrate that Prussia is as culture minded as the monarchies in Austria or France or Britain, they invested in architectural splendor, in the arts and in higher education. The Academy of Fine Arts and Science were established under their patronage at that time. In doing so the emperors laid the foundations for a culturally rich city. Particularly Fredrick the Great (1712-1786), the influential King of Prussia, played a key role in developing Berlin into a city of culture. One could say, it was him, who laid the foundations for a creative city.

In the first decade of the 21st century, with some financial support of the Federal Republic , and with support from various foundations, the city state of Berlin maintains three opera houses with permanent artistic staff and orchestras, seven philharmonic orchestras, around 170 museums and 256 public libraries are funded by the city of Berlin. Around 3 percent of the 2010 budget of the city of Berlin (110 billion) is declared for investive and consumptive cultural infrastructure, and for all kind of events, including the B*erlinale* (the Berlin film festival). Compared with budgets for culture in other European cities (except Paris) this amount is high, though when comparing this figure with expenditure for local road infrastructure the amount spent for culture in a wannabe creative city is not really impressive. In 2006, Berlin was nominated to be the first UNESCO city of Design. The title decorated the city and helped the design industries in Berlin to gain more public support for the creative segment. Branding the city, as a design city did not really impress citizens, though it helped to boost global marketing.

Nevertheless, within a decade or so, Berlin became a "creative" place and magnet, and many old and new citizens of Berlin accepted and identified with the new creative city label, even if they knew that this trendy label does only reflect a limited proportion of the city's economy and city life. The creative vogue, spread by the city's governments marketing agency made Berlin a magnet for creative people, searching for locations where they can find inspiration for their work, where they can earn their living, and where they are able to plug into local and global networks of creativity, while living in a liveable, inspiring and entertaining city. The creative vogue has also become a factor attracting those, who just wanted to be within or at least near such creative milieus.

For a few years Berlin the city promoted itself as a creative hub in Europe, a target for creative people and creative industries from all over the world. Favored by its rich cultural history, its geopolitical location, its cosmopolitan milieus and by the particular local conditions of the re-united city, Berlin has become an ideal target for young, educated, entrepreneurial people, who are acting globally, but enjoy the low costs of living in a place, which offers a high

1 Tourist miles and entertainment quarters where established creative industries are located

2 Emerging scenic quarters where small scale enterprises and businesses offer creative products and services

3 Districts of ethnic communities

4 Spaces around universities of the arts and creative colleges

5 Urban districts with creative industries

6 Traditional industrial spaces accommodating media and television clusters

7 Potential spaces for developing creative industries

Creative spaces in Berlin.
Source: Ebert/Gnad/Kunzmann 2007.

degree of affordable liveability and a rich and inspiring cultural environment. The political leaders of the city had realized that the creative image of the city is a perfect window of opportunity to create a new, future-oriented economic base for the city. The economic promise justified the massive promotion of creative industries. Studies were commissioned to identity, existing and potential urban spaces for creative action (Ebert/Gnad/Kunzmann 2007; Lange 2007). The economic development administration established a new bureau for promoting creative industries. Soon, however, it turned out that assigning creative land use, is rather killing creative development in an urban district, causing gentrification and attracting the interest of property developers and real estate industries. In addition, experience showed that around half of the employment in creative industries was precariate. That means the jobs offered by the creative industries in Berlin were underpaid and short-term.

Soon, however, another vogue replaced the creative city paradigm in Berlin: the digital start-up vogue. One can argue that the creative city vogue laid the foundations for the digital start-up community in Berlin, The marketing advisors, and particularly the traditional economic development actors in Berlin, the economic development arm of the state government as well as the *Chamber of Industry and Commerce* had soon realized that the digital start-up profile, in the context of the digital smart technologies, better sells the city to economic drives and investors and does rely less on public sector contributions. 2018 Berlin even launched a new *Smart Country Convention* to promote the new policy field internationally. Digital and smart sells better than creativity.

Hamburg : When developing the much visited and much acclaimed *Hafen City* project that has replaced the obsolete port installations and storage facilities, the state government of Hamburg also reserved spaces for creative action in order to profile the port and trade city also as a city, where creativity has a home (Läpple et al. 2015). The quarter, where a listed storage facility has been turned into an iconic building, accommodating a philharmonic hall, a hotel and luxury apartments near the city centre of Hamburg is characterised by mixed land use with housing (7500 apartments, including affordable units) and offices, the campus of a new university, two private museums and a broad spectrum of restaurants and cafes. One section of the quarter (the *Oberhafen*) is earmarked to being developed as a creative quarter. For a long time this neighbourhood consisted of large railroad storage sheds, but over the last ten years a variety of creative activities and uses evolved gradually, from short-film festival to dance performances, creative co-working spaces to places like Halle 424, which accommodates scenery and set production, a photographic studio and relaxed location for jazz and classical music. Two more "creative" projects have to mentioned. In 2010 the city established a creative agency , named *Kreativgesellschaft,* an agency which supports creative industries by a broad spectrum of including workshops networking events, venture capital and crowd funding and communication platforms. One particular service the agency offers, is to is to find suitable workspaces for authors, filmmakers, musicians, visual and performing artist, architects, designers and game developers.

 (Kreativgesellschaft 2018; Ebert/Kunzmann/Lange 2012). Another creative project was the IBA Hamburg (2006 to 2013), which, learning from the IBA Emscher Park (1989 to1999) demonstrated over five years that a declining urban district (*Wilhelmshöhe)* can be sustainably revitalized by creative projects (IBA-Hamburg 2018). All these activities and the legacy of Hamburg as a prime location of publishing houses and liberal journalism have contributed to change the tedious image of the city as a huge port city and a city of trades. The creative vogue had inspired the local government of the state city not to forget the power of creative action for urban development.
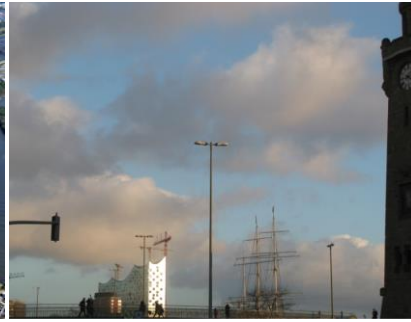
Hamburg. Hafencity perspectives
Sources: Hafen City Agency and own photograph

Leipzig: Due to its former importance as an industrial and trade city and suffering from a long socialist past after the Second World War Leipzig benefitted from the creative city fever after the reunification of Germany. One project deserves to be mentioned particularly. Upon private initiative, a huge industrial heritage building was transformed into a creative complex with around 100 workshops and studios of artists, musicians, architects, craftsmen, designers, printers and 13 galleries. This initiative, in turn, raised the interest of the city and developers in the neighbouring urban district, which had survived the bombings and socialist demolitions, and caused the city government to explore its creative potential. Cultural legacies of the past (music, opera and literature) and a renowned academy of fine arts that had produced a number of renowned graduates were significant features of the city shaping a relative creative urban context. A brief period of enthusiasm followed. Profiting from the neighbourhood to Berlin, - the capital city is just 100km away-, Leipzig used the creative momentum in public discourse to get rid of its negative socialist image, and established itself as a city that after the reunification of Germany has turned weaknesses into assets. Though the interest in the creative city paradigm vanished soon, the ephemeral enthusiasm had positive impacts on the revitalisation policy of the city. Today Leipzig (population 2017 581.000) is widely considered to be an urban success story of urban revitalization.
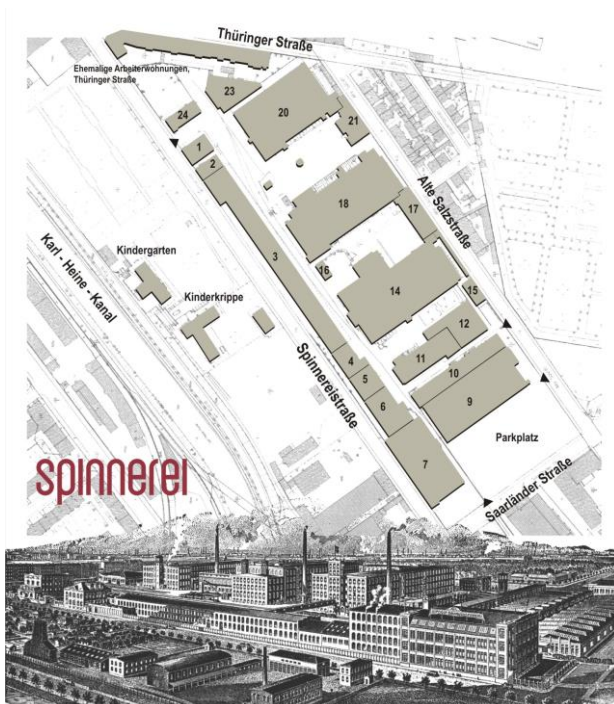
Leipzig: Creative Quarter Spinnerei
Source: Besucherzentrum Spinnerei

Ruhr: Based on coal exploitation and steel production the polycentric urban agglomeration of around 5 million people with four big cities (Dortmund, Essen, Bochum and Duisburg) has been the economic engine of Germany after the Second World War. Steel production has lost its importance and in 2018 coal production came to an end. Since fifty year the region is struggling to cope with the structural change. The establishment of new universities in the last quarter of the 20th century, the efforts of the IBA Emscher Park to successfully protect and re-use the industrial heritage, and the fact, that the region has been selected as the Cultural Capital of Europe in 2010 have been milestones to change the industrial image of the region (Kunzmann 2009; Ebert/Kunzmann 2011) . This, however, turned out to be quite a challenge. Despite early promotion of creative industries by the state's ministry of economics (Gnad/Kunzmann 2009) the region remained in traditional economic and political hands, which did hardly venture to explore new grounds. Competing with Berlin and Munich respectively with nearby Düsseldorf and Cologne. The high degree of liveability in the cities in the Ruhr, as felt by the citizens of the region, could not attract the creative class. In 2011 a new initiative of the state government, inspired and encouraged by the creative vogue, aimed to develop a few creative quarters all over the region. ECCE (European Centre for Creative Economy), a think tank, funded by the government with additional financial support from the European Commission, and located in a revitalised iconic industrial heritage building in Dortmund (the Dortmunder U) had been established to guide the development of creative quarters. Embedded in the wider conventional cultural and politic-administrative context of the region, the ECCE strategies aimed to support networking, creative platforms, and cultural events just reach the local creatives. ECCE promoted 86 cultural projects in 14 cities to foster creative impulses for the region. Funding came from the Ministry for Culture and Science of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia. The success, however, has been marginal. Without the public subsidies only few projects have a chance to survive. The economic milieu in the region and its low profile for tourists does not offer a thriving market for creative products and services. Now new hope is placed in the creative digital economy. The paradigm of the creative city is forgotten.
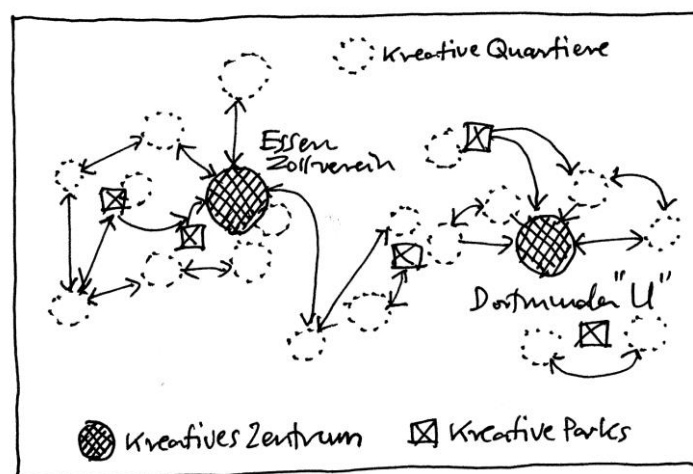

Dortmund: The "U" and Creative locations in the Ruhr
Sources: Foto WANG Fang, Drawing: Klaus R.Kunzmann

Potsdam: In addition to military discipline and courtly splendour of the feudal Prussian kingdom there was always creativity in Potsdam. The city, once just a feudal residence in the

city region of Berlin, is now the thriving capital of the state of Brandenburg with a steadily growing population. The creativity, much promoted by the kings of Prussia produced great architecture and impressive gardens. During socialist years after the Second World War and until German reunification in 1990, Potsdam was a place with a rich socialist art scene., functional architecture and numerous sculptures in public places. Since reunification, upon pressure of conservative citizens and businesses depending on cultural tourism, the historical inner city is gradually reconstructed in retro-style, aiming to regain the historical townscape. On the fringe of the retro-style inner city, however, a new creative quarter evolved, benefitting from the general euphoria towards creativity. On the grounds of obsolete industries and barracks of Russian military, the local government developed an impressive mix of culture related facilities and industries, including a new theatre, a design centre of Volkswagen, an Oracle innovation centre and various spaces for events exhibitions, and restaurants. The creative quarter is a magnet for young and creative citizens of the city Potsdam. The plan of an international investor to develop a creative quarter, which is an IT complex, near the railway station to profit from Potsdam's new profile, shows that the city has become an attractive location for future oriented creative industries, not just a favourite residence of an affluent middle class, benefitting from local liveability and the immense cultural wealth of adjacent Berlin (Kunzmann 2018).
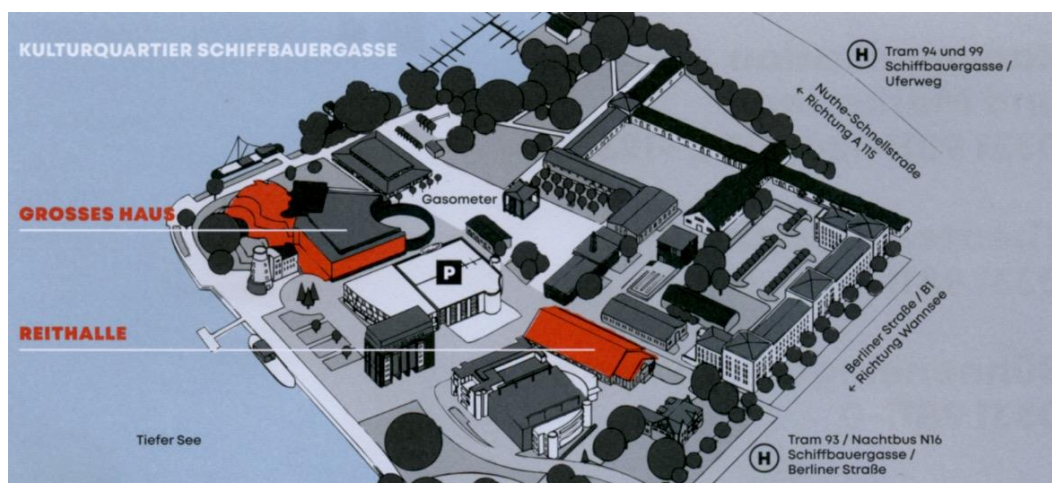
The creative quarter Schiffbauergasse in Potsdam
Source: Änne Fitzner and Robert Witzsche, rwmd.de

Cities in Germany embarked on and justified creative city development for mainly the following reasons: The enormous flexibility of the creative city plug-in-concept; the discovery of the important role of cultural and creative industries for urban regeneration and the conservation of architectural heritage; the use of a creative city image for urban marketing,; the recognition of the creative economy as an important segment of the post-industrials society; the justification of cultural flagship projects, supporting the creative economy and profiling the image of a city to attract tourists; the promise of the job creation potential of the creative economy; a growing power of the community and their cultural lobby groups in the civil society; the contribution of the creative paradigm to local quality-of-life policies aiming to attract the "creative class; and, the interest of popular media in the theme and in images of creative activities. Though experience in Germany is not much different from experience of cities in other European countries, such as the United Kingdom (Liverpool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne), Belgium (Antwerp) and the Netherlands (Maastricht) .

The Asian Enthusiasm for Creative Cities

The creative bibles of Charles Landry and Richard Florida also received a wide readership in Asia. The mission statement of the creative city found open ears among city politicians and planners in China and Japan.

China: The Chinese translation of the creative bibles triggered off a national vogue in the country.. After initial scepticism, Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing realized that the creative label offered a perfect opportunity to modernise derelict industrial sites. As great lovers of branding, ranking and city marketing Chinese investors, supported by architects and planners, understood that the creative city paradigm supports the local real estate industry and attracts mainly Chinese, but also international city tourists. In many Chinese cities, which see themselves in fierce competition for international attention, creative quarters with very different profiles have been developed. These quarters range from pure artist spaces to university-related technology parks. Some are entertainment quarters for the new Chinese middle class, others rather "must-sees" for foreign tourists who have already seen the traditional Chinese palaces, gardens, walls, gates and museums. Only a few of such creative quarters sufficed to sell a city as a creative city. The political interest in the creative city reflected the government's concern to move away from the image of China in the West as a low-cost workbench and to raise China to a cultural and technological level that is comparable to the West (Montgomery 2010, Kunzmann/Tang 2013/ 2016; Kunzmann 2016). Projects in three Chinese cities, Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing demonstrate the respective local initiatives.

Beijing: the capital of China, has early recognized the cultural and creative industries as an important segment of the local economy and formulated a 'cultural and creative industries' policy that includes software development and Internet services. (Huang 2004; Jansen 2006; Currier 2008; Liu 2013). On such a base the city's master plan assigned three zones of cultural and creative industries, accepting a very broad definition. In the old city areas for visual and performing arts, art trades and cultural tourism; in the inner city zones for print & media companies, software development, the advertising industry and conference facilities; and finally on the outskirts of the city zones for other culture-related industries and activities. Beijing's parks for the cultural and creative industries are spread throughout the city. Three of these sites are particularly interesting: *Beijing 798* and *Songzhuan* and *Shougang.* Beijing 798 is the most known creative quarter in the city, if not in the whole country. It is the site of a former German factory, which accommodates more than 400 studios, artist's workshops, cafés and other cultural businesses, including the German Cultural Institute in Beijing. The success of the creative Quarter has inspired investsors to develop in nearby housing projects, which however have triggered-off new controversies. The artists , however, who have made 798 did not want to make it a tourist target, have left the area.

The demand for creative spaces in Beijing has encouraged investors to follow a local initiative and develop in Songzhuan a totally new creative quarter in the outskirts of Beijing, for which the American consultancy has designed a master plan. Meanwhile a huge cluster of artist studios, galleries and private museums is accommodating more than 1000 artists and cultural entrepreneurs, who provide jobs for the former landowners. Beijing Government has decided to move some of its administration to a nearby site, to benefit from the new urban attraction.
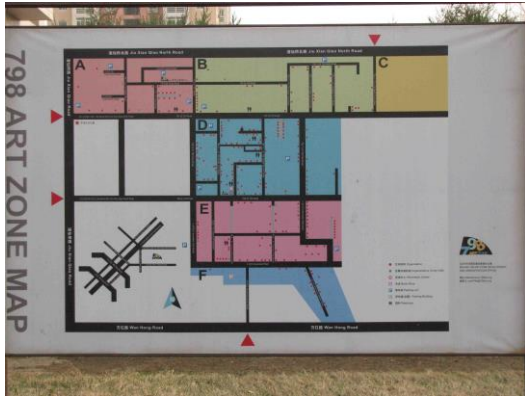
Beijing 798 Art Zone
Source: Photos: Klaus R. Kunzmann

Songzhuan Art Village
Source: Map: Sasaki Associates   Photo: Klaus R. Kunzmann

Shougang is a 8.63 km2 site of a steelworks, which has been closed in Beijing for environmental reasons. Inspired by projects in Germany, the local government, in cooperation with Shougang Group and Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning & Design and Arup, the UK based consultancy
is in a process to transform the industrial site into a huge sustainable "creative" park, accommodating creative industries, but also offices and residential quarters. The site has already been selected to be the headquarter of the Beijing winter Olympics in 2022. The refurbishment project started in 2018 and will be completed by the end of 2019. It will include broadcasting, media and hospitality facilities, (China Daily 2018)

Shougang
Source: China Daily 24.07. 2018

Shanghai: In 2004 the local government of Shanghai has established the Office for Promoting Cultural and Creative Industries started to promote a wide range of cultural and creative industries. The policy aims to compete with Beijing and to position the city as a global creative city, competing with Paris, London or New York. Existing industrial parks all over the city are encouraged to accommodate creative industries. Obsolete industrial structures are transformed into creative parks. The most known creative parks are the Shanghai Multimedia Industry Park, the Bridge 8, the Red Town, the M 50 Creative park, and the 1933 Slaughterhouse, though even the shopping and entertainment centre Xintiandi is labelled as a creative park.

The Multimedia Industry Park, build in 2001 is the first such park in China. Today there are more than 230 media-related enterprises in the park, which the National Government sells as a the *National Digital Media Technology and Industry Model Zone.* Accepting the broad definition of creativity in China, it is certainly It is a a kind of a creative park *Bridge 8.* in a former industrial building is also among the first so-called creative parks. This park accommodates more than 1000 knowledge–intensive enterprises. The *Red Town* is *an* old steelworks, which has been transformed into a quarter with cultural and commercial *uses.* The *M 50 Creative Park* is the biggest creative cluster in Shanghai on the precincts of an obsolete textile plant. It is the location of numerous artist studios, galleries and other culture related outlets. The *1933 Slaughterhouse*, finally, built in 1930 by a British architect, as the then biggest slaughterhouse of Asia, Is a listed building, which is rather an shopping and entertainment centre for young Shanghai citizens.

The Office for Promoting Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) in Shanghai has been successful in establishing a group of high-profile creative industrial parks for the local creative community. Raising the profile of the cultural environment in the city, e.g. the Shanghai International Film Festival, Television Festival, Arts Festival and various design exhibitions, also supported the development of the parks. Some of the parks are rather entertainment-and shopping centres or even just white elephants, or rather parks, which do not show much creativity (Yiang/Walker2012; O'Connor/Gu 2012). Nevertheless the Shanghai policy to promote creative parks in the city has contributed to raised the image of industrial parks and of the metropolis a whole.

Shanghai Slaughterhouse
Source: Photos WANG Fang

Nanjing: In 2006 the city launched concept to promote the local cultural and creative economy. There the policy aim was stated as follows:

"We shall basically construct a cultural creative industry system which is suitable for socialist market economic system, and could powerfully support innovative city construction in 2010. According to Nanjing's city characteristics, resource superiority, and cultural consumption trend, we shall form a new pattern of the highlighting of advantaged categories and the linkage development of related industries. By the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan period, cultural creative industry shall become a principal part of the whole city's cultural industry increment, an important impetus for optimizing the whole city's economic structure, and an important growth point of Nanjing's economic development; Nanjing shall realize the span from a large cultural resource city to a strong cultural industry city, and construct "culture and wisdom creative center" in eastern region of China...... " to make Nanjing a *"...........domestic top-ranking and international famous "China Famous Software City"* (Outline 2006).

As in other cities, and following national policies, the field of cultural and creative industries was defined very broadly. Apart from software development, industrial and fashion design it included among others also biomedicine industries. Over the years, a number of creative quarters were developed. a few examples are
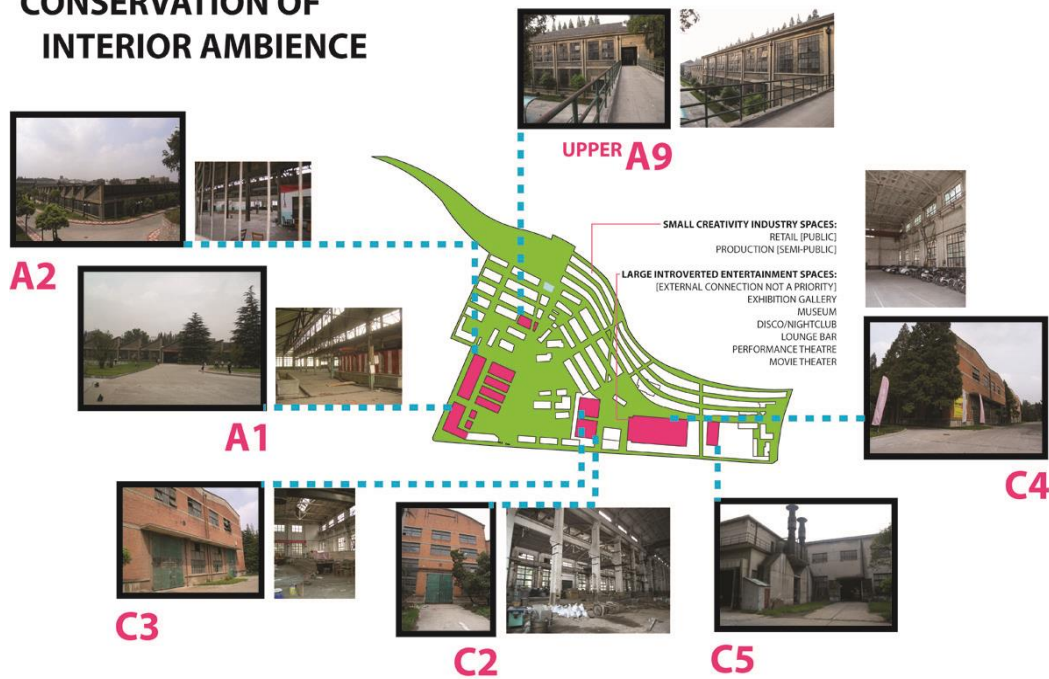
1865 os a quarter, in a former weapon factory on the fringe of the inner city, is accommodating a broad spectrum on "creative" enterprises, a cinema and among others jewellery whole sale enterprises. *L.park* is a small, privately initiated creative park on the grounds of a former mint factory, managed by a local foundation. The *Design Centre,* combines modern architecture with refurbished production halls of a former factory of machinery. Numerous design oriented enterprises and services including gastronomic outlets are located in this very attractive quarter attached to the impressive city's wall..
1912 is an "creative" entertainment centre with numerous restaurants, bars and clubs.

The development of the around 35 cultural and creative industry parks in Nanjing is promoted by all kind of supporting events, such as educational initiatives or an annual *Cultural and Creative Industry Fair,* to bring together producers and consumers. Implementation of the policy is hared between the local government and the industries.

> *"....... we shall give full play to the industrial organization's self-discipline function, realize self-management, self-restriction, and self-development, and reduce the government's unnecessary administrative intervention."* (Outline 2006).

In the fierce competition among cities in China, Nanjing is promoting cultural and creative industries for economic and imagining reasons, in a more focussed way, though less spectacular than Beijing and Shanghai. (Liu/Silva/Wang. 2015)

CONSERVATION OF INTERIOR AMBIENCE

UPPER **A9**

SMALL CREATIVITY INDUSTRY SPACES:
RETAIL [PUBLIC]
PRODUCTION [SEMI-PUBLIC]

LARGE INTROVERTED ENTERTAINMENT SPACES:
[EXTERNAL CONNECTION NOT A PRIORITY]
EXHIBITION GALLERY
MUSEUM
DISCO/NIGHTCLUB
LOUNGE BAR
PERFORMANCE THEATRE
MOVIE THEATER

A2

A1

C3

C2

C5

C4

Creative quarters in Nanjing
Source: photos Klaus R. Kunzmann

Hong Kong: Seeing the international attractiveness dwindling, the responsible politicians in Hong Kong began to invest more in cultural activities. A master plan by *Foster & Partners* a new cultural district aims to promote Hong Kong as a creative city and to attract more tourists and conventions to the place The West Kowloon Cultural District will be developed into an integrated low-density district comprising local and traditional as well as international and modern elements. A range of indoor and outdoor arts and cultural venues is under construction, with all their visual arts, performances and educational offerings easily accessible to one another along a main vehicular-free artery. Arts and cultural learning will be another dimension of the strategy. The successful Hong Kong Art Fair is an additional initiative, which aims to widen the commercial and financial profile of the city. (Kunzmann/ Lung 2012; Kong/ Ching/ Chou 2015).

Taiwan: As in Europe, the creative city paradigm is used in Taiwan to improve the overall quality of cities for liveability of increasingly better-educated citizens in the high-tech economy. The creative city paradigm has been used a reason to support the arts, local crafts and local entertainment, mainly as an plug-in concept for local action, particularly for the conserving historical building, revitalising obsolete industrial precincts and old railway yards, for the strengthening of local identity and enhancing the local city profile, and for promoting the consumption of design products and maintaining, and , last nut not least , for showing a certain degree of tolerance

to encourage the civil society to get involved in city development. The promotion of new creative quarters is also an attempt to show the Taiwanese flag against Mainland China, The creative city hype in Taiwan is a marketing tool to impress popular media, demonstrate international modernism and boost mainly Chinese tourism. A more holistic rationale of the creative city concept is not followed-up. The top-down created creative quarters are islands in the cities, leisure and consumption playgrounds of a small local intellectual elites.

Osaka and *Yokohama* *in Japan* also loved the promises of the creative city. They recognized the creative paradigm as an opportunity to improve their image against the cultural dominance of Tokyo and Kyoto. (Sasaki 2010 ;Kakiuchi/ Greffe 2013). They articulated their cultural ambitions in their urban marketing strategies, promoted a multitude of cultural and creative actions and spread the new creative city image in national and international media.

Chinese and Japanese strategies to develop creative quarters are motivated by a mix of rationales. They aim to find new functions and uses for obsolete historic industrial buildings in inner cities; they are developed for entertaining young citizens and meet their requirements for design shopping; and they are built to attract tourists. The creative city paradigm has been a good reason to sell such initiatives and projects to the political class.

How to Make a City Creative?

What can be learnt from the strategies and projects of selected "creative" cities briefly sketched above? Promoting creativity in a city requires more than wishful thinking and fancy

documents, formulated by smart marketing agencies to impress political leaders and the media, to please the architects and planners and the local creative class. Action to be taken includes continuous monitoring of the dynamics of local, creativity, getting aware of challenges and opportunities. Opening windows of opportunity to enhance local creativity is a competence, local leaders would have to do. Action includes as well, communication to and among the drivers of the local economy. They have to accept that creative industries have an economic impact and contribute to the image of a city. Communication platforms, traditional and social media can play a significant role to strengthen local creative networks. Platforms, operated by local intermediate organisations are crucial to spread information, shape joint spirit and organizing mind-setting events, In times of growing labour shortage, creative industries can be a means and attract young and qualified, even international labour. Thereby start-up promotion programmes are particularly appealing to young millenials. Linking cultural industries to tourism and including creative industries in export promotion strategies are obvious ways to support the creative community, Experience in cities shows as well that spatial clustering is essential to promote the field facilitate communication among creative actors and to make creativity visible in a city. Linking local professional colleges and institutes of higher education to creative networks is a means to encourage fine and performing art students, designers and musicians to consider entrepreneurial careers. In times of digitalization, obviously, the quality of local digital infrastructure is a significant factor to support and sustain creativity in the city. Certainly the creative city is not the outcome of a five-year action plan. It requires stamina, longer perspectives and a long breath, an open liberal civil society and creative leadership. In the end, the road map to urban creativity is always a local one. Transferring a success story from one city to another dos not work. The creative city paradigm has offered a useful approach to overcome stagnation in urban politics. It opened the windows for more creative approaches to local development and for increasing the quality life in larger city regions. Many projects may have misused original intensions, but this is always happing when programming innovative action in urban development. And it has to be accepted that promoting creativity in cities is the only one dimension of future urban development strategies, and not just focussed on fine and performing arts, design or music.

Obstacles to Creative City Policies

Creative city residents have not invented the creative city. Artists, sculptors and musicians, actors, filmmakers and designers were astonished that they, who had fought for years for more civic recognition and cultural attention, suddenly became the new hope of the modern city in the 21st century. Understandingly, they expressed much scepticism towards the creative paradigm. Similarly many local government departments responsible for cultural affairs doubted that the unexpected interest in the city's creativity would lead to the anchoring of culture as an mandatory communal duty would to an increase of communal cultural budgets. They also feared that they would lose their local monopoly for cultural and creative affairs to their colleagues from economic development departments, who, persuaded convince d by Richard Florida, welcomed the new opportunity to expand their local responsibilities. .

After a period of euphoria in the beginning of the 21st century, the enthusiasm for the creative city has soon come to a close. Due to the political and financial reality of cities many promises of the creative city hype have not been fulfilled. The promises have either failed or have been replaced by new urban development paradigms following the mainstream zeitgeist. It quickly turned out that among the highly acclaimed cultural and creative industries only the small segment of software and games development is flourishing, while the culture-related segment secures many but mainly precarious jobs. In addition, in the wake of the „*Gründerzeit*" the start-up fever in larger cities is exciting pragmatic city managers much more.. Benefitting from earlier enthusiasm for creativity the new start-up milieus in cities, profit from the immense

potential of digital technologies. Though their products and services have more to do with cultural consumption than with cultural production.

Another experience lowered the creative enthusiasm. Caused by re-urbanization trends and shortage of affordable housing, gentrification has become a political issue. In the context of municipal housing policies, discussing the future of densely built-up inner city quarters, the creative community, artists and their milieus, have been identified as major drivers of gentrification. There is much empirical evidence that the members of the creative class are primarily responsible for gentrification processes. This makes a city's efforts to identify and assign creative spaces in the city, a balancing tightrope act, as every communal assignment of creative spaces rather strengthens the real estate industry and tourism, but does not provide affordable space for cultural production and creative initiatives. Anyway, the expectations that a creative city policy will significantly increase the communal budgets for culture and cultural education did not come true.

The Creative Paradigm, a Stirrup for the Smart Conquest of Cities

It can be said that the short-term creative city enthusiasm has been a stirrup of another strategy, driven by digitalization and changing consumer modes: the creative city has become smart. Driven by the myths of the globally active and successful Silicon Valley corporations, the digitalization is changing work and life styles of the society across the globe. With powerful support from interna-tional, mainly American, Japanese and Chinese corporations, the mission of the creative city is gradually replaced by the smart city. The debates on the consequences of this process for local cultural policies have just begun. While the cultural dimension of the creative city turned out to be culturally not as purposeful, as expected, the rapidly evolving smart technology applications nurtured broad entrepreneurial environments, at least in larger city regions. The smart city hype promises more new jobs for millennials and techno-freaks.

Reports on smart cities in mainstream popular and economic magazines or in local newspapers have replaced their enthusiasm for creative cites, with much coverage on successful local smart and start-up policies and achievements. Driven by large globally active corporations, which aim to digitalize their production and please consumers, finding the convenience of digitalised services irresistible, the smart city paradigm has become a new hype in city development. Given the enormous mobility challenges in cities, citizens welcome any action, which promises relief from congestion and parking problems in the compact city. Data on the number of start-ups, of financial support for start-ups on local regional end national governments funding for start-ups are the news for attracting readership. Narratives about successful start-ups are written, to encourage readers to follow, or at least to admire successful new entrepreneurs. Cities compete and benchmark with real, fake or just interest-led figures about start-ups. They are cured from the creative fever, but jump on the next hype, hoping that the new paradigm will support the local economy better than the previous one. Berlin is a pertinent example. 10 years ago, favoured by cheap housing and low living cost, the creative city paradigm has made the local government to believe, that Berlin is on the road to become the creative capital of Europe. In absence of financial institutions located in the city as well as the lack of industrial potential and entrepreneurial spirit, the city hoped that the creative paradigm would make the Berlin competitive. This has been a fraudulent hope. Soon the policy makers of Berlin changed the conviction and turned over to the smart and start-up paradigm. In 2018 the consultancy Ernst and Young published its findings that Berlin, after London, before Paris, is the second successful start-up capital city in Europe (BZ 2019), rising 1,6 Billion Euros for start-ups.

The Creative City: a Fading Fashion of Urban Politics

Depending on local conditions or external public funding, the creative city has been replaced by new urban development paradigms: the knowledge city, the resilient City, the inclusive City and last but not least by the paradigm of the smart city. In the second decade of the 21st century, these new visions inspire arenas of innovative urban politics. Meanwhile, two other challenges dominate the public discourse: One the one hand, the implications of migration and urban densification for the provision of affordable housing, and on the other hand the consequences of the digitalisation for mobility and urban development. Even though other paradigms have now conquered the political city arenas, the aims of the creative city are not forgotten. Selected dimensions of creative city policies have become an integral part of municipal urban development strategies. The cultural and creative industries have become a recognized field of local economic development and city policies in search of follow- up uses for old industrial plants. The tourism industry knows the importance of living cultural quarters and cultural flagships in the city. A rich cultural life in the city as a precondition for high living standards is firmly anchored in the politics of many cities (Siebel 2015). Last but not least, cultural initiatives are used to facilitate the integration of migrants. The enthusiasm for the creative city may have faded, but the arts, music and design are still considered to be essential cross-sectionals element of urban development.

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