



Creative City: From urban regeneration to privatization

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Abstract

The new phase of socio-economic development and the transition from the industrial to the post-industrial era also had its spatial consequences. The urban areas, previously intended for industrial production, were abandoned and devastated. The significance of creative industries is often linked to their catalytic role in regenerating such areas. To this end, the concepts of cultural quarters, creative clusters and creative cities emerged, aiming to revitalize deteriorated zones by assigning them new meanings and innovative content. As the entire concept of creative industries is closely related to the context and local management policies, the implementation of the ideas mainly depends on the local authorities. The focus of the study is on analysing the relationship between creative solutions and spatial issues. The goal of the study is to draw attention to both positive and negative outcomes of such an approach. Concluding considerations indicate that creativity in the urban environment hinges not only on management policies but also on citizen participation and civil initiatives that arise in response to official policies.

Keywords: creative city, urban regeneration, creative industries, cultural quarters, creative clusters.

1. Introduction

In 2022, after the Corona virus pandemic, a group of authors released a paper entitled "'Creative City' R.I.P.?" wherein they conveyed the perspective that „the creative city was devastated“ (Whiting et al., 2022, para. 20). The authors expressed doubts regarding the current capabilities of artists, who were anticipated to revive abandoned properties and to initiate urban activity (Whiting et al., 2022). The idea of dismantling the concept of a creative city would inherently entail the collapse of the whole concept of creative industries. Creative industries suffer from a chronic lack of precise definition, as evidenced by the multitude of definitions and models aimed at establishing a framework for comprehending them. The considerable efforts, discussions and disagreements within academic and professional circles might imply that the whole concept was built on fragile foundations. Although, the majority of issues essentially arise from attempting to describe contemporary phenomena through categories, perspectives, terminology and categories that were valid earlier. The world is undergoing an astonishingly rapid transformation, and the amount of provided data along with its processing surpasses the inherent mental capacities bestowed upon us. Possibly, the (theoretical) issue might have been overcome more swiftly and smoothly if the term „post“ (creative post-industries) had been incorporated into their name instead of „creative industries“.

In practice, by the end of the previous century, in numerous examples of reimagining post-industrial cities, reviving abandoned industrial zones, and revitalizing devastated urban districts, concepts related to the creative economy and creative industries were extensively applied, resulting in various outcomes. Creative industries have been acknowledged as primarily a „development phenomenon“ directed towards cities and regions (Jovičić et al., 2006, p. 23), and their significance has often been linked to their catalytic role in the regeneration and revitalization of cities or urban quarters neighborhoods (Fleming, 2004; Work Foundation, 2007). By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the notion of

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the creative economy had been embraced by planners, urban planners, architects, and other experts engaged in urban matters, emerging as one of the prevailing philosophies of urban renewal and development (Бајић Брковић, 2009). It was also considered that urban policies influenced creative industries to emerge as the predominant form of cultural policy in numerous countries, as these countries recognized in them a means to restore the allure of post-industrial cities (Tomka, 2014). Therefore, the concept of creative clusters was regarded as a rare example where tangible practice and effective policy were implemented at the local level (Pratt, 2004; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2008), whereas the concept of a creative city proved to be more complex, primarily due to its expansive scope and hybrid nature.

The pragmatic concept of creative industries, which varies depending on the context and whose sectors shift according to local cultural policies, was widely embraced from the perspective of urban development. The rationale for this acceptance stems from the basic nature of the work of all those engaged in matters of the city design. The tasks of urban planners, architects, city developers, participants in the protection of architectural heritage, have always entailed navigating the delicate balance between culture and business (Manević, 1987). The cost of urban land has always been an unavoidable factor, and considering the future and prospective utilization of city areas and buildings (even historical monuments) has always, in addition to assessing their cultural and historical qualities, also meant considering their future socio-economic role. From that standpoint, the creative economy and creative industries merely presented old concepts adorned in more contemporary attire.

2. Creativity and Space: From production to consumption

At the beginning of the 21st century, researchers emphasized that the renewed interest in space, in terms of geographical locations, contradicted previous forecasts of the 'end of geography' (Florida, 2003; Tay, 2005). In the preceding period, there was a belief that the advancement of technologies, the Internet, transport and communication systems, electronic commerce, and the like would lead to transcending spatial limitations and that geographical locations would lose their significance. Such predictions were, to some extent, based upon the altered nature of the economy, which was increasingly oriented towards the production of intangible goods, values and services, essentially transcending 'spatial limitations'. However, the headquarters of high-tech industries and economies based on knowledge and creativity remained spatially concentrated. During the first decade of the 21st century, spatial clustering was of central importance to any discussion of urban prosperity (Landry, 2008), while place and community were considered more significant than ever (Florida, 2003).

Spatial clustering, throughout the second decade of the 21st century, was a means by which regions or industries leveraged their natural advantages in order to enhance competitiveness or innovation (UNESCO, 2013). Through numerous examples of creative agglomerations focused on specific products, it was demonstrated that attributes linked to a particular location confer exclusivity upon those products. Such attributes cannot be replicated outside of specific local conditions. Moreover, the location not only represents a primary component of the product but also serves as a guarantee of authenticity and quality (UNESCO, 2013). That quality assurance is subject to specific forms of intellectual property rights protection, primarily encompassing the safeguarding of trademarks and designations of geographical origin (WIPO, 2020).

The products of the creative industries are closely related to generating meaning, conveying messages, articulating perception, as well as shaping identity or lifestyle. The creative sector's ability to advocate or promote specific ideas also extends to concepts about the city or about spaces and places of various scale (Fleming, 2004). From that viewpoint, creativity represents a significant tool that offers the possibility to enhance the quality of the space itself and life in it, while simultaneously serving as an important means for branding specific locations. The rapid processes of development and the concentration of creative enterprises in particular areas, along with the organization of creative activities or the presence of members of the creative population, possess the capability to assign fresh meanings upon old places (Fleming, 2004). That phenomenon was among the first to be recognized by the sociologist Sharon Zukin (1982), who, during the 1970s, examined the broader phenomenon of post-industrial cities by studying the case of Soho in New York. Towards the end of the 19th century, the neighborhood was occupied by significant textile manufacturers. Following the Second World War, that once-thriving wholesale trade hub began to deteriorate. In the 1960s, low rental costs and spaces that could be easily transformed into appealing studios attracted artists. The historical significance of Soho and certain architectural structures within it was recognized in 1973, when the neighborhood was declared a „historic landmark district“ (Zukin, 1982, p. 55). This was followed by a price increase, even in buildings which did not represent cultural and historical landmarks. The entry of creative artists into spaces originally intended for industrial production aimed at a much deeper rebranding and also represents a kind of metaphor for the entire (transition to) concept of the creative economy. In the early 1990s, Zukin also analyzed landscapes that reflected the shift „from production to consumption“, as well as the alteration of local relations that were influenced by broader social and economic conditions (Zukin, 1991, p. 57). Artists and their works played a prominent role in this change of perspective, which redirected the focus towards consumption. Ironically, they served as the mediators for the contemporary fusion of culture and economy, only to ultimately contribute to the displacement of cultural and artistic values from the space that aided them during that process (Zukin, 1991).

3. Urban Regeneration: Cleaning up the (industrial) mess

The issue of urban regeneration was primarily linked to spatial challenges that stem from deindustrialization and the shift from the industrial to the post-industrial era. From that standpoint, it's important to highlight that the creative economy is not solely a solution to certain outcomes, but is also inherently responsible for the current state of affairs. The creative economy, as a novel phase in the progression of capitalism, was equated in importance with the industrial revolution (Garnham, 2005). Just as the first phase manifested in spatial and „classical factory“ cities (Scott, 2006, p. 3), it was anticipated that the second phase would also unfold on the spatial plan. Transitioning to a new phase in the progression of capitalism and the closure of industrial facilities led to the abandonment of old industrial zones, leaving workers unemployed (Pratt, 2008), and resulting in significant physical and social transformation of the world. The process of deindustrialization was accompanied by an altered relationship between culture and economy. Wherein the culture was increasingly perceived through the lens of the economy. Culture and art were increasingly regarded as resources, instruments or mechanisms of urban planning and strategies of urban regeneration, i.e. from the perspective of their potential function (Zukin, 1982; 1991; Mommaas, 2004; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2005). Although this did not imply genuine cultural advancement, the positive aspect is that culture and art were treated with more respect and seriousness than before (Bogarts, 2002). Since the 1980s, the role of culture in the city has been legitimized, and the urban regeneration of city centers and entire cities has been a subject addressed by numerous informal coalitions (comprising local artists, art organizations, business companies, and others) (Lovatt et al., 1995). By the end of that decade, investors took the lead in urban development, and „economic profitability“ was enforced as a priority in city development programs (Dragičević Šešić, 2002, p. 182).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, geographer David Harvey (1989; 1993) explored the new economic order and the evolving role of culture. He concluded that command over space and time is the most important element „in any search for profit“ (Harvey, 1989, p. 226). The capitalist hegemony over space also prompted the revival of the aestheticization of place, which was transformed into „some kind of successful spectacle“ in order to attract both capital and people (Harvey, 1989, p. 347). Observing the place as a social construct, Harvey (1993) believed that the landscape must also be reshaped in accordance with the new phase of socio-economic development. The shift of (economic) focus from production to consumption also led to the development of (spatial) attractions that aimed at economic profit, as well as image enhancement. The integration of the cultural sector with the strategic visions of the city required a new type of professionals who would develop knowledge at the local level (O'Connor, 2007).

The regeneration of old industrial districts and buildings demanded the fusion of traditional understanding of culture and art with comprehensions of urban planning and city zoning, incorporating an awareness of cultural landmarks and preserved areas, and aligning with the principles of the new economy, citizen participation and similar factors. Thus, by the beginning of the 1990s, with regards to urban planning, it was recognized that rigid zoning was restrictive for new regeneration strategies. The previously established notion that housing and industry should not be in immediate proximity was altered. Additionally, the reuse of brownfield sites became one of the desirable goals of urban planning interventions (Evans, 2004; 2009). Regarding cultural heritage, the significance of industrial heritage was gradually acknowledged during the latter half of the 20th century. During that period, in addition to the growing significance of industrial aesthetics, architectural historians also began advocating for the preservation and adaptive reuse of old industrial buildings (Zukin, 1982). Although experts still face a range of challenges in valorizing and protecting these structures, the significance of industrial heritage has gained a distinct position in heritage studies at the beginning of the 21st century (Јевтовић, 2021).

From the economic standpoint, urban regeneration implies the establishment of new markets for artistic and creative products, along with the increasing attractiveness of specific regions, even for enterprises operating outside the creative sector. Its drawbacks include the creation of new social divisions with a less skilled and lower-paid workforce primarily catering to the creative sector (Evans, 2009). Furthermore, practice has demonstrated that the shift from industrial to post-industrial culture is by no means facile (Landry, 2008). Interventions in neglected urban areas (often former industrial zones), driven by culture and creativity, were primarily spearheaded by artists. They not only served as form of „advertisement“ of the local area, but also represented a resource from the perspective of the post-industrial labor market (Lloyd, 2010, p. 258). That process entails certain risks. After the vitality and dynamism of an urban area are restored, real estate prices increase, new jobs opportunities arise, and these areas can become so valuable and appealing that they eventually displace those who contributed to their transformation (Landry et al., 1995; O'Connor, 2007; Tomka, 2014).

3.1. From Cultural Quarters to Creative Clusters

The concept of utilizing 'cultural quarters' as a strategic tool for urban regeneration based on cultural and creative values originated in Great Britain. More precisely, it emerged from Sheffield, which was renowned for its thriving steel industry during the 19th century, acting as a magnet for population influx. Between the two world wars, Sheffield's steelworks were repurposed for munitions and weapons production, causing significant destruction to the city during the Second World War. During the post-war period, the existing industrial sector became obsolete, leading to the closure of numerous steel mills. This shift was driven by the globalization of the heavy industry market and the advancements in automation

technology. It was noted that the „post-industrial wastelands“ reached their peak in the early 1980s, leaving tens of thousands of workers unemployed (Moss, 2002). *The Cultural Industries Quarter* was established in 1981 through a local government initiative (Oatley et al., 1996), primarily driven by economic considerations that viewed culture as „the means, not the end“ (Moss, 2002, p. 214). The industrial zone on the city's outskirts was officially designated as a cultural quarter in 1986, which was followed by the establishment of a recording studio, an audio-visual center, as well as numerous restaurants, clubs, theaters, and other cultural facilities (Moss, 2002; Oatley et al., 1996, Scott, 2004). In the mid-1990s, the previously neglected area was transformed into a „vibrant and diverse location“ (Oatley et al., 1996, p. 178). A decade later, certain attractions had to be shut down due to low visitor counts, and the Cultural Industries Quarter was considered „a victim of its pioneer status“ (Moss, 2002, p. 212). An important observation is that the city struggled to navigate the challenges of global transformation due to its social memory, which was rooted in the „single industry monoculture“ (O'Connor, 2004, p. 143). Despite that, Sheffield's cultural industries policies were seen as significant in the long term, particularly due to the introduction of the concept of 'cultural quarters' (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2005; Landry, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2008).

The following phase in the utilization of art and culture for urban regeneration was represented by the concept of cultural clusters (Mommaas, 2004; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2005). These two concepts differ in terms of how actors are integrated. The quarters are characterized by horizontal connection within a shared geographical location, while the clusters are vertically interconnected and based on industrial logic (Tomka, 2012). As historical predecessors of modern (cultural and creative) clusters, the ideas of Alfred Marshall about the 'industrial district' and Michael Porter's definitions from the late 1990s were referenced (Marshall, 1925; Porter, 1998; Florida, 2003). As a rare example of a „comprehensively thought“ and „deliberately planned“ cultural cluster, the Emscher Park regeneration project in the Ruhr area of Germany was noted (Landry, 2008, pp. 90, 219). The region was formerly the epicenter of heavy industry, originally dedicated to coal mines and steel processing, only to suffer multiple devastations following the relocation of the industry (Бајић Брковић, 2009). The initiative for the region's revitalization was launched during the 1980s, while in 1989, the implementation of the International Building Exhibition (IBA) project commenced. IBA consisted of a team of around 30 experts, organized around Professor Karl Ganser. The team had an advisory role, a mission based on upholding quality standards, and sought to perceive challenges as potential opportunities while regarding crises as avenues for development (Landry, 2008). The former industrial area underwent a transformation into a research and development zone, focused on addressing its own degradation and on the concept of „innovating in a non-innovative milieu“ (Landry, 2008, p. 91). The processes within the project were guided by predefined criteria, including the aspiration to repurpose old structures in an unconventional ways. Also, to avoid treating the industrial heritage as a mere museum exhibits, but to transform it into centers for „new age creativity“ (Бајић Брковић, 2009, p. 55). In this instance as well, culture was utilized as a tool with its primary objective being to contribute to the economic progress of the area (Hemmings et al., 2010). Once more, social memory or the 'psyche of the region' emerged as an important factor. Beyond revitalizing physical resources, the aim of the entire regeneration process was also to change the collective mindset of the people, deeply marked by the monoculture of coal and steel, i.e. „to renew the psyche of the region“ (Landry, 2008, p. 91). The Emscher Park regeneration project spanned a decade, encompassing the realization of approximately 200 projects and the establishment of numerous partnerships and collaborations (Landry, 2008; Бајић Брковић, 2009). The significance of the project was acknowledged in various aspects, including its role in fostering historical awareness through creativity and facilitating connections between „on-site education“ and the preservation of history (Hemmings et al., 2010, p. 243).

The concept of creative clusters is deemed pivotal and defining within the context of the creative economy (Evans, 2009; UNCTAD, 2010). According to prior definitions, creative clusters comprise interconnected enterprises and individuals whose endeavors are „rooted in the arts and culture“ and which „directly and indirectly produce cultural products“ (New England Council, 2000, pp. 4, 9). They operate as a unified entity, composed of a network of interconnected subjects, and are characterized by the continuous circulation of knowledge, skilled workforce, information, and informal ideas. Formally, creative clusters represent a „sub-set of business clusters“ (Pratt, 2004, p. 62), while contributing to a „more entrepreneurial“ approach to art and culture (Mommaas, 2004, p. 520). Entrepreneurs operating within a creative cluster have the freedom to test their ideas and experiment, as the cluster provides them with a sense of security and trust, along with access to relevant information, knowledge and inspiration. Creative clusters also enhance the efficiency of entrepreneurial operations, as their concentration and proximity imply joint investments, cost savings in production, cross-trading, and other related activities (Evans, 2004). The creative industries sector relies heavily on networking across different levels. These connections occur within the creative industries themselves, as well as between the creative industries and other economic sectors. Regarding creative clusters, their capacity to extend into various economic sectors is acknowledged in two distinct ways: as a strength, because of the establishment of novel intersectoral connections that potentially stimulate innovation; however, also as a weakness, as it complicates the measurement of their economic value and the implementation of appropriate management policies (Evans, 2009). The success of creative clusters is closely related to striking a balance between the local and the global relations. There was a persistent tension observed between the flows of knowledge at the local and global levels, with the global flows holding undeniable significance. However, it was recognized that the local base serves as „a major generator“ of novel and unique knowledge (Wolfe et al., 2004, p. 1089). It has also been proven that creative clusters with strong local roots demonstrated greater resilience in the face of global competition (UNCTAD, 2010). Therefore, local conditions represent an important competitive advantage, arising from specific shared knowledge that is generated and utilized within cultural and creative clusters, which proves difficult

to transfer elsewhere (O'Connor, 2007). Such „tacit knowledge“ implies non-transferable skills, is locally embedded, and stands in contrast to „formal knowledge“ which is codified and transferable (O'Connor, 2004, p. 134).

The nature of creative work does not adhere to traditional economic aspirations towards profit growth, and it also affects the unconventional organization of cultural and creative enterprises. Taking inspiration from this, Graeme Evans (2009) regarded many creative clusters as more aligned with the concept of 'cultural quarters' rather than Michael Porter's concepts. Such attitudes complicate the establishment of distinct boundaries among the three aforementioned concepts, all of which addressing relationship of culture and creativity within urban areas. In attempt to create a more precise differentiation among these concepts, mirroring efforts to distinguish between (traditional) cultural and (contemporary) creative industries, Silicon Alley in New York might be pointed out. Modeled after Silicon Valley in San Francisco, California, Silicon Alley stands as an exemplar of a (pure) creative cluster. The inclusion of 'Silicon' (Si) in the name of the California cluster refers to a chemical element utilized in semiconductors and computer components. Such naming signified that the area houses a dense concentration of companies operating as semiconductor production and computer industry research. The fascination with the Silicon Valley's success was one of the initiators of interest in the developing clusters worldwide, aiming to replicate its model (Wolfe et al., 2004). The incorporation of 'Silicon' in the name of the creative cluster in Manhattan was intended to evoke associations with the renowned Valley. Silicon Alley stands as the global hub for the production of 'new media', creativity, entrepreneurship and high-tech startup enterprises. Employees in Silicon Alley emphasized the significance of engaging with a community of like-minded individuals (other employees) and the importance of their identity within the realm of 'new media'. This identity encompassed shared affinities for a specific lifestyle (involving intense work and journeys to far-off destinations), dress style, music, aesthetics, and more (Pratt, 2000). In addition to its economic contributions, Silicon Alley also embodies a distinct culture and lifestyle closely tied to the (creative) pursuit of profit within specific spatial and temporal coordinates. An instance of a creative cluster in Manhattan encompasses new media, one of the frontier sectors of the creative industries that typically falls outside the scope of traditional cultural industries. It also serves an example highlighting the importance of spatial and temporal clustering of companies and experts, even though it operates primarily in a virtual sphere and (theoretically) seeks to transcend both space and time.

3.2. Creative Cities and their resources

In the mid-1990s, the concept of the Creative City emerged from the policies of 'cultural quarters', blending it with „flagship projects“, tourism, diverse festivals, and overall emphasis on urban planning centered around enhancing „the quality of life“ (Landry et al., 1995; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2005, p. 4; Landry, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2008). When compared to the concept of creative industries and the creative class, the idea of a creative city was remarkably successful and gained broad acceptance among urban planners, politicians, and practitioners in the fields of art and culture (Whiting et al., 2022). Even during the 1980s and 1990s, cities were recognized as the new „economic powerhouses“ capable of manipulating symbols and processing knowledge (O'Connor, 2007, p. 34). During the initial decade of the 21st century, it was emphasized that cultural and creative industries, in contrast to other sectors, established symbiotic relationship with the city, effectively drawing „vital resources“ from urban culture and city life (O'Connor, 2004, p. 132). At the same time, an increase in the number of cities that prioritized cultural and creative activities in their development strategies was observed (Work Foundation, 2007). Considering the shifting conditions of the global economy, the concept of a creative city also signifies the city's capacity for continuous adaptation to these changes (Mommaas, 2004).

The notion of the creative city gained prominence in the mid-1990s through the work by Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini. They regarded this concept as highly significant due to its capability to serve as a foundation for regeneration across urban and economic domains in cities around the globe (Landry et al., 1995). Landry and Bianchini presented a range of urban examples which indicated that the efficacy of creative solutions hinges not on their cost or longevity, but on the enjoyment they provide to their users. They emphasized that creativity involves perceiving things from an unconventional perspective („in an upside down way“) and possessing the capacity to „make something out of nothing“ (Landry et al., 1995, pp. 45-6). According to them, the concept of creative city was founded on the thesis that everything should be regarded as a resource. The success of this concept depended on new ways of perceiving and describing things, novel forms of experimental research and development, the presence of an appropriate strategy, and the monitoring of its implementation (Landry et al., 1995). At the end of that decade, Charles Landry called the 21st century „the century of cities“ and drew attention to the fact that the problems of the 21st century require a different mindset than the one that prevailed in the 19th century (Landry, 2008, p. xii). He defined creativity as „a journey not a destination, a process not a status“ (Landry, 2008, p. 14). He also perceived culture as „the soil from within which creativity emerges and grows“ (Landry, 2008, p. 173).

The concept of a creative city fundamentally signifies the potential to harness creative resources for the purpose of fostering growth and development within cities (Mikić, 2008; Pratt, 2008). These resources „must already be present in the existing local context“ (Tay, 2005, p. 231). In addition, they depend on the local context in the sense indicated by the observation that „what is creative in one circumstance may not be in another“ (Landry, 2008, p. xxv). As the main prerequisite for the further development of creative resources and as a starting point in their classification, the broader historical circumstances that provide the appropriate environment for the development of creativity were considered. In

that domain, it was deemed that neither highly stable and conservative societies, nor societies characterized by complete chaos, could be creative environments (Hall, 2000). The development of creativity within cities is intertwined with a variety of (potentially creative) resources that might encompass spatial-quantitative aspects (size of the city), cultural-qualitative factors (cultural and historical heritage), newly constructed facilities (contemporary architecture and urban planning), human resources (creative class), production-related capabilities (creative field), and more. While the resources (or inputs) within the realm of creative industries (or cities) are perceived, it is crucial to highlight that they also embody the outcomes (or outputs) of those industries. Unlike resources in traditional industries, inputs in creative industries are not depleted through exploitation. Instead, they form an integral part of the new value (Horvat et al., 2021).

The initial resource of the creative city: Historical circumstances

While analyzing creative cities throughout history, Sir Peter Hall (2000) concluded that they were predominantly bourgeois cities. He also observed that not all bourgeois cities were manifesting creativity, leading him to the assumption that „talent may be more important than wealth“ (Hall, 2000, pp. 645-6). A precondition for fostering of creativity in cities was the continuous attraction of talented individuals and their potential audience. While their staying in the city was contingent upon a specific creative atmosphere, which Hall (2000) related to the broader historical circumstances of the city's existence. Creative cities were never „comfortable places“, instead, they existed in a state of „unstable tension“, marked by greater turbulence and transition, and they served as location where „the old-established order was being challenged“ (Hall, 2000, p. 646). In fact, turbulent and tense circumstances facilitate a „paradigm shift“, which has been regarded as one of the defining criteria for the creativity of urban projects (Landry, 2008, p. 198). Paradigm shift can manifest as either an inherent existential requirement or a constructive aspiration. This transformation is evident in the way issues are observed from a fresh perspective, no longer solely as challenges, but rather as resources for creative endeavors. An notable illustration of a 'paradigm shift' could be found in the case of *Liceulice* magazine, which was created with the aim of fostering social and economic inclusion for vulnerable and marginalized groups in the Republic of Serbia. The magazine is distributed in Belgrade and Novi Sad, with participation in its sale limited exclusively to members of marginalized groups. Sellers earn half of the proceeds from each copy sold, and their life stories are featured in the „Stories from the margins“ section of every issue. That further reinforces the concept of their inclusion and the restoration of their self-esteem. In the provided example, the widespread social issue of poverty and homelessness was approached as a potential resource for creative initiatives, following the model of the pioneering instance from New York (*StreetNews*) and the British equivalent (*The Big Issue*).

Spatial resources: Size of the city

When considering the significance of a city's size in nurturing creativity within its confines, viewpoints diverge. Some authors have highlighted that, for the first time in history, scale and size have lost their significance, suggesting that large cities no longer possess an inherent advantage (Landry, 2008). Contrary to this perspective, the size and density of cities are deemed especially significant as they play a role in the emergence of an 'innovation milieu' and foster the establishment of specific institutional structures that contribute to the cultivation of creative synergy within the city (Baum et al., 2009). Other have considered that the size of a city is not the sole determinant of success. Instead, they linked it to flexibility. From that perspective, large cities can exhibit a lower level of flexibility when facing technological demands or competition. Within them, along with population growth, costs often increase. In contrast, small and medium-sized cities can offer cost advantages (Work Foundation, 2007), inherently demonstrating greater flexibility and representing a more favorable ground for the cultivation of creativity. It can be concluded that the capital (large) cities undoubtedly lead the way in creative development. Nevertheless, exceptions exist that highlight how a well-crafted cultural policy strategy can effectively overcome their initially less favorable predisposition.

Material cultural resources: Cultural and historical heritage

Tangible heritage was the first cultural domain that was considered profitable in the modern sense and was recognized as a significant driver of urban development (UNESCO, 2013). Throughout the 21st century, numerous authors called for the establishment of connections between the historical and architectural heritage with the future of the city. From that perspective, it has been acknowledged that creativity involves more than solely dealing with something new, but also that „history and creativity can be great partners“ (Landry, 2008, p. xxiv). The vision of the future implied a narrative about the connection of that future with the past, tradition and spirit of a certain place (O'Connor, 2004). Consequently, from the aspect of disciplines primarily concerned with preserving cultural heritage, the integration of the economic discourse resulted in the observation of cultural assets as resources that „participate in shaping a vision of the future“ (Јевтовић, 2019, p. 354). Objects of high culture and historical heritage were utilized in order to highlight the differences in comparison to other cities, as a resource that is unique and cannot be replicated (Pratt, 2008). In practice, it was common for creative interventions to be situated within urban heritage sites, even though the preservation of that heritage was not always the foremost reason for these interventions. Evans (2009, p. 43) observed that heritage was occasionally treated as a „benign backdrop“ of regeneration, and instances of complete urban heritage site destruction in favor of new development were not uncommon either. Despite this, the preservation of the urban landscape as a „defining feature of

every city“ is considered to be greatly significant (UNESCO, 2013, p. 47), as it preserves memories that have the potential to inspire future creative ideas.

Newly built resources: contemporary architecture and urban planning

The products of architectural design and urban planning provide a tangible framework that becomes an intrinsic backdrop to daily life. Beyond their material value, architecture and urban forms also hold symbolic value as they „shape both the city and our perception of it“ (Zukin, 1991, p. 42). Contemporary urbanization represents a multifaceted phenomenon wherein individual cities operate as systems of internal transactions while also participating in inter-city transactions marked by both competitive and complementary relationships. In this dynamic, cities engage in a form of competition and collaboration with each other (Scott, 2006). Within such discourse, the prominent visual elements of a modern creative city include top-scale streetscapes, luxury shopping facilities, and the like (Scott, 2006). In the realm of the creative economy and its associated creative cities, contemporary architecture held a prominent position (UNESCO, 2013). In the creation of facilities for new cultural infrastructure, renowned global architects (referred as 'starhitects') frequently take part. Their involvement ensures a substantial influx of visitors, resulting in economic gains. Notably, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao in Spain, conceived by the internationally acclaimed architect Frank Gehry, serves as an exemplary instance of such architectural achievements. That project is regarded as „one of the more dramatic“ instances of the phenomenon of rebranding a location and creating a fresh image to allure new tourists, investments, and revitalize the local economy (Scott, 2006, p. 10). Bilbao thrived during the Industrial Revolution and stood out as one of the steel and shipping capitals until 1975, after which it began to decline (Plaza, 2000). In the mid-1990s, the Abandoibarra district renewal project was initiated, with design and architecture taking on a prominent role (Бајић Брковић, 2009). Following the Museum's inauguration in 1997, toward the close of that decade, initial assessments of tourist visits to the Museum were conducted. These evaluations revealed that the primary motivation behind tourist visits was the „magnetism of the (...) building itself“ (Plaza, 2000, p. 270). Over time, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, initially conceived for cultural purposes, evolved into an embodiment of the redefined identity of both the city and the nation. Museum building stands as the main symbol of the city that provided it with international recognition.

Human resources: the creative class

The concept of the creative class was introduced by Richard Florida (2002) at the beginning of the 21st century, shifting the focus from the creative industries „to the human factor and its creative habitat“ (Lazzeretti et al., 2008: 550). The economic function of the creative class influenced all the social and cultural inclinations, identities and behaviors of its members (Florida, 2002). Florida's thesis suggested that individuals were drawn not just to jobs and locations that offered employment opportunities, but to places distinguished by innovation, inclusiveness, tolerance and diversity (Florida, 2003). As a result of these factors, they were notably drawn to the local street culture, blurring the lines between observers and participants, and offering a range of genuine events (Florida, 2002). From that perspective, the city's driving force was its capability to attract and retain creative individuals. As the presence of these creative individuals shapes an environment that draws in new companies (Landry, 2008). Among the various criticisms directed at the concept of the creative class - perceived as politically incorrect, elitist (Krätke, 2010), superficial (Mould, 2015), and unsustainable (Whiting et al., 2022) – Florida's approach to urban development notably omitted the examination of intricate, foundational relationships that played a crucial role in fostering a creative environment within specific locales (Scott, 2006). Oli Mould (2015, p. 8) expressed his concern by stating that „if the Creative City is the Trojan horse, then the creative class are the Greeks inside“. Anyway, from the viewpoint of creativity, creative industries, or creative cities, the significance of the human factor will continue to grow, particularly when considering the present phenomenon of accessible and free AI systems, along with discussions about how they might endanger (or aid) performing creative tasks.

Production resources: creative field and cultural commodity production

Towards the close of the 1990s, Allen Scott (1997, p. 324) noted that specific cities acted as „generators of culture“ and that they primarily operated as „the bulwarks of a new cultural economy“. As per his perspective, cities have consistently held a favorable position in terms of cultural and economic endeavors. He regarded the integration of the production system with specific locations as a key characteristic of the emerging cultural economy (Scott, 1997; 2004). Scott (2004) perceived cities as closely linked to the production of cultural commodities, while also serving as the most conducive environment for development initiatives rooted in the cultural economy. Allen Scott introduced the notion of the 'creative field' into discussions about creative cities. This concept signifies that beyond physical and institutional infrastructure, cities also encompass local practices and traditions rooted in informal knowledge. The main economic mechanisms supporting creative cities include networks of producers, local labor markets, and the creative field. While the creative field encompasses a network of companies and their interactions, along with social institutions (such as schools, universities, research centers) that contribute to the innovative capacities of these networks, as well as cultural expressions and conventions (Scott, 2006). The concept of Alan Scott draws somewhat from Florida's research, but unlike Florida's emphasis on consumption, Scott's concept centers on production.

4. Conclusion

In the early 21st century, it was projected that the success of a creative city would be contingent upon how it grapples with issues of social and economic sustainability, gentrification, and other issues related to enduring growth (Tay, 2005). Back then, there was already observed the absence of more substantial, sober, and comprehensive qualitative research into the genuine role of art and culture, as well as their contributions to urban revitalization. Instead, the majority of attention was directed towards data collection and conducting simpler statistical analyses (Bogarts, 2002). The culture was perceived as „the magic substitute for all the lost factories and warehouses, and as a device that will create a new urban image, making the city more attractive to mobile capital and mobile professional workers“ (Hall, 2000, p. 640). The romantically idealized image began to take on more realistic form by the end of the first decade of the 21st century. At the time, it was highlighted that advocates of the new concept were increasingly supported their ideas by invoking Jane Jacobs' statement that „new ideas need old buildings“ (Lloyd, 2010, p. 258). However, they overlooked the fact that repurposing these spaces into incubators for the new economy led to rising rental prices, thereby diluting the original significance of Jacobs' statement, as these spaces became financially inaccessible (Lloyd, 2010). Additionally, it was observed that the creative city paradigm embodies a constrained and capitalistic perspective of creativity, which undermines genuine creativity and generates financial benefit for a selected few (Mould, 2015). Furthermore, in addition to the concept primarily catering to „local elites“, it became increasingly challenging to disregard the escalating and more aggressive nature of gentrification (Whiting et al, 2022, para. 3).

Oli Mould (2015) highlighted the distinction between 'Creative' and 'creative' city, considering the former version (with a capital 'C') as formalized and instrumental, while the latter (with small 'c') was associated with an alternative and subversive urban practices. Regarding the case of the second (small 'c') concept, it refers to a city where experimental social interactions are enabled, and where creative activity represents „the very act of citizenship“ (Mould, 2015, p. 5). According to Mould (2015), the concept of urban subversion of the creative city essentially represents a response and reaction to the Creative City. Therefore, its transformations are influenced by shifts in the paradigms of the official concept. In accordance with this, the kind of creativity deserving of such status does not unfold within institutions and codified systems of knowledge, eluding classification into disciplines and genres. It involves practices that „transcend from institutional settings to public spaces“ and that works towards establishing a „counter-publicity“ (Dragičević Šešić, 2017, p. 15). Such creativity does not require the endorsement of an outdated system or the backing of influential investors. Milena Dragičević Šešić (2017, p. 19) considered that dissident activism serves as „the measure of civil society's achievement“. The notion of creative subversion, dissidence, activism, citizenship, and civil society activities leads to the conclusion that countering the economization of culture can only be achieved through the politicization of creativity, which does not offer us an abundance of options.

From the perspective of aforementioned concern about the demise or death of the Creative City, and the stagnation that urban creativity underwent, it is obvious that it was merely a period of incubation. For instance, an astonishing hyperproduction of urban projects (including areas designated for creative industries) was observed in Belgrade. These projects were developed without the prior adoption of a General Plan covering the period from 2021 to 2041. Urban land is being privatized, while the most creative action is posing the question "Where is the Plan?". It is also the title of the platform launched by the collective *Ministry of Space* (Ministarstvo prostora), which invites citizens to share their comments and ideas and engage in shaping the future of their own city, genuinely creative one.

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