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## CREATIVE CITY: CHALLENGING CONCEPT

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**Abstract.** *Culture and creativity were always an essential part of city growth, but today they are integrated in the life of cities as a part of official strategies or as an action of a group of artists and people, working in the cultural and creative industries. Culture and creativity form part of many concepts of urban development promoted as an acceptable response to the challenges of globalization. As a part of urban development policy, they are expected to enable sustainable development, and they rely on human potential, local comparative advantages and development of technologies. The main principles of these concepts are communication, social networks, technology, adaptability, concentration, synergy and inclusion. As any paradigm, creative cities are challenged on many levels, in theory and in practice. Using culture and creativity as a resource and marketing value should be thoughtful, since it can have a significant impact on society. This paper will present some arguments about policies and critics of creative cities, as well as the required preconditions, organizational forms, their development path and relation to inclusion. This paper will present the case study of Savamala, as an example of urban regeneration through creating a cultural and creative quarter in Belgrade, and within a method of multicase study, include two more examples of cultural and creative strategies, the cases of Shanghai and Copenhagen, and by analyzing top-down and bottom-up initiatives, some conclusions about potentials and risks of those strategies will be drawn.*

**Key words:** *Creative city, urban regeneration, inclusion, Belgrade*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

“City in crisis”, “Globalization problems” or “Sustainability”, are high topics, today, viewed and challenged at different levels and from many different perspectives. Culture and creativity are seen as one possible answer on the way to achieve a “successful city” and are promoted as an acceptable or even sustainable response to the challenges of globalization. The main reasons for choosing these policies is their expected economic

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effect, the possibility of high competitiveness and application of principles of sustainable development, as they rely on human potential, local comparative advantages, development and the application of the latest technologies. If we speak of Cultural, Creative, Inclusive (Landry, 2000), Smart (Komnios, 2008; Townsend, 2013), Cognitive city (Novak, 1997; Tusnovics, 2007), or any other similar concept, it is always about creating better conditions for living and creativity (Djukić, at. all, 2016). The extent to which these changes are significant is illustrated by the fact that creativity today is referred to as the job of the future. It is foreseen that in twenty years jobs that will survive are primarily those that involve creativity, the second area being occupations that require close and complex relationships with people and the third area that of specific services that will not be computerized (The Guardian, 2017).

Culture and creativity are integrated in the everyday life of cities today, as a part of official strategies or as an action of groups of artists and people, working in the cultural and creative industry. For most of the twentieth century, culture was spatially and symbolically zoned as a product of successful economy, not as its integral part (Zukin 1995, Freestone, Gibson, 2004). In the 1970s, it was obvious, with the first projects of urban regeneration, that the role of culture in city development changed. As economic changes particularly affected large cities, it was necessary to find an alternative to traditional production, which led to a balanced development of the tertiary sector, services in culture, tourism, banking and finance (Richards, Wilson, 2007a). The mutual competition of cities is becoming more and more pronounced due to increased mobility of finance and human resources (Landry, 2006). As a result, culture and creativity become one of the main resources of city development. Culture and creativity are contained in most human activities and their use as a resource should be considered as something of a great importance, with a significant impact on the society. As we speak of complex strategies, many authors find that more longitudinal and more profiled research are needed, to deal with positive, but also with negative implications (Markusen, Gadwa, 2010; Kratke, 2011), as well as research about non-visible elements such as experience, community cohesion, identity, that are not quantifiable and easy to analyze (Vickery, 2007, pp. 16).

Two the most influential concepts emerged in the 1990s, Landry's creative city and Florida's creative class theory. The main difference between those related models is that the creative class theory is based on human resources, while the creative city places more emphasis on art projects than on art professionals, although Landry incorporated a loose version of Florida's approach (Miles, 2013). The third popular approach is the cultural cluster strategy, based on a tendency of creative industry towards clustering, and a need to cluster close to the center of cities, where there is higher possibility to attract potential consumers. That opens possibilities for the regeneration of run-down inner city areas (Richards, Wilson, 2007b), and some authors even consider that there is no alternative to cultural and creative policies in urban regeneration (Evans, Shaw, 2004, pp. 23-24). Those and other mentioned concepts have similar aims, to create more job opportunities, more leisure activities, a healthier environment, culture promotion, social security and a greater involvement of citizens in city strategies and everyday life (Djukić, at. all, 2016).

There is the question if culture and creative strategies are reaching expected benefits or failing, and what is the relation between the implied model and the result. Competitive values, such as identity, authenticity, continuous regeneration and vitality, depend on creative people, social networks and inclusion. These elements are achieved differently in two opposite models of cultural and creative initiatives, the top-down and the bottom-up approach. A bottom-up initiative brings together creative people with new, authentic

ideas and energy, but without the financial and organizational means that will ensure growth within a longer period. On the other hand, a top-down approach means that the public administration is in a position of “steering” creativity process, creating and developing projects for those who are supposed to participate. It is important to find a balance between those initiatives (Fesel, 2012), but the question is, not only how to strategically steer economic processes, but also how to reach the non-visible elements.

Analyzing the scientific debate about the cluster concept, Fromhold-Eisebith and Eisebith drew a conclusion that there are three shortcomings: 1) the focus is on cluster policies, with a lack of analyzing private initiatives, 2) promotion, organization and governance are not sufficiently explored, and 3) there is a lack of evaluating impacts of different cluster support, as being methodologically complex (Fromhold-Eisebith, Eisebith, 2005, pp. 1251). When speaking of cultural and creative strategies, there is a research gap in analyzing those important questions in the context of balancing between top-down and bottom-up initiatives.

A considerable number of scientific papers in the field of cultural, creative policies and urban regeneration are based on the case study method, as an approach within which the complexity of those policies can be define. In this paper, using a multi-case study method, different development models and key challenges of the creative city concept will be analyzed. This will enable the analysis of the same phenomena within each situation and across situations (Yin, 2003, at Gustafsson, 2012). Projects differing in the implied model and scale will be analyzed and confronted, to point out similarities and key problems in their development path, in order to reach some mutually beneficial conclusions.

In the first part, the cultural and creative city concept will be introduced and elaborated, regarding its definition, basic principles, required preconditions, development goals and benefits, resources, theoretical approaches and linked concepts, with an aim to emphasize the complexity of the concept and its importance for urban development. Some models and organizational forms will be presented, as well as some critical approaches.

The second part, via the multi-case study method, will analyze some key challenges in the implementation of the creative city concept. Two of the case studies are about culture and creative clusters developed as bottom-up initiatives in different contexts. The third is an example of a successful creative city, developed through the top-down approach. The preconditions, development goals and implied models will be analyzed.

In the last part some conclusions will be drawn and suggestions made for further research.

## 2. CULTURAL AND CREATIVE CITY CONCEPT

Cultural, creative cities, are forms of urban economic development policies in the post-industrial economy, based on the concept of consumption (Ritzer, 1999). They include an environment that encourages innovation, culture and creativity, a knowledge-based economy, technology and developed social networks, with principles of adaptability, synergy and inclusion. The dominant objective is economic growth and employment, followed by developing infrastructure, city regeneration, developing tourism by organizing events and branding, education, training, and programs for supporting talented people (Evans, 2009). Culture is also linked to the city image, comparative advantages and attractiveness for investment (Freestone, Gibson, 2004). There are many definition of creativity. It can be described as a socially produced value, rooted in the network of

interrelations of social and economic actors (Kratke, 2013 in Schlichtman, 2013). The concept of a creative city policy implies recognizing the potential for competitiveness, which includes understanding the available resources and the ability to create an environment suitable for their full development (Landry, 2006). Resources of these strategies, and the symbols contributing as added value, are buildings and spaces, people with their creativity, talents and skills, as well as the life of the local community. Implementing the techniques of place marketing today should not rely just on the marketing mix, but more on the other abstract characteristics that have much greater importance, such as identity, image and performance (Djukić, at. all, 2016).

In the 1980s, usual models of cultural and creative policies were based on large projects and hallmark events. They evolved into a mixture of more sophisticated, especially chosen and focused policies and activities (Mommaas 2004). Cultural and creative strategies are developed in variety of forms and models, considering spatial, organizational forms, programs and production, financing, management, and used resources. Evans notices that what he named a “heritage/culture-based visitor economy”, is the most common model, as being most economical due to its lowest cost and required skills (Evans, 2009). The role of public financing is important but there are more projects with a different form of coalitions with private enterprises and investors, and projects could be results of top-down planning, bottom-up organic growth, or their mixture (Mommaas, 2004). Analyzing cultural clusters in Netherlands, Mommaas pointed out that it is problematic to plan these places from scratch, because this depends, as he cited van Vliet “on the cultural atmosphere of the environment” (Mommaas, 2004, pp. 516). As Baily suggests the success of creative city strategies relies on a pre-existing collective sense of local identity (Bailey, at all, 2004).

Cultural and creative strategies are being developed both vertically and horizontally, to be inclusive, process-oriented, integrative and multidimensional, and there are different actors in completely new roles. Mommas notices that cultural clusters significantly depend on the people involved, their knowledge and commitment, and that in spite of the fact that control can be the reason for the interest in culture, the complexity of those strategies needs “a more robust institutional permanence and a more reflexive and strategic approach” (Mommaas, 2004 pp. 529).

Florida’s creative class theory introduced creative people as an economic resource, that is highly mobile, looking for places distinguished by tolerance and diversity, and he noticed that for economic development and vitality, regions need to understand and cultivate the three “T” – talent, technology and tolerance, which form the creative index (Yucht, 2006). Landry identifies seven groups of factors that are needed in the implementation of the concept of creativity: 1) personal qualities; 2) will and leadership; 3) human diversity and variety of talent; 4) organizational culture; 5) local identity; 6) urban spaces and buildings; and 7) networking. He implies that cities can achieve a satisfactory level of creativity if some of these factors are present, but that they would achieve the best creative performances if all factors are there (Landry, 2006). Richards and Wilson point out that there are four main types of stimulating economic development: iconic structures, that are creating and changing image, like the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao; heritage mining, where historic buildings and quarters are used as a resource; mega-events, like the Olympic games, World Expos, EU City of Culture; thematisation, like New York “Cultural Capital of the World”, or Stockholm and Bruges as “Venice of the North” (Richards, Wilson, 2007).

A social turn in cultural politics was part of the process that led to the Inclusive city concept. This was a result of a need to overcome the consequences of economic, social and

political restructuring (Gerometta, at all, 2005). UN habitat defined the inclusive city as: “It is a place where everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity or religion, is enabled and empowered to fully participate in the social, economic and political opportunities that cities have to offer” (UN-Habitat, 2001, p.3). At the same time, as social equity was seen as one of essential part of creating a sustainable city, the involvement of the community, the development of social networks (Putnam, 2000, at Richards, Wilson, 2007a), investment in human resource (Florida, 2002 at Langdon, 2004) were seen as basic elements of urbo-economic development. Both concepts are complementary and they depend on creating the opportunity for their goals to be achieved.

The bases of a critical approach to cultural and creative policies are: critique of a concept, emerging theories and their shortcomings or results in their application. The critique of a concept is based on a critique of the ideology of the consumer society, seeing it as a fundamental change that is to restrain development of independent individuals, as a bare transformation of the profit motive to cultural forms, where culture loses autonomy and the consumer becomes the object instead of the subject (Adorno, Rabinbach, 1972). At the end of the 1960s this criticism was losing its momentum, with the emergence of social movements, which have also been identified as cultural movements, and it was already clear that culture, societies and economy were becoming more connected (Bianchini, 1993, at d'Ovidio, 2016). The late 1990's, brought a social turn in cultural politics, the economic impact was less emphasized and local and participatory cultural activities became more important (Stojanović, at. all, 2012). The critique of the theory deals mostly with Florida's creative class, as a “fuzzy” concept (Maruksen, 2006), too simplified and academic, but it is positive that the theory brought on a new and intensive debate and influenced many city governments to foster a creative policy.

It can be noticed that some features, accepted as advantages and contributions of cultural and creative policies, are also highlighted as places that can have negative consequences, whether viewed as essential shortcomings or problems that are related to understanding the concept and approach to policy implementation. These policies are seen as an opportunity to increase social cohesion and inclusion, self-expression and self-confidence of the individual and the community, but they can lead to social polarization and gentrification (Zukin, 1987, Grodach, 2017); investing in large facilities and manifestations is emphasized as an incentive for economic development, but such large investments reduce investment in other, less economically viable public purposes, such as health, education and social protection (Borén, Young, 2012); design led regeneration can be a part of strengthening identity (Landry, Bianchini, 1995), successful creative cultural projects can be encouraging for other projects, but all this can lead to repetition of already seen forms or to a serial production (Dall 2002, Richards, 2006). Cultural development may be contrary to economic, environment and physical regeneration objectives, and it is common in project evaluation to emphasize two opposite sides, such as benefit gained through participation and gentrification (Evans, Shaw, 2004).

Analyzing cultural tourism, Gronay and Panikkos underline standardization and creation of series of stereotypical attractions, with flagship museums and galleries, bars and restaurants, which did not follow the tourist demand for authenticity (Gronay, Panikkos, 2008), as it was a matter of creating strategies by following one successful formula. Authenticity is important for tourists and it means an experience of something different, opposite of standardization and globalization (Laliberte, 2005). It must be considered that not well ‘tailored’ plans can lead to failure of the project or affect the community itself. It

can happen that local culture is marginalized, or that “the promised prosperity did not arrive, while the aestheticizing of space led to gentrification” (Miles, 2013).

The cultural and creative city concept is a complex phenomenon, and there is no single formula for achieving success (Moomaas, 2004). Florida brought the 3T formula, Richard, Wilson emphasized the main methods and Landry identified the seven groups of factors needed for successful implementation of cultural strategies. Those strategies depend on organizational forms and skills, inner resources, capability to create social networks and adaptability.

### 3. CULTURAL QUARTER DEVELOPMENT

This section will present three case studies, two of a creative clusters created as bottom-up initiatives, Savamala in Belgrade and 50 Moganshan Road in Shanghai, and the third, Copenhagen, as top-down creative city initiative. The aim is to analyze some important issues challenging the creative city concept.

#### 3.1. Belgrade Savamala creative city quarter

Savamala is a Belgrade city quarter, situated between the southern bank of the River Sava and the Kalemegdan fortress. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Savamala was known for some of the most beautiful buildings, its streets, port and railway station. These two important infrastructure hubs, and good connections to other parts of the city in that period, made the area an important trade center (Jocić, at. all, 2016). In the years that came after the establishing of Yugoslavia, in the period of ambitious urban projects of socialist modernization, with the building a new modern city on the other bank of the river (Kulić, 2014), there was no interest to invest in the development of the Savamala quarter. In spite of its closeness to the center of the city it was treated as peripheral, traffic and infrastructure zone. Today with its position, cultural heritage, vacant spaces and urban structures, Savamala is one of the most interesting and most important waterfront brownfields, with the potential for recreating a new consensual identity (Mrdjenočić, at. all, 2015).

Creative industries are not new in Serbia, but are increasingly becoming an important component of the path to access creative economy and creative society (Mikić, 2014). It is evident that culture is still not regarded as a tool of regeneration (Stojanović, at. all, 2012). In spatial planning and cultural policy in Serbia, the concept of cultural and creative cities is emphasized but is not clearly defined in a sense of priority and methodology. In the Spatial Plan for the Republic of Serbia (Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, 2010) and urbanistic plans, culture and creative strategies are not integrated in a consistent manner, there is a lack in coordination between sectors, especially of tourism and cultural heritage, with inadequate definitions of key terms. The heritage of the 1990s, of political and economic circumstances related to the socialist legacy, and the decomposition of Yugoslavia, were the starting point in 2000s for Serbia to create a pluralist political culture and a marketing-oriented economy. The legacy in the spatial and urban planning system was a top-down approach that was not accompanied by strategic planning or strategic governance, but was rather dominantly in the service of private interests (Vujošević, 2010) and without the interest to invest in culture. In the period from 2005 to 2009, the Government adopted several relevant documents that promote culture and creativity as potential resources for urban development, but still significant change did not happen.

According to the Screening Report for the Republic of Serbia, most of the strategies lack action plans and are not linked to budgetary provisions (EU Commission, 2015).

Savamala started as a bottom-up cultural initiative and it opened up the city's unused resources. The first center for culture and debate, named "KC Grad" was opened in 2009, but expansion happened in 2012 with the festival of creative industry "Mixer". It began, according to tendency of the creative industry that Richards and Wilson pointed out, to cluster close to the center of the city. The area was suitable because of its position and accessibility, low rent and specific atmosphere. There are dozens of NGOs in several cultural centers, organizing festivals, exhibitions, workshops, performances, arts, conferences, debates, book promotions and other activities, such as restaurants and clubs, each with something specific to offer, in an area of approximately 50.000 square meters. The balance of activities, presentation and production for different interest groups, activation of unused space, connecting of creative people, education, are elements that should be strengthened Savamala is positioned as a creative quarter (Jocić et al, 2016). Since the Savamala area was neglected in the past decades, these initiatives make an ideal environment for testing out new forms and approaches to city quarter development (Urban Incubator, 2017).

The main initiative comes from NGOs, some of them with support from European funds and organizations. For example, "KC Grad" was supported by a Dutch private foundation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Urban Incubator project was supported by the German Goethe Institute. It was important that, although the city government was not supportive, the local municipality recognized the development potential of the district, and a communication and cooperation in organizing programs and actions was established, but still there is a problem of project financing (Jocić et al., 2016).

A few years later, in broader area of Savamala another project started, the "Belgrade waterfront", a strong national initiative and a large public-private investment, with more than 6000 residential units and commercial areas with offices, hotels and other similar facilities planned. These two projects are going on with a lack of open communication, this being one of the major problems in "re-creating and re-generating the Savamala district towards Castell's project identity" (Mrđenović, at all, 2015, pp. 761). Those two projects, with different brownfield and market concepts, are bringing different qualities of space. The



**Fig 1** The Savamala quarter, Belgrade, Serbia: "KC Grad", European Center for Culture and Debate, located in an old industrial building.  
Source: the author, 2017

Savamala culture district is about relying on creative people, social networks and existing city resources and its history, and “Belgrade waterfront” is focused on housing and business areas with modern architecture. The Savamala cultural quarter has its advantages, it has become a vibrant place with a developed network, people participate in forming its identity, authenticity and autonomy. On the other hand, it must be taken into account that large project-oriented public-private partnerships often result in more exclusionary institutions (Moulaert et al., 2002, 2003, cited at Gerometta et al.). The “Belgrade waterfront” Project is about creating a new identity “from scratch” and it is a question if it will have qualities to attract people and if that new image will be seen as attractive and authentic or not, as well as how it will affect the community from an economic and social perspective.

In the Savamala case, the complete neighborhood serves a cultural and creative strategy. The attractiveness and success of the quarter can be represented by the number of visitors: for the “Mikser festival 2015” about 75,000 visitors in five days, and for “KC Grad” around 70,000 people in that same year (Jocić et al., 2016). There are also comments regarding gentrification and the need for a more mixed cultural space, because of the opening of too many nightclubs (Coldwell, 2016). New activities brought many changes to the everyday life of inhabitants, but these kinds of initiatives can strength the inclusion of the community (Mercer, 2006). In this case, the increasing number of night clubs is challenging this opportunity, as well as the authenticity and creative impulse, because of a change of the audience and more conformist expectations (Jocić et al., 2016). Mercer suggested that such projects should be part of a wider, general program of regeneration and community development (Mercer, 2006), but here it is not the case. It is interesting that creative people engaged in Savamala cultural activities show a high level of social responsibility, they started a number of projects pointing out the problems of the district, trying to animate the local community (Jocić et al., 2016). In 2017 Mikser festival moved to Dorćol area, a neglected industrial zone, and there are speculations if it was for economic or political reasons. After that, the Mixer project developed in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Hercegovina, with the same idea and creative impulse. The construction of the Mikser House is in progress. A music and theater performance space, art gallery, education and innovation lab, Balkan design center, canteen, community garden and kids zone are planned, but there are financial problems to complete construction works (Mixer House, 2018). This shows the sensitivity of cultural and creative strategies and the mobility of creative people.

### **3.2. Shanghai creative hub 50 Moganshan Road**

The example of China urban regeneration shows a highly organized top-down approach, with little public participation (Hui, 2006). These impressively executed projects of urban regeneration “from scratch” rely on using a best-practice model, but lack long-sightedness; although there are pilot projects, testing changes in the cultural system (Hui, 2006), a macro-level of restructuring the “government institutions, information database, and public participation is needed” (Ho, 2012, pp. 110). The majority of the creative industry and creative clusters are planned or supported by city governments, and just a few in Beijing and Shanghai started as artists’ initiatives. One of the earliest, most successful and influential is hub M50, located at 50 Moganshan Road in Shanghai, an intentional cluster of artists and designers, created in an old textile industrial district built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The development of the cultural and creative cluster started in about 2000, with the first artist who built his studio (Wang, 2009) and this is now the largest creative cluster in Shanghai, with more than 140



artists' studios, galleries and other organizations, from over 20 countries and regions, attracting creative people and tourists both from home and abroad (M50, 2015). There is a variety of creative activities, such as fine art, fashion, furniture design, architecture, film and animation, crafts like pottery and jewelry, as well as art education, with galleries, organized exhibitions, different performances, competitions and annual awards in different fields (Lan, 2014). Wider communication and networking was established through Web sites and individual blogs (Wang, 2009).



**Fig 2** 50 Moganshan Road in Shanghai, China: cultural and creative cluster, area with café in a renovated old industrial building.

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos>

The area of 50 Moganshan Road was attractive for low rent and possibilities of using and transforming the space. The old buildings, with large interiors build in brick and wood, with large industrial windows (Gu, 2014), apparently were aesthetically and functionally adequate for avant-garde artists (Wang, 2009), being also attractive for their traditional industrial architecture. The hub occupies an area of approximately 24,000 square meters, with more than 50 buildings engaged in creative cluster activities (Gu, 2014). It is interesting that in the same period when the first historic buildings were renovated at 50 Moganshan Road, the long struggle of conservationists came to fruition, and in 2000 a legislation with conservation principles and intervention guidelines for the preservation of monuments and sites was adopted (Wang, 2009). After the initial success, in 2005 M50 hub got the support of the local government, driven by the ambition to make Shanghai a global city that will surpass its competitors in the region (Zukin, 2008). Despite this success, Zukin points out that local authorities demolished old buildings, like 50 Moganshan Lu, and whole districts near the river, and also that some of the artists had to move out of 50 Moganshan Lu, because they were no longer able to pay the rent (Zukin, 2008).

### 3.3. Copenhagen - creative city

On the other hand, the experience of Denmark is specific, because of a tradition of an instrumental use of culture in urban economic development (Bayliss, 2007). One fine example is Copenhagen, a top-down initiative of creating a successful city through an inclusive concept

of tolerance, variety and difference and strong marketing. In the EU Commission report on cultural and creative cities in Europe, Copenhagen is pointed out for its high quality of governance and according to the criteria for monitoring, it is among the four best ranked European cultural and creative cities (EU Commission, Joint Research Centre, 2017). In 1996, Copenhagen was awarded the title of European Capital of Culture. The growth of the city is connected to a strong service, knowledge-based economy, growing entertainment scene and expansion in creative industries (Andersen, Winther, 2010). The city of Copenhagen has impressive public buildings, such as the famous Opera house, Øresund Bridge, Concert Hall, National Aquarium Denmark, Royal Danish Library and Royal Danish Playhouse. There is also a new urban center for a new lifestyle in the Ørestad area, with museums and many other flagship attractions, a dock area transformed into an attractive urban quarter, a variety of cultural infrastructure and industry, and lively public spaces for people to meet and create social interactions, as well to attract “creative capital” (Vanolo, 2008, Bayliss, 2007).



**Fig. 3** Copenhagen, Denmark: Superkilen park, divided into three areas for different activities, music, sport, and rest area with a fountain, benches and a park for picnics and sports.

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos>

Copenhagen cultural and creative strategies are following Florida’s 3T formula (Bayliss, 2007), three of the four methods that Richard and Wilson point out are applied, and at least 5 of 7 Landry’s factors are strongly present. In 2010 the city government agenda was: “Fundamental to the future is economic growth, and they favor a city that is dynamic and lively, with identity and a pulse” (Bayliss, 2007). Copenhagen Cultural and Leisure Policy 2011-2015 had eleven action plans prepared as a proposal through participation of associations, institutions and other stakeholders (City of Copenhagen, 2012). The Policy for 2016-2019 is focused on “Working together for the whole city” (City of Copenhagen, no date, pp. 18). Inclusion is seen to be achieved as information accessibility through digitalization and equal access for disadvantaged citizens. Not only that the idea of working with and promoting the explicitly cultural planning methodology by the government is of great importance, but also orientation toward a holistic approach in mobilizing inner cultural resources. The criticism of the concept refers to social costs: social exclusion (Smidt-Jensen, 2007), gentrification and that “direct top-down planning is unlikely to generate creative

environments” (Bayliss, 2007, pp. 900). Pratt referred to a music album with an interpretation of creative city as: “‘Nice’ cities: For shiny happy people” (Pratt, 2011), and this shows the controversy in planning a creative city, as creating an image of the ideal place.

### 3.4. Creative city challenges

These were presentations of cases of cultural and creative cluster projects and a project that includes a city as a whole. The table shows three cases, analyzed through the needed preconditions (Landry, 2006), development goals (Florida, 2002) and applied model (Richards, Wilson, 2007). It shows a variety of developmental paths that comes from the local context, that includes cultural policy, resources, organization and financing, and similarity the presence of factors needed in the implementation of the concept of creativity.

The case of Savamala cultural quarter and 50 Moganshan Road hub are similar, although there is difference in size, specifics of local culture, history, cultural policy and planning. In both cases, the process of regeneration of the city quarter started from an initiative of artists and producers and it demonstrated success.

In the Savamala case there is still no framework that will support such projects: the concept of cultural and creative strategies is not clearly defined in spatial and urban plans, culture and creativity are not seen as a favorable model of urban regeneration and public support and financing are missing. A group of creative people brings life to a neglected neighborhood, and they manifest what creativity can do for the city, but the question remains if the quarter will go on to be creative, or will become commercialized.

The case of the Shanghai creative cluster also started as an initiative of a few creative people, developed with government support, but there is the question of a sensitive balance between the bottom-up and the top-down concept, of inclusion and of keeping vitality and authenticity.

The case of Copenhagen is an excellent example of a creative city: highly organized impressive projects and a government devoted to implementing cultural and creative strategies. Still not all goals are achieved, as a top-down initiative it is challenged by the problem of how to foster a creative environment.

Bottom-up initiatives need, and they encourage, inclusion of the community, they have more sensitivity for local circumstances and more prospects to create space with an identity and to offer authenticity, but they can lead to gentrification and they usually need public financial support. If public support is missing, cultural and creative clusters will face many difficulties, and the direction of the future development of that particular area could be challenged. A combination of motivated, creative people and neglected, historical inner city areas has a high potential to succeed and become recognizable for its identity and authenticity. Cultural and creative cluster development that is not planned, organized and supported can be encouraging for other investment, but challenged through generated commercialization. On the other hand, public intervention in cultural and creative initiatives can lead to a loss of authenticity and vitality that are as important as a competitive advantage. Top-down initiatives have resources to organize and develop projects, to create image, promote involvement of the community. They can also lead to gentrification just like bottom-up initiatives, but these depend on creative people and the community and the prospects of those projects depend on their ability to adapt, change and be creative.

**Table 1** Cultural and creative strategies – preconditions (after Landry, C.), development goals (after Florida R.) and models (after Richards, G., Wilson, J.)

	Savamala cultural and creative quarter	50 Moganshan Lu cultural and creative cluster	City of Copenhagen
Landry's preconditions for creative city:			
personal qualities	group of talented people	group of talented people	fostering talent and creativity
will and leadership	three main, motivated organizations	motivated artists, support of city government	city government dedicated to success of projects
human diversity and variety of talent	artist, architects, musicians etc.	international group of artist, designers	large scale of artists and creative people
organizational culture	as inside resource: personal experience, support of European cultural institute or funds	spontaneous initiative, later highly organized, top-down approach	high quality of governance
local identity	strong local identity, bottom-up initiative	strong local identity, bottom-up initiative	constantly working on city image, question of direct top down planning
urban spaces and buildings	historical quarter, variety of public space, meeting space	historical quarter, variety of public space, meeting space	great variety of creative space
networking	network of creative people, IT communication	network of creative people, IT communication	network of creative people, IT communication
Florida's 3T: talent technology tolerance	there is no city strategy of fostering creativity, support of local municipality; technology is present as a part of art, production and communication	city policy of fostering creativity, technology is present as a part of art, production and communication	policy of fostering creativity, technology and tolerance
Richards, Wilson, main types of strategies: iconic structure, heritage mining, mega-events, thematisation	heritage mining	heritage mining	iconic structure heritage mining mega-events

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning strategies of creative city, cultural, creative clusters, were part of urban regeneration projects, but have now become a standard of city development. They are seen in two extremes, as having magical powers, solutions for almost all problems challenging cities in a process of globalization, or as a smartly hidden agenda of politics and capital which is bringing new problems. In reality it is about complex strategies and phenomena, where there no one path or one solution. There are many risks of implementing those strategies, cities are changing and in this process not all are seen as winners or as losers. It is obvious that all resources must be considered equally in developing creative city strategies as well as all possible outcomes. No matter if strategies are developed as top-down or bottom-up, they cannot be successful without involvement of the community, forming different networks, creating an enabling environment, quality of space, identity and authenticity of experience. Public funding is very important and different coalitions can be

formed. Bottom-up projects are creative initiatives that should be considered with their advantages. Impacts of different cluster support, a balanced relation between top-down and bottom-up cultural and creative projects is to be further explored in the context of fostering authenticity, adaptability, vitality, inclusion and creative use of space.

Cultural and Creative City strategies are not a matter of statistics in economy, employment, number of tourists, cultural places and activities, square meters of regenerated or new built areas, they are a matter of quality of life and space as a legacy for the next generations. Bianchi, quoting the inspired speech of the Irish Minister of Culture, Michael D. Higgins, adds:

“Higgins’s argument about play is especially important in relation to the phenomenon, discussed earlier, of the danger of transforming cities more and more into theme parks. It would be more interesting and productive to try to, as Higgins suggests, recover a dimension of playfulness in cities, not primarily as an experience of consumption and carefully manufactured and staged commercial entertainment, but as a genuine expression of creativity, and as a process of education and rediscovery.” (Bianchini, 2004).

This contributes to the thesis that personal, group and community involvement and creativity is an essential part of urbo-economic development through cultural policy. Spontaneous, bottom-up developed projects have initial energy, authenticity and it is important to support them in a way that will allow further growth.

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## **KREATIVAN GRAD: IZAZOVAN KONCEPT**

*Kultura i kreativnost su uvek predstavljali bitan deo razvoja gradova, ali su danas postali deo zvaničnih politika ili akcija grupa umetnika i ljudi koji rade u kulturnim i kreativnim industrijama. Kultura i kreativnost su deo brojnih koncepata urbanog razvoja koji se promovišu kao prihvatljiv odgovor na izazove globalizacije. Od ovih politika urbanog razvoja se očekuje da obezbede održivi razvoj gradova jer se oslanjaju na ljudski potencijal, lokalne komparativne prednosti i razvoj tehnologija. Osnovni principi ovih koncepata su komunikacija, društvene mreže, tehnologija, prilagodljivost, koncentracija, sinergija i inkluzija. Kao i svaka paradigma, kreativni gradovi se osporavaju na mnogim nivoima, u teoriji i u praksi. Upotreba kulture i kreativnosti kao resursa i robe na tržištu zahteva pažljiv pristup, jer može imati značajan uticaj na društvo. U ovom radu će biti predstavljeni argumenti za i protiv politika kreativnih gradova, kao i potrebni preuslovi, organizacioni oblici, njihov razvojni put i odnos prema inkluziji. Ovaj rad će, metodom studije više slučajeva, prikazati dva primera spontano nastalih kulturnih klastera, koji su pokrenuli urbanu obnovu četvrti u Beogradu i Šangaju i primer Kopenhagena, kreativnog grada koji se razvija brižljivo vođenom politikom i kroz ovu analizu će se predstaviti zaključci o prednostima i nedostacima razmatranih pristupa.*

**Ključne reči:** *kreativan grad, urbana obnova, inkluzija, Beograd*