On the Creative City Concept

Zum Konzept der kreativen Stadt

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Abstract

Thirty years ago, the concept that in some way unites culture and the city arose. In this essay, we talk about the creative city, the concept developed from the creative and cultural industries by various authors – mostly Anglo-Saxons, that defend the idea that the future of cities depends on human potential and creativity. In order to summarize different approaches to the concept of a creative city, this essay offers the historical review of the concept summed up in three basic axes. First, the creative city that focuses on the idea of creativity as a set of tools for urban development (LANDRY 2012; BAYCAN-LEVENT 2010; UNCTAD 2008). Second, the notion of a creative city that is strongly supported by the use of creative activities/industries (FLORIDA 2004; MERKEL 2008; MILES/PADDISON 2005). Finally, a third approach that, analyzing cities, highlights the ability to attract creative skills, that is, creative human resources (MILES/PADDISON 2005; PRATT 2008; SCOTT 2006).

Vor dreißig Jahren entstand das Konzept, das Kultur und Stadt auf verschiedene Art verbindet. Die Rede ist vom Konzept der kreativen Stadt, die aus den Kreativ- und Kulturindustrien entstanden und von hauptsächlich angelsächsischen Autoren und Autorinnen verbreitet wurde, die davon ausgehen, dass die Zukunft von Städten von menschlichem Können und Kreativität abhängt. Der Beitrag fasst einige dieser Ansätze zusammen und gibt einen historischen Überblick über die Entwicklung des Konzeptes der kreativen Stadt entlang dreier Leitlinien: Erstens entlang der Vorstellung von Kreativität als Stadtentwicklungsinstrument (LANDRY 2012; BAYCAN-LEVENT 2010; UNCTAD 2008), zweitens im Zusammenhang mit kreativen Handlungen und Kreativindustrien (FLORIDA 2004; MERKEL 2008; MILES/PADDISON 2005), und drittens mit Blick auf Städte, die ihre Attraktivität für Kreative und kreative Praktiken herausstellen (MILES/PADDISON 2005; PRATT 2008; SCOTT 2006).

Keywords

urbanism, creativity studies, cultural economy

Stadt, Kreativität, Kulturökonomie

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1. Introduction

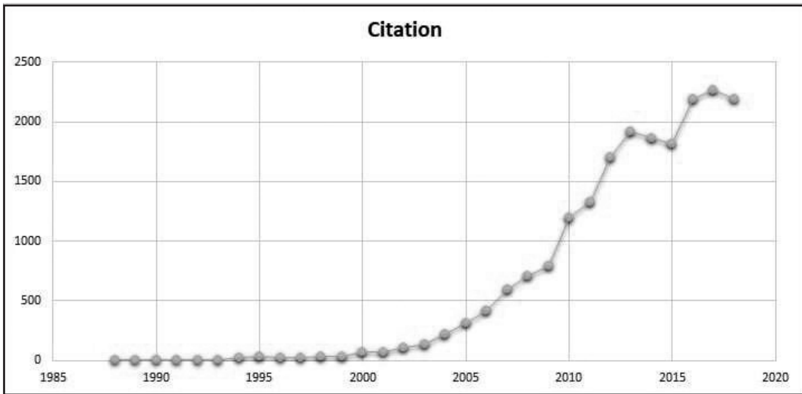

Fig 1: *Annual number of citation of the term "creative city" as recorded by Google Scholar (1988–2018) (Self-elaboration).*

Although the role of creativity in urban development has already been emerging in the literature since the 1960s, it was from the 1990s that the conditions for the debate took shape. There are two authors whose work is generally associated with the creative city: Richard Florida and Charles Landry. While Florida has developed his concept from the work of other authors with statistical analysis related to the creative sector in the USA, Landry converted his experience of working on urban strategies for many cities such as Liverpool, Glasgow, or Barcelona, into his first book called *Creative City* (1995). Both authors propose the study, planning, and renewal of cities based on human creativity as a key element, which they postulate as a source of economic wealth and as a driver of urban transformations.

In addition to this, the concept of creative city, over the last decades, has attracted the attention of many scholars in several countries of all continents who have approached it from two positions: either continuing the line of work of those two authors (CARTA 2007; FONSECA REIS/KEGEYAMA 2009; HANNIGAN/RICHARDS 2017; SASAKI 2010; THROSBY 2017; USAI 2016) or criticizing their arguments (d'OVIDIO 2016; SCOTT 2006).

Furthermore, in the last decade, there are some novel approaches to creative cities considering challenges such as cultural diversity (McLEAN 2014; YUE 2007), artistic precariat (BAIN/McLEAN 2013), inequality (CHEN 2011; GRANT/BUCKWOLD 2013), governance (COSTA et al.

2007; MULERO/RIUS-ULLDEMOLINS 2017; ISAR/ANHEIER, 2012), and so on.

As seen above, the concept of creative city has a twofold nature. The academic literature elaborates, on a conceptual level, the importance of creativity and innovation for urban development and at the same time numerous cities develop and implement creative city policies in practice.

Nowadays, many cities have proclaimed themselves as "Creative Cities." *Creative Cities Network of Japan* (http://ccn-j.net/english/), *SEACCN-The Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network* (http://www.seaccn.com/), *Creative Cities of Argentina* (https://redciudadescreativas.cultura.gob.ar/) or *Creative Cities Network of Canada* (https://www.creativecity.ca/) are only some examples; however, the *UNESCO Network* (https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/home) with 246 cities from all over the world is the most extensive one (Figure 2).

Fig. 2: *UNESCO Creative Cities Network (www.unesco.org).*

This article firstly considers the complex origins of the concept of creative city in the late 1980s to early 1990s of how it has evolved and been applied since then. The contribution of various authors is presented chronologically, bearing in mind diverse scopes and background.

Secondly, three models of creative cities are described, followed by practical interpretation of the creative city, a concept which is understood in a variety of ways, ranging from narrower policies for the cultural and creative industries at city and regional levels, to fully-fledged urban and regional strategies, aimed at harnessing people's creativity as a resource in policy areas going well beyond the cultural sector. Explaining

this historical context will help to understand the origins of the creative city idea and its various interpretations, permutations, and critiques.

2. Setting the Creativity Framework

In order to understand the concept of a creative city, it is essential to analyze the context within which it emerged. As Fonseca Reus (2009) confirms in her dissertation, the development of creative industries has been a direct result of the shift from the traditional economy to the economy of knowledge, including the birth of creative and cultural industries.

It was Jane Jacobs (1984) who first alluded to the creative city, as such, in a discussion of innovative small-scale craft industries, inspired by the inquiries of Sabel (1982) into industrial development in Third Italy. At about the same time, regional economist Åke E. Andersson published a book claiming that creativity represents the future of the metropolis, and that creative 'knowledge handlers' will become increasingly important in the emerging post-industrial economy. However, this book was published in Swedish, and the corresponding contributions in English were both much shorter and much less accessible to non-economists (ANDERSSON 1985a, b; ANDERSSON/ANDERSTIG/HARSMA 1990). The sphere of influence of Andersson's theory of the 'creative knowledge society' was limited to academic, regional economists. The exception is Scandinavia, especially Sweden and Denmark, where Andersson's ideas have reached a wider audience (ANDERSSON/ANDERSSON/MELLANDER 2011).

A few years later, in 1988, two events were held in different parts of the world that turned out to be cornerstones for the new concept of a creative city. The first conference, which focused on how arts and cultural concerns could be better integrated into the planning process for city development, was held in Melbourne under the name Creative City Seminar. In September of 1988 more than 250 national and international experts gathered to discuss the relationship between culture and the built environment, to draw on the overseas experience, and to establish a commitment to continuing activity in this area. The seminar was jointly planned by the Victorian Ministry for the Arts, the Victorian Ministry for Planning and Environment, the Melbourne City Council, the Australia Council, the Commission for the Future, and the Australian National Commission for UNESCO.

A keynote speech by David Yencken, former Secretary for Planning and Environment of Victoria, later published in the literary journal Meanjin, was the first time that the concept of the creative city was explained. In this article Yencken argues that in addition to being efficient and fair, a creative city must also be one that is committed to fostering creativity among its citizens and to providing emotionally satisfying places and experiences for them (YENCKEN 1988).

Almost simultaneously, the British American Arts Association in Glasgow organized an international syposium called Arts and the Changing City: An Agenda for Urban Regeneration. The idea was to offer a response as governments became increasingly aware of the need to address the problems of unemployment, poor housing, crime, dereliction, and the general loss of confidence and identity experienced by inner-city areas. Arts and the Changing City was conceived as a three-year project aimed at setting the arts firmly on the urban regeneration agenda. During the symposium held in Glasgow in October 1988, a report was presented with case studies of eight cities, both from the US and UK, all of which sought, through their presentations, to show the practical applications of involving the arts in the process of urban renewal (KEENS 1989).

Even though the creative city is a movement today, very attractive both for policymakers and academics, back in the 80s when the concept was created, the only key terms discussed were cultural planning, arts, culture, cultural and creative industries.

3. Creative Commence: The Decade of Charles Landry and Comedia

After 1990, however, the notion of the creative city began to gather momentum. Comedia, a think tank, publisher, and consultancy firm founded by Charles Landry, undertook much of the early work highlighting the importance of cultural resources, as well as providing a methodological framework and research evidence for what is now known as the creative economy. His first work on the cultural transformation of cities looked at Glasgow and Barcelona. His focus was on cities as creative organisms whose development depended on creative industries (LANDRY 2012).

In 1994 Landry's interest in urban creativity was broadened through work with Klaus Kunzmann analyzing five German and five British cities (Cologne, Dresden, Unna, Essen, Karlsruhe, Bristol, Glasgow, Huddersfield, Leicester, and Milton Keynes). The result was "The Creative City in

Britain and Germany," which reviewed a range of "hard" and "soft" factors influencing the possible development of creative urban strategies. They included the quality of a city's research, information, and education infrastructures; the identification of a crisis or challenge to be solved; and the ability of urban policymakers to break the rules, recognise and approve creative ideas, harness "endogenous creativity potential," and produce "paradigm shifts" as triggers for creative capacity (LANDRY et al. 1996).

In 1995, a short book *The Creative City* by Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini came out. It was written as a handbook for policymakers with a suggestion on how to become a creative city. Firstly, the authors justified the need for creative thinking in order to overcome new urban challenges and highlighted the 'synthetic' and 'cross-disciplinary' nature of creativity. They offered a vague but interesting discussion of factors such as reassessing failure/success, handling capacity, valuing the contributions of immigrants, the use of catalyst events and processes, developing creative spaces, and balancing cosmopolitanism and localism (LANDRY/BIANCHINI 1995). This initiative was followed by creative examples of projects and policies from Barcelona, Milan, Valencia, Rotterdam, Southampton, Moscow, Melbourne, and many other cities from Europe, North America, and Australia. Importantly, the book argued that creative city strategies have relevance well beyond the field of cultural policy in education, transport, ecology, housing, health, and many other policy areas (BIANCHINI 2017).

Both these publications broadened the notion of the creative city away from its more exclusive artistic and creative economy focus. They discussed issues like the organizational dynamics to foster creativity, what a creative milieu is, and how to encourage creativity.

It is important to point out the work of a distinguished urbanist and planning historian, Peter Hall, who had a particular influence at the beginning. His studies of creative cities in history (1999) were undoubtedly a significant influence on Comedia's creative city project team because it examined the factors behind the 'golden ages' of creativity and innovation in some of the Western world's major cities and made a crucial contribution to legitimizing the idea of the creative city.

However, the concept of the creative city developed by Charles Landry evolved from the day-to-day practice of Comedia's consultancy work. Landry saw himself as an activist and as a social entrepreneur, frustrated because of academics' lack of interest (BIANCHINI 2017: 25).

Meanwhile, the creative city "movement" began to take shape through the organization of conferences (all involving a central role for Charles

Landry and Comedia) in Helsinki in 1996, in Amsterdam in 1998, and Huddersfield in 2000.

Additionally, it is interesting how the concept of creative city has been nourished by the development of creative industries and cultural planning. During this period, creative industries marked the separation of creativity, as a process, from culture, as a product, and heralded the arrival of the "creative industries" as a reformulation of the idea of cultural industries, proposed initially by Adorno and Horkheimer (1947). The creative industries became the flagship for New Labour in the UK and Keating's government in Australia, and subsequently, made its way onto many urban development agendas.

4. Prosperous Years for the Creative City

During the next decade, from 2000-2009, not only did the ideas of Charles Landry begin to take shape, but the concept of creative city was also popularized and brought to the lay public through the work of Richard Florida and his concept of creative class (2007, 2004, 2010). The work of scholars who supported the concept by strengthening the research in the field of cultural and creative industries is discussed below.

Through his book *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, Charles Landry wanted to:

1. provide readers with a more integrated and holistic approach to thinking about and analyzing cities. In the long run, this was intended to change the way decision-makers considered the assets and potential of cities as well as how cities might be organized and managed.
2. offer a 'mental toolkit' that provided readers with the cornerstones of a new mindset and so stimulate readers' own ideas and solutions for their cities.
3. engender a critical debate amongst decision-makers at different levels and to influence the policy, strategies, and actions undertaken in cities (LANDRY 2012).

In this work, Landry shifts from the idea of creative industries as a differential element that makes a city unique to the idea of "creative ecology," a concept later defined and popularized by John Howkins (2009). The underlying message of the book, as the author himself pointed out years later (LANDRY 2012), is a need to rethink the role of cities, their resources,

and how urban planning works. When the world goes through a dramatic change, cities should: appreciate their cultural resources (which includes diversity), value cultural resources as the potential for economic development, define transdisciplinary public policies, foster greater participation of citizens, support existing creative incentives, and offer "hard" and "soft" infrastructure to nourish creativity (LANDRY 2012).

However, since the time that Landry published these works, the concept of creativity has taken on a broader meaning beyond art and cultural industries. In addition, some contradictory opinions have been raised by different scholars. One of them is Paul Chatterton, a professor at the University of Newcastle, who asks "what society tolerates under the banner of creativity" and "what happens when we look beyond those boundaries?" (CHATTERTON 2000: 390). According to Chatterton, it is clear that when creativity comes from the artistic and cultural world, from the theater, from education, from a recording studio, or from a painter's workshop, it is tolerated and welcomed by society; but this does not happen when creativity comes from graffiti, public manifestations, and other creative expressions that society finds subversive, and therefore, rejects and represses. "This brings us to the relationship between ethics, values, democracy and creativity" (CHATTERTON 2000: 394-395).

"If we take the concept of a creative city to its logical end, then the creative city is poured into a toolbox for urban disorder and illegal activity. Is that the intention?" asks Chatterton (2000: 397), ironically paraphrasing Landry from the subtitle of one of his books. There have also been frequent objections for the lack of academic references and neglected academic frameworks in Landry's work (CAMILLERI 2010).

On the other side of the Atlantic, the research career of the American/Canadian economist Richard Florida represents a step forward in the creative city debate; even though his work on the link between the creative economy and urban spaces was shown to have greater repercussions and also raised controversy. In *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) the author defends the existence of a creative class, a group of "people paid to use their minds" (FLORIDA 2004: 9) and even though they "did not yet see themselves as members of a unique social grouping, actually did share many tastes, desires, and preferences" (FLORIDA 2004: 38).

Florida's particular model of the creative city foregrounds the role of creative labor or highly educated, mobile workers and brands them as the creative classes (FLORIDA 2004, 2007, 2010). According to Richard Florida's theory, a city is creative if it is able to adopt strategies for the cultivation and attraction of creative talent through school and occupa-

tional policies that increase the skills of the resident community and through policies of cooperation, exchange, and immigration, which ease the input and settlement of highly qualified workers coming from other geographical contexts (regional or national). It also defends the existence of the "creative class" consisting of two components:

> The Super-Creative Core of this new class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion-makers. Whether the software programmers or engineers, architects or filmmakers, they fully engage in the creative process. [...] Beyond this core group, the Creative Class also includes "creative professionals" who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal and health care professions, and business management. These people engage in creative problem solving, drawing on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems. (FLORIDA 2004: 69)

The basis of this class is economic (FLORIDA 2004), and draws on traditional labor hierarchies aligned with the concept of skill, talent, or human capital. This interest in creative workers and specifically their grouping and clustering reflects 19th century economic and geographic agglomeration theories concerning the deliberate co-location of particular businesses for "productive efficiencies," as coined by the economist Alfred Marshall (FLORIDA 2004). The clustering of particular workers in global cities wishing to expose their novelty to the public (LAZZERETTI/COOKE 2008), therefore, has had a long tradition. To Florida, the essential mission of creative cities is to learn how to be attractive, or how to compete for this mobile talent (LANDRY 2012; FLORIDA 2004).

From another perspective, Florida's argument that creative workers are drawn to mobility, in order to find a creative environment, is also questionable. One issue to be raised is to what extent a creative professional would indeed be mobile even after having, for example, established a family. After all, as Zukin (1997: 15) pointed out: "the basic problem stems from a simple imbalance between investment and employment: capital moves, the community does not."

If such a creative class had already risen in world debates in 2002, it took flight with the publication of *The Flight of the Creative Class* (2007). In the new book, attracting the creative class is presented as a sine qua non condition for the competitiveness not only of cities, but of countries. Thus, according to Florida, the United States of America do "not have intrinsic advantages in the production of creative people, new ideas, or

nascent companies. Their real advantage lies in their ability to attract these economic talents from around the world" (FLORIDA 2007: 5).

Although many of Florida's arguments and assumptions are highly questionable (ATKINSON/EASTHOPE 2009; LONG 2009; PECK 2005; ZIMMERMAN 2008), the author occupies a prominent place and influence in the vast majority of debates about creative economies and creative cities, being a benchmark for many research institutes and governments within and outside the United States.

Perhaps the most significant merit of Florida's work is that it has restored talent and creativity to the podium of assets, which are fundamental to society and the economy, and to have them connected to the urban environment. However, both the methodology and the assumptions resulting from his research have been criticized, as we present in the next section. Florida has brought to the forefront of the discussions of economists, sociologists, urbanists, and public and private managers a vision of creativity that reconciles human, technological, and cultural traits.

As mentioned above, various scholars whose primary contribution was related to the field of cultural and creative industries played an important role in the definition of the concept of creative city. In Australia, the economist, David Throsby, launched a landmark book *Economics and Culture* in 2001 to defend the intangible values of the economy. In his seminal work, Throsby leaves no room for doubt about the importance of culture to the process of urban development related to cultural equipment, cultural district, and cultural industries, especially as regards their contribution to the city's economy, emphasizing the role of culture "for the promotion of community identity, creativity, cohesion and vitality, through the cultural characteristics and practices that define the city and its inhabitants" (THROSBY 2001: 124).

During this period various academics also argued that the value of creative industries went beyond the economy, and generated new models of social development. Special emphasis was placed on the role of culture and education, both of which were fundamental to the blossoming of creativity (HARTLEY 2005) or environmental development. In the creative industries view, cities can become icons of the creative economy by achieving a high score on four indicators: diversity, change, learning, and adaptation (HOWKINS 2009). Also, a series of important questions were raised regarding city branding (EVANS 2009), networks, clusters, and capital mobility (COMUNIAN 2011; SCOTT 2006), urban policies and planning (EVANS 2009; YENCKEN 1988; SCOTT 2006), neoliberal

approaches to creative cities (ZIMMERMAN 2008; DONEGAN/LOWE 2008), and creative class (PECK 2005).

However, on the institutional level, the concept of the creative city gains strength as it is included in UNCTAD and UNESCO's reports on creative industries and creative diversity (UNCTAD 2008; UNESCO/UNDP 2013; UNESCO 2005). UNESCO also launched the Creative Cities Network, a "network of networks" operating in different fields: literature, film, music, design, gastronomy, media arts, and crafts and folk art. Compared to Florida and Landry's standard solutions, the UNESCO network presents a new concept of creative city, characterized by a more nuanced approach, sensitive to cultures and local differences, far from the classical strategies of urban and territorial marketing. The purpose is the construction of local alliances, sharing experiences, and challenges that characterize the contemporary city (STEVENSON 2013; UNCTAD 2013).

5. Novel Perspectives and Critics

The last decade has brought some new perspectives on the concept of creative cities, and, at the same time, critics have gained more attention. There is a great deal of analyses that points to negative effects of creative cities policies, and the aim here is to illustrate a number of these. We offer them below, in no special order of significance.

An essential part of the critique of gentrification in creative cities is that the concept involves strategic promotion of districts as appealing to the Creative Class, such as a high number of artists, bohemians, and gays, while promoting an environment of openness and diversity (FLORIDA 2004: xix). Landry also mentions gentrification, which starts with artists as regenerators and continues, if the area becomes safe enough, with the middle-class. According to him, it then becomes important "from a planning point of view to maintain low-value uses, that may have broader 'public good' benefits" (LANDRY 2012: 125). However, according to Hahn, "the contradiction between the goal of attracting the creatives with diversity and openness and the common outcome of these creatives harming the socio-cultural mixture of districts seems to not truly be acknowledged by the proponents of the creative city concept" (HAHN 2010: 44).

Another critique of the creative city concept is the crucial role of economic competitiveness. Much of the critique focuses on the ecological,

social, cultural, and economic consequences developments such as gentrification have. If the creative city is to compete for talent in order to succeed, cities that do not adhere to this concept ultimately "have no-one to blame but themselves," and that the "creativity script works seamlessly with the new urban realpolitik, neoliberal-style" (PECK 2005: 765). In addition to this, culture and art in creative cities are being instrumentalized with the sole objective of economic prosperity (HAHN 2010).

A critique of the creative city model also requires a closer look at the term Creative Class as coined by Florida. Its vast influence as a determining principle of the creative city concept makes an examination and critique of the ideas behind the Creative Class concept crucial. Landry briefly refers to the concept but does not describe it in detail (LANDRY 2012: xxixf.), which makes Florida's conceptualization of the term the main focus here.

As described previously, Florida gives a relatively clear division of members of this new emerging class and others, but at the same time, he accounts for even the possibility of "factory workers, if given a chance" (FLORIDA 2004: 37) being creative. Opposing Florida, Wilson and Keil (2008) state that the "real creative class in these cities is the poor [due] to their immense contribution to the contemporary urban economy" (WILSON/KEIL 2008: 841). This poor creative class includes homeless, unemployed, or underemployed people in socially neglected neighborhoods, who prove to be very resourceful and creative regarding spending or other logistics (WILSON/KEIL 2008: 842).

Furthermore, authors strongly criticize Florida's disregard of these people in his concept, which in reality are an essential part of the city's economy. Florida claims the need for his Creative Class for the development of cities, which "flagrantly configures an elitist theme for change that feudal lords and bourgeois captains of industry in the past would have hesitated to do" (WILSON/KEIL 2008: 844). Peck also criticizes Florida's concept due to "its relative neglect of issues of intraurban inequality and working poverty" (PECK 2005: 756).

In spite of researchers who reveal that alternative, underground cultures have a strong role in the creative sectors and that closed links are built between mainstream knowledge (re)production and underground creativity (LESLIE/RANTISI 2011; PRUIJT 2004; VIVANT 2013), creative city policies have done little to foster cultural participation; even more, the importance of minority cultures and sites of urban creativity that did not make any profit have been completely diminished (MOULD 2014). Moreover, Felton (2015) and McLean (2014) focus on woman's

art and entrepreneurial communities in Australia as well as Canada, and give evidence of multiple exclusions that creative city policies and practice entrench due to the lack of feminist points of view.

Finally, although the number of critiques of the creative city concept has increased significantly in the last decade, there are still many researchers who are interested in its further development and practice. Andersson et al. (2011) gathered authors who "agree that the creative city is here to stay" (2011: 12). The idea was not to unify the theory on the concept but to provide a diverse framework for future research. Likewise, Isar and Anheier (2010) fosuced on policy and governance perspectives while van Damme, Munck, and Miles (2017) challenge the concept of creative city from a historical perspective. Even *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies* (HANNIGAN/RICHARDS 2017) dedicates five chapters to creative city topics.

All publications mentioned above offer many case studies of cities around the world, from different historical, geographical, and cultural contexts, which help the reader to understand the creative city dynamics better. To the same end, three practical applications of the concept in the form of strategy, model, and ranking are presented below.

6. Conclusion

The creative city notion has been in the spotlight of many authors and policymakers in the past several decades, but it is not easy to identify a common conceptual ground covering the underlying diversity of interpretations and practices. As it has been pointed out throughout this article, the concept of a creative city does not have a unique definition. It is, instead, a concept that allows different interpretations of the role of culture and creativity for urban development.

In order to summarize the many different approaches of the creative city concept, three primary axes, which support the concept, are identified. Firstly, the creative city is centered on the idea of creativity as a toolkit for urban development. Secondly, the notion of the creative city is strongly supported by the use of creative activities or industries (broadening the cultural activities perspectives); and finally, the concept of the creative city is seen as the capacity to attract creative competencies, that is, creative human resources.

The first set of contributions, in which the creative city concept is used in a broad perspective of planning, relies on Charles Landry's work.

In that framework, creative cities are those able to find new solutions for everyday problems. The search for interventions that can instigate a creative 'environment,' in a broad sense, is the focus of that framework and it goes far beyond cultural activities, although it is clearly embedded in cities' local culture and identity.

The second set of contributions focuses on cultural products. For theorists like Pratt (2008) and institutions like the United Kingdom's Department of Culture and Sport, among many others, creative cities are related to a certain dynamism in the creative productive sector. This is perhaps the most widespread notion of 'creative city,' closely linked to the creative industries' concept. In this case, the production of cultural goods and services and related activities are the centres of creativity.

The recent success of these urban spaces is considered to be the result of specific, territorialized dynamics or policies based on the growth of cultural (or other creative) activities which improve the quality of life, allow for urban revitalization, and promote competitiveness. Finally, another important framework, which supports creative city rhetoric, is related to the capacity to attract creative skills and develop inventive competencies. Richard Florida's (2004) work uses the creative class label for the top qualified and innovative human resources that are at the root of the competitiveness and vitality of most dynamic, contemporary, urban areas.

Effectively, a city's capacity to be creative and innovative is definitely related to the ability to train, keep, and attract this new social 'class' which has the knowledge and skills required in the advanced creativity-intensive sectors, which, in turn, create the most value, and promote further competitiveness in contemporary economies.

However, the "dark side" of creativity is presented in this study as well. The creative city that stimulates gentrification, objectifies culture, or excludes minority culture from the policy focus is one that is critiqued by various researchers who oppose the notion of creative cities. It is also noteworthy to emphasize that, owing to its generalized use, some authors (such as Hansen et al., among many others) believe that the creative city idea loses its consistency and becomes a mere brand and less of an 'attitude.'

Therefore, there is great need to rethink the notion of creative city by broadening the meaning of every element of the syntagm, i.e. of city and urban development, on the one hand, and creativity on the other, so that new perspectives on the concept, holistic and transversal, will come to light.

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