

The Creative City: An Obituary?

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Outline

0. Elefsina Cultural City of Europe 2021: A Creative City?
1. What is a Creative City?
2. Why and how the Creative City Hype Evolved?
3. Creative Cities and Projects in Germany
4. Creative Cities in Asia
5. Why the Creative City is Eroding?
6. How to Promote Creativity in a City?
7. The Creative City: An Utopia?



. The Creative City: An Obituary?

Elefsina Cultural City of Europe 2021:

Athens 1985
Thessaloniki 1997
Patras 2006

. A Creative City?





The Narrative

1. 20 years ago creativity and soon thereafter the creative city have been discovered by academic writers and planners
2. Soon policy makers recommended to cities around the world to use the brand for policy changes and marketing
3. How and why the creative city hype evolved?
4. What did the creative city hype effect?
5. Since a few years the creative city hype is eroding. Why?
6. The creative city gradually replaced by the smart and start-up city
7. Creative urban development, however, remains an important aim and a challenge for urban development in times of globalization and digitalization!



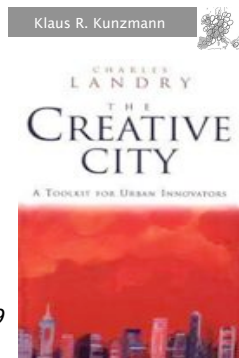
What is a Creative City?

*The **city of creativity** has different qualities It goes with and against branded experience. It subverts the readily accepted. It tests convention It seeks to be its own author of experience, rather than have 'experience' imposed in a pre-absorbed way..... It relaxes into ambiguity, uncertainty and unpredictability. It is ready to adapt".*

Charles Landry 2006, *The Art of City Making*, 339

or/and a city,

- Which considers culture an essential element of local policies?
- With a long cultural history, a history of architecture, city building, and creative persons?
- Where culture is visible in the city and public place?
- Where cultural flagships are located? > [Bilbao](#)
- Where creative professionals like to live and work?
- Which regularly hosts cultural events of supra-local importance?
- Where the arts , design, music, film are taught at professional and higher education institutions?
- Which leads the national/international discourse in the field of culture?
- Where culture and cultural discourse are a local concern?



.... or rather a city, which has a creative administration?

What is a Creative City? The fever of the decade?

A hype?

For some a **creative city** is a city with many universities, high-tech, bio-tech, or nano-tech research institutions and science parks such as Cambridge, Oxford, Heidelberg or Grenoble



For others it is

- a city with a rich cultural life and renowned cultural industries
- a mainstream media covered tourist city
- a city creating and promoting new life styles
- a location with many innovative IT enterprises and related creative industries
- a city with an innovative bureaucracy and with good and efficient, forward looking top down city management
- an open city where grassroots movements are mushrooming



The creative city is perfect **fit-all-concept**

a convenient plug-in concept, to escape from debates about sustainability, energy efficiency, and social justice.

Creative City? Or a misunderstanding?



.....or just a pretext to

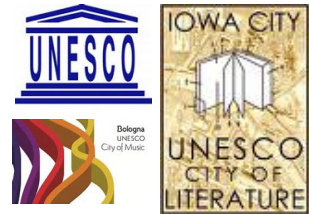
- Market a city
- Build expensive opera houses and museums and other urban flagships projects?
- Convert industrial brownfields into cultural centers?
- Speed up urban regeneration?
- Host fairs and conventions and conferences
..... or is it just a media hype, an academic fashion or a bite to attract tourists?

... Or rather a policy field to boost post-industrial local economies and to invest public money in culture

It is a little bit of everything>the concept can be used and misused.

The Creative City: An Obituary?

Creative Cities Network UNESO



The UNESCO Creative Cities Network is currently formed by 180 Members from 72 countries covering 7 creative fields:

Crafts & Folk Art, Design, Film, Gastronomy, Literature, Music and Media Arts

Adelaide, Al-Ahsa, Alba, Almaty, Amarante, Aswan, Auckland, Austin, Baghdad, Baguio City, Bamiyan, Bandung, Barcelona, Barcelos, Beijing, Belém, Bergen, Berlin, Bilbao, Bitola, Bogota, Bologna, Bradford, Braga, Brasilia, Brazzaville, Bristol, Brno, Bucheon, Budapest, Buenaventura, Buenos Aires, Burgos, Busan, Cairo, Cape Town, Carrara, Changsha, Chengdu, Chennai, Chiang Mai, Chordeleg, Cochabamba, Curitiba, Daegu, Dakar, Dénia, Detroit, Dubai, Dublin, Dundee, Dunedin, Durán, Durban, Edinburgh, Enghien-les-Bains, Ensenada, Fabriano, Florianópolis, Frutillar, Gabrovo, Galway, Gaziantep, Geelong, Ghent, Glasgow, Granada, Graz, Guadalajara, Gwangju, Hamamatsu, Hangzhou, Hanover, Hatay, Heidelberg, Helsinki, Icheon, Idanha-a-Nova, Iowa City, Isfahan, Istanbul, Jacmel, Jaipur, Jeonju, Jingdezhen, João Pessoa, Kanazawa, Kansas City, Katowice, Kaunas, Kingston, Kinshasa, Kobe, Kolding, Kortrijk, Košice, Krakow, Kütahya, Lillehammer, Limoges, Linz, Liverpool, Ljubljana, Łódź, Lubumbashi, Lviv, Lyon, Macao, Madaba, Manchester, Mannheim, Medellín, Melbourne, Mexico City, Milan, Montevideo, Montréal, Morelia, Nagoya, Nassau, Norrköping, Norwich, Nottingham, Óbidos, Östersund, Ouagadougou, Paducah, Panama City, Paraty, Parma, Pekalongan, Pesaro, Phuket, Popayán, Porto-Novo, Prague, Praia, Puebla, Qingdao, Québec City, Rasht, Reykjavík, Rome, Saint-Étienne, Salvador, San Antonio, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Santa Fe, Santos, Sapporo, Sasayama, Seattle, Seoul, Seville, Shanghai, Sheki, Shenzhen, Shunde, Singapore, Sofia, Sokodé, Suzhou, Sydney, Tartu, Tel Aviv-Yafo, Terrassa, Tétouan, Tongyeong, Toronto, Tsuruoka, Tucson, Tunis, Turin, Utrecht, Ulyanovsk, Varanasi, Wuhan, Yamagata City, York, Zahlé.

Cities, which have an interest, some endogenous potential, financial means and individual personalities driving the application, support the network.

...not Paris, not London, not New York, not Vienna....and no Greek city?

The Creative City: An Obituary?

Klaus R. Kunzmann

How and why the Creative City Hype Evolved?

Seven mutually reinforcing reasons why creative cities have become everybody's darling in the post-industrial society

1. The positive and open concept of creativity
2. The widely communicated message
3. Structural change, the search for new economic potentials, the discovery of the creative economy
4. The return of culture to the political agenda, driven by growing urban competition, the justification and success of cultural flagships and events, and the re-design of the physical urban fabric
5. Demographic change, re-urbanization, urban renaissance and the emerging cosmopolitan knowledge society
6. The appeal of the creative city concept to urban marketing and tourism managers, and to media searching for success stories
7. The opportunity to bridge urban policies, and the revival of strategic planning in urban development



1. The Positive and Open Concept of Creativity

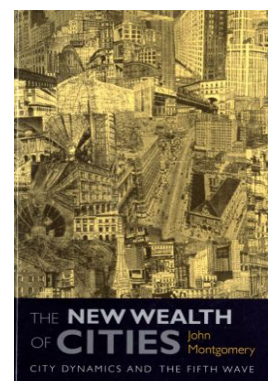
- **The creative city is a magic title, which leaves much space for individual interpretation**
- Creativity is a multilingual term, easy to communicate
- Creativity, like innovation, has always a positive meaning
- Everybody wishes to be creative, to have creative children and
- The broad and occasionally fuzzy definition of creativity allows generous identification
- Creative persons are admired **from kindergarten to the fine arts, theatre and fashion**
- Creativity is an open concept, leaving space for all who wish to change context conditions, approaches or strategies
- It is always good to be, **to live, to work and to spent leisure time** in a creative city, **as long as creativity is not inked to chaos**
- The creative city paradigm is not ideologically burdened, **like environmental sustainability**
- Creativity is a survival concept, it provides hope to overcome all kinds of challenges
- The creative city/region ideology is an umbrella concept for many stakeholders, sector policies, and academic disciplines



... a plug-in-concept

2. A Widely Communicated Message

- The books by the creative gurus Richard Florida, and Charles Landry, have found **(too)** much attention
- In many countries the paradigm has been widely communicated, e.g. by Maurizio Carta in Italy and Martina Hessler, Bastian Lange in Germany
- A growing number of creative city, creative industry, cultural industries reports have been published in the recent decade
- Numerous seminars have been initiated, and a growing number of diploma and PhD dissertations have been written at universities
- Special issues on creativity, creative cities and creative industries appeared in scientific journals
- A plethora of articles have been published in semi-popular and popular media
- Conferences on creative cities have been held at many locations



The Creative City: An Obituary?

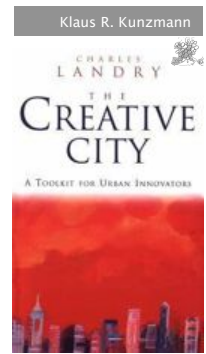
The (former?) Creative City Bible

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

Charles Landry 2000, The Creative City ,133)

“The **city of creativity** has different qualities It goes with and against branded experience. It subverts the readily accepted. It tests convention It seeks to be its own author of experience, rather than have ‘experience’ imposed in a pre-absorbed way...., the city of creativity wants to shape its own spaces. It relaxes into ambiguity, uncertainty and unpredictability. It is ready to adapt”.

Charles Landry 2006, The Art of City Making, 339



The Creative City: An Obituary

The Creative City Index

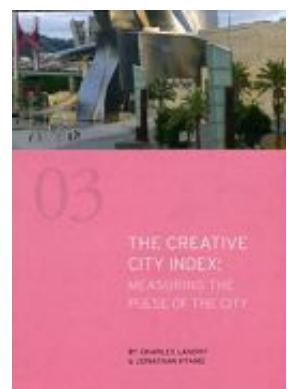
An ambitious path to urban development reflecting the mainstream rhetoric of urbanism

Ten key indicators proposed by Charles Landry and Jonathan Hyams 2012

1. Political & public framework
2. Distinctiveness, diversity, vitality & expression
3. Openness, trust., accessibility & participation
4. Entrepreneurship, exploration & innovation
5. Strategic leadership, agility and vision
6. Talent development & and the learning landscape
7. Communication, connectivity, networking & media
8. The place & place making
9. Liveability & and well-being
10. Professionalism & effectiveness

No European city can seriously meet all these criteria!

Klaus R. Kunzmann



The Creative City, the Creative Classnow the less creative crisis

“The economic need for creativity has registered itself in the rise of a new class, which I call the **Creative Class**. Some 38 million Americans, 30 percent of all employed people, belong to this class. I define the core of the **Creative Class** to include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content.

Around the core, the Creative Class also includes a broader group of **creative professionals** in business and finance, law, health care and related fields. These people engage in complex problem solving that involves a great deal of independent judgement and requires high levels of education or human capital.

In addition, all members of the Creative Class – whether they are artists of engineers, musicians or computer scientists, writers or entrepreneurs – share a common creative ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference and merit. For the members of the Creative Class, every aspect and every manifestation of creativity – technological, cultural and economic – is interlinked and inseparable.”

Richard Florida The Rise of the Creative Class, And How It’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life, 2002, 8.

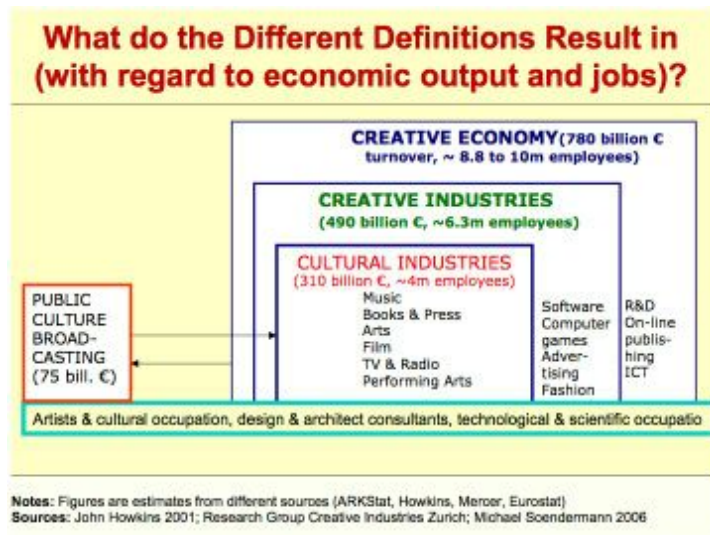


The Creative City and the Creative Class



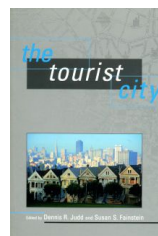
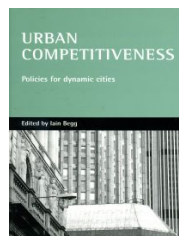
3. The Discovery of the Creative Economy

- Structural change and the search for new economic potentials
- The discovery of future oriented cultural and creative industries
- The growing importance of cultural and creative industries in local economic development
- The influence of new technologies and new modes of production
- The growing importance of design in the hedonistic post-modern consumer world
- A new policy arena in the narrow tool box of business consultants



4. The Success of Cultural Flagships and events

- the re-discovery and return of culture on the political agenda
- The pressure of urban competition >for events, institutions etc.
- The justification and success of flagship projects >**The Guggenheim effect**
- Successful art exhibitions and art festivals
- The renaissance of symbolic architecture

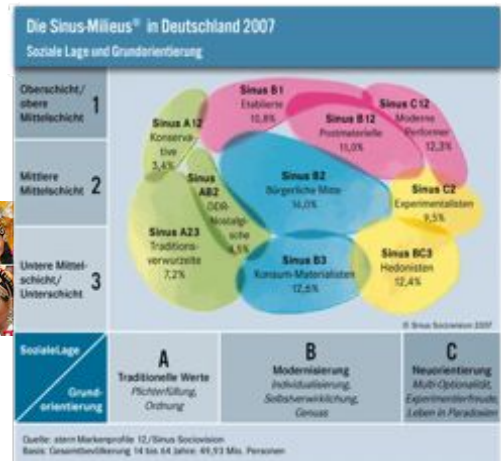
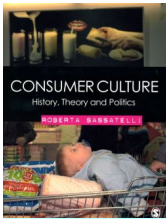


Opera Harbin/China



5. Changing Values and New Lifestyles and the Power of Consumption

- The emergence of a cosmopolitan knowledge society
- The increasingly cosmopolitan character of successful cities > Berlin, London, Amsterdam
- The dominance of consumption
- The locational preferences of the knowledge workers > the creative class
- Urban renaissance and reurbanization as a consequence of demographic change > aging, better education and double career households, etc.



6. The appeal to urban marketing and tourism managers

- An asset in city ranking exercises
- An attractive topic for lifestyle travel and airline journals
- A selling argument for urban marketing managers and urban tourism
- A reason for investors and city managers to invest in architectural icons
- A magnet for young and mobile visitors
- A perfect legitimation for many global conferences on innovation



7. An Opportunity to Bridge Urban Policies

- The re-discovery of comprehensive spatial policies for urban districts and quarters
 - > **creative governance**
- A reason to combine and synchronize sector policies
 - > **Urban, economic, cultural and social development**
- Joint foreign urban policy > **marketing the creative city**
- Raise interest and commitment to architectural quality and public spaces
- Promoting new partnerships in the city
- Forming strategic alliances with local stakeholders
- Creative flagship projects as policy catalysts



The Outcome of the Creative City Hype



- Recognition of creative industries as an important segment of the local economy among economists
- Statistics
- Action area of local economic development policies
- Numerous studies on creative and cultural industries and creative spaces in some cities
- Public and private development of creative quarters and co-working spaces in some cities
- Promotion of entrepreneurship in cultural and creative industries

What Makes a City Creative?



- The endogenous territorial capital of a city
- The local/regional/cultural perception of culture and creativity
- Openness of the local society for new ideas
- Open communication and support of the local media
- Political and social willingness to accept change
- intermediate organizations in between the public and the private sector
- Combination of top-down and bottom-up initiatives and activities
- Actors and stakeholders, who support culture and creativity
- Consumers, who are willing to buy creative products and services
- Windows of opportunity to overcome gridlocks and to change things

.....modesty, patience and leadership!

How to make a City Creative?

Urban development planning

- > New strategies
- > Cultural quarters.....cultural spaces.
- ...city as a stage
- > Flagship projects.....museums etc.
- > Gentrification
- > New partnerships



Cultural policy

- > Cultural facilities
- > Events
- > Culture related higher education
- > Programs for artists studios
- > Platforms
- > Intermediate organistaions



Local economic development & urban marketing

- > New enterprises
- > Employment
- > IT und Media
- > New markets
- > Tourism
- > Urban marketing
- > Foreign urban policy



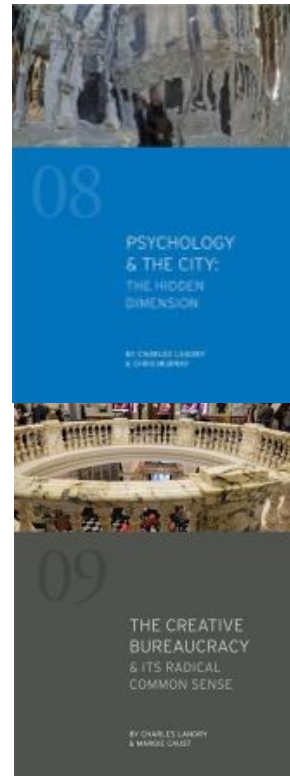
A Creative Bureaucracy ?

Charles Landry 2017, 2018.....2020?

Public bureaucracies across the globe face a converging, escalating crisis and they have fewer resources to respond to growing needs. Our digitizing world and its disruptive technologies is providing both vast opportunities and threats. There is a massive, urgent task ahead for bureaucracies to help create a fairer more equal world. They need to be more imaginative. A city will fail if part of the system is uncreative.

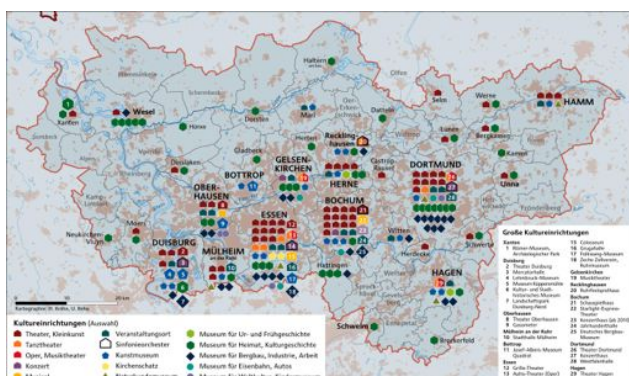
Creative bureaucrats can, as individuals, shape cities. But a critical mass can reshape the bureaucratic system itself. Our aim is to trigger a movement of bureaucrats who demand more from their work environments. Some already reflect a generosity of spirit. This civic creativity can help communities bridge divides and find 'the common' in our quest to build better places to live.

.....The creative city is a city that learns.....!



Creative Cities and Projects in Germany

- Berlin
- Hamburg
- Kassel
- Ruhr > Essen, Dinslaken



Berlin



Evolution

- Traditional cultural capital of Germany with rich cultural cosmopolitan milieus and a plethora of high-end and socio-cultural facilities
 - > Filmfestival Berlin > Fashion, Design > Karneval der Kulturen. . .
- 1978–1980 IBA Berlin > Sensitive urban regeneration in Kreuzberg
- Three reports on Cultural Industries 2003, 2008 and 2014
- Cultural Capital of Europe 1988
- Thriving creative quarters > Prenzlauer Berg, Mitte, Friedrichshain, Pankow

Creative Action

- Studies on cultural/creative industries in the city, and in city districts
- Numerous initiatives to promote creative industries > CREATE
- Media Spree, an ambitious development project for creative Industries
- Continuous investment in flagship cultural facilities

Assessment

- A long tradition and strong endogenous capital of cultural milieus in the city
- After reunification take-off spirit and
- Considerable political support for creative policies and action in the city
- Unlimited supply of affordable housing and workshop space

Berlin Cultural Industries

Definition: cultural industries, software development, media and marketing

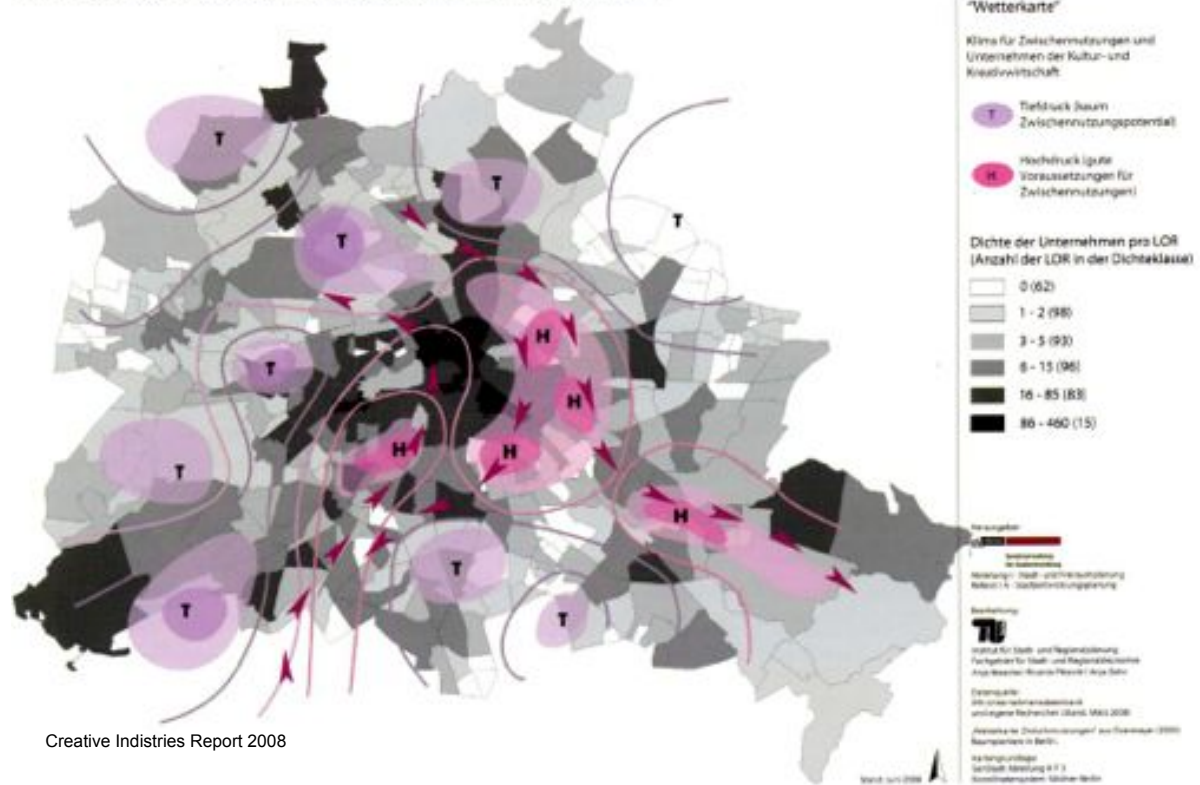
>>> research > education > development > production > distribution
> consumption

- 2008 turnover € 17. 5 billion > 25 percent increase since 2000
- 22.934 firms and enterprises (with an annual turnover above € 16.617)
 - > not including public museums, theatres etc.
- More than 11 percent of Berlin's GDP
- 160.515 economically active
- 89. 847 employed (50% female)
- 7% of Berlin's employment
- More than 20 percent growth since 2000



Berlin Cultural Industries > Weather chart

Abb. 15: Zwischennutzungsklima und Unternehmen der Kreativwirtschaft



Berlin Promoting creative industries

Future action areas: economic, cultural and spatial development

- Communication that the sector has economic impact
- Clustering among individual actors
- Promotion of spatial clustering
- Improving regulatory framework
- Promotion of private commitment > civil society
- Export promotion
- Screening of financing programmes
- Linking cultural industries to tourism
- Continuous monitoring
- Start-up promotion
- Establishing virtual infrastructure
- Further qualification of graduates from university of the arts



Berlin Establishing support institutions



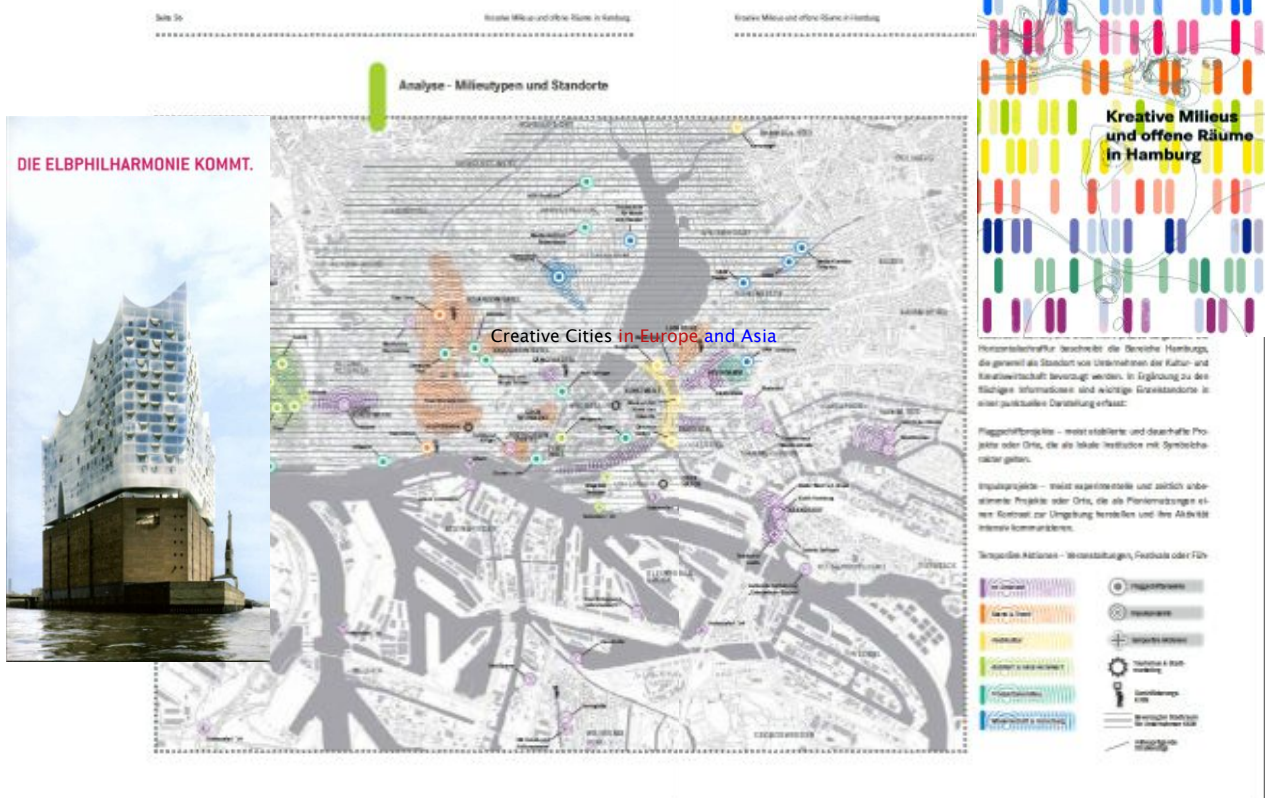
The initiative for creativity and design in Berlin!

CREATE BERLIN is the connecting platform by and for Berlin designers, representing the creative diversity of the Berlin design scene. CREATE BERLIN brings together energies and ideas and provides creative talents with opportunities to realise their visions by strongly believing in the importance of the creative industries in the city's economic development

The design-initiative CREATE BERLIN was founded in 2006 by 15 established Berlin-based creative businesses. CREATE BERLIN is a supporting hub for creative minds and ideas in and around Berlin: as a network active internationally it curates and manages various design projects in Germany and abroad, and has over 60 members representing diverse Berlin creative industries.

By supporting innovative projects CREATE BERLIN promotes the economic potential of Berlin's design industry; it strengthens Berlin's reputation as a unique and aspiring major city for design and as the UNESCO designated "City of Design".

Hamburg Creative milieus and locations





Kassel

Every five years Kassel is a creative city museum of 100 days." . It is the venue of the **documenta**, a globally renowned art event, funded by the City of Kassel and the State of Hesse, as well as by the German Federal Cultural Foundation.

Over the past decades, documenta has established itself as an institution that goes far beyond a survey of what is currently happening, inviting the attention of the international art world.

"The discourse and the dynamics of the discussion surrounding each documenta reflects and challenges the expectations of society about art. During the dicument the whole city of Kassel is a creative place



In 2017, for the first time since the beginning in 1957/1972, the **documenta** had a partner city:

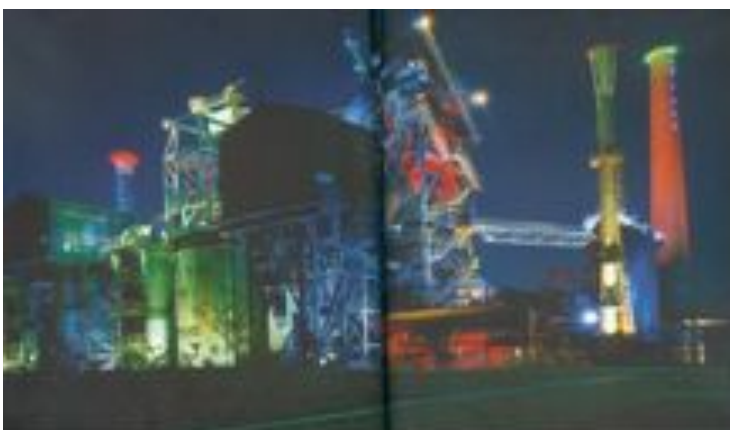


Athens

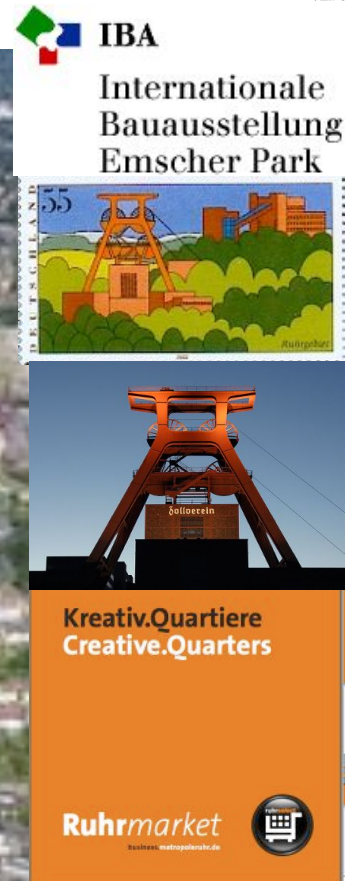


Ruhr: Creative Quarters

- Benefitting from the creative city hype, the interest of the state government in cultural and creative industries and from the cultural capital of Europe 2010 event deliberate interventions to stabilize declining urban neighbourhoods, still dominated by coal mining related urban functions to
- Attract creative pioneers
- Promote the reuse of derelict industrial buildings owned by the coal industry



Essen: Zeche Zollverein



Dinslaken **Lohberg**



- 2005 Closure of coal mining activity
- 2007 Brainstorming workshop
- Strategic concept by the real estate arm of the coal mining corporation for a creative urban district
>offices, workshops, residences
- Branding the site as a location for culture, lifestyle and innovation
- Events to attract media and creative class
- Instalment of a quarter manager





Creative City Politics in Europe

Cities in Europe embarked on and justified creative city development for mainly ten reasons:

- The enormous flexibility of the plug-in-concept
- The discovery of the important role of cultural and creative industries for urban regeneration and the conservation of architectural heritage
- The use of a creative city image for urban marketing
- The recognition of the creative economy as an important segment of the post-industrial society
- The justification of cultural flagship projects, supporting the creative economy and profiling the image of a city to attract tourists
- The promise of the job creation potential of the creative economy
- The growing power of cultural lobby groups
- The contribution to quality-of-life policies attracting the "creative class"
- The interest of popular media in images of creative activities
- The influence of policy advisors and consultants



Creative Cities in Asia

Klaus R. Kunzmann



Creative Cities in Asia and in the Pacific

A few cities in Asia aim to learn from Europe and try to use (misuse ?) the concept for developing cultural flagships , use the idea for urban marketing and support local cultural communities

Creative Cities in China

>Beijing, Taipei



Creative Cities in Japan

>Yokohama



Beijing

30 Cultural and Creative Industrial Parks all over the City



Beijing

798 a factory turned into an art village and gradually transformed into an entertainment district



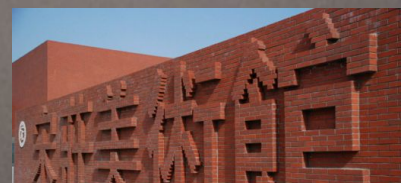


Beijing



Beijing

Song Zhuang > 4000 artists?
An industrial park for artists,
galleries and art dealers

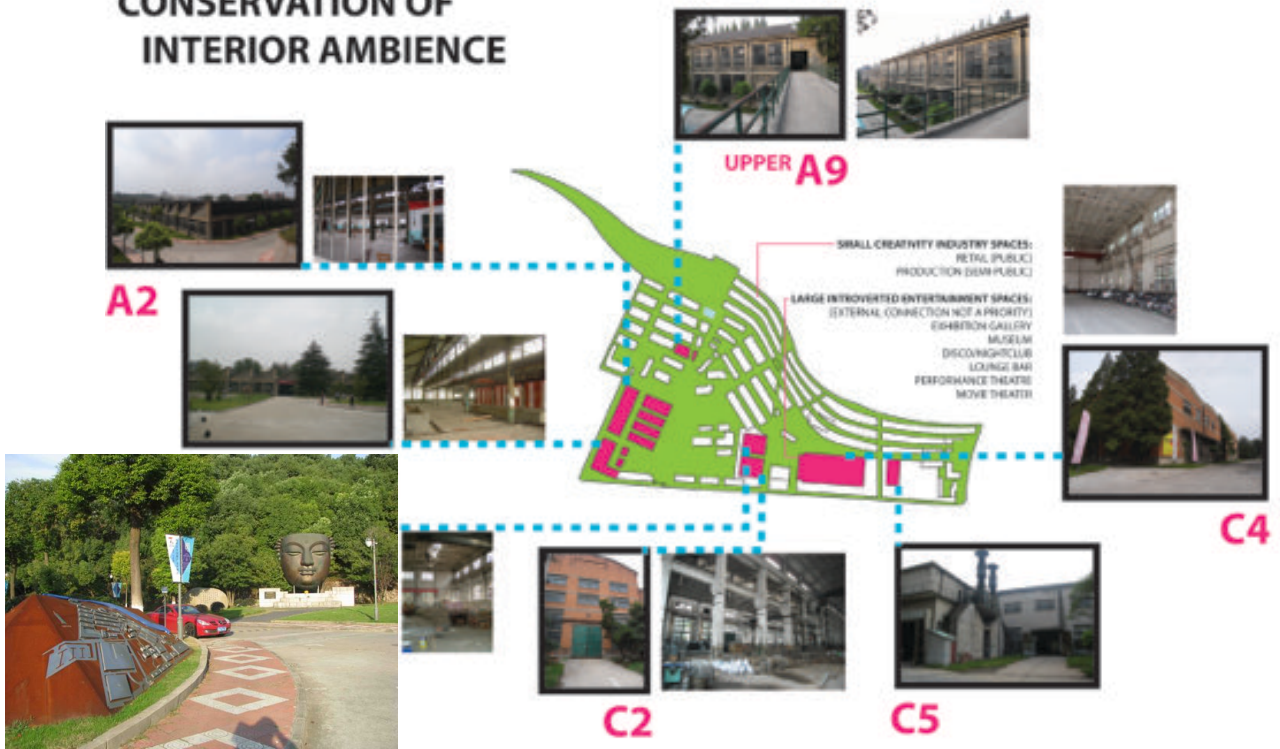


Nanjing 1865

An industrial park for artists, galleries and art dealers in a former gun factory



CONSERVATION OF INTERIOR AMBIENCE



Nanjing 1912

An entertainment quarter using heritage buildings as a stage as a label, not a cultural & creative industry park



Creative Cities in Asia

Nanjing Design Park

A creative industry park in an old factory



Creative Cities in Asia

Nanjing Mendong

An urban district of culture, cultural industries and leisure.



Yokohama



Yokohama

What is "Creative City Yokohama"?

The human creativity that is most prominently exhibited in the cultural and artistic realm has the power to counteract the anxieties and difficulties that face us in our everyday lives, and also to face up to global issues such as the environment, peace, and coexistence.

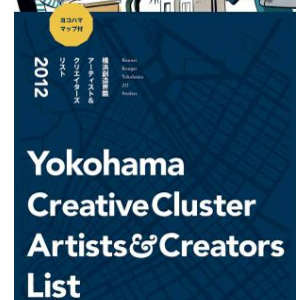
For a city such as Yokohama, art and culture are more than just a way to make residents' lives more fulfilling; they also make a major contribution to vitalizing the city itself and raising its international competitiveness.

In order to achieve independent development as a city while pursuing a high quality of life for its residents, Yokohama decided that the most appropriate course of action was to build a community that produces new value and attractiveness for the city through leveraging the unique history and cultural resources around the port, which are its greatest asset, and to give free rein to the creativity of art and culture.

This has led to a new vision for the city that melds tangible and intangible measures to promote the development of the arts, culture, and economy, and the formation of an attractive urban space that fittingly reflects Yokohama's distinctive character.



R. Kunzmann





"Creative" Cities in Taiwan

All large cities in Taiwan aim and claim to be creative

- Taipei
- Miaoli
- Hualien
- Kaohsiung
- Taitung
- Tainan

- ... and others, who like to use the label „creative“ to build cultural facilities and attract tourists

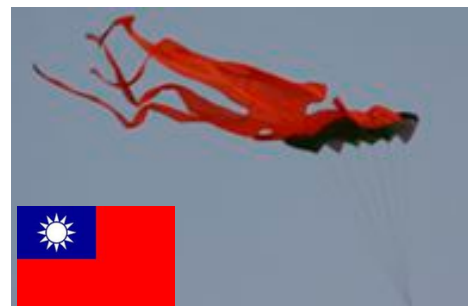
> Such as New Taipei pop. 3.94 mio



Following International practice

the creative city paradigm in Taiwan is used to

- Show the Taiwanese flag
- Sharpen Taiwanese identity against mainland China
- Demonstrate urban competitiveness of Taipei
- Enhance local city profiles
- Strengthen local identity
- Bring western culture into cities
- Boost tourism
- Reuse derelict inner city promises
- >obsolete factories, old railway stations
- Conserve historical buildings
- Maintain craft competence
- Support the arts, local crafts and local entertainment
- Promote the consumption of design products
- Involve and encourage the civil society
- Demonstrate the dominance of the state
- Show a certain degree of tolerance





Misunderstanding an international Concept?

- As in Europe, the concept is used to improve the overall quality of cities for increasingly better educated citizens in the high tech economy
> **creativity as a plug-in concept for local action**
- The holistic nature of the creative city concept is not quite followed-up
- The creative quarters are islands in the cities
- Success depends very much on the commitment and promotion of local mayors
- Inviting foreign architects and advisors to support local ideas and to impress media and citizens
- Playground of a small intellectual elite
- Much rhetoric to sell the concept to political arenas
- As in Europe, more a marketing tool to impress popular media and demonstrate international modernity the media



Creative Cities Summary Assessment

The creative city fever in Europe and Asia is driven by many factors, such as

- revitalization of derelict industrial sites and structures
- political interest of neo-liberal communities to wrap the social and ecological challenges of the cities
- search for new approaches to urban development
> **mapping creativity in the city**
- need to explore uses for conflicting (**creative**) spaces in the city
- need to legitimize cultural budgets and the desire to **build cultural flagships**
- power of urban marketing and branding (**agencies and consultants**)
- discovery of creative products by the affluent consumption society
- search for a new post-industrial, post-modern, post-fordist urban economy
- entrance of a new generation art and media university graduates in the arts, media and design fields into the job market
- crisis of local economic development agencies searching for new action arenas



Why is the Creative City Hype Eroding?

- The fuzzy concept of the creative city paradigm
- The experience that many jobs in cultural and creative industries are precarious
- The hope that the creative city will contribute to increase public commitment and finances to culture did not materialize
- The experience that creative city policies are promoting gentrification
- The shifting interest of the creative gurus > Florida and Landry
- The eroding interest of academia and media
- The emerging smart city paradigm that is receiving more public and media interest



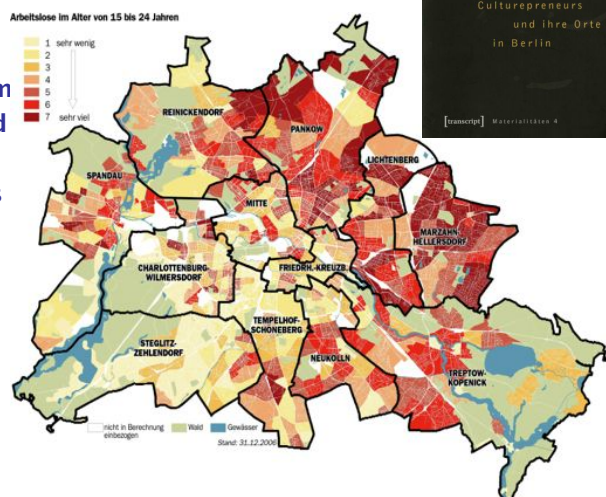
Berlin Creative Polarization

Precarious work is part-time employment, self-employment, fixed-term work, temporary work, on-call work, home working, and telecommuting

Precarious work is poorly paid, insecure, unprotected employees or self-employed, who, according to traditional opinion cannot support a household.

Due to factors such as: globalization, the shift from the manufacturing sector to the service sector, and the spread of information technology and migration flows from around the world, precarious work is increasing .

➤Structural changes have created a new economy which demands flexibility in the workplace and, as a result, caused the decline of the standard employment relationship and a dramatic increase in precarious work.



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