



THE ROLE OF CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN URBAN REGENERATION A Comparative Study of London and Bogotá

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ABSTRACT

Urban regeneration faces significant challenges in relation to citizens' needs. At a global level, some cities implement regeneration strategies independently of official budgets. This represents an opportunity for urban planners and policymakers, as well as the audience, to actively shape citizen art expression in their culture and urban identity, empowering them with a sense of responsibility. This study methodologically compares the case studies of London and Bogotá, two cities with unique cultures and citizen initiatives. Despite their disparate economic resources, both towns have established municipal programs that foster a creative economy, using their industries to regenerate their urban and social fabric. The selected cases highlight how these cities address urban regeneration and become references to constantly evolving urban identity. The interaction between the creative economy and urban regeneration in London and Bogotá illustrates the cities' capacity to promote a sense of belonging and social cohesion in their communities.

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1. Introduction

Each city has unique characteristics, shaped by its history, culture, traditions and, fundamentally, by the characteristics of its population. Cities are dynamic environments in constant evolution where urban identity is intrinsically linked to the interaction of its inhabitants with the urban fabric. Therefore, public space management and urban planning are fundamental in configuring this identity (Fohim et al., 2024). In this way, urban regeneration becomes essential to ensure the quality of spaces and, therefore, citizens' quality of life. In this context, the "Creative City" concept has gained relevance in the 21st century, driving many cities to use creativity in their regeneration processes (Bayliss, 2007). Thus, the management of space, primarily through public policies, is intertwined with the creativity and culture of its citizens. In addition, local development strategies that promote cultural and creative industries transform crucial aspects such as citizen relations with public space and degraded buildings, which often lead to the abandonment of buildings. This paper focuses on analyzing the relationship between the creative economy and urban regeneration, delving into the creative economy's role as a tool for social and spatial transformation.

The term "creative industries" was coined by the British government in 1997, when the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport established the Creative Industries Task Force to investigate the sector's potential. This concept emerged as a means of classifying industries dedicated to the creation, production, and distribution of cultural and creative products and services. The need to define this term was mainly due to the growing recognition of the economic and cultural value of the creative sector. Another influential factor in this industry was the rapid evolution of technological and digital developments, particularly in the media, which enabled new creation, dissemination and consumption of creative products (Grodach, 2017). In 1998, in the United Kingdom, the task force published a report entitled "Creative Industries Mapping Documents", which categorized the creative industries into thirteen: advertising, antiques, architecture, crafts, design, fashion, film, entertainment software, music, performing arts, software, publishing and TV and radio. However, this classification evolved to introduce a unique approach to the creative economy.

Based on the British concept of "creative industries", the United Nations developed its definition. Thus, at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the cultural and creative industries were defined as the creation, production and distribution cycle of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as fundamental inputs. This sector covers activities that generate tangible goods or intangible services of an artistic or intellectual nature, and the flexibility of the term is recognized depending on the context in which it is developed. UNCTAD also distinguishes between different types of creativity: artistic, which originates in the imagination and the ability to generate original ideas; scientific, which involves curiosity and experimentation to solve problems; and economic, which is associated with the knowledge economy and the growth of human capital. Since its creation, the creative industries concept has evolved significantly, expanding or reducing according to sectors and activities. This evolution is a fascinating aspect of the concept, and it continues to adapt to different contexts, as suggested by the Ibero-American Development Bank (IDB) in its reflection on the traditional antagonisms between culture and economy.

At the international level, the potential of creativity has been widely recognized. The implementation of the creative economy has been favoured by international cooperation and by promoting programs that facilitate financing and its application at the local level. Thus, the European Union launched the Creative Europe program (2014-2020), currently in its 2021-2027 version. In addition, the IDB established the Creativity and Culture Unit and developed the manual *The Orange Economy: An Endless Opportunity*. For this reason, UNESCO created the Creative Cities Network (UCCN) in 2004. These efforts reflect a global commitment to developing creative industries contributing to economic growth in various regions.

2. The dimensions of creativity in a particular urban framework

The growing interest in developing creative industries has generated the need to understand the factors that contribute to the success of the creative economy in specific urban contexts. To do so, it is essential to establish the spatial dimension that this economy encompasses, whether at the city, district, neighbourhood, cluster or hub level. Charles Landry recognized for his work in urban transformations, coined the term "creative cities", referring to those that promote the creative industry with a focus on

innovation. In which creative districts or neighbourhoods are delimited geographical spaces where the sector's activities are concentrated, such as the Bronx in Bogotá or LX Factory in Lisbon (Landry, 2008). On the other hand, creative clusters are smaller areas that group companies to optimize the creation of goods and services, such as the Metropolitan Design Center in Buenos Aires. Finally, creative hubs consist of concentrations of talent and resources that, although not necessarily geographically close, allow for the development and commercialization of creative products, as is the technological example of Silicon Valley. In turn, Tomczak and Stachowiak's research analyzed how cultural and creative industries can manifest themselves in different contexts, considering location and market reach (Tomczak & Stachowiak, 2015).

Thus, the link between creativity and space is unquestionable for researchers, who, since the first studies, have associated spatiality and location as key resources for the development of the creative economy. The analysis of spatiality constitutes the first step in promoting the creative sector in a new territory through a process known as "mapping." This analysis model, described in every implementation guide for cultural and creative industries, allows for the collection of basic statistics and the generation of constant measurement mechanisms to evaluate the performance of urban regeneration processes.

On the other hand, one of the most studied aspects at the beginning of the millennium was understanding the keys and dynamics that make a territory prosper in implementing the creative economy (Comunian et al., 2021). Chapain's essay explains that the success of the creative industries lies in the advantages and disadvantages each place offers, generating an analysis of the dynamics and interconnections between the creative industries and their location. Therefore, Chapain identifies four interrelated dynamics that encourage the growth and development of these industries. These are infrastructure, governance, market and soft infrastructure. These interrelation dynamics are presented in a variety of ways in all territories (Chapain & Sagot-Duvaurox, 2020).

2.1. The creative city

Charles Landry's "creative cities" concept emerged in the paradigm shift towards a post-industrial society. In this new stage, culture became an economic resource, and cities centralized the consumption of culture. However, these cities had to be perceived as stimulating and innovative to attract new talent and residents. On the other hand, the creative economy promoted a model that incorporates explicit recognition of creativity and intellectual property rights. According to Mellander and Florida (2021), the "creative class" is defined by its economic function in generating ideas, technologies or creative content. Furthermore, Bauman (2013) argues that cities should promote measures that improve the quality of life of this creative class in order to foster a more tolerant and diverse city that attracts or generates businesses.

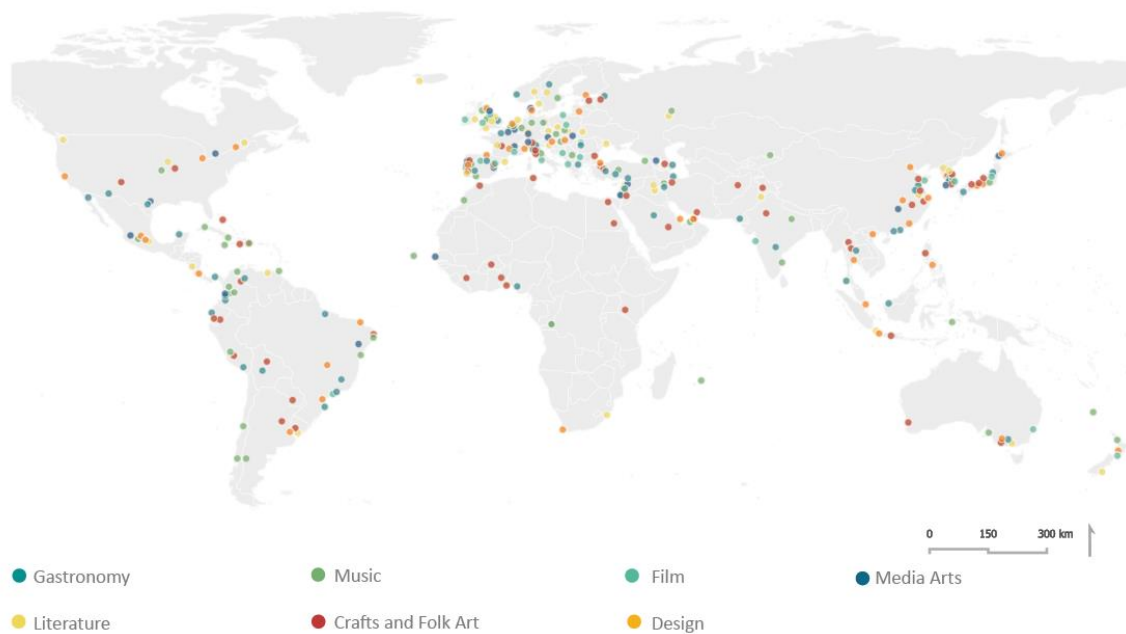
On the other hand, urban regeneration has historically been accompanied by changes in cities' demographic, economic and spatial composition. This process seeks to revitalize spaces, offering new opportunities for local development. At the end of the 20th century, cities began to adopt a model that promoted demographic and social transformations, integrating alternative lifestyles focused on culture and leisure. However, these urban changes entail both desired and undesired effects. The case of gentrification is the most undesirable of all.

The term "gentrification" originated in 1964, referring to the shifts in social classes generated in London when the British rural gentry settled in the city. Today, gentrification involves expelling people and customs from a specific urban location. Moreover, it is the leading cause of real estate reinvestment in depressed or degraded urban areas. Thus, investment in urban regeneration attracts new settlers with more significant economic capital and a desire for cultural consumption. According to Davidson and Lees (2010), the fundamental characteristics of gentrification include the reinvestment of capital, the entry of higher-income social groups, the transformation of the urban landscape and the displacement of vulnerable populations. This phenomenon, often induced by real estate speculation, requires that areas be devalued before being subject to renewal. In turn, through regeneration policies, public intervention plays a crucial role in this process. However, this approach can perpetuate social exclusion by promoting an image of civility and culture that only sometimes reflects the natural, socioeconomic diversity of the community.

2.2. State of the art

As previously stated, the creative economy has proven to be a viable and beneficial development model for urban regeneration. As a renewable and unlimited resource, creativity can drive growth in urban and rural areas, as demonstrated by the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, see Figure 1. In recent years, a notable aspect of the creative industries is their relationship with international cooperation to implement socio-economic development models. In 2021, UNESCO declared the International Year of Creativity, recognizing that the creative economy contributes 3% of the global GDP and promotes sustainable development. Moreover, even during the COVID-19 crisis, the creative economy showed a greater capacity for adaptation than other economic branches.

Figure 1. Location of world Creative Cities according to UNESCO, 2021



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

However, various studies have analyzed the relationship between gentrification and the creative city from different perspectives. This aspect currently represents the most significant challenge and problem for creative industries in urban regeneration, and there is a debate between researchers and political agents about the degree of displacement that occurs due to gentrification. Therefore, some studies seek to quantify the social, economic and demographic effects that creative industries have on cities worldwide. Thus, two critical perspectives of urban regeneration are proposed:

- Gentrification exists, but it is avoidable.
- Gentrification exists due to capitalism and its effects on the creative economy.

Author Kern (2016) argues that the consequences of the process of involvement of creative industries with respect to urban regeneration depend on the positioning of urban management systems. Furthermore, she argues that cultural capital concentrates the power to transform the appearance, value, meaning and function of urban space, which is sometimes symbolically limited by certain groups of citizens. However, Kern (2016) also clarifies that, although cultural power is important, blaming the creative city for gentrification diverts attention from the main cause: financial speculation and, in this case, specifically, real estate speculation. Understanding this role of financial speculation is crucial for a comprehensive view of gentrification (Kern, 2016).

On the other hand, Sequera & Nofre (2020) argue that the creative sector is a driving force of gentrification, structuring their analysis around its influence in various dimensions such as commercial, student, tourist, romantic and marketing or urban identity. To classify Kern's types of gentrifications,

they examine the processes that lead to spatial change and the influence of the agents that promote them, thus linking gentrification with the transformation of the urban landscape. Sequera & Nofre (2020) also argue that speculative power is not only concentrated in land ownership but is also manifested in the commodification of culture through parallel commercial spaces such as the shops of large global firms. In turn, they consider that gentrification is disguised under the positive discourse of urban regeneration and revitalization and that public policies that promote the creative economy can displace traditional businesses and alter the lifestyle of residents, a concerning aspect of this phenomenon (Sequera & Nofre, 2020).

3. Objectives and methodology

The main objective of this work is to highlight the strategies and tools implemented in Bogotá and London to promote the creative economy as a strategic part of their urban regeneration. To do so, a comparative analysis methodology is used between the case studies of both cities. This approach is crucial as it allows us to understand the unique aspects of each city's urban regeneration. It is essential to highlight that, although both are capitals of their respective countries, they present significant differences in terms of economic resources, lifestyles, citizen customs, population density, and, finally, the urban historical processes of their formation.

Despite these differences, both Bogotá and London are pioneer cities in the implementation of the creative economy in their countries. Therefore, the development of creative industries is in a similar state of implementation and results. The analysis is structured following a common framework adapted to the peculiarities of each case, such as the specific actions and actions of each urban strategy, taking into account the macroeconomic context of the country and the microeconomic context of the urban regions. To this end, emphasis is placed on the importance of spatial and social interventions that have had the most significant impact on social inclusion and cohesion. The socio-spatial consequences of these interventions are of utmost importance, and after the analysis, a diagnosis of the management of urban regeneration linked to the processes of promoting the creative economy is presented to establish these consequences and determine whether the patterns of gentrification described above are being met.

3.1. The case study of Bogotá, Colombia

As of 2022, Bogotá's creative economy has emerged as a powerhouse, generating a production value of approximately 34.4 billion Colombian pesos (€7.644 billion) throughout its metropolitan region. This impressive figure represents a substantial 5.5% of the national total, making Bogotá the leading hub in the country's cultural and creative economy, contributing 54.2% of the total. This is a testament to the city's significant role in shaping the national creative landscape (DANE, 2022).

Breaking down these figures, it is stipulated that 70% of the added value came from the functional creations sector that participates in the mass consumer market. Although this sector generates the highest income, the municipality recognized the importance of supporting the more traditional subsectors linked to arts and crafts. This support is crucial not only for economic reasons but also for preserving cultural heritage. According to Satélite de Bogotá, the population employed in the cultural and creative economy reached 201,909 workers, representing 5.3% of the city's workforce, of which 93.47% work full-time. Thus, between 2021 and 2022, employment grew by 4.9%, with an 11.6% increase in creating cultural industries standing out. However, gender inequality persists, with only 39.1% of the workforce being women.

To understand the management of the creative industries in Colombia, especially in the urban region of Bogotá, it is necessary to analyse their current development context. Initial strategies in Bogotá focused on promoting creativity within the Latin American orange economy framework. To this end, an exhaustive mapping of the urban territory has been carried out. This mapping was aimed at spatially assessing the state of the orange economy and identifying existing information gaps. Based on these results, a series of collaborative public actions were implemented, both local and national, that directly impact the development of these urban strategies. These actions, which involved various stakeholders, led to the creation of specific bodies responsible for their dissemination and control.

Another aspect was the creation of a new strategic regulatory framework for public policies to establish the bases, regulate and promote the development of the orange economy. Some key elements to consider in this process were:

- Orange Law or Law 1834 of 2017 (first of its kind in Latin America)
- Orange Comprehensive Policy 2020
- Culture Plan 2038
- ReactivARTE
- District Public Policy on Cultural and Creative Economy of the Mayor's Office of Bogotá (2019-2038)
- Education for Work and Human Development Programs (ETDH)
- Cultural Concerts Program
- Tax deduction in the development of creative areas and districts
- Orange Development Areas
- National incentive program for artists and creators
- Tax benefits for the Colombian film industry
- Bogotá CREActiva Awards

In turn, and following the regulatory framework, measures and actions were established that would benefit all citizens. These were the programs of:

- Share what we are: a proposal for creative and cultural promotion and dissemination to combat social isolation.
- Bogota District Stimulus Program.
- Audiovisual Sandbox Project implemented by the The Ministry of Culture of Colombia, in collaboration with Netflix and the IDB, is dedicated to training young people to access opportunities in the audiovisual industry, demonstrating their strong commitment to the development of this sector.
- Parceros Program: a program that places a strong emphasis on the beautification and care of the city by young people, contributing significantly to the city's aesthetics and maintenance.

Finally, a comprehensive measurement system was created to evaluate the orange economy in Colombia. This system, implemented by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE), includes two new Satellite Accounts of Cultural and Creative Economy: one at the national level and another specific to Bogotá (CSECCB). Since 2019, rigorous monitoring has been carried out, resulting in the publication of at least two annual reports. The satellite account establishes measurement indicators that allow the evolution and impact of the orange economy to be evaluated in socioeconomic and territorial terms. It should be noted that Bogotá is the first city in the world to have a statistical monitoring system of this type for its orange economy, providing a comprehensive and reliable source of data for policymakers, stakeholders, and the public.

3.1.1. The unification strategy of urban territory

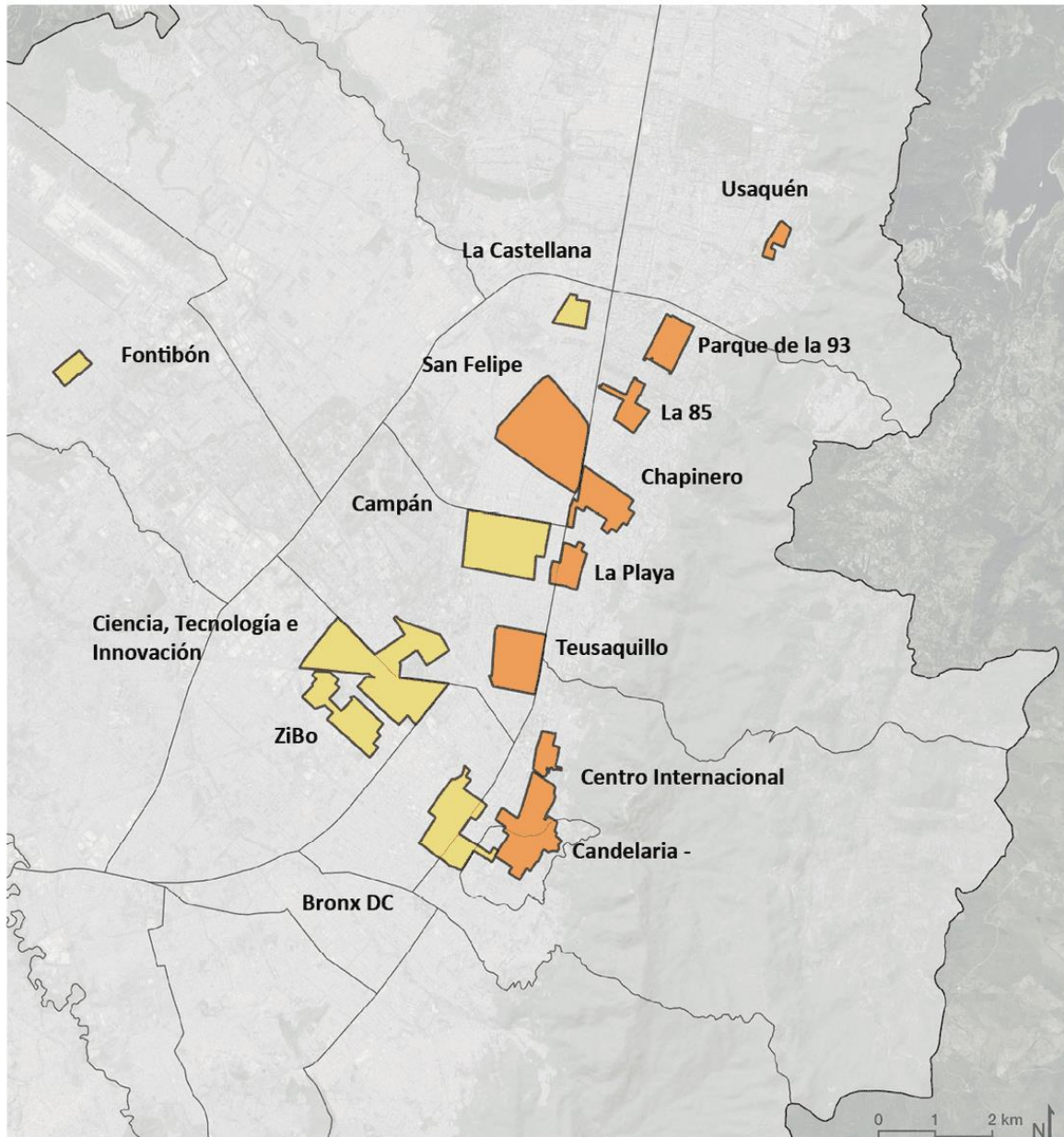
The District Public Policy for Cultural and Creative Economy of the Mayor's Office of Bogotá (2019-2038) is based on five lines of action: the creation of creative districts, the promotion of human capital, financial support, market expansion and knowledge management. This transversal strategy not only guides the development of culture and creativity but also paves the way for significant growth and development, covering from the local scale to an impact at the national level.

The District Network of Creative Districts and Cultural Territories (REDD), which emerged from the "Bogotá CREActiva" initiative, is led by the Secretariat of Culture, Recreation and Sports and seeks to transform the territory through the economic and social reactivation of specific spaces through creativity and cultural media. The REDD is designed to connect and include all creative districts in Bogotá, fostering a sense of community among more than 250 cultural facilities and approximately 4,000 companies. This governance model is a pioneer in identifying 15 creative districts and establishing territorial links between them, classifying them as induced and spontaneous, which reflects an

innovative approach to the cultural and creative development of the city. The following plan shows the spaces:

- Induced: Depressed or unused areas are delimited based on a prior analysis that seeks to reactivate space and local development.
- Spontaneous: They are delimited according to the spatial location that indicates an organic high concentration of orange economy activities and services in the territory.

Figure 2. Bogotá's Creative Districts Network



District Network of Creative Districts and Cultural Territories

● Induced

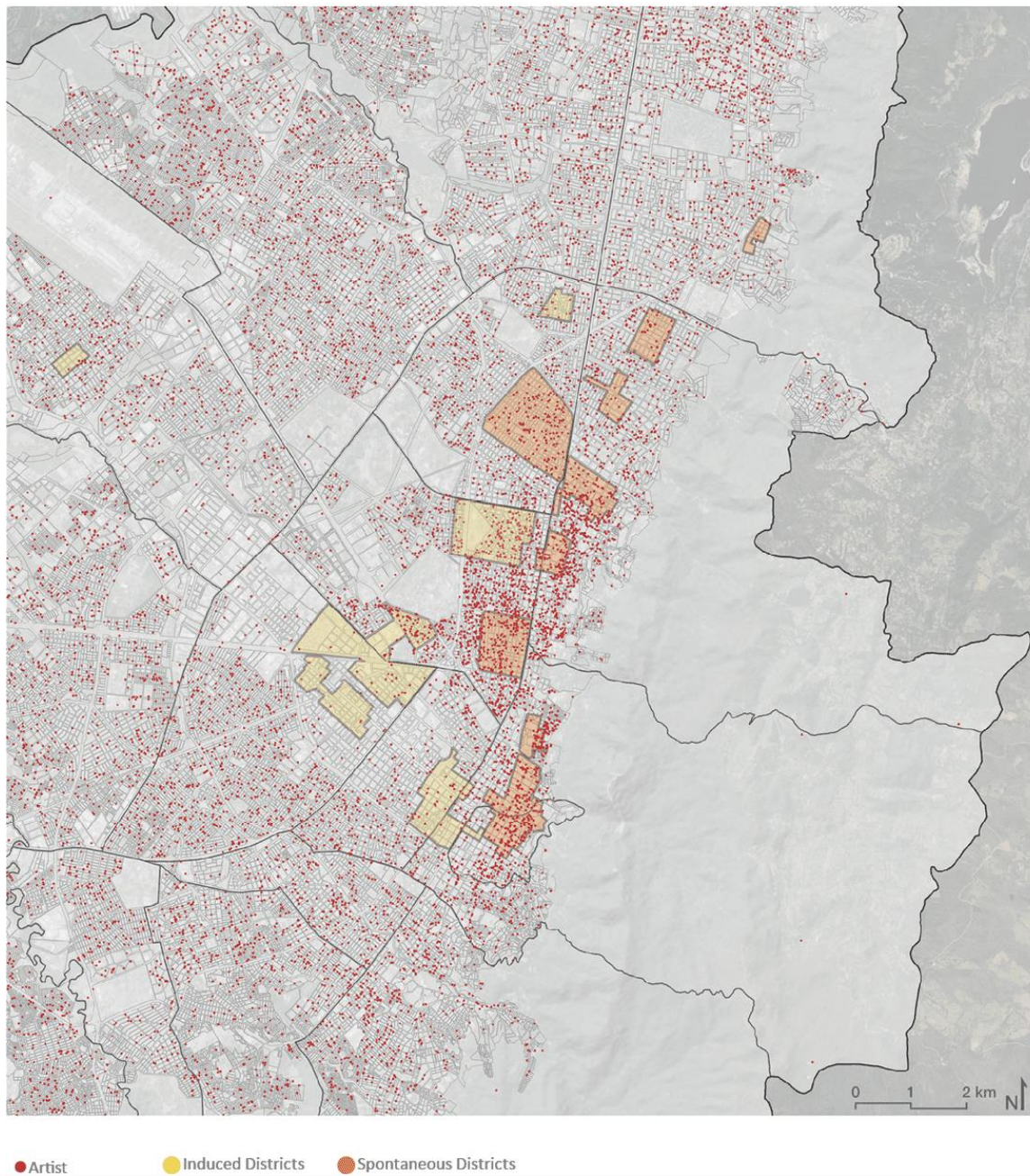
● Spontaneous

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

As previously stated, the spatial identification of creative industries is a fundamental tool for diagnosing the current urban situation and detecting areas for intervention. Their location in Bogotá reveals a notable dispersion of artists and participants in the creative sector. In this way, a more significant agglomeration is observed in the specific induced areas. This phenomenon suggests the need to develop policies and actions that strengthen the connection infrastructure of creative industries, thus

promoting a more cohesive and dynamic environment that benefits all actors involved in the cultural and creative sphere of the city.

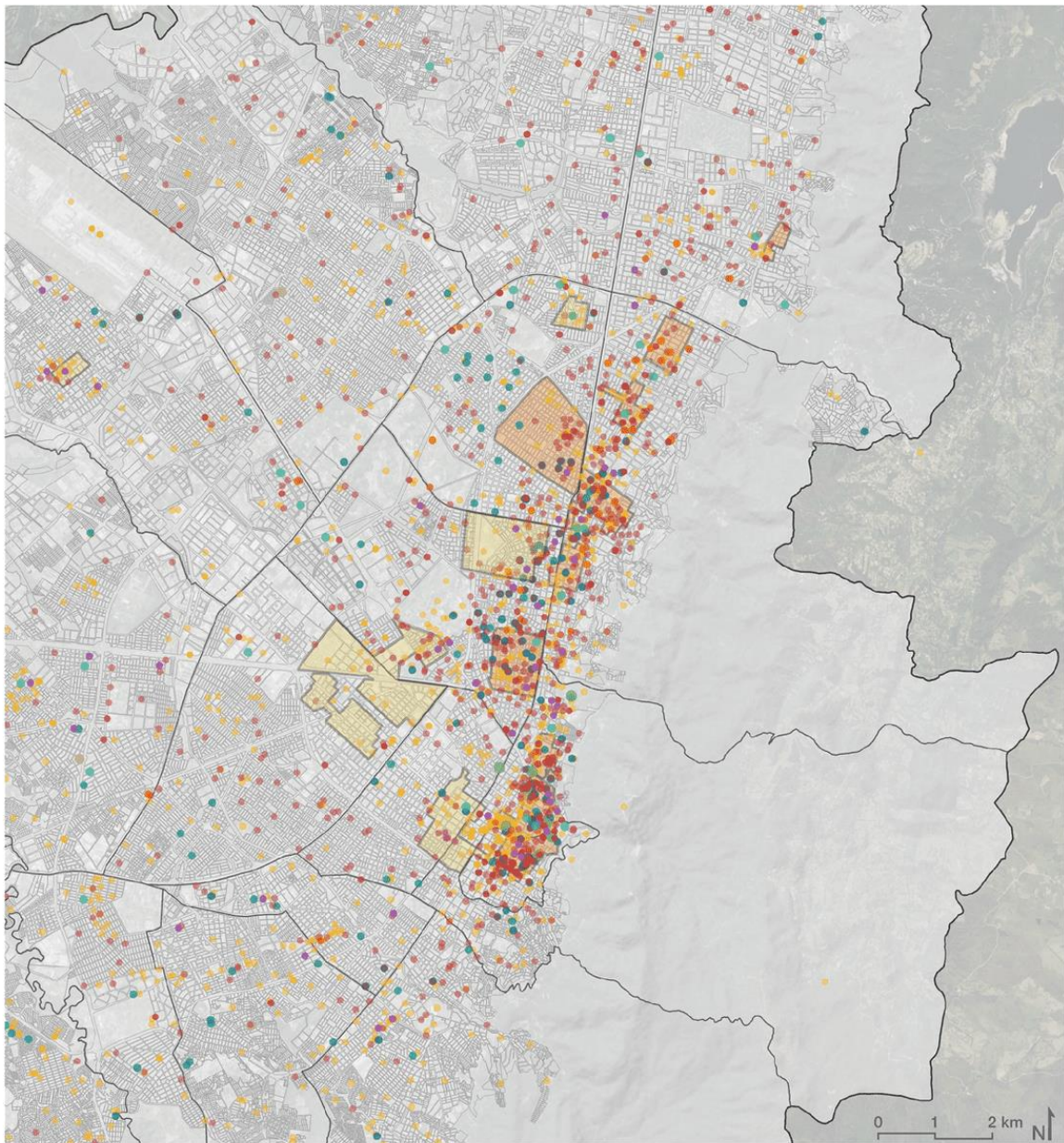
Figure 3. Bogotá Creative Industries distribution in workshops, artists and businesses



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

In addition to the spatial distribution of creative industries, it is essential to identify the network of public and private facilities where artists in the urban environment interact, establishing a clear synergistic relationship.

Figure 4. Bogotá public and private facilities distribution

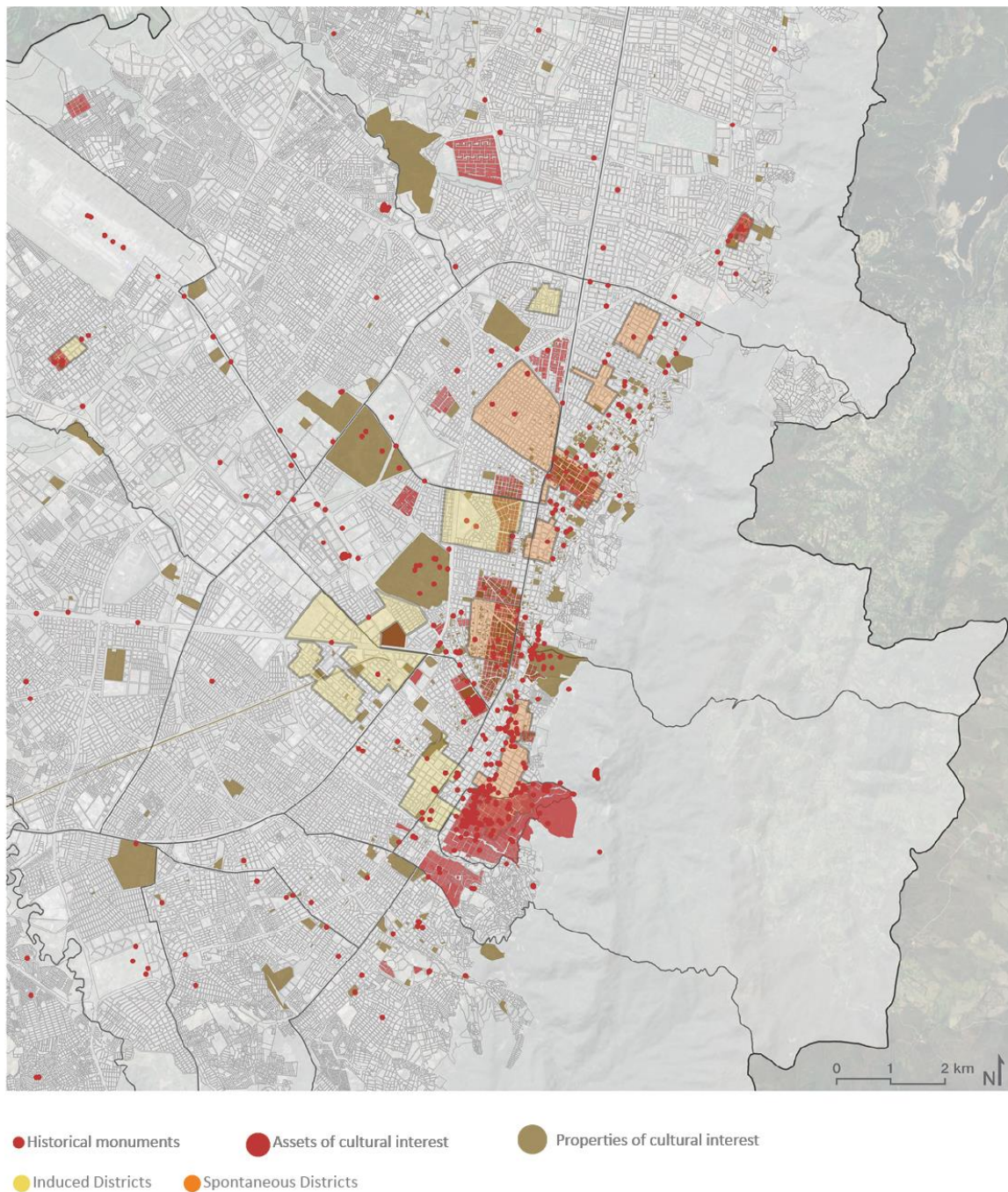


- Independent spaces
- Philharmonic centers
- Libraries
- Cultural Space Center
- Theaters and auditoriums
- Spontaneous Districts
- Urban infrastructure
- House of Culture
- Induced Districts
- Exhibition hall and galleries
- Cinemas
- Multifunctional center
- Artistic cultural center

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

By identifying these spaces and linking them to the city's-built heritage, we can enhance the understanding of urban regeneration. This approach, developed through a Heritage Plan, is a collaborative effort that establishes Zone Planning Units with areas of regulatory protection on heritage land. The concentration of monuments and Real Estate Assets of Cultural Interest in the historic centre underscores their importance for the city's cultural and creative economy and the revitalization of its residents, a process in which citizens, as urban planners, city officials, and stakeholders, play a crucial role.

Figure 5. Urban distribution of heritage assets



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

This underscores the pivotal role of the local community in the District Network of Creative Districts and Cultural Territories (REDD). Together, we are conceiving a comprehensive strategy to return an area of 50,000 m² to the citizens for use in creative industries and similar. This strategy is a comprehensive space intervention covering both public and private areas, ensuring that no aspect is overlooked. Thus, regeneration is carried out through the revitalization of public space, the rehabilitation of public buildings, the improvement of infrastructure, and the reconciliation of local communities through creativity.

3.1.2. Results of urban regeneration

The District Network of Creative Districts and Cultural Territories (REDD) manages to relate the urban regeneration strategies implemented in Bogotá with its creative industries. The REDD is complemented

by other projects aimed at improving the quality of life and urban planning. The Partial Plan for Urban Renewal and Development of 2019 included the development of Creative Districts. Also, it delimited the areas of intervention, covering everything from design and study to the maintenance and rehabilitation of spaces.

Figure 6. The Bogota's District Network of Creative Districts and Cultural Territories (REDD) + Bronx

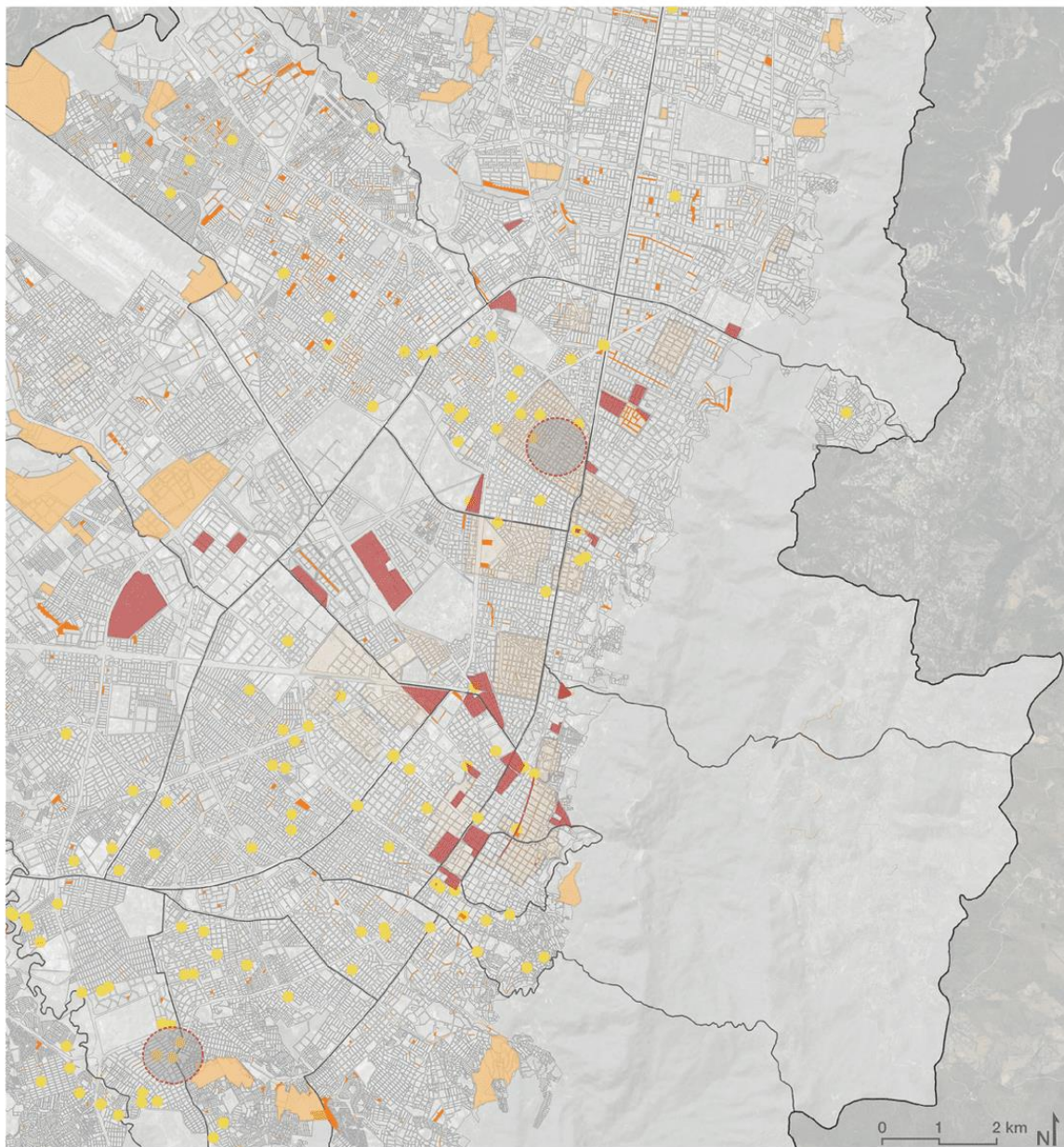


Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

This plan classified the interventions into two categories: urban renewal in consolidated areas and development in the periphery. The Public Space Improvement Areas were also contemplated and linked to the "Juntos Cuidamos Bogotá" strategy, which seeks to beautify and care for the city's public space in collaboration with citizens. Among the outstanding programs of this initiative are "Manzanas de Cuidado" and "Barrios Vitales." The latter includes tactical urban planning interventions in 33 neighbourhoods, promoting residents' appropriation of public space. For its part, "Manzanas de Cuidado" seeks to address equity in care work, providing facilities and services that contribute to equal opportunities, especially for women. Although not strictly cultural, these projects generate significant improvements in their areas of influence.

In turn, Bogotá has delimited areas called "Territories of Opportunity", which are located on the municipality's outskirts, except for the Creative District of Usaquén. Innovation and social strengthening strategies are promoted in these peripheral areas since informal settlement occurs in the peripheral residential areas. The District Secretariat of Habitat monitors the evolution of these settlements. In addition, there are settlements of informal origin in Bogotá, for which a program has been developed by the Directorate of Legalization and Comprehensive Improvement. This program, a testament to the city's commitment, aims to reduce the deficit of physical and social marginality of these dwellings. In these spaces, citizen initiatives have also been promoted to incorporate them into their urban regeneration strategy and include them in their creative industries.

Figure 7. Urban strategy for interventions in public spaces



- Economic Advantage Zones
- Public Space Improvement Areas
- Intervention areas
- Vital Neighborhoods Program

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

3.1.3. State of gentrification in Bogotá

Researchers of the phenomenon of gentrification in Bogotá point out that urban regeneration, a process that involves the deliberate devaluation of existing properties, disregards the rights of traditional inhabitants. They consider that the transformation of the city centre has been a process of planned obsolescence, a strategy where the value of existing properties is intentionally diminished, that culminates in the dispossession and demolition of the locals' residence spaces. In the Bronx area, numerous evictions and forced expropriations were carried out to demolish and make way for new cultural spaces.

Urbina writes about the invisibility generated by the displacement of social problems, questioning where the displaced subjects move to and how the existing problems are confined. He argues that cultural plans have the potential to demarginalize, but currently, the previously settled population is not

involved. This lack of involvement is a pressing issue, as their cultural legacy is used without their participation (Urbina Vanegas, 2015).

Acosta Salinas, a prominent figure in urban studies, has identified three fundamental mechanisms that are promoted in Bogotá during the gentrification process. One of these mechanisms involves seeking a change in the social composition of the area to obtain a purified image and a hygienic urban landscape. This often leads to the displacement of people who occupy public space informally, a change that can significantly impact the community. Another mechanism identified by Salinas involves the activation of public regeneration policies. These policies, which involve reinvestment in infrastructure, play a crucial role in urban development. However, they also lead to the displacement of the existing population, a fact that is important to consider in the context of gentrification. The third mechanism identified by Salinas involves promoting the commercialization of culture and the creative economy as an urban development strategy. This strategic approach to urban development is an important aspect of the gentrification process, shedding light on the complex dynamics at play in urban areas (Acosta-Salinas, 2017).

The city of Bogotá presents a notable segmentation, characterized by a clear socioeconomic stratification that dually fragments its urban structure. Mayorga and Ortiz Véliz (2020) have investigated the inequalities in access to benefits and rights related to culture, education and leisure services in this segregated context. Their reflection concludes that urban planning did not consider how the lack of these services in specific areas would negatively impact the quality of life of its inhabitants. The research underlines the need to design the urban form and structure with equity criteria in access to these services to guarantee social cohesion. It is proposed that access to cultural services, among others, can be an effective theoretical method to reduce urban segregation since these services facilitate the crossing of cognitive horizons and promote interaction between diverse members of society. Thus, the importance of integrating culture into urban planning to foster greater inclusion and social cohesion in Bogotá is highlighted. All these aspects are considered in the urban regeneration strategy, but it is crucial to understand their implications for developing creative industries in the city, as this understanding can guide and enhance our urban planning efforts (Mayorga & Ortiz Véliz, 2020).

3.2. The case study of London, United Kingdom

London's creative economy, a diverse mix of cultural industries and non-creative professionals, is on a rapid growth trajectory. Despite the London metropolitan area representing only 13% of the UK population, it concentrates a significant 31% of creative employment and 34% of the companies linked to the sector, as per 2019 data. The creative industries in Greater London are not just growing, but thriving, outpacing any other region in the United Kingdom. Their expansion even exceeds the growth of the London economy, contributing a promising 16% to the increase in consumer-related jobs. The "2021 City Council" report reveals that approximately 1.1 million people are part of this dynamic creative economy in Greater London, accounting for a substantial 21.1% of total employment, up from 16.9% in 2016 (Deda, 2019). However, a 2021 PEC study uncovers some disparities, with one in five workers in this sector being white men and 52% of creative workers coming from a high socioeconomic class.

The United Kingdom recognizes services within the economy that can be grouped and jointly promoted as a cluster, such as creativity and culture. It highlights its evident historical recognition and the economic potential of the arts sector. A significant shift has occurred in the perception of the arts and cultural products, which were once considered marginal and dependent on subsidies. This shift, marked by a clear spatial relationship between these industries and urban environments, has been obtained since the establishment of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in 1997. This shift is further underscored by the publication of the Creative Industries-Mapping Documents of 1998, which classified 13 areas of creativity and culture. This shift in perception and the UK's commitment to the arts sector should inspire optimism about its future: Television and radio, Software, Advertising, Performing arts, Music, Interactive software entertainment, Film and video, Fashion, Design, Crafts, Antiques, Architecture and Publishing industries.

In this way, and through the initial spatial location of the cultural and creative industries in the United Kingdom, greater awareness was generated among various public and private agents about their importance and economic potential. Thus, in 2001, a follow-up was carried out to fill the information

gaps previously detected, which allowed a more precise classification of the branches of the creative industries. This process formally recognized the creative economy in English policy in 2006, expanding the focus to a broader spectrum of economic activities. In turn, establishing continuous evaluation programs for the sector has been fundamental to promoting measures adapted to the specific needs of the agents involved. For example, identifying the lack of communication tools between the actors led to creating the Creative Industries Council in 2011, which acts as a platform for dialogue between the government and cultural agents. The government's commitment to the sector's future is evident in the establishment of the Creative Industries Sector Pact, in which it commits to supporting the development of skills, market access, financing and infrastructure. To boost this sector, sustainable efforts have been implemented by public and private agents, including tax incentives and the promotion of creative cluster and hub policies, as well as the creation of synergies between academia, industry and government.

The development of the creative economy in the UK has been primarily driven by government initiatives and the expansion of public policies that sought to harness the country's cultural heritage and creative talent. This economic growth has been achieved through a combination of strategic investments, frameworks for educational support and the founding of collaborative partnerships. Also, although the creative economy has experienced exponential growth, its progress has been affected by both the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and Brexit. Specific measures, such as cultural recovery funds, have been implemented to meet these challenges. Over the years, the creative economy in the UK has managed to develop thanks to proactive policies and interventions that seek to maximize the potential of cultural heritage and creative talent. This has been achieved through tax incentives and the promotion of creative clusters. The UK government's role in fostering a collaborative ecosystem has reassured the audience about the future of the creative economy, consolidating it as a critical driver of innovation and prosperity in the country. To achieve this, several phases have been followed, starting with establishing new administrative bodies directly linked to developing, disseminating and monitoring this strategy for the creative industries.

On the other hand, among the public strategies and policies that participate at all levels in the metropolitan area of London, the following stand out:

- Creative England
- Mayor's Culture Strategy
- Mayor's International Business Program
- Creative Industries Policy
- London Cultural Infrastructure Plan

In turn, within the public and private strategies, a series of initiatives and programs promote the creative industries. The nature of the program varies depending on the interest, such as financial, educational, mentoring, etc. Among the most notable initiatives and programs to promote the creative economy are:

- London Enterprise Panel
- Creative Industries Federation
- Creative Enterprise Grant
- London's co-investment Fund
- London's Design Festival
- London's Fashion Week

In this way, London's strategy is intrinsically linked to the organization of space. The first spatial measures consisted of grouping similar sectors to form clusters and hubs, which created more than 200 micro clusters and corridors. This was because grouping activities generates economic and social benefits for companies and workers. In addition, these clusters encourage innovation and internal management through synergies and the exchange of knowledge. In this way, it has been shown that concentrations in the cultural and creative sectors stimulate collaboration. Employees in these areas usually have higher education levels and highly developed artistic skills. In turn, the existence of a consolidated sector in a specific area promotes investment in infrastructure and housing, adapting to the lifestyle of its workers. Hub-type clusters have given rise to networks such as the Trampery network,

and there are plans to expand the model across neighbourhoods and districts such as East Bank and District Design London, thereby unleashing the full potential of the creative economy in London and inspiring a brighter future (Corcillo, 2021).

For this reason, since 2018, London has implemented the Creative Enterprise Zones (CEZ) strategy, framed within the city's Spatial Strategy Plan. This initiative responds to the growth of opportunities and clusters in the sector and supports cultural and creative industries. CEZs are based on the logic of clusters, which are geographical concentrations of industries, seeking to geographically concentrate industries, companies, and professionals from the cultural sector in specific areas (Leisewitz et al., 2022).

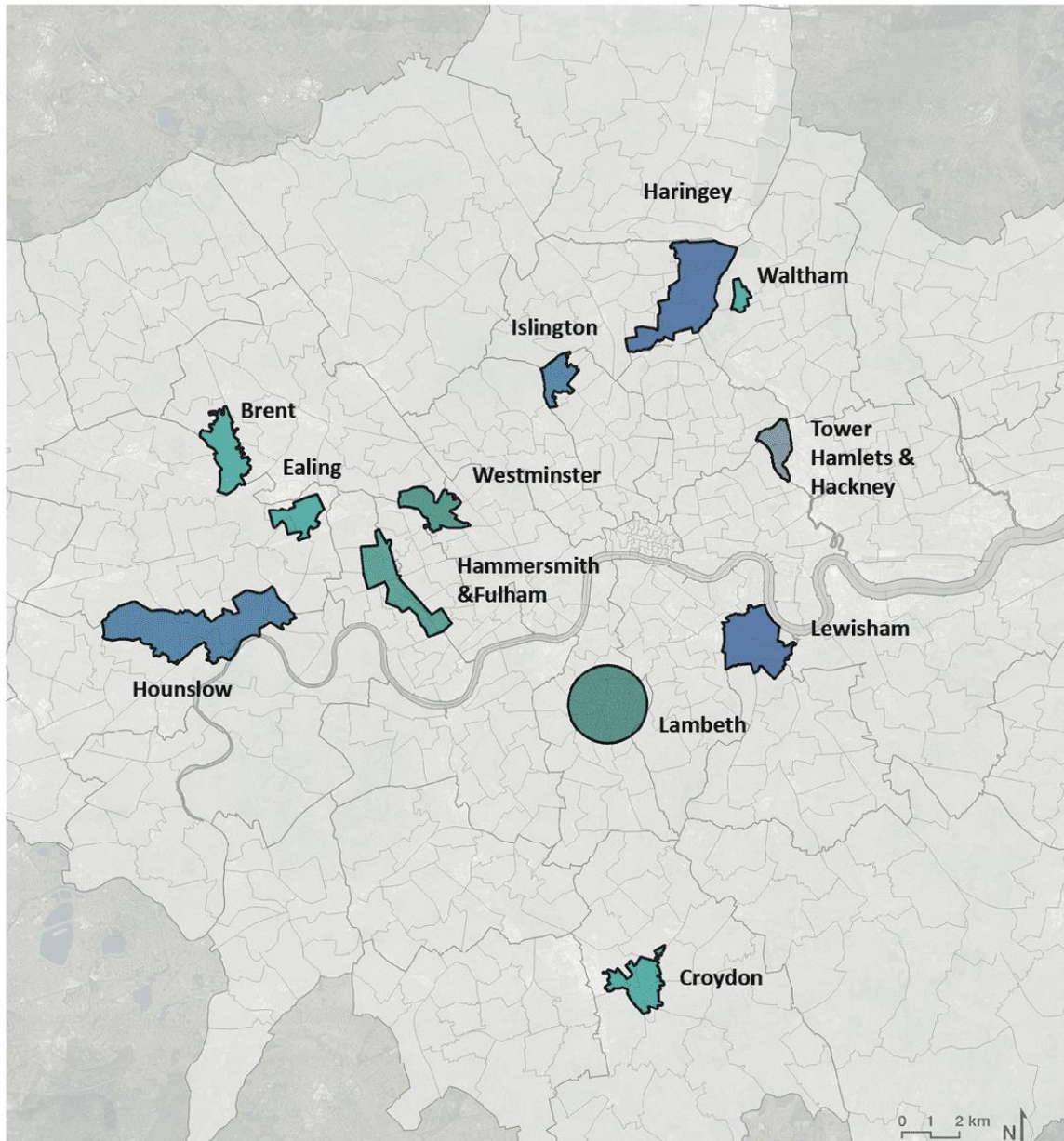
Figure 8. Urban protest for CEZs in Hackney's Creative - London



Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

The strategy aims to support local companies and artists, making them an integral part of the city's cultural and creative landscape. By offering affordable workspaces and encouraging entrepreneurship, it ensures that everyone has a chance to contribute to and benefit from the vibrant cultural scene. In addition, it seeks to create new creative employment opportunities, encouraging the local population to acquire knowledge and tools in the cultural field, further fostering a sense of inclusion. The strategy, structured on three fundamental pillars: creation of spaces, development policies, and support for companies, is designed to be adaptable. This adaptability allows each of the twelve programmed zones to focus on one or integrate the three, ensuring the effectiveness of the strategy in diverse urban contexts.

Figure 9. Areas of Greater London where creative industries are concentrated



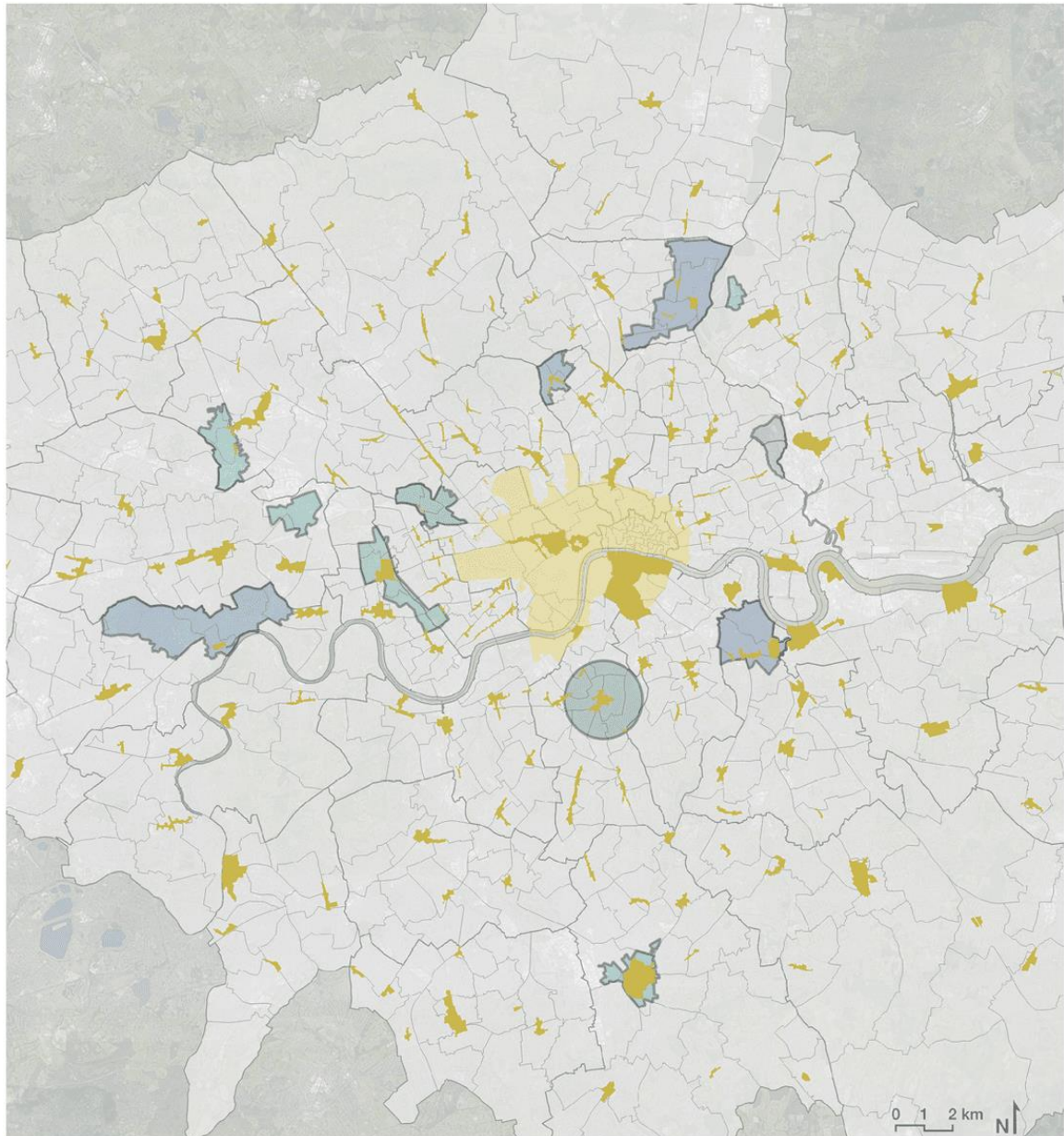
● Creative Enterprise Zones

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

Specifically, it shows how projects have been implemented in the Creative Enterprise Zones (CEZ) of Lambeth and Hounslow to ensure the affordability of workspaces. In Lambeth, the International House project managed through a public-private partnership, allows the unrestricted use of a renovated public building for artists and preserves spaces for vulnerable groups. For each workspace rented by a private party, one is offered free of charge to a beneficiary who needs it, thus regulating office prices. In Hounslow, a municipal building has been renovated to create Digital Dock, a workspace adapted to new post-COVID demands, which allows spaces to be reserved by the hour or day and is equipped for designers and creators of digital content. This initiative responds to the increase in rents in the area, making it difficult for local entrepreneurs and startups to find affordable spaces. In addition, the Mayor's Office has established the Creative Land Trust, a fund to ensure the affordability of workspaces, which finances the acquisition of buildings for artists. A guide has also been launched to encourage property owners to offer their properties for cultural uses, thus promoting a more accessible environment for creatives.

In this way, London measures its strategy through the urban centers that make up its metropolitan area and the activities that take place in its central historical area. The urban regeneration strategy par excellence in London focuses on the cultural district of the East Bank. It promotes collaboration between cultural and educational institutions and private companies. This project in the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park seeks to revitalize the area by creating a complex that not only revitalizes the area but also significantly contributes to employment generation, including entities such as the BBC Music Studio and University College London.

Figure 10. Greater London business areas and its consolidated urban center

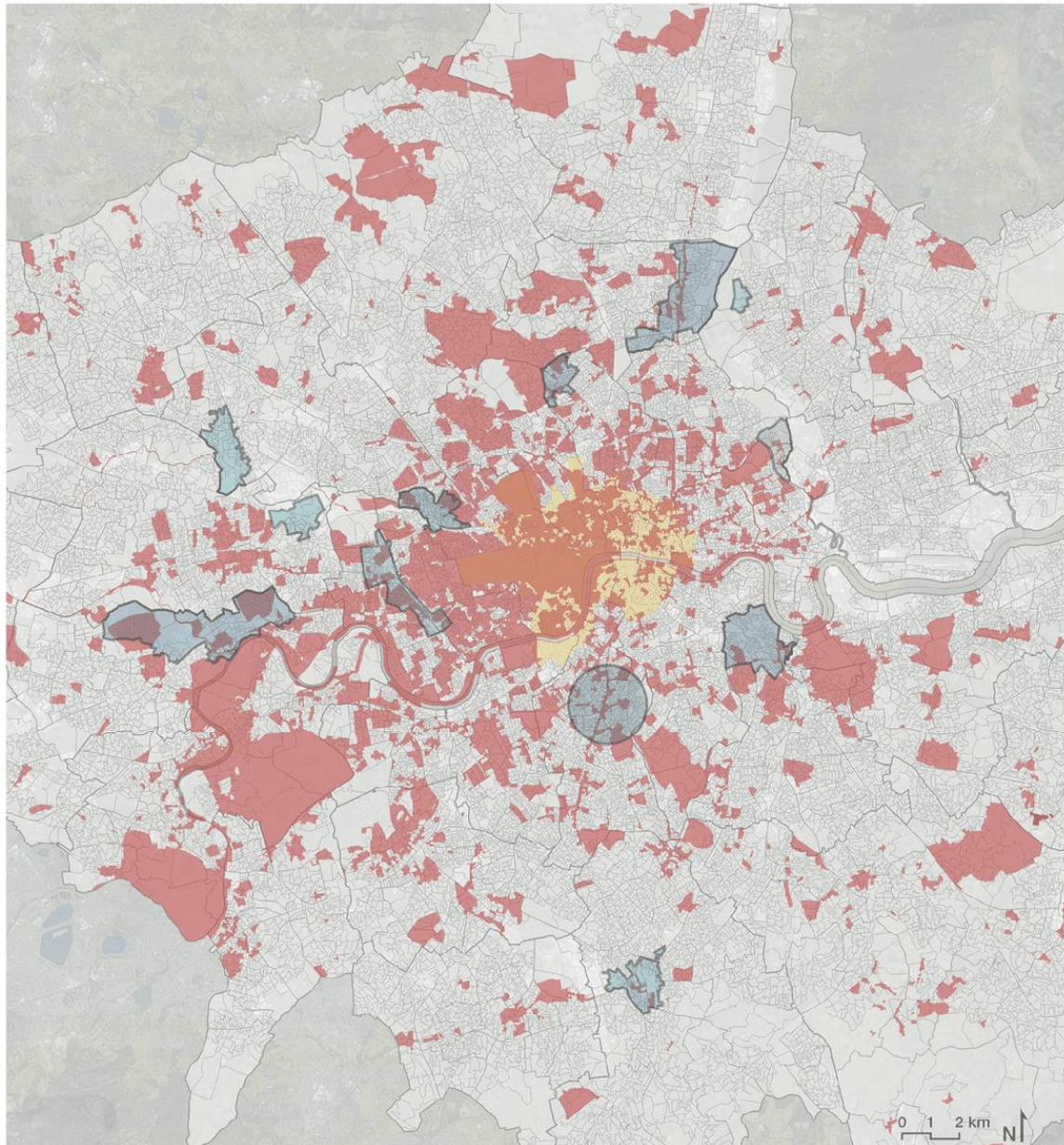


Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

This effort is distinguished by being the initiative that has received the most cultural funding in recent centuries. Although the project is being developed in phases, several facilities have been operational since 2023. A connection has also been established between the built material heritage and the distribution of cultural and creative industries, inspiring a vision of urban development that integrates heritage and creativity. This heritage relationship can be observed in the urban regions of

Greater London. Although the city is home to 166 declared monuments, the areas designated for conservation are fundamental to cultural development. Therefore, the East Bank strategy seeks to revitalize the area and strengthen London's cultural ecosystem, ensuring that heritage and creativity are effectively integrated into the urban fabric.

Figure 11. Strategic Conservation Areas within Greater London



● Conservation areas

Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

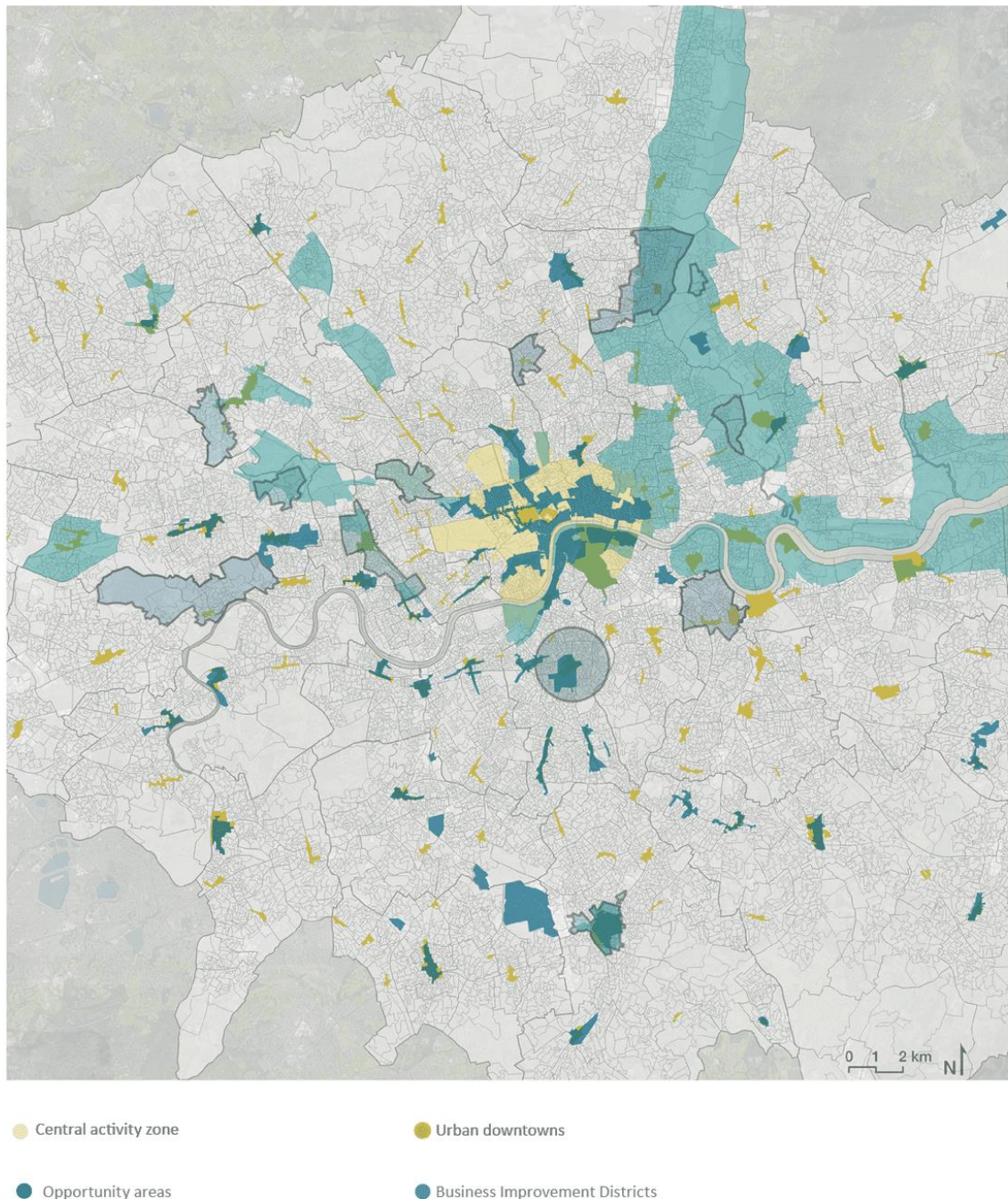
3.2.1. Development of CEZ policies

London's Creative Workspace Grant Scheme supports young artists under 25. These grants have covered up to 40% of workspace costs in the Croydon area (Greater London Authority, 2021). In addition, in Croydon, economic relief funds were created to help the community cope with the crisis arising from COVID-19. These focused on aid for cultural and artistic establishments. On the other hand, in Lambeth, grants were offered to cover three months' rent, and three different funds were established to support organizations and workers in the artistic sector. In addition to the CEZs, London is implementing other urban strategies, such as Opportunity Areas, which seek to develop unused land for new mixed-use projects, identifying areas with potential for housing and workspaces. Intensification

Areas also focus on developing housing and jobs by increasing density in existing areas. These strategies are not just plans on paper, but opportunities for our stakeholders to actively participate in shaping the future of our city. The housing strategy is based on using public funding to attract private developers. It also defines neighbourhood centers with a high concentration of commercial and cultural activities, classified into five categories. Central London is the Central Activities Zone, which seeks to improve the quality of spaces and foster an environment conducive to businesses, residents, and tourists.

In this regard, there are also Business Improvement Districts in London. These are geographically defined areas where local businesses must pay an additional fee to benefit from the generation of local development projects. Currently, there are seventy demarcated areas where this strategy is implemented.

Figure 12. Greater London business opportunity and improvement areas



3.2.2. Gentrification in the case of London

London is also no stranger to the phenomenon of gentrification and the displacement of its population. According to Copper and his team, the link between urban regeneration and the effects of these displacements became particularly evident in the early 2000s. In this context, it's crucial to understand that gentrification is not a natural process, but a phenomenon induced by the administration for profit. It was characterized by the sale of public properties in the center and by the displacement of residents to develop private real estate projects with a robust foreign investment (Cooper et al., 2020).

In the early 2000s, gentrification was spreading mainly in East London, while currently, the north-west areas are identified as the most vulnerable to this process. In addition, continuous displacement is observed in the peripheral and southern neighbourhoods of the city, causing significant upheaval in these communities. This is due to the high value of land, which affects not only housing but also commercial spaces and the affordability of local products and services. This high cost negatively impacts artistic workspaces, further exacerbating the situation. Despite various investigations into gentrification, no national or local record facilitates the measurement of its dynamics, making it difficult to propose solutions from urban planning. This is because city strategies are often linked to the economic exploitation of land under "good growth". However, the background reveals a clear intention to maximize economic benefits from developing public and private real estate uses. The Creative Enterprise Zone (CEZ) strategy is thus presented as a model of "good growth". However, it reveals contradictions in its intentions, as it seeks to attract artists to these areas to make them more attractive to new residents. However, it is anticipated that, although initial prices are low, the arrival of new residents will cause an increase in costs, excluding those who contributed to the success of these zones.

Despite the gentrifying effects of the creative class, the CEZ strategy is committed to balancing urban development with the need to maintain affordability in creative workspaces. It provides funding and land management, implementing pilot policies that regulate land use and protect industrial and office areas from the free market. In Croydon, an urban regeneration project is underway that includes granting more than one hundred studios to artists within the Grafton neighbourhood. In Hackney, a lobby has been created to establish the first Creative Land Trust in response to rising property prices. In addition, the Creators' Market has been launched, attracting new residents and encouraging participation in the cultural offer. These initiatives reflect this commitment. Thus, as the CEZ report states:

It also allowed new residents to engage with the local cultural offer. Growth was observed in all areas. In this context, the program can be seen as ensuring that residents and creatives benefit from additional social and community value alongside the new homes and spaces delivered. (Creative Enterprise Zones: Impact Report 2018-2021. Greater London Authority. pp. 4.6)

4. Main findings

Both London and Bogotá are currently in the process of developing and implementing their urban regeneration strategies. The results thus far reflect the successful fulfillment of their objectives. Over the past two decades, London has made significant strides, conducting extensive mapping and fostering the creation of hubs and clusters across Greater London. These initiatives cover various aspects of the creative economy, including Districts and Creative Enterprise Zones (CEZ). In contrast, Bogotá has initiated the identification of business and social developments linked to the creative industries within its urban fabric, swiftly establishing a regeneration strategy and allocating the necessary resources for its implementation. The Red Distrital de Distritos Creativos (REDD) in Bogotá aims to connect the creative districts to promote greater urban cohesion, with a primary focus on the city's east. This strategy holds great potential for the city's future.

However, both cities have support policies and subsidies for the creative sector, emphasizing equity, including diverse groups and social diversity, especially to respond to the social gaps identified in historical and current reports. The creative economy in both London and Bogotá plays a crucial role in promoting social inclusion, inspiring us with its potential to bridge these social gaps. Despite the disparate results in the implementation processes of urban regeneration strategies in each city, the creative sector's role in addressing these social gaps is a source of inspiration and motivation. This highlights that:

1. In both case studies, many areas designated as creative zones or districts were characterized by a low-income resident population and a high immigrant population. In addition, these areas had high rates of poverty and crime due to the presence of marginal activities such as drug trafficking or prostitution. At the same time, the neighbourhoods affected had a considerable number of homeless people living in public spaces, as well as in housing in poor conditions or unhealthy conditions. This situation reflects the existence of socioeconomic inequalities and spatial segregation in both cities, where the areas with the most significant creative potential tend to coincide with urban areas recognized as disadvantaged and stigmatized. The revitalization of these spaces through creative economy development strategies poses a challenge to avoid the inherent gentrification processes that displace the most vulnerable residents. It is therefore necessary to implement policies that guarantee inclusion and equitable access to the benefits of urban regeneration. This is not just a matter of choice, but a necessity to ensure the well-being of the inhabitants of these areas.
2. Another key aspect of the gentrification process in both cities is the role of culture and creativity in urban transformation. New public policies and the influx of residents with higher socioeconomic resources drive this transformation. In the Colombian context, this is evident in the Bronx DC district, where new policies have led to forced expropriations, legitimizing land occupation and the expulsion of previous owners. In London, the establishment of Creative Enterprise Zones (CEZ) explicitly recognizes that culture and creativity can be powerful tools for attracting gentrification. While these factors are used to promote urban regeneration, it's important to note that they can also lead to displacement.
3. In terms of social transformation, in both cases, the original residents have been significantly displaced. The improvement of spaces and the promotion of new activities and opportunities have modified the profile of the residents of the districts and neighbourhoods addressed. However, the speed of this phase and the new user's characteristics vary in each case. In both contexts, the portion of the creative class with a higher education is aligned with the privileged class. However, a considerable percentage of professionals in the sector, like the initial population, are vulnerable to the effects of gentrification in both case studies. They cannot cope with the increase in housing prices, commercial premises or the cost of living in general. This phenomenon highlights the complexity of gentrification, which involves the arrival of new residents with more significant resources and the transformation of social and economic dynamics in the affected areas. Therefore, including culture and creativity in this process contributes to revitalizing spaces. However, it also poses significant challenges in terms of equity and accessibility for the most vulnerable groups, underscoring the urgent need for more inclusive urban development strategies.
4. The perception of the gentrification process as a positive or negative aspect depends mainly on the intentions directed by municipal policies and, more specifically, towards the neighbourhood in question. Cases such as London and Bogotá demonstrate that a certain degree of gentrification can be part of both public policies and private sector initiatives. Thus, municipal policies aim to eradicate existing neighbourhood practices to promote security and economic prosperity. In London, the main focus of urban policy is economic growth, including creative strategy. In the case of Bogotá, the aim is to transform public space through the humanization of public spaces (pedestrianization, beautification, installation of street furniture, etc.) and through rehabilitating heritage buildings at risk of conservation. It is important to note that, in both cases, all the strategies focused on economic promotion and the cultural and creative agenda are the only ones that incorporate diversity and equity as cross-cutting axes in their implementation. This emphasis on diversity and equity ensures that all members of the community feel included and valued, contributing to a more harmonious and sustainable urban environment. In contrast, other strategies focus on exploiting land for residential and commercial purposes. This difference highlights the need for a balanced approach that considers economic development and social inclusion in gentrification.

5. Conclusions

Creative cities and their industries are a vital point for urban regeneration (Liang & Wang, 2020). However, throughout this research, the complex relationship between the creative economy and urban regeneration is reflected, and the existing controversy surrounding the application of the creative economy as a tool for urban regeneration has been reflected (Liao & Liu, 2023). Among these opposing positions analyzed, those that blame creativity, culture and regeneration for their role in the process of social displacement of vulnerable classes stand out. However, according to the results obtained in comparing the cases of London and Bogotá, the assertion that the creative economy has the necessary potential to be an inclusive citizen environment is also confirmed. This assertion is supported by the activities, programs, and incentives presented in both cases, which promote equity, diversity, and the inclusion of their citizens. It has also been proven that the creative economy can benefit all social classes. The importance of conducting follow-up studies in this area is highlighted, emphasizing the urgency of further research to adequately evaluate the measures implemented to promote urban regeneration and avoid its adverse phenomena, such as gentrification.

It's important to note that gentrification's impact extends beyond population displacement. As neighborhoods attract residents with higher purchasing power, the original citizens are often displaced. However, the processes of urban regeneration can yield positive outcomes that go beyond the influence of creative industries. Our analysis of these studies underscores the potential for municipal governments to respond to and mitigate conflicts among residents, particularly when urban regeneration is used as a means to speculate on land value.

This aspect is representative in London, where the revaluation of the neighborhood for economic purposes is prioritized. In this case, the regeneration process is designed to increase the quality of life and job opportunities. However, as a consequence, there is an increase in income that many traditional inhabitants cannot afford as they belong to a low-income stratum. This situation underscores the urgent need for assistance to help them cope with the high cost of living in the area. On the other hand, in the case of Bogotá, the urban regeneration process is linked to the creative industries that generate a socio-economic melting pot among its citizens, which aims to prevent the displacement of its original inhabitants. In both case studies, the urban spatial relationship related to regeneration and the promotion of creative industries represents an opportunity to focus representative policies to improve the asymmetries in urban economies, especially those related to gentrification and the displacement of the population with lower socioeconomic biases (Zeng et al., 2020).

In conclusion, after a thorough analysis of the urban regeneration process in both case studies, with its negative and positive nuances, it is firmly believed that the creative economy holds immense potential to generate results that benefit all social classes. This potential is one of the keys currently promoted by the different urban regeneration processes to recover degraded urban and heritage spaces. However, to minimize the adverse aspects of gentrification, it is highlighted that these will depend entirely on the political will and decisions of the municipality. To do so, the decision must be made to achieve inclusive and equitable urban regeneration by promoting the creativity of its original inhabitants and attracting new citizens.

6. Acknowledgements

This article is based on international research into urban regeneration, which is being tested in successful cases for its proposal in Madrid, specifically in the southern neighbourhoods and municipalities. This research is a collaborative effort, with the Madrid Borde Sur Research Group and Rey Juan Carlos University working together to bring about positive change.

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