

A Study on the Spatial Difference of Creative Industrial Zones in Shanghai

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I. Introduction

The 21st century is an era defined by the knowledge economy, and the economic development of rich countries and regions has been marked by the rapid growth of creative industries. In a sense, the development of creative industries which are based on innovation and creativity has become an important indicator of the comprehensive competitiveness of a country or region. Therefore, over the recent years, quite a few countries and regions, such as the UK, Japan, Singapore, and some area in China have come to consider creative industries as their pillar industries, and have adopted various policies and measures to push the development of their creative industries¹⁾.

Similarly, the city of Shanghai, which is on the way to becoming a global city, has attached great importance to its creative industries. In April 2005, the Municipal Government of Shanghai put together a Creative Industries Service Center, headed by the Municipal Economic Commission of Shanghai, or a platform where various necessary services are provided for the development of creative industries, and at the same time, 18 creative industrial zones, includ-

ing the famous Tianzifang, were set up in Shanghai. These creative industrial zones have attracted and accommodated over 800 creative industrial enterprises from more than 30 countries and regions, such as the USA and Japan who have hired among them more than ten thousand workers and been engaged in industrial design, game softwares, motion picture design, web-based media, and fashion arts. In Nov. 2005 and May and Nov. 2006, the second, third and fourth groups of creative industrial zones were set up, increasing the total number of creative industrial zones to 75²⁾.

According to the Eleventh Five-year Plan (2006-2010) for the social and economic development of Shanghai, Shanghai will make great efforts to nurture and promote creative industries. In the first place, the city will try to increase their size and scale, and the goal is that, by 2010, the industrial output of creative industries in Shanghai will account for about 8% of the GDP of the city. Meanwhile, the city will also try to optimize the geographical pattern of creative industries and improve their competitiveness, aiming to turn the city into a Capital of Creative Industries with a high level of international participation, a strong driving power for

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the general economy and a strong momentum. The city expects to be a magnet of creative talents, a hub of creative and cultural concepts, and a center for exchanges and trading of creative industries.

Based on the 75 creative industrial zones in Shanghai, this paper will study their spatial organization geographically, investigate the formation mechanism of creative industries, and try to generalize three models of development.

II. Previous Studies on Creative Industrial Zones

For a long time, geographers and sociologists have been investigating the influence of geographical adjacency and convergence on innovation and economic growth. Concerning creative industry clusters, Richard E. Caves (2002) has provided an analytical framework for spatial concentration of industrial sectors that produce intangible assets³⁾, Elizabeth Currid (2006, 344) has presented the fact that art and cultural sectors are rather concentrated in New York, and pointed out that “industrial clusters are very likely to appear where there is originality and innovation”⁴⁾, and Allen J. Scott (2005) explains how Hollywood has become and will continue to be the biggest and the most influential cultural cluster in the world⁵⁾. All those cities mentioned and studied have gone through several phases of development, and the geographical adjacency and population density are their common drives for development.

Many studies have shown that creative industry clusters tend to exist in urban areas, especially metropolitan areas, where the market

environment is more open, there is more tolerance and fewer entry barriers, the culture is more diversified, and more public services are available. They have also specified the features of metropolitan areas that will attract certain creative industries. William J. Mitchell (1999) holds that a city needs right locational attractions to maintain its drive for innovation, and that a pleasant and upbeat local environment, high-quality education and medical services, abundant and flexible transportation facilities and public services available would make rapid relocation of economic activities possible⁶⁾. Harvey Luskin Molotch (1996) believes that local cultural features and the symbolic meaning of local cultural products and images are intertwined, giving rise to creative industries with local colors. It is especially true in urban locations where certain cultures are originated, such as fashion in Paris and opera houses in London⁷⁾. Charles Landry (2000) mentions the concept of creative industrial zones while explaining creative situations, and believes that the booming economy of bits and bytes has given birth to the creative industrial zones in New York and London at the end of the 20th century⁸⁾. Harald Bathelt (2004), by the example of the Leipzig media industry, analyzes the conglomeration of media industry in horizontal, vertical, institutional, external and capacity dimensions and proposes the concept of multidimensional conglomeration⁹⁾. Brian Knudsen and Richard Florida *et al.* (2007) have approached population density and tried to analyze the relationship between the conglomeration of innovation and economic growth and spatial cluster¹⁰⁾.

Some scholars have revealed that creative

industrial zones tend to favor old warehouses, old factories and old quarters of big cities. For instance, Justin O'Connor (2006) believes that certain areas in a city is most attractive to creative industries, which is proved by the highly concentrated art industry zones¹¹⁾, while Thomas Hutton maintains that creative industrial zones, particularly those composed mainly of design and ideation service sectors, are most likely to be located in inner cities or at the edge of CBDs in big cities, and mostly concentrated in historical buildings or complexes. Such areas accommodating creative industries are referred to as new production spaces in the city. He also believes that different design and creative service sectors are located in different areas in the city. Generally, famous design businesses are concentrated in CBDs, ordinary design businesses are located at the edge of CBDs or inner cities, while production services exist at the peripheral of inner cities or in mid-sized cities¹²⁾.

Some other scholars have investigated the spatial changes of creative industrial zones. For instance, Ann Markusen and David King (2003)¹³⁾, and Richard E. Caves (2002)¹⁴⁾ believe that the spatial formation of creative industrial zones tend to go through such a process: at first, poor and obscure artists and novelists concentrate in old towns where house rentals are low, and later such places become cultural and art clusters with bigger size and influence, and begin to attract famous artists and rich customers and gradually become high-end fashion zones, which help house rentals and prices to soar. In this way, some yet unknown artists have to transfer to other peripheral areas, and the originally relaxed, free and active atmos-

phere changes, and the appeal to young artists and novelists has disappeared. Such is the case with the area to the south of Huston and the eastern part of New York¹⁵⁾.

In summary, creative industrial zones have three features: first, they are old factory houses and old warehouses, or leftovers of the early industrialization, of which the internal space is flexible; second, they are inner city areas where the house rental is low; and third, there must be a free, flexible and active environment for work and life. These three features decide whether an area can become a creative industrial zone.

III. Development of Creative Industries in Shanghai and Their Spatial Effect

Shanghai is different from London, New York or Tokyo in the development of creative industries. Creative industries in these three cities were started when they entered the post-industrialization era, and they can utilize the best digital technologies and other resources made available by globalization. On the other hand, creative industries have grown up amid rapid industrialization, which gives Shanghai a huge and still increasing market. Therefore, creative industries in Shanghai shall first and foremost serve the development of advanced manufacturing and modern services, and at the same time, upgrade the humanistic and innovative environment of the city¹⁶⁾.

The total output of creative industries in Shanghai for the year 2006 amounts to RMB 229,171 million, which is RMB 67,459 million, or 22%, more than the previous year, and represents 6.55% of the city's total GDP¹⁷⁾.

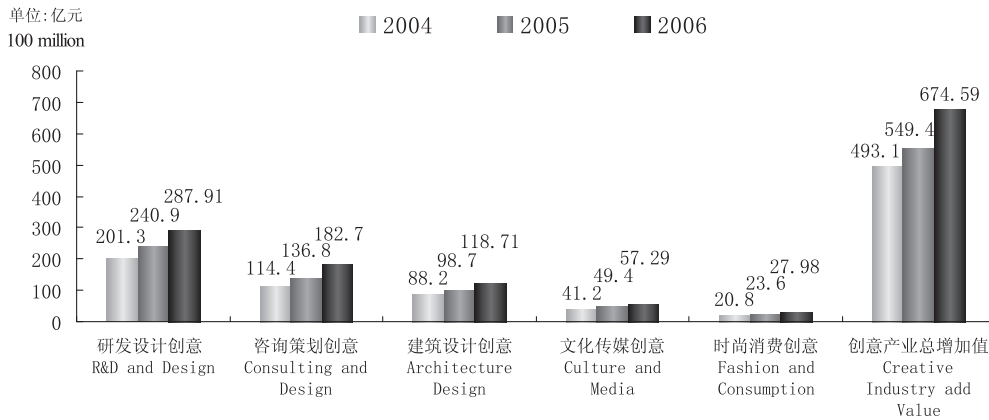


Fig. 1 Growth of Creative Industries in Shanghai, 2004–2006
 Source: *Shanghai Creative Industry Development Report 2007*, Shanghai Creative Industry Center

The five key target sectors of Shanghai, R&D design, architectural design, culture and media, consulting and planning, and fashion consumption, have achieved growth of different scales (Fig. 1). In terms of spatial arrangement, Shanghai’s creative industries have produced model effect, by-stander effect and spill-over effect.

First, model effect: As one of the earliest cities to develop creative industries, Shanghai has obvious forerunner and brand advantages in the further development of creative industries. Its first group of creative industrial zones, such as No. 8 Bridge, M50, Tianzifang and Creative Warehouse, have become model industrial tour destinations of the country. According to John Howkins, Father of Creative Economy, Shanghai is a new global hub of creative industries, following London, New York and Tokyo.

Second, by-stander effect: The development of creative industrial zones has provided momentum for the peripheral economy. In creative industrial zones, the property right and architectural structure of the houses and the ownership of the land remain unchanged, but meanwhile the

industrial pattern, the employment pattern, the management modes, the business forms and corporate cultures have changed. In this way, the shortage of funding for old town renovation is relieved, and economic benefits can be secured and increased for the area. For instance, during the development of the Tianzifang Creative industrial zone, the old houses and apartments there attracted creative investments, so the house owners gained rental income and improve their living environment as well.

Third, spill-over effect: The spill-over effect refers to a combination of spatial spill-over and conceptual spill-over. By clustering effect, for instance, the No. 8 Bridge and Tianzifang Creative industrial zones have made the central area of Luwan District into a creative fashion area. The spatial spill over from a point to a section to a cluster has resulted in the spatial extension of creative industries. At the same time, the concept of creative industry has become a mainstream notion or a direction of economic development in Shanghai within a few years. During the development of creative

industrial zones, the concept of creative industries has spilled over, which has created a virtuous cycle for creative industries in return.

IV. Spatial Distribution of Creative Industrial Zones in Shanghai

MAPINFOR software has been used to map out the location and distributive pattern of 75 creative industrial zones in Shanghai, and the result shows that creative industrial zones in Shanghai form three cluster belts:

1. A C-shape Belt Composed of the Huangpu River and the Inner Ring Elevated Road Based on Old Town Renovation

As Fig. 2 shows, creative industrial zones are clustered in an area circled by the Suzhou Creek, the Huangpu River and the Inner Ring Elevated Road¹⁸), which reflects the Municipal Government's strategy and efforts to promote urban industries in the city center. According to the strategy, in the first place, two industries will withdraw from and three industries will enter into the city center. Secondly, drawing on the occasion of the redevelopment of both banks along the Huangpu River and Expo 2010 Shanghai, and various other advantages such as its location and the abundant old factory houses along the Huangpu River, and amid the planning and development of the extended sections along the Huangpu River and the construction of the Expo 2010 Park, Shanghai is committed to the growth of creative industry sectors such as R&D design, exhibition and convention, advertising and fashion consumption, trying to make a creative industry cluster belt that represent its industrial history and its modern metropolitan

features. Meanwhile, the city center concentrates various frontline information, and a lot of old factory houses with historical and cultural value, all of which makes a spatial platform for creative activities.

2. Creative Industry Belt Along the Suzhou River Based on Old Industrial Buildings

From the west to the east along the Suzhou River, there are a number of creative industrial zones, such as Zhoujia Bridge Creative Center, Warehouse E on Yichang Road, M50 on Moganshan Road, Jing'an Creative Industry Park on Changhua Road, Sihang Warehouse on Guangfu Road, and Laoyang Fang 1933. This creative industry belt runs across Changning, Putuo, Jing'an and Zhabei District (Fig. 3).

The Suzhou River banks are the place of origin of the modern Chinese industry, and present a record of the development of the Chinese industry in the modern times. Unlike the area along the Huangpu River where bureaucrats and foreign companies converged, the belt along the Suzhou River accommodated plants that produced daily necessities. The ships on the Suzhou River, warehouses on its banks, and the residential houses and apartments with the local style make a strong cultural atmosphere that is especially favorable for creative workers. The creative industry belt along the Suzhou River takes on the occasion of the economic redevelopment and old town renovation of the area, and depends on the old factory houses, old warehouses and other historical buildings there. In addition to M50, Creative Warehouse and Zhoujia Bridge Creative Center, a number of creative centers such as design, motion picture, media and advertising

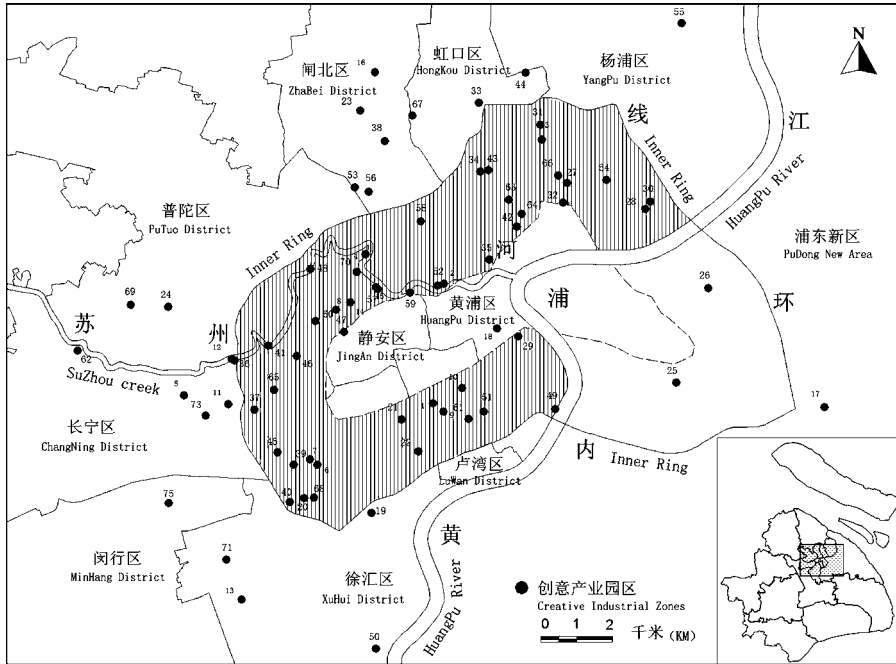


Fig. 2 The C-shape Belt of Creative Industry Clusters along the Huangpu River and the Inner Ring Elevated Road
Source:

1. Creative Industries of Shanghai, Shanghai Creative Industries Center, Shanghai Municipal Economic Commission, [M], Shanghai Science and Technology Publication House, Nov. 2005
2. Shanghai Creative Industries Center, www.scic.gov.cn

Notes:

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|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Tianzifang | 2. Creative Warehouse | 3. Only Design and Creative Park | 4. M50 |
| 5. Tianshan Software Park | 6. Leshan Software Park | 7. Hongqiao Software Park | 8. Media Culture Park |
| 9. Bridge No.8 | 10. Zhuowei 700 | 11. Fashion Industry Park | 12. Zhoujia Bridge |
| 13. Design Factory | 14. Tongle Fang | 15. Jing'an Modern Industry Park | 16. Industrial Design Park |
| 17. Zhangjiang Cultural Technology Creative Industry Base | 18. Tourist Souvenir Industry Center | 19. 2577 Creativity House | 20. Fashion Park |
| 21. Fashion Streent LOFT | 22. X2 Digital Xuhui | 23. Alloy Plant | 24. Tiandi Park |
| 25. Yifei Creative Street | 26. Auto Expo | 27. Hi Shanghai | 28. Dongfang Valley |
| 29. Tourist Souvenir Design Building | 30. Creativity Alliance | 31. Architecture Design Yard | 32. Tongli Park |
| 33. Wisdom Bridge | 34. Space 188 | 35. Delin Apartment | 36. Creativity River |
| 37. Creative Origin | 38. JD Production | 39. Digital Entertainment Building | 40. West Bank Creative Park |
| 41. Husi Warehouse | 42. 1933 Old Yard | 43. Greenland Sunshine Park | 44. Youzu No.173 |
| 45. New No.10 Steel Plant | 46. Hualian Creative Plaza | 47. 98 Creative Park | 48. E Warehouse |
| 49. Waimalu Warehouse | 50. HSBC Creative Park | 51. Wisdom Creation Bureau | 52. Old Sihang Warehouse |
| 53. New Wisdom Valley | 54. Meidiya 1895 | 55. Mid-ring Riverside 128 | 56. Celebrity Street |
| 57. 3 Entertainment Space | 58. Peacock Park | 59. South Suzhou River | 60. Jing'an Creative Space |
| 61. SOHO Beauty Park | 62. Fashion Brand Club | 63. Wuhua Park | 64. Jianqiao 69 |
| 65. Juwei Park | 66. Up-start Harbor | 67. Rainbow Rain | 68. Wending Life |
| 69. Jinsha Valley | 70. Changshou Suhe | 71. SVA Crossover | 72. First Vision Creative Plaza |
| 73. Yuangong Art Warehouse | 74. Lingang International Media Park | 75. Gubei Xinqiao | |

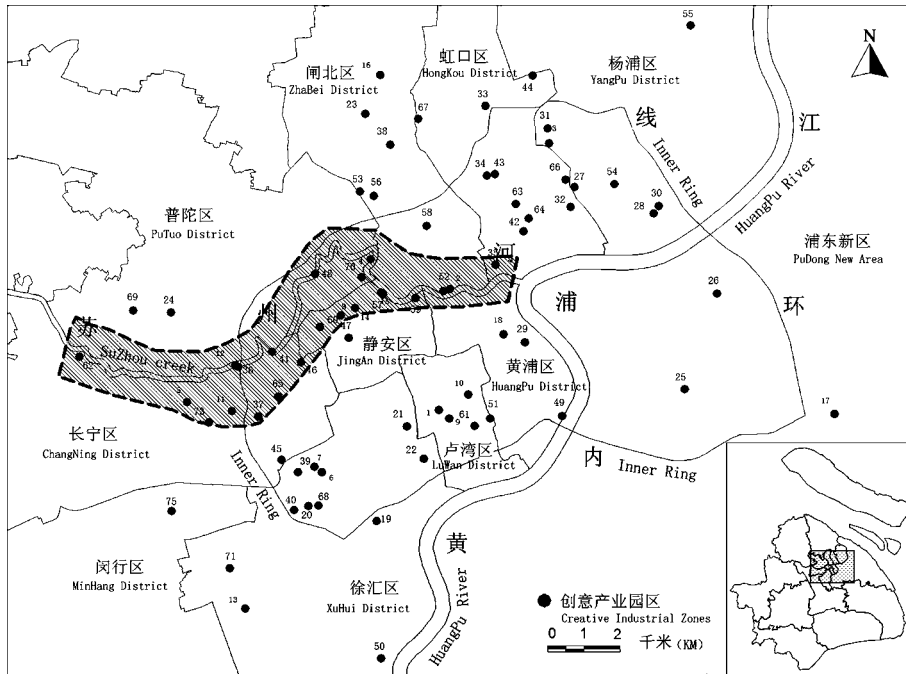


Fig. 3 Creative Industry Clusters along the Suzhou River

Source: See Figure 2.

workshops are being built, which will make a creative industry cluster belt that incorporates the warehouse culture and the riverside culture. Meanwhile, in the past several years, the rental of old factory houses and warehouses were rather low, which had helped to attract a large number of artists and creative workers there¹⁹⁾.

3. Two Rings in the Northeast and the Southwest of City Based on University Campus and Their Technological and Cultural Resources

The development of creative industries depends to a large extent on talents who possess independent innovative capabilities. Therefore, some creative industrial zones in Shanghai take advantage of the convergence of universities and academic institutions in a certain area, and develop related sectors accordingly. For exam-

ple, Only Creative Design Park in Yangpu District has been formed on the basis of civil engineering graduates from Tongji University, Tianshan Software Park and Leshan Software Park of Xuhui District have been formed on the basis of human resources of Shanghai Jiaotong University, and the Design Plant, which is the first creative industry park that has integrated production, education and scientific research in China, is dependent on the Arts College of Shanghai Normal University (Fig. 4).

V. Models of Spatial Difference of Creative Industrial Zones in Shanghai

In its urban history, Shanghai has attracted merchants and promoted business by virtue of

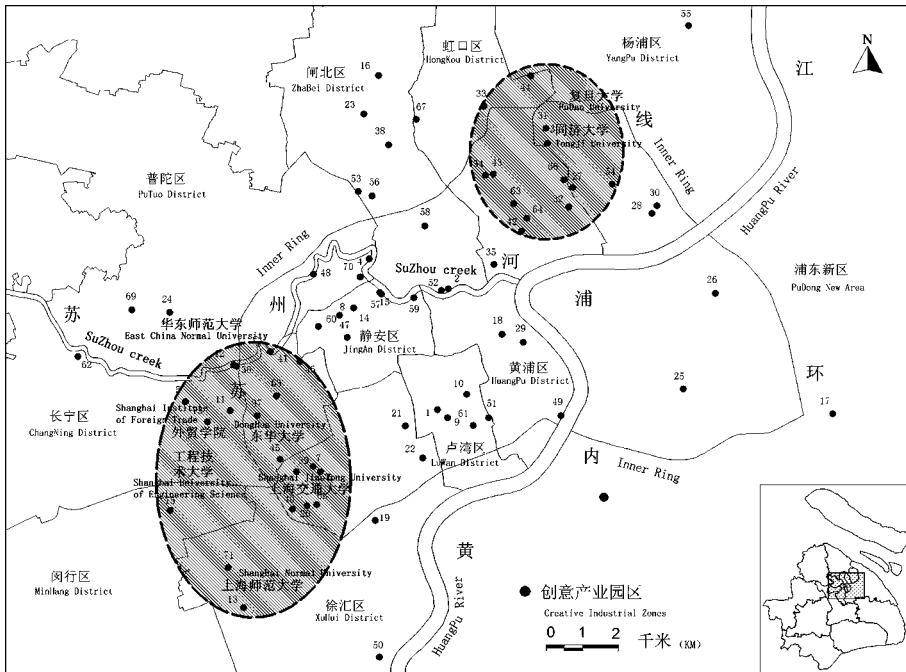


Fig. 4 Two Creative Industry Cluster Rings in the Northeast and the Southwest of Shanghai
 Source and Notes: See Figure 2.

its port, prospered its market by merchants, built factories and grown up upon rivers. As an economic center in the Far East in the 1920s and 1930s, an important industrial base in New China after 1949, and an expected economic, financial, trading and shipping center, Shanghai has completed the development cycle of turning from a comprehensive city to an industrial city and then back to a comprehensive city. Such a model of urban development has a lot to do with the spatial difference of creative industrial zones in the city.

1. Market Demand Orientation

Globally speaking, creative industries are largely concentrated in major economic centers of the world, such as London, New York and Tokyo, and are directly connected to the industrial infrastructure of the cities. First, cultural

consumption has represented a major part of modern consumption, and these economic central cities have attracted a large number of cultural businesses which have provided the sources of creative thinking. Second, the modern services available in these cities, such as IPR (Intellectual Property Rights) protection, finance, insurance, telecommunications, technological services and education, are very advanced and complete, which makes a solid industrial ground for the development of creative industries. And third, these economic central cities are highly internationalized, which means that new immigrants are the major component of their population and have brought along various diverse cultural elements. That provides the cultural basis and market demand which are essential to sustain creative industries.

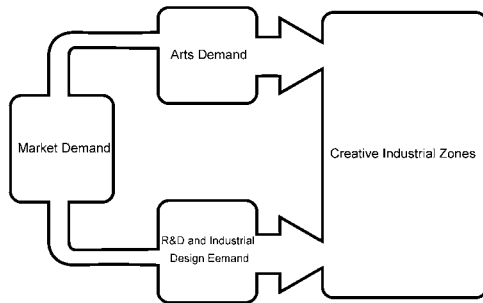


Fig. 5 Model of Market Demand Orientation

For market demand orientation, artists and technological talents typically provide the main driving power, while the market demand for creative products and services conveys the power, and hence creative industrial zones form and develop in certain areas. The development of such creative industrial zones is not only directly connected with the market, cultural and economic situations, the urban space and urban development, but also with other factors such as economic globalization, regionalization and technical conditions (Fig. 5). Generally, when a market has demand for creative products or services, R&D people and artists will come from all over China and even world. R&D people tend to converge in universities and scientific research institutions, the place of origin of technological innovation, and hence creative industrial zones emerge and are engaged in technological design. Meanwhile, artistic talents are more attracted by old factory houses and old warehouses which contain rich cultural information and for which they need to pay only a very low rental. Such places will then develop into creative industrial zones specialized in artistic design. Once they are established, creative industrial zones will pro-

duce new mechanisms favorable for innovation, other R&D and artistic people will continue to converge there, various diverse ideas will meet and become a diversified culture where inspirations will rise and give rise in turn to new creative products and services. At the same time, the demand for creative products and services will increase to drive the creative industry further. M50, Tianzifang, and Creative Warehouse are the typical examples. M50 was originally an abandoned textile factory on the Suzhou River, and the factory houses were let out in 1999. Thanks to their huge space inside, low rent, convenient traffic and pleasant environment (the riverside scenery), a large number of artists and designers have come there first, and they were followed by some famous international design companies and galleries who have increased dramatically the output of this creative industrial zone. These companies and institutions have exported the works of artists settled in M50 and from other areas to the international market, which has raised the international awareness of M50, and that in turn has helped to attract even more artists to M50.

2. Government Advocacy and Promotion

The growth of creative industrial zones in Shanghai has depended heavily on the efforts of the government. Over the past four years since 2004, Shanghai Municipal Economic Commission has approved and established 75 creative industrial zones in Shanghai in the same way it established urban industrial parks or zones in the 1990s. In some sense, creative industrial zones are upgraded urban industrial zones. In the 1990s, urban industrial parks or zones rose by utilizing the capital flow, information flow and

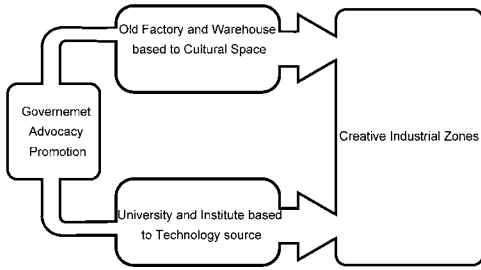


Fig. 6 Model of Government Advocacy and Promotion

human resource flow in the city, and were engaged mainly in technical development, product development, manufacturing and product design. Later, urban industrial zones tried to separate R&D and services from traditional manufacturing sectors. At the turn of the new century, the Municipal and the district governments continued to promote the growth of urban industrial zones and industrial clusters at the edge of the inner city, and at the same time paid more attention to the upper-stream sectors such as R&D and lower-stream factors such as brand building.

Government advocacy and promotion of creative industrial zones comprises various policy instruments, such as preferential taxation and special services, which have helped creative industrial zones to fit in the old towns and gain rapid development, such as 1933 Old Yard in Hongkou District, or helped them to settle in a new urban area and grow up swiftly, such as Zhangjiang Culture and Technology Creative Industry Base. The former has gained new development amid old town renovation, industrial upgrading and urban function and space transfer, and the development of such creative industrial zones have give the old towns a new life (Fig. 6).

Government advocacy and promotion has played different roles for the development of creative industrial zones at different stages. When creative industrial zones are impregnated, the government would select creative spaces (cultural and technological spaces) with development potential, determine the type and purpose of creative industrial zones respectively, and then foster appropriate and necessary environment and atmosphere for the creative industrial zones in order to attract creative talents. When creative industrial zones take form, the government would adopt relevant facilitative policies and at the same time determine the positioning of creative industrial zones, such as cultural zones, media zones, motion picture zones or design zones. And when creative industrial zones are growing up, the municipal and district governments would, according to the respective characteristics of creative industrial zones, try to enhance the technological and cultural effects of the location in order to sustain and further promote their growth. For the birth and growth of creative industrial zones in Shanghai, district governments have played an essential role. For example, Changning District has raised the slogan of building a Digital Changning District featuring mainly digital technologies and fashion design, and Yangpu District has announced to build a Knowledge-intensive Yangpu District with software design, architectural design and industrial design as its fists.

3. Joint and Cross Influences

When creative industries first converge in certain zones, creative people such as artists, designers and engineers have come together

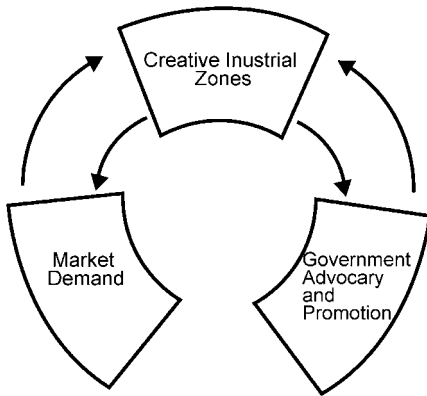


Fig. 7 Model of Market and Government Joint and Cross Influences

naturally. However, when creative industrial zones have developed and reached a certain stage, their innovation capacity and creative value have been recognized by the wider community, and more developers, investors and managers would come and join in their development. These forces have come for their own purposes, but indeed they influence and facilitate each other, and thus creative industrial zones diversify in their type, function and shape. Most creative industrial zones in Shanghai are products of the cross influence of market demand and government orientation, and have benefited from multiple drives and the integrated effect of market and government powers (Fig. 7).

As Figure 7 shows, market demand is the original power that drives government efforts. After the government or investors have chosen particular creative spaces, the government would sponsor projects and invite investors to transform or build new creative industrial zones by standards of arts, and then invite managers, through public bidding, to run the creative

industrial zones. Managers would then invite certain creative businesses who would converge in the creative industrial zones to form a network and create an innovation effect. In this process, the market gets growth, the government reaps taxation, the areas in question are developed, creative talents win a space and platform for business start-up, and investors and managers earn rental income and investment return. All this would in turn attract more attention of the government and more preferential policies. For example, Bridge No. 8 was originally an old auto parts factory, and it went through renovation with artistic elements added. Then world famous designers were invited, and it was expanded and run as an industrial park, and then became a model industrial tour destination of the country. In this way, Bridge No. 8 has run by market mechanism, and meanwhile it has taken advantage of government sponsor, factory house lease, business investment, transformation and management, and settlement of creative businesses. Therefore, various participants, such as developers, investors and businesses operators in the creative industrial zone, have reaped their desired benefits, and would jointly push the development of creative industrial zones even further.

VI. Summary

The spatial difference of creative industrial zones in Shanghai is very apparent, and such difference reflects the general law of creative industry clustering. The C-shape belt composed by the Huangpu River and the Inner Ring

Elevated Road and the belt along the Suzhou River are, to some extent, the origin of industry in Shanghai, and therefore accommodate most of old warehouses and old factory houses in Shanghai. Due to the industrial adjustment of Shanghai, traditional industries have gradually moved out of Shanghai, and new emerging creative industries have come to occupy these old industrial buildings and space. The north-east and the southwest of Shanghai, where universities are located densely, overflow with knowledge, so knowledge-based creative industry sectors such as R&D, design and relevant trainings tend to converge there.

The spatial difference of creative industrial zones in Shanghai also reveals the path of development of creative industries in Shanghai. Such spatial difference is a result of market demand orientation, government advocacy and their combined force, so it fits in with three models accordingly: market demand orientation, government advocacy, and joint and cross influences.

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上海におけるクリエイティブ産業地区の空間的変動の研究

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業界の新たな空間的な組織であるクリエイティブ産業地区は、90年代末以来、世界有数のいくつかの大都市において急速に発展している。国際的にみた大都市の発展方向に同調する上海は、クリエイティブ産業の発展を重視している。2005年4月、上海市経済委員会は「田子坊」など18のクリエイティブ産業地区を開業させた。これらの産業地区は、米国、日本など30以上の国と地域、800以上のクリエイティブ企業から構成され、業界のカテゴリーは工業デザイン、ゲームソフト、アニメーション、ネットワークメディア、ファッション・アートなどが含まれる。2005年11月、そして翌年の5月と11月には、第2回目、第3回目、第4回目のクリエイティブ産業地区開業を行い、形成された個別のクリエイティブ産業地区は、累計で75地区に及ぶ。

“第11次五カ年計画”のクリエイティブ産業の発展目標によると、上海市はクリエイティブ産業の発展と育成に力を入れ、産業構造を最適化し、産業レベルをアップグレードすることを通して、上海を開放度の高い、リーダーシップの強い、ダイナミックかつクリエイティブな産業都市を作り上げ、クリエイティブな人材の集積地、創造性と文化の交流の中心、クリエイティブ産業取引のサービス中心となる。

本研究は、上海のクリエイティブ産業集積地区の空間分布の特徴と形成メカニズムを分析することを通じて、上海のクリエイティブ産業の集積に関する時空間的な変化のパターンを追究するものである。

以上の視点に立った研究の結果、上海市のクリエイティブ産業地区の分布は次の2つの特徴を持っていることが明らかとなった。

①黄浦江、内環状線に囲まれている半環状地帯、および蘇州河沿岸地帯は、伝統的な古い工業地帯であり、古い工場や倉庫などが集中的に分布していた。これらの伝統産業の都心部からの転出にともない、旧市街地に残存した建造物は、クリエイティブ産業が入居するには最適な地理的な空間となった。

②北東部および南西部は、大学が集中している地帯であり、頭脳集積の見られる空間でもある。知識型（頭脳型）クリエイティブ産業地区が相対的に集中している。

上海のクリエイティブ産業集積空間のパターンは、上海のクリエイティブ産業の発展の道程を如実に反映している。

キーワード：クリエイティブ産業、都市開発、空間的変動、上海、中国

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上海创意产业园区的空间分异研究

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创意产业园区是一种新的生产空间组织，90年代末以来在一些国际著名大都市中发展迅速。正在朝国际化大都市方向发展的上海同样把创意产业的发展放在重要地位。2005年4月，上海市经委为田子坊等18个创意产业园区挂牌。这些园区中有来自美国、日本等30多个国家和地区的创意企业800多户，产业门类涉及工业设计、游戏软件、动漫、网络媒体、时尚艺术等。2005年11月以及翌年的5月、11月，又分别为第二批、第三批、第四批创意产业园区挂牌，这样累计形成75个创意产业园区。

按照上海市“十一五”创意产业发展的目标，上海要大力培育和发展创意产业，通过优化产业布局，提升产业能级，把上海建设成开放度高、带动性强、充满活力的创意产业之都、创意人才的集聚之地、创意和文化的文化交流中心、创意产业交易的服务中心。

本文试图通过分析上海创意产业集聚园区的空间分布特点和形成机理，研究上海创意产业集聚的时空变化规律。研究表明，上海创意产业园区的分布具有以下两个特点：由黄浦江和内环线围合而成的半环状地带和苏州河沿岸地带，因传统的老工业区，老仓库、老厂房分布集中，伴随传统工业逐步迁出市区，这些旧城建筑为创意产业的发展提供了理想的地理空间；东北、西南地区是大学集中分布地带，是知识溢出的空间，知识型创意产业园区相对比较集中。上海创意产业集聚空间的规律，折射出上海创意产业发展的道路。

关键词：创意产业、创意产业园区、空间分异、上海、中国

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