

HOW CREATIVE ARE ROMANIAN CITIES?

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ABSTRACT

The features of the creative city have a psychological influence on the inhabitants, causing an emotional attachment that comes secondly, only after the needs of job, safety and proper living conditions have been met; once these needs are met, the personal relationships and the lifestyle that develop, have the power to influence the choice to not migrate when the inhabitants would find more attractive job offers. So the possibilities concerning education are also essential when choosing a place where to settle; the cities are attracting, on one hand, the human resource due to the possibilities of professional training and the greater chances of finding a good job, and on the other hand, the cities are attracting companies interested in skilled labour pools, becoming so, professional clusters. This paper aims to assess and to analyse the local creative economy of seven important cities of Romania, all of them enjoying the characteristics of a creative city. The economic indicators concerned regard a quantitative analysis, more exactly, in terms of number of enterprises, number of employees and the turnover recorded in the creative and cultural industries during 2008 – 2017, and also a qualitative analysis by considering the three economic indicators related to the local populations. These approaches let us notice which city is more favourable for the development of the creative industries and also by comparing each local creative economy's results with the national average we are able to assess the development of each creative city in the specific terms of the creative economy.

KEYWORDS: *creative city, creative and cultural industries, creative economy*

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The creative city is a new concept, representing the place where the creative economy flourishes through the work of the creative class – the persons working in the creative and cultural sectors - and the exploitation of the creative and cultural industries. The creative economy represents an economic paradigm which “praises and glorifies the human resource, the talent, the intellect, the creativity. Through the creative economy, there is a way to value distinctively the creation emerged out of innovation, talent, intellect or creativity” (Sava & Bădulescu, 2017, p. 127), whereas the cultural and creative sectors imply “activities based on cultural values and/or artistic and other creative expressions,” (Regulation (EU) No 1295/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 establishing the Creative Europe Programme (2014 to 2020) and repealing Decisions No 1718/2006/EC, No 1855/2006/EC and No 1041/2009/EC, 2013).

A creative city represents a place favourable for living and conducting specific activities of the inhabitants. In this paper we will call creative city that preferred place which comprises some particular features needed to represent a flourishing residence for the creative class.

The creative class choose to migrate seeking cities and places where to live in, characterized by openness to diversity, a large offer of various facilities and experiences, "and above all, the opportunity to validate their identity as creative persons" (Florida, 2014, p.186).

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Three key features of a city cause the attachment of the population to it, namely "local social offerings, such as entertainment venues and places to meet, openness, or how welcoming a place is, and the area's aesthetics, or its physical beauty and green space" (Knight Foundation, 2015).

The "ingredients" of a creative city relate to many factors. Some of them have been identified since the beginning of the interest and literature on creative cities within the knowledge economy. Thus, Hospers (2003) speaks about the following: concentration – expressed by the presence of a substantial number of people at a certain location; diversity of people in a certain location; instability or bifurcation or the "butterfly effect". Later on, investigating how creative economy has developed, Pratt and Hutton (2013) identified 5 "dominant accounts", i.e. associated with creative industries and cultural consumption; the "cultural-historic city"; "culture as a hook for foreign direct investment"; culture as social regeneration; and "culture as industrial policy". For instance, the presence of universities is important for knowledge generation, for attracting highly skilled professionals, and for fostering innovation (Wolfe, 2005; Benneworth et al., 2010; Florida, 1999; Smith, 2007).

Moreover, the population migrates to those places where companies choose to invest, to create jobs and generate economic growth; meanwhile the investment decisions of those companies are influenced "by factors such as the availability of a creative workforce and the quality of life available to employees" (Los Angeles Economic Development Corporation, 2015, p. 17).

In investigating how creative are Romanian cities, we used the following criteria: creative industries, cultural vibrancy, the presence of universities, friendly environment. However the framework is well established in the literature and consistent data are made available for European creative cities, for Romania the data is approximate due to very poor or no coverage for the case of Romanian cities (WEF, 2016; ESPON, 2016; EC, 2012; UNCTAD, 2013).

The main aim of this paper is to investigate certain dimensions of the Romanian creative cities, to examine selected creative cities and to perform a comparative analysis on the selected Romanian creative cities. In order to conduct the analysis, there were elected seven Romanian cities, some of the most important cities of Romania, supposing that the creative economy flourishes and records high values in those areas or towns which enjoy general economic and social development.

The paper is organized as follows. In the next section we present several characteristics of seven selected Romanian creative cities; in the third section we present a comparative view of the seven selected cities, and finally we conclude.

2. THE MAIN CREATIVE CITIES OF ROMANIA

Investors are looking for a skilled or in training labour pool because the young people's workforce is of a great interest despite the lack of professional experience; young people are of interest also due to their strong desire of affirmation, their power and availability to work, their skills and competences newly acquired in universities, the lack of family obligations, and lastly, due to the low labour costs implied by their employment. Hence the reason why many multinationals choose to open business units in university centres cities such as Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara or Iași, if we consider Romania, is noticed also by Newbiggin who highlights that "wherever there is a strong and sustainable hub of creative economic activity, there is likely to be a university that has helped to plant the seed and that continues to nurture local creative businesses and the specialized local labour markets on which they may depend" (Newbiggin, 2010, p.40).

From another point of view, generally the creative cities are important economic centres "with strong economies, i.e. high labour demand and high quality human capital, which act as attraction centres of the population at the expense of the other cities which doesn't invest in the development of the creative economy" (Croitoru et al., 2018, p. 5).

So we choose to compare Oradea, the city we are coming from and which is the object of our extended research, with other important cities of Romania such as Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara, Sibiu,

Braşov, Iaşi and Bucharest, the capital of Romania, even if its role and size don't make it suitable for a fair comparison with the previous mentioned cities. These cities are well-known cultural centres and financially powerful cities in their region. Moreover, Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara and Iași are notable university centres. The cities included in the analysis are selected also due to their similarities and spatial proximity; Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara, Sibiu and Braşov are better suited to a comparison with Oradea, also due to their competition in attracting students and investors, meanwhile Bucharest and Iași represent key cities for the creative economy of Romania. Sibiu and Timișoara are very important in our research due to their cultural identity, Sibiu being elected as European Capital of Culture in 2007, and Timișoara being a candidate for this title for the year of 2021.

These cities will be analysed in terms of: number of companies operating in creative industries, number of persons employed by the companies operating in the creative sector (Sava and Badulescu, 2017) and the turnover recorded by these companies as reported to the local number of inhabitants.

2.1. Bucharest

Bucharest, the capital of Romania, is a city rich in cultural diversity, enjoying a heritage with multiple architectural influences left by the dominations over the time. Some of the monuments and main cultural attractions are Brâncoveanu Palace, University Square, the Historic Centre, buildings of museums, universities or public institutions, as well as many others.

Bucharest has many cultural institutions and annually hosts various cultural and artistic events of small and large scale, its locals enjoying various opportunities of leisure; a study realised that "Bucharest is perceived as a vivid and eclectic city, with an unexploited potential, but its cultural diversity attracts more and more tourists" (ARCUB, 2015).

Considering the tertiary education offer of Bucharest, the capital has the largest and most various offer - 44 institutions of higher education.

Table 1. Measuring the creative economy of Bucharest

Indicator / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
No. companies	8339	8976	9701	11019	12148	13348	14653	16532	18693	21132
No. employees	73137	75689	77636	78451	81783	85911	89099	98462	102513	108409
Turnover (million lei)	17834	17466	17539	19416	20647	21401	23312	26474	29041	47761

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, accessed at 07.06.2019

Generally, all three indicators regarding the dimension of the local creative economy, have evolved positively; during the analysed period, the number of companies operating in the creative and cultural industries had been growing constantly, doubling their initial values. This favourable evolution is present also in the number of employees of these industries, reaching an increase of 48%. Also the enhancement of the turnover with 168% represents a considerable evolution, which correlated with the evolution of the employees' number, marks the increase of the labour productivity and also of the added value.

2.2. Cluj-Napoca

Cluj-Napoca represents the second most important city of Romania, as a second capital of the Western region. The city has evolved by attracting many investors due to the large skilled and

qualified labour pool, Cluj-Napoca being a prestigious university centre with nine institutions of higher education (CNRED, 2019). Also, the efficient management of the local resources, as well as the involvement of the city in various cultural - artistic events (international music festivals: Untold, Electric Castle), brought only advantages for the entire local economy.

The three analysed indicators registered the same favourable evolutions as in the case of Bucharest. In Cluj-Napoca the evolution was spectacular even if the first years of analysis were affected by the economic crisis, more exactly the decrease of the number of employees and the values of the revenues. But after these unfavourable oscillations, both the number of companies and the number of employees have doubled during the ten years, meanwhile the value of turnover reached an increase of 305%.

Table 2. Measuring the creative economy of Cluj-Napoca

Indicator / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
No. companies	1564	1645	1726	1902	2092	2333	2645	2952	3381	4021
No. employees	11514	10784	11732	13841	14711	15943	17876	20349	22775	24726
Turnover (million lei)	1214	1141	1279	1492	1851	2156	2585	3239	4050	4921

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, accessed at 07.06.2019

2.3. Timișoara

Timișoara is the most important city of the region of Banat and the second most important city in the Western area of Romania, after Cluj-Napoca. This city outstands a rich culture, marked by the Swabians and Hungarians' influences, enjoying cultural diversity. Influences are perceived not only by social interactions, but also by cultural monuments such as the Weiss Palace, the Bruck House, the Serbian Orthodox Episcopal Palace, as well as many other palaces, houses or other religious worship buildings, which are proof of the cohabitation of mixed populations of different ethnicities, religions and nationalities, tolerance, acceptance and social inclusion representing old features of this city.

On the other hand, Timișoara is a traditional university centre, which benefits of eight higher education institutions (CNRED, 2019).

Table 3. Measuring the creative economy of Timișoara

Indicator / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
No. companies	905	950	1012	1100	1193	1321	1478	1636	1820	2035
No. employees	10427	7761	8124	8610	8858	9657	9159	10273	10984	11178
Turnover (million lei)	1155	767	751	911	984	1167	1236	1489	1941	2056

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, accessed at 07.06.2019

Generally, the evolution of Timișoara's creative economy was positive, the number of companies reaching doubled values. Also the number of employees has increased, but not remarkably, whereas the generated revenues doubled their initial values, after surpassing the effects of the economic crisis.

2.4. Sibiu

Sibiu, a city located in the centre of Romania, enjoys a developed infrastructure (airport, highway). This city also enjoys cultural diversity due to the past Saxon community's settlement (Primăria Municipiului Sibiu, 2018) in this area, and due to the Habsburg Empire's occupation. Thus, the Romanian population coexists with the Germans, Hungarians and a minor Jewish population, which means that Sibiu has proved tolerance and social inclusion since ancient times.

The cultural heritage of Sibiu represents a testimony of the rich history of the city. The city is ancient, dating from the 12th century and over the time, during the occupation of the Habsburg Empire, was one of the most important and developed cities.

In 2007, the year of Romania's accession to the European Union, Sibiu was chosen to be one of the European Capitals of Culture – in 2007 the European Capitals of Culture were Sibiu and Luxembourg - being the only Romanian city receiving this distinction until nowadays (Revista EduSoft, 2016).

As for the capacities to form and train the human resources, there are four institutions of higher education (CNRED, 2019).

Table 4. Measuring the creative economy of Sibiu

Indicator / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
No. companies	419	429	455	490	543	569	609	657	745	844
No. employees	3880	3459	3686	4498	4658	5042	4967	5199	5767	6008
Turnover (million lei)	394	363	436	520	597	614	659	648	757	877

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, accessed at 07.06.2019

The creative economy found here, in Sibiu, a fertile environment, during the ten years of analysis, all the three indicators evolving positively, even if the economic crisis affected the employees' number and the values of the turnover. Even so, these indicators managed to grow, almost doubling their initial values.

2.5. Braşov

Braşov is placed in the central area of Romania, very close to the city of Sibiu, the two cities being linked by European and national roads.

Among all the cities selected, Braşov has a great disadvantage in its infrastructure, more exactly, the lack of an airport.

The city has been attested since the 13th century and enjoyed a great popularity in the Middle Ages due to its geographical location, but also to the mixed populations of Romanians, Hungarians and Saxons. At that time, the city became an important trade fair, determining its commercial and cultural development (Ghid local Braşov, 2017).

Considering the tertiary education, there are three institutions of higher education (CNRED, 2019). Braşov enjoyed a powerful development of the creative economy, the number of companies and the turnover values reaching doubled values in the end of the analysed period. The number of employees has increased also, but not so significantly due to the economic crisis, a phenomenon which marked also the evolution of the recorded turnover.

Table 5. Measuring the creative economy of Braşov

Indicator / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
No. companies	866	926	970	1034	1110	1197	1267	1386	1534	1760
No. employees	6409	5889	5762	6789	6806	7167	7423	7887	8253	8793
Turnover (million lei)	631	617	652	845	1005	1086	1203	1397	1614	1886

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, accessed at 07.06.2019

2.6. Iaşi

Iaşi represents the sixth city included in our analysis and it was chosen due to its importance in the Eastern region of Romania, this city being the most developed, socially and economically, in that area. Iaşi enjoys a rich heritage accumulated during hundreds of years as capital of Moldavia. The emblem of this city is the Palace of Culture, a particular architectural edifice.

But such a long history left marks over this city also in the higher education. This city is one of the most prestigious university centres of Romania, and nowadays there are present ten institutions of higher education (CNRED, 2019).

The creative economy of Iaşi enjoyed a steady growth during 2008 – 2017, facing small decreases in the number of employees and also in the turnover's value due to the negative influences of the economic crisis of that time. All three indicators reached at least double values at the end of the analysis, the most spectacular development being noticed in the turnover's values, increasing by 153%.

Table 6. Measuring the creative economy of Iaşi

Indicator / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
No. companies	662	727	765	883	951	1056	1151	1347	1616	1855
No. employees	5906	5049	5077	5458	5716	6545	7308	8196	9225	10135
Turnover (million lei)	645	553	595	675	741	844	981	1173	1367	1633

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, accessed at 07.06.2019

2.7. Oradea

Oradea is a city of a great interest in Western Romania, located between the other two important cities of this region, Cluj-Napoca and Timișoara. In the recent years, Oradea has enjoyed a strong economic development by creating and developing the industrial parks (ADLO, 2018) and attracting many investors, so creating jobs and better living conditions for the local population. The city has flourished also culturally, thanks to the investments made in tourism and rehabilitation of the historical buildings (Municipiul Oradea Raport de activitate 2016, 2017), but also due to the numerous projects developed in urban planning (Primăria Oradea, 2018; Badulescu et al., 2014).

The local culture of Oradea is characterized by diversity due to the coexistence of people of different nationalities and religions, Oradea being for a long time under Habsburg occupation. Currently, Oradea has an important Hungarian population, but the city, as well as Timișoara, is an example of social tolerance and inclusion. Numerous architectural vestiges represent the legacy of the heterogeneous population that inhabited Oradea over the time, and thus the city enjoys several cultural monuments such as the Greek Catholic Diocese Palace, the Moskovits Palace, the Black Eagle Palace, as well as other palaces or buildings belonging to some particular architectural styles (Oradea Travel, 2018).

The city of Oradea enjoys the existence of higher education with four institutions: a public university - the University of Oradea - and other three private universities: Agora University of Oradea, Emanuel University and Partium Christian University.

Oradea benefited, as well, from the favourable evolutions of the local creative economy's indicators, but just like in the other cases, the economic crisis of 2009 determined a decrease in the number of employees.

Table 7. Measuring the creative economy of Oradea

Indicator / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
No. companies	659	687	730	814	871	937	997	1100	1222	1359
No. employees	6679	6258	6504	6991	7478	8002	8454	8800	9367	9493
Turnover (million lei)	497	469	481	663	762	863	1015	1083	1234	1335

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, accessed at 07.06.2019

3. A COMPARATIVE VIEW ON THE SELECTED CREATIVE CITIES IN ROMANIA

The data presented previously show us a situation dominated by the local creative economies of Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca, being followed in the ranking by Timișoara, Iași, Brașov, Oradea and Sibiu. This situation refers to the analysed dimensions in absolute values which are determined mostly by the size and the importance of each city. But in order to realise a wider analysis of the selected local creative economies, we consider the analysis more accurate and realistic in terms of contribution and potential in the local development, if we correlate the previously analysed data to the number of inhabitants that contributed to their realisation. By doing so, the comparison of Bucharest's creative economy with the other local creative economies is possible, and also if we consider Bucharest, by this approach we test if its impressive creative dimensions are just a result of the high concentration of inhabitants or Bucharest is really a creative pole of Romania. By reporting the creative economy's dimensions to the local populations make each local creative economy suitable for a comparison with any other city included in this study.

So we pursued to compare dimensions of these creative economies by reporting them to the local population, calculating according to the following formulas:

$$\text{Creative companies Index} = \frac{\text{Number of companies}}{\text{Number of inhabitants of the analysed city}} * 1000$$

$$\text{Creative employees Index} = \frac{\text{Number of employees}}{\text{Number of inhabitants of the analysed city}} * 1000$$

$$\text{Creative turnover Index} = \frac{\text{Turnover}}{\text{Number of inhabitants of the analysed city}} * 1000$$

Thus we calculated a national average of the creative companies' number by reporting the total number of companies operating in the creative industries to the total population of Romania, and so we obtained an average of 1-3 creative companies / 1000 inhabitants, an indicator which has evolved favourably both as consequence of demographic evolutions and as a consequence of the expansion of the creative economy.

By calculating the local indices, we noticed a general positive evolution during the period of time due to the demographic decline, but also due to the increases of the creative companies' number. The highest values were recorded by Cluj-Napoca, managing to exceed the number of 12 creative companies / 1000 inhabitants, a value much larger than the national average. Bucharest is another remarkable city due to its high index, 10 creative companies / 1000 inhabitants, which put this city on the second place in terms of creative enterprises concentration, after Cluj-Napoca. The other five cities reached values between 3 - 4 creative companies / 1000 inhabitants. Surprisingly, that analysing the dimensions of the local creative economies by considering also the local population, changed the order of the ranking, Sibiu and Oradea, recording values that exceeded those of Iași.

Table 8. Creative companies Index (no. of local creative companies / 1000 inhabitants)

City / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Romania	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3
București	4	4	4	5	6	6	7	8	9	10
Cluj - Napoca	5	5	5	6	7	7	8	9	11	12
Timișoara	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	6
Sibiu	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	5
Brașov	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	6
Iași	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	5
Oradea	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	6

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>,
<http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/index.jsp?page=tempo3&lang=ro&ind=POP108D> accessed at 07.06.2019

On the other hand, considering the creative industries' employees, the national average was around 12 – 16 employees / 1000 inhabitants, these values being surpassed by each creative city selected in our analysis. Also in this case, Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest reached the highest values, Cluj-Napoca being the leader during all the ten years. Again Oradea and Sibiu surpasses other cities with more developed creative economies, such as Timișoara, Iași and Brașov, as well. However, in the beginning of the analysed period, some negative oscillations appeared in all selected cities, excepting the capital, Bucharest. The decreases of this index resulted from the negative effects of the economic crisis upon the number of the employees of the creative – cultural industries.

Table 9. Creative employees Index (no. of employees in the local creative industries / 1000 inhabitants)

City / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Romania	12	11	11	12	13	13	14	15	16	16
București	34	35	36	36	38	40	42	47	49	52
Cluj - Napoca	36	34	37	43	46	50	56	63	71	77
Timișoara	31	23	24	26	27	29	27	31	33	34
Sibiu	23	21	22	27	27	30	29	31	34	35
Brașov	22	20	20	23	23	25	25	27	28	30
Iași	18	15	15	16	17	19	21	23	25	27
Oradea	30	28	29	31	33	36	38	39	42	43

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>,
<http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/index.jsp?page=tempo3&lang=ro&ind=POP108D> accessed at 07.06.2019

The last analysed index is the Creative turnover Index; the national average values have evolved during the time from 1612 thousands lei / 1000 inhabitants to 3244 thousands lei / 1000 inhabitants. Each local creative economy exceeded these values, having the same situation as in the case of the other two indices, where the cities of Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest have recorded the highest values, 4-5 times higher than the national average.

Table 10. Creative turnover Index (local turnover / 1000 inhabitants)

City / Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Romania	1612	1541	1617	1833	1995	2111	2352	2658	2948	3244
București	8261	8084	8112	9000	9596	9997	11044	12552	13811	22690
Cluj - Napoca	3833	3591	4010	4668	5784	6727	8063	10068	12581	15231
Timișoara	3449	2292	2242	2722	2949	3500	3707	4462	5844	6210
Sibiu	2342	2149	2578	3067	3518	3623	3880	3814	4463	5178
Brașov	2133	2094	2218	2883	3437	3718	4127	4798	5554	6499
Iași	1936	1656	1777	2017	2192	2424	2771	3245	3739	4392
Oradea	2202	2077	2134	2950	3403	3856	4542	4854	5550	6016

Source: own elaboration based on the information from <https://membri.listafirme.ro/statistici-economice.asp#selectie>, <http://statistici.insse.ro/shop/index.jsp?page=tempo3&lang=ro&ind=POP108D> accessed at 07.06.2019

Also the other six analysed cities recorded higher values than the national average, but much closer to it; again the cities of Oradea and Sibiu exceeded the values recorded by Timișoara and Iași, highlighting the great performances of their local creative economies. Of course, the economic crisis affected the creative economy by decreasing the revenues in all the seven cities, but the economic recovery was fast and the figures have been steadily rising after that.

Considering the analysis of all three indices, the city of Cluj-Napoca reached the best performances in every situation and Bucharest came secondly, the high values of these two cities being detached from the values of the other five. In terms of the local population, Oradea comes next in the ranking, being followed by Brașov, Timișoara, Sibiu and Iași. Even if in absolute values Oradea and Sibiu always have recorded the lowest values, when we correlate these absolute values to the number of inhabitants, the two cities enjoy greater results than Timișoara, Brașov and Iași, a fact proving that Oradea and Sibiu also benefits from a higher concentration of the creative economy.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The influence of the technological development and the changes brought on the social and economic level are undeniable, and moreover other new elements of living and working conditions have emerged. We assume that an optimum of comfort is needed by the creative class, the persons engaged in the creative and cultural industries, in order to flourish their work and creative potential. As a rule, talented or potentially talented people are targeting those areas that offer more opportunities, as Florida has also noticed, "creative talented people usually prefer regions that can offer opportunities and possibilities of change. Places that attract and retain talents have to offer a wide range of life styles, energy, stimulation and agitation" (Florida in Suci et al., 2010, p.171). The settlements that provide qualitative resources for the satisfaction of the material, technological and cultural - artistic needs, take the form of creative habitats, attracting labour force, but also companies with labour demand, who get roots and develop in these places. Also Florida claims that "the higher the population of a city, the higher the degree of innovation and richness per capita"(Florida, 2014, p.195). If we consider the major cities of Romania we notice that investors are attracted by those cities that own or train a qualified labour pool, such as cities - university centres.

In more details, the creative economy of Bucharest grew fast and steadily, all three indicators increasing significantly, only the recorded revenues increased by 168%. Considering Cluj-Napoca, the three analysed indicators kept a favourable evolution recording spectacular increases; both the number of enterprises and the number of people employed in the local creative economy doubled, and the turnover managed to increase in ten years by 305%. The evolution of the Timișoara's creative economy is also favourable, the number of enterprises involved in the creative and cultural industries, doubling by the year 2017. Also, the number of the people employed has increased over the years, and the turnover increased for 4 times. The creative economy found a fertile ground in the city of Sibiu, as well, over the ten years, all three indicators showing positive evolutions, almost doubling the initial values. Brașov had an impressive development of the creative economy, the number of operating companies and the number of people employed in the creative and cultural industries, reaching almost double values, and the turnover recorded a significant increase of 199%. The same positive aspects were present in Iași, as well, where the number of companies has tripled, and the number of employees and also the values of the turnover have doubled in ten years. Oradea also enjoyed positive evolutions in the creative in cultural industries. The number of enterprises involved in the creative and cultural industries almost doubled, while the number of employees increased by 42%. Analysing the turnover, its values also increased with 169%. If we would present a ranking of the seven local creative economies, Bucharest would be the top city, secondly would come Cluj-Napoca, then Timișoara, Iași, Brașov, Oradea and Sibiu. But this rank would analyse only the quantitative performances without considering the local populations.

The comparative analysis revealed the supremacy of Cluj-Napoca over all the other selected cities in terms of creative performances, signalling an agglomeration of creative and cultural industries. Of course, Bucharest comes second, these two cities recorded much higher values than the other cities. Another interesting fact revealed by this comparative analysis is the favorable situation of Oradea, which outran many times Timișoara and Iași, considering the creative economy's dimensions related to the local population, proving in this way a great potential for the economic development of Oradea through developing the creative and cultural industries.

A similar situation appeared in the analysis the figures of Sibiu, but certain is the fact that the comparative analysis changed the order in the ranking; if firstly the locale creative economies had the following order: Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara, Iași, Brașov, Oradea and Sibiu, by reporting the three dimensions of the local creative economies to the number of inhabitants, the rank changed into: Cluj-Napoca – with the highest concentration of creative activities - then Bucharest, Oradea, Timișoara, Brașov, Sibiu and Iași.

So, Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest are the leading creative cities of Romania – the creative poles, as we named them – and on the other hand, Sibiu and mostly, Oradea, enjoy a high concentration of creative activities, but these two cities are much smaller than the other cities and so, in absolute values are always the last ones in the ranking; however this concentration is a proof that the development of the creative sector could enhance the local economy of Oradea and Sibiu.

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