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## **Creative Entrepreneurs and Creative Clusters in Shanghai**

The growth of the creative industries agenda in China in the last 5 years has seen an increase in policy rhetoric around creativity and entrepreneurialism, and a rapid growth in 'creative clusters'. This paper will look at this policy development in Shanghai and look first at how it positions the figure of the creative entrepreneur and second, how this has been linked to the development of a real estate driven policy agenda. The paper will draw upon empirical work around amongst creative entrepreneurs who have a strongly ambivalent attitude to both these developments. It will suggest a more critical approach to the rhetoric of creative industries and also a ways of using creative clusters in more productive and socially equitable ways.