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Introduction to *The Creative Class Revisited: New Analytical Advances*¹

by

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Abstract

In this introductory chapter, we contextualize and briefly describe the intellectual contributions of the different chapters in this book. Following this chapter, which comprises Part I of the book, there are eleven chapters and each of these chapters addresses a particular research question or a set of questions about the creative class. Part II of this book consists of two chapters and this part focuses on alternate conceptual approaches to the creative class. Part III also contains two chapters and this part concentrates on analytics. Part IV consists of five chapters and this part sheds light on a variety of regional perspectives on the creative class. Finally, the two chapters that make up part V takes a retrospective and a prospective look at research on the creative class. In the concluding section of the present chapter, we offer some reflections on the cornerstones of creative class theory as advocated by Richard Florida two decades ago.

Keywords: Creative Class, Definition, Measurement, Modeling, Research

JEL Codes: R11, R12, R50

1.1. Preliminaries

What is the creative class? Second, what is special about members of the creative class? Finally, should a regional authority that is interested in promoting economic growth and development in its region pay attention to the creative class? In an original, early paper, Andersson (1985) pointed to the salience of creativity for regional economic development. This notwithstanding, it is fair to say that the urbanist Richard Florida was the first to provide comprehensive answers to the above three and related questions in his well-known 2002 tome titled *The Rise of the Creative Class* and in his subsequent research.

In this book (2002, p. 68), Florida explains that the *creative class* “consists of people who add economic value through their creativity.” This class is made up of a variety of professionals such as attorneys, computer scientists, medical doctors, university professors, and, notably, bohemians such as artists, musicians, and sculptors. In other words, the creative class consists of a *heterogeneous* group of individuals. This means that policymakers seeking to attract creative class members to a particular region will need to account for this heterogeneity because computer scientists, for example, are likely to be more mobile than artists.⁴

What is special about the members of the creative class is that they possess *creative capital*, which is defined to be the “intrinsically human ability to create new ideas, new technologies, new business models, new cultural forms, and whole new industries that really [matter]” (Florida, 2005, p. 32). The creative capital possessing members of the creative class are

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We say this because according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, jobs for individuals employed in “computer and mathematical occupations” are expected to grow at 9 percent in the 2020-2030 time period which is much *faster* than the 4 percent rate of job growth in 2020-2030 for those individuals employed in “arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations.” Readers interested in additional details on this topic should go to <https://www.bls.gov/ooh/about/data-for-occupations-not-covered-in-detail.htm#Arts.%20design.%20entertainment.%20sports.%20and%20media%20occupations> for more details. Accessed on 5 August 2022.

salient because, *inter alia*, this group of individuals is able to produce outputs that are important for the growth and development of cities and regions.⁵ Therefore, it follows that cities and regions that want to thrive in the global arena need to do all they can to attract and retain members of the creative class because, we are led to believe, this class is the primary driver of economic growth and development.

In the two decades since the publication of Richard Florida's (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class*, scholars have conducted a vast amount of research devoted to a detailed examination of the many ideas contained in this book and in Florida's subsequent writings.⁶ This body of work has undoubtedly shed a lot of light on the relevance of Florida's ideas for cities and regions in the United States, the extent to which his ideas apply in cities and regions outside the United States, and on the conditions under which it makes sense for regional authorities to implement policy that is designed to attract and retain members of the creative class.

That said, we are now at a point where what we call "analytical advances" permit researchers to theoretically and empirically formulate, model, and test many of the ideas pertaining to the working of Florida's creative class in interesting and new ways. It is important to point out that our use of the term "analytical advances" is intended to be capacious. The kind of advances we have in mind include, but are not limited to, recent developments in growth theory in economics, improvements in statistics and in regional science that permit researchers to analyze data in novel ways, and progress in computer science that allows researchers to take

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See Florida *et al.* (2008) and Florida *et al.* (2012) for a more detailed corroboration of this point.

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See Perry (2011), Ocejo (2019), Kourtit and Nijkamp (2019), Rosenberg and Brent (2020), Audretsch and Belitski (2021), Batabyal and Yoo (2021), Huang and Fan (2021), Batabyal and Nijkamp (2022), and the many references cited in these sources for more on this literature.

advantage of, for instance, natural language processing.

The objective of this book is to demonstrate how new analytical advances permit one to have a richer and more nuanced understanding of the ways in which the creative class has functioned and the ways in which its abilities can be harnessed for the betterment of society at large.

Following this introductory chapter, which comprises Part I of the book, there are eleven chapters and each of these chapters—written by an expert or by a team of experts—addresses a particular research question or a set of questions about the creative class. For ease of comprehension, we have divided the present volume containing twelve chapters into five parts. Part II of this book focuses on alternate conceptual approaches to the creative class and this part consists of two chapters. Chapter 2 in this part provides a detailed discussion of sustained economic growth in a so-called creative region and how physical capital taxation impacts this growth. Chapter 3 first asks whether existing theories are adequate descriptors of creative labor markets and then proposes a different way of looking at the functioning of creative workers from a management and organizational perspective.

Part III concentrates on analytics and this part of the book consists of two chapters. Chapter 4 demonstrates how natural language processing can help us better comprehend the demand for creative skills in textual job advertisements. Chapter 5 seeks to comprehend what its authors believe are the most significant dimensions of creativity. To this end, this chapter makes use of data from alternate prosperity indices and then utilizes semi-supervised learning techniques to ascertain the extent to which strategies based on the provision of cultural amenities determine the prosperity of urban areas.

Part IV focuses on a variety of regional perspectives on the creative class and this part consists of five chapters. Chapter 6 tells the story of the creative class in Detroit, a city that is often thought of as the poster child of urban decline. Next, using data from the *Current Population Survey*, chapter 7 empirically studies the individual and job attributes that affect a person's likelihood of working remotely in the United States during the Covid-19 pandemic. This chapter pays particular attention to how the creativity of an occupation affects the ability to work remotely. Chapter 8 concentrates on three urban agglomerations in the People's Republic of China, namely, Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Pearl River Delta. It offers an evidence-based quantitative study of the spatial patterns of the concentration of the creative class and the factors that determine this concentration in the above-mentioned three agglomerations. Chapter 9 focuses on the eastern part of Slovakia and particularly on the city of Kosice to chronicle the intertemporal evolution of the creative class. Chapter 10 uses qualitative and quantitative approaches to study the ways in which value has been created for the creative classes operating in Japan's agricultural and rural areas.

Part V takes a retrospective and a prospective look at research on the creative class. To this end, chapter 11 concentrates on three specific facets of the creative class and provides a "European perspective" on the definition of the creative class, how contextual differences have shaped outcomes for the creative class, and the changes that have arisen in Europe and elsewhere in the last two decades since the publication of *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002. The final chapter 12 summarizes the main tenets of the creative class theory of regional economic development and then discusses some of the issues in the expansive debate that this theory has given rise to. With this preliminary discussion out of the way, we now proceed to position and to

comment on the intellectual contributions of the individual chapters in this book.

1.2. Alternate Conceptual Approaches

1.2.1. Growth in a creative region

There are hardly any studies that have looked at the conditions under which sustained economic growth might occur in a creative region⁷ and how the taxation of physical capital influences the growth prospects of this same region. Given this lacuna in the literature, chapter 2 constructs a theoretical framework that is adapted from the prominent AK growth model.⁸ In this framework, an infinitely lived creative class household represents the consumption side of the economy. The production side is described by a final good that is manufactured with creative and physical capital.

Intertemporal analysis that makes use of modern growth-theoretic techniques demonstrates that a competitive equilibrium exists in the creative region under study. This equilibrium specifies the time-paths of the key variables of interest such as consumption per creative class member's creative capital and physical capital per creative class member's creative capital.

Given that a competitive equilibrium exists, the next logical question concerns the potential Pareto optimality of this equilibrium. This involves solving the so-called social planner's optimization problem. The mathematical analysis in chapter 2 shows that the identified competitive equilibrium is also Pareto optimal.

Is sustained economic growth possible in this creative region? The answer to this

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By "creative region," this chapter means a region in which the creative class is a dominant part of the overall labor force.

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See Acemoglu (2009, pp. 387-407) for a textbook exposition of this model.

question depends crucially on the magnitude of a key model parameter, namely, the constant elasticity of substitution parameter. The analysis in this chapter demonstrates that if the magnitude of this parameter is less than or equal to unity then sustained economic growth is impossible. That said, the story told in this chapter is not entirely saturnine. It turns out that if the elasticity of substitution parameter and another variable are “sufficiently large” in a sense made precise in the chapter then sustained economic growth *is* possible.

What happens to this sustained economic growth in the creative region if an apposite authority taxes physical capital? The answer is that this sort of taxation reduces the rate at which the economy of the creative region grows. Chapter 2 demonstrates how mathematically rigorous, growth-theoretic analysis can help shed valuable light on the intertemporal behavior of a stylized creative region. Even so, non-mathematical ways of looking at creative regions can also help us comprehend how such regions function. That is what chapter 3 does.

1.2.2. A management and organizational standpoint

Existing theories from the fields of economics, management, and psychology can help shed light on *some* aspects of the functioning of creative workers in labor markets. Even so, the central point chapter 3 makes is that these existing theories are *not* enough. In particular, the claim here is that the very nature of creative work raises questions about both worker welfare and the performance of the organizations that are struggling to retain creative workers that together call for a new theoretical explanation.

After briefly surveying economic and psychological explanations for the functioning of creative workers in modern labor markets, this chapter points to the notions of labor flexibility, immaterial labor, and new models of compensation and claims that there is a clear absence of

theoretical and empirical analyses that concentrate on determining the factors that effectively drive creative workers to do what they typically do.

Given this lacuna in the literature, chapter 3 presents the outline of a model that looks at creative workers from within and from outside the pertinent organization. In this model, what impacts a creative worker's performance is his or her work motivation, job satisfaction, and life satisfaction. Focusing on the connection between how meaningful a creative worker's tasks are to him or her along with the purpose of the organization where (s)he is employed, the chapter formulates two hypotheses. The first states that there is a positive relationship between an organization's purpose and the *motivation* that a creative worker feels for his or her work. The second posits that there exists a positive relationship between an organization's purpose and the *satisfaction* a creative worker experiences from his or her work.

Moving on to the concept of a creative worker's performance, this chapter first points to the unsurprising connection between how much a creative worker "loves" his or her work and his or her actual performance. The discussion here leads the chapter to formulate additional hypotheses about the nature of the nexus between work motivation, job satisfaction, and life satisfaction on the one hand and a creative worker's job performance on the other.

This concludes our discussion of Part II of this book which focuses on alternate conceptual approaches to studying the creative class. We now proceed to Part III. This part concentrates on analytics in research on the creative class.

1.3. Analytics

1.3.1. Natural language processing

Definitional issues related to the creative class have bedeviled research on this topic in

the last two decades. Researchers have frequently asked *who* belongs in the creative class and *what* criteria one ought to apply to make this determination about membership. Looked at a little differently, why is it that some occupations and industries are considered to be creative class occupations and industries while others are not?

To shed light on these sorts of issues, chapter 4 examines the demand for creative skills in an occupation and discusses the extent to which Florida's original creative class occupations are inherently creative. These twin tasks are carried out by using unsupervised text mining techniques that are based on machine learning. Specifically, this chapter uses the "Concept Mover's Distance" due to Stoltz and Taylor (2019) to classify occupations in accordance with a distance index. This classification yields information about the extent to which actual employers demand creative skills in a particular occupation. This methodology is brought to bear on a database consisting of almost two million job postings from 2002 to 2020 in Norway.

The methodology permits a researcher to figure out the meaning of creativity. Specifically, the meaning of creativity is revealed by using a machine learning method known as natural language processing (NLP). What NLP does is to transform unstructured text in documents and databases into normalized, structured data that are suitable for analysis via machine learning algorithms.

Analysis shows that one can come up with a creativity score that determines the importance of creativity in any of the almost two million job postings being studied. An advantage of using the creativity score to proxy the demand for creative skills in a particular job posting is that the word "creativity" does *not* have to be present in a job posting for this posting to receive a high score.

The chapter shows that there has been a steady increase in the demand for creative skills over time and that job advertisements with low creativity scores have gradually disappeared. But has this rising demand for creative skills been accompanied by a corresponding rise in the wages of creative workers? The empirical evidence here is somewhat mixed. The analysis finds a clear wage premium *only* for those this chapter calls “creative professionals.”

1.3.2. Urban amenities

From natural language processing in chapter 4, we next move to chapter 5, which, generally speaking, seeks to ascertain the most salient dimensions of creativity. Keeping Florida’s (2002) 3Ts or talent, technology, and tolerance in mind, this chapter uses the Global Power City Index (GPCI) database to conduct its analysis. The GPCI is a composite indicator that describes the salience of a city by looking at it from the vantage point of six urban functions (economy, R&D, cultural interactions, livability, the environment, and accessibility) and five urban actors (manager, researcher, artist, visitor, and resident).

Based on the GPCI, this chapter looks for similarities between alternate creative cities by using various semi-supervised learning processes that are controlled by the use of so-called alignment tests. The distribution of the GPCI in 2017 and in 2021 demonstrates that for most of the cities under study, the livability and the R&D functions make them most similar. In addition, what gives cities the “power” to attract people, capital, and business is the presence of the trinity of urban amenities, cultural amenities, and technological assets.

Comparing cities in different countries, this chapter points out that cultural facilities can have a great impact on cities by imbuing them with a “power of place.” The atmosphere that results from having this power of place leads to innovation in a variety of productive processes

and also gives rise to what this chapter calls a “field” that is, in turn, conducive to the emergence of entrepreneurship, productivity, and technological advances.

A key finding in this chapter concerns one of Florida’s (2002) 3Ts, namely, tolerance. It turns out that social tolerance is *not* an indicator that can help explain differences in urban development across cities. Therefore, contradicting one of Florida’s claims about the virtues of tolerance, we learn that it is not the degree of tolerance that helps explain the attractiveness of cities but the presence of *urban amenities* that helps explain the gap in growth between cities.

With this discussion of the two chapters about analytics that comprise Part III of this book out of the way, we now turn to the five chapters about regional perspectives that make up Part IV of this book.

1.4. Regional Perspectives

1.4.1. Detroit

Quoting *Salon* writer Christopher Dreher, Peck (2005) points out that in Richard Florida’s view of economic development, cities need to be creative or else they will go the way of Detroit. Now, it is true that Detroit is considered by many to be the poster child of urban and industrial decline in the U.S. This notwithstanding, after the successful resolution of Detroit’s bankruptcy and new municipal leadership, many observers are now talking about Detroit’s recovery and resilience.

Chapter 6 tells the story of the creative class in Detroit. Specifically, this chapter seeks to shed light on four research questions about the creative class in Detroit in the last 19 years. First, what evidence is there of success in attracting creative individuals and businesses? Second, have economic fortunes improved in the city? Third, has a focus on downtown amenities and the

creative class positively affected economic conditions throughout the city? Finally, what have been the racial and economic equity implications of the rise of the creative class in Detroit?

Four variables (young adults, college graduates, creative industry employees, and recent in-movers) are used to identify the creative class and *American Community Survey* data are then used to compute location quotients for these four variables to compare geographic subareas of the city with the city as a whole. After paying attention to alternate measures of community prosperity, this chapter uses maps to provide a visual representation of the distribution of the creative class and economic indicators across zip codes in Detroit. This technique permits the authors of this chapter to examine the location and the co-location of prosperity and creative class indicators using the racial traits of the zip codes.

Next, using correlation and regression analyses, this chapter demonstrates that between 2011 and 2019, there were *positive* changes in several economic indicators. Even so, these positive changes did not occur uniformly across Detroit. The core areas of Detroit, i.e., the downtown and the midtown areas, were responsible for a disproportionate share of Detroit's economic activity. In this regard, it is worth noting that although both black and white households continue to move out of Detroit, this city has also been successful in attracting thousands of new residents from other parts of the U.S. and from overseas.

The chapter concludes by pointing out that even though the creative class has played a positive role in revitalizing Detroit, the pursuit of creative class policies has resulted in the creation of *two* cities---one occupied by young white gentrifiers enjoying wide-ranging amenities and the other made up of communities of color with access to limited amenities.

1.4.2. Remote work in the United States

Moving on from the analysis of Detroit, chapter 7 looks at how individual and job characteristics have affected a person's likelihood of working remotely from home during the Covid-19 pandemic. The author of this chapter wonders whether the remote work decisions of creative workers might have long-lasting implications for urban economic structure and performance. To this end, this chapter studies two particular questions. First, how does one's employment in a creative occupation influence the extent to which one is able to work from home? Second, how has the impact of creativity on remote work evolved during the course of the pandemic?

To facilitate this study, the chapter uses data from the *Current Population Survey* provided by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Analysis shows that over the relevant time period, compared to the service and working classes, people employed in creative occupations were a lot *more* likely to work from home. In addition, the share of workers in occupations that involve a high level of physical activity and substantial interaction with the public is a *lot* higher in the non-remote work sample than in the sample of workers who worked from home.

What factors impact a person's ability to work from home? The chapter demonstrates that, *inter alia*, a number of occupation-level attributes along with some creative economy variables together are significant determinants of whether a person's job involves high interaction with members of the public, requires close proximity to other people, and involves extensive use of computers. In turn, these three properties substantially explain a person's ability to work from home. For instance, individuals employed in the hospitality business that requires frequent contact with the public are a lot less able and hence less likely to work remotely from

home. In contrast, people in occupations involving substantial computer use are a lot more likely to be able to work remotely from home. In this regard, we also learn that the type of occupation held by an individual greatly affects his or her likelihood of working from home because of the presence of Covid-19.

1.4.3. Urban agglomerations in China

From the U.S. focus of chapters 6 and 7, we move to a focus on China in chapter 8. This chapter begins by pointing out that although there are many empirical studies of the factors that lead to the concentration of the creative class in U.S. and European cities, there is much less econometric research of these factors in the context of China. Even the studies that do exist focus primarily on what this chapter calls “micro-scale analysis.” To rectify this state of affairs, chapter 8 concentrates on three mega-agglomerations in China, namely, Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Pearl River Delta, where, the authors of this chapter believe, lie the primary concentrations of the creative class in China.

What are the spatial patterns in the concentrations of the creative class in these three agglomerations? What are the key factors that influence the concentration of the creative class in China? Finally, are there differences in the factors that influence the concentration of the creative class in different regions within China? These are the sorts of questions that are investigated empirically in this chapter.

Analysis demonstrates that there are clear differences in the concentrations of the creative class in each of the three different agglomerations being studied. To this end, the chapter constructs and then places considerable emphasis on what it calls a relative density of the creative class or RDCC index. We learn that although the level of economic development in the

three agglomerations under study have a strong, positive influence on the RDCC, noteworthy differences remain.

In particular, the creative class in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei and the Yangtze River Delta agglomerations tends to concentrate in cities with higher wages and housing prices, higher *Hukou*⁹ availability, but relatively *low* per capita GDP. In contrast, the creative class in the Pearl River Delta agglomeration prefers to reside in cities with high *Hukou* availability, *high* per capita GDP, good public services, and leisure facilities. The general conclusion that emerges from the analysis in this chapter is that members of the creative class in China place a lot of emphasis on the level of regional economic development, wages, and local policies, when determining where to live.

1.4.4. Creative sector in Slovakia

Chapter 9 begins by pointing out that a new and creative sector has emerged in the formerly industrialized nation of Slovakia. As such, the objective of this chapter is to chronicle the emergence and delineate the present status of this creative sector. Specifically, this chapter concentrates on three questions. First, what dynamic spatial and sectoral processes have taken place in the transition from centrally planned uniformity to what the chapter calls “organic spatial patterns” in the market system? Second, how has the eastern Slovakian city of Kosice navigated the clash between the path dependence of the old industrial sector and the emergent creative sector? Finally, does the so-called cultural-creative sector have an adopted territory in Kosice?

Using the economic complexity index (ECI) score for all 79 districts in Slovakia, the

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The *Hukou* is China’s population registration system. For more on this and related matters, go to

chapter points out that with the resignation of the central management of spatial organizations that was mainly interested in preserving jobs in individual districts, some larger cities such as the capital city of Bratislava have become dominant economically but many smaller and peripheral districts have declined in importance. In addition, what this chapter calls the “west-east gradient of economic development” has gradually weakened the complexity of the economy of eastern Slovakia with the exception of the second largest city, i.e., Kosice.

The chapter uses an econometric model to shed light on the processes that lead to the selection of urban locations and the concentration of creative industries in Kosice. The analysis shows that there have been substantial time periods of economic change in this city with the arrival of information and communication technology (ICT) companies in 1990-2000 followed by the emergence of a vibrant art and cultural sector after 2000.

In sum, the creative sector in Kosice has been able to thrive because members of the creative class are looking for places like Kosice that suit their *lifestyles*. In turn, this desire on the part of the creative class is altering the economic landscape within Kosice. Therefore, this chapter claims that the experience of Kosice can be used more generally to identify the main drivers of the growth of culture, ICT companies, and research and development by the creative sector.

1.4.5. Rural creative classes in Japan

Unlike the other chapters in this part of the book, chapter 10 focuses on agricultural and rural development, specifically, the nexuses between the creative class and agricultural and rural development in Japan. It does so by using what it calls a “mixed research approach” that

combines qualitative and quantitative aspects to analyze how the creative class is taking initiatives to solve social problems in Japan using businesses. This approach involves combining case-based qualitative exploration with a quantitative sociological approach known as latent class analysis (LCA).

Armed with this approach, the chapter looks at the activities of the creative class given that the objective is to create shared value for members. It is shown that the multi-functionality of agriculture and the social institutions in the region under study affects both the cognition and the behavior of the stakeholders concerned about agricultural and rural development and, in addition, it gives rise to innovation in the collective cognition of the stakeholders. The claim here is that this *enhances* social entrepreneurship and improves the sustainability of agriculture.

Moving on, this chapter uses evolutionary game theory to demonstrate that cooperative behavior between members of the creative class gives rise to shared value in agriculture. When one looks at the attributes of the creative classes in agriculture, the management attribute turns out to be salient. What is particularly noteworthy about this management attribute is that it involves starting one's own business, producing goods other than rice, diversifying one's business, and being located in both urban and mountainous areas.

Finally, we learn that in contemporary times, agricultural and rural areas in Japan lie in what this chapter calls a "low equilibrium." In order to move to a "high equilibrium," the authorities will need to think innovatively and implement policies that effectively cultivate the rural creative class by fostering entrepreneurship, putting in place educational programs on food and agriculture, and by raising the social capital of both consumers and producers.

With this discussion of the five chapters about regional perspectives that comprise Part

IV of this book out of the way, we now turn to the two chapters in the final part V of this book. This part of the book takes a retrospective and a prospective look at the literature and the ideas generated by the publication of *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002.

1.5. Retrospect and Prospect

1.5.1. A European perspective

Given two decades of discussion and research about the creative class, chapter 11 takes a retrospective look at three aspects of what it calls “Florida’s creative class approach.” These three aspects are the definition and the measurement of the creative class, the role of contextual differences between countries and particularly the differences between the U.S. and Europe, and the impact of a changing world on the creative class approach.

With regard to definitional and measurement issues, we are reminded that Florida’s approach to identifying creative people lay in looking at their *occupations*. In this regard, creative professionals and members of the so-called super creative core are considered members of the creative class because these individuals think and act creatively when fulfilling their tasks. Nevertheless, does it make sense to characterize whether a person is a member of the creative class by focusing on his or her occupation? After presenting arguments pro and con the occupational approach, the chapter informs us that it is important to keep two points in mind. First, creative people whose work draws on “synthetic knowledge” are more likely to live in places that perform well in terms of their *business* climate. Second and in contrast, people whose work draws on “analytical and especially symbolic knowledge” are more likely to reside in places that rank well in terms of their *people* climate.

Focusing on the differences between the U.S. and Europe, this chapter points out that a

large part of the population and economic activity more generally in North America is concentrated in big cities. This concentration of the population in large cities is much less pronounced in Europe. Therefore, although large cities play a key role in Florida's creative class approach to economic development it is not clear that such cities matter as much in a European context. Put differently, when the focus is on Europe, Florida's creative class approach ought to be utilized with caution.

Finally, chapter 11 points out that a lot in the world has changed since 2002 and that Covid-19 has altered work patterns in previously unforeseeable ways. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that attractive city centers with expensive housing prices push parts of the creative class such as bohemians out of city centers and into poorer neighborhoods. This increases the homogeneity of the population in the city center and *decreases* diversity.

1.5.2. Florida on the creative class

The concluding chapter 12 provides a prospective look at research on the creative class by Richard Florida, the originator of the creative class idea. The first part of this chapter reminds the reader that creative class theory is a part of Florida's broader intellectual project seeking to comprehend the rise of knowledge-based capitalism and situating cities at the center of the processes of innovation and capitalist development. In pursuing this project, Florida is interested in melding Jane Jacobs' theories on the role of cities in economic development with Joseph Schumpeter's theories of innovation and entrepreneurship and with Karl Marx's theories of capitalist development.

Given the extensive discussion about the usefulness of using occupation---see chapter 11---to determine whether one is a member of the creative class, Florida explains that a key

reason for focusing on occupation is that the occupation measure provides a more precise measure of skill than the conventional schooling-based human capital metric. In addition, we learn that a second advantage of the occupation measure over the human capital metric is that the latter *omits* large numbers of the creative class who did not go to or complete college.

Looking to the future, Florida notes that we are now experiencing a “new urban crisis” which is, at least in part, a crisis of “success” that is defined by rising housing prices, increasing gentrification, deepening inequality, and social divisions. In addition, he points out that the clustering of creativity and the creative class that drives technological innovation and economic growth is creating economic and geographic *imbalances*. Florida calls this spatial divide “winner take all urbanism.” Although this and related phenomena threaten to tear society apart, Florida believes that our long run economic future is still *dependent* on unleashing the creative potential that is present in every human being and that is the cornerstone of creative class theory.

1.6. Conclusions

There is no gainsaying the fact that Richard Florida’s 2002 tome *The Rise of the Creative Class* and, more generally, his subsequent research on the creative class has had a great deal of influence in shaping contemporary debate, discussion, and research about regional economic growth and development. Both proponents and opponents of creative class theory have had to engage with this body of work to determine not only how definitional and measurement issues matter but also the applicability of this theory within and beyond the U.S.

As the chapters in this volume with their disparate perspectives demonstrate, research on creative class theory is burgeoning and a variety of analytical advances have pointed to the reach of this theory in alternate institutional and spatial contexts. In addition, given the present-day

popularity of research on the creative class in economics, geography, regional science, and urban planning, lessons learned about the nexuses between alternate conceptual approaches, analytics, and regional perspectives described in this volume are likely to prove useful for the design and implementation of growth-inducing and inclusive regional development policies.

Given this state of affairs, our objective in this book is to revisit the creative class notion and demonstrate how new analytical advances, construed capaciously, can help promote research into and our understanding of what Richard Florida refers to as creative class theory. We have done so by providing essays on many of the pertinent research questions written by experts. These experts have great credibility because of two important reasons. First, they are active researchers themselves. Second, they are also some of the leading contemporary voices on the implementation of public policy informed by the findings of creative class theory.

In this introductory chapter, we have attempted to provide a holistic and coherent context within which one may view the emergence and the study of the different research questions that are dealt with in this book. In addition, a perusal of the individual chapters demonstrates the significance and the policy relevance of the research questions that are analytically studied here. Consequently, in the coming years, one may look forward to many stimulating and policy relevant developments concerning the trinity of the creative class, analytical advances, and regional economic growth and development that are directly or indirectly related to the topics studied in this book.

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