

A CREATIVE CLASS RESEARCH AND ITS DIFFICULTIES – EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM A SOUTHERN HUNGARIAN CITY, PÉCS

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ABSTRACT – Creative industry, as a concept, first appeared at the beginning of the 21st century and spread worldwide when the American urbanist, Richard Florida, published his book “The Rise of the Creative Class” in 2002. Today, there is no question anymore that the creative industry and creative workers will play a huge part in the European Union’s future economy, and hopefully in Hungary’s economy as well. This article can be divided into three parts. In the first part, it aims to give an overview of the creative class definitions published by Florida, and it also outlines the up and down sides of the theory. Then looking at the problems of the article, a possible alternative is disclosed, which includes not only the occupational-based definition, but also combines it with the industry-based view. In this way, a complex approach is created, which can be used for further research. As this new approach is based partly on the creative industries classification, the second part of the article aims to shortly summarize the main characteristics of the creative industries definition. The final part focuses on the survey conducted among the creative businesses in Pécs. The survey focuses on the creative class preferences of living. With this analysis, we hope to find the key factors that attracted or kept the members of the creative class in the city and its wider area, an important element in creating long-term development strategies.

Keywords: creative class, Richard Florida, critique, creative trident, creative industries

INTRODUCTION

As globalization has changed the world, it has changed the force of the economic cause, which has also had an effect on relationships. Previously, only those regions and nations that had the adequate resources for production could be competitive. In the globalized world, the dependency on those resources has decreased and the focus has shifted more from natural resources to human resources. The expression of creative society has appeared and nowadays it is presented more and more in the different literatures and surveys. This shows that creativity as a concept is now included in everyday life and vocabulary. It is not just an individual competence; it is also an economic driving force. The concept of creative economy appeared in Europe in the late 90s, firstly in the United Kingdom. The concepts of creative industries and creative class rose and went worldwide in the early 2000s, when Richard Florida published the book “The Rise of the Creative Class” in 2002. Although in the previous year the Department for Culture, Media and Sport in the UK had analyzed the UK’s business clusters (DCMS, 2001a) and later that year had defined the creative industries and analyzed the UK’s output (DCMS, 2001b), these results focused on the overall creative industries, ignoring the creative class theory.

Among the Hungarian studies, there are still more focusing on the creative industries, creative cities research questions (Egedy-Kovács, 2009; Kovács, 2007, 2009; Kovács et al., 2009; Miszlivetz et al., 2012) and less dealing with the creative class (Egedy, Kovács, 2008; Lengyel, Ságvári, 2009).

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The article aims to give a theoretical overview of the definition of Florida's creative class theory, its critics and discloses an alternative new interpretation of the creative class definition. It also aims to present the main results of our individual research, which was conducted among the workers of the creative industries in Pécs, Hungary, in 2014.

Pécs (Figure 1) has a long tradition in regards to the cultural and creative industries: the first Cultural Creative Industry Cluster in Hungary was established in Pécs in 2007 and the city was European Capital of Culture in 2010. In addition, in many municipality development plans, creative industries have always been a key topic over the last 10 years. Pécs is also a main economic, social and cultural base of the Southern Transdanubian Region and its long development strategy is a key element in the regional scope.

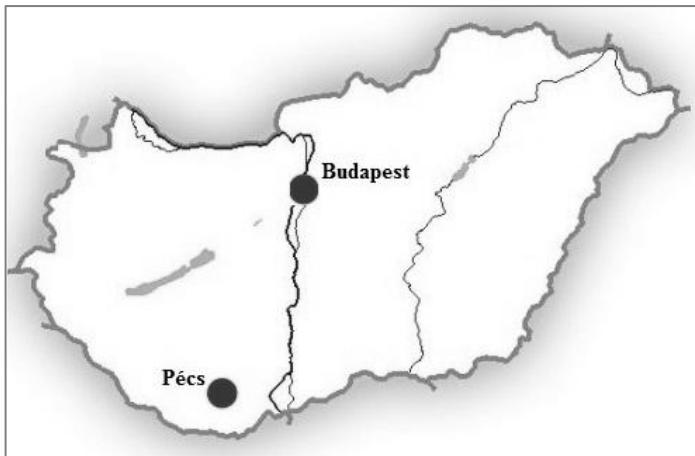


Figure 1. Location of Pécs

Source: <http://metcenter.uw.hu/>, own edition

THE CREATIVE CLASS THEORY AND ITS CRITICS

The creative economy fundamentally consists of labour-intensive industries, where the effectiveness of the creative process largely depends on those who form them. The value creation is not through machines, but by people, so it is important to analyze closely who are working in the creative economy and what the characteristics of this group are. The main driver of the creative economy is the creative work force. Richard Florida, an American urbanist, was the first who gave a name to it and made it the "creative class". According to Florida, creative class can be divided into three classes:

- *The super-creative core*: it includes a wide range of occupants, namely everyone who creates new ideas, technology or services, which is transferable and can be widely used. This sub-group contains filmmakers, software industry workers, researchers, artists, writers, architects and so on.
- *The creative professionals*: those who work in the knowledge intense industries, their primary task is creative problem solving; they have a high degree of autonomy and their tasks require a high level of different skills. This sub-group includes those who work in the high-tech sector, the financial sector and so on (Florida, 2002).
- Florida completed the creative class definition with a third sub-group that he called *the bohemians*. This group includes several occupations from the art sphere (such as writers, photographers, musicians, designers, etc.) and also those who are responsible for the artistically-creative tasks in the field of media, entertainment and sport (Florida, 2004).

Florida uses double standards for defining the creative class. He takes into account the profession of the workers, as hard factors, but he also explains that the creative class has a specific ideology and a specific set of values that are soft categorization factors, such as:

- the importance of individuality, the non-conformity behaviour forms,
- the importance of their own merits,
- diversity, openness towards others (Florida, 2002).

In his creative class theory, Florida ignores the determination of creative industries, he only uses occupational classification codes and expands the theory to the whole creative economy. He does not provide a clear definition on the creative economy; however, he points out that a knowledge and information society is subordinated to creativity, which becomes the driving force of the economy. More specifically, he does not focus on industries, but specifically on the creative people. He assumes

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that the creative workforce will be the main driver of the economy. According to Florida, it is not the economy itself, but the creative people, the so-called “creative class”, who get the main role in the future (Florida, 2002).

There were many researchers who paved the way and outlined the directions Florida followed. Glaeser, in his critique, raises the question: to what extent is the creative capital concept new over the human capital, which has been studied for a long time. Glaeser himself stressed out for a long time the importance of the human capital that plays a significant role in the success of a city (Glaeser, 2005). While the representatives of classical and neoclassical economic schools claimed that people followed jobs, Florida stirred up the modern mainstream economics implying that in modern knowledge societies (creative) people were followed by the jobs. Florida himself described his book as an experiment, which united the different technological, industrial and economic theories related to Marx and Schumpeter with those focused on places, clusters and cities (Florida, 2014). These theories mainly originated from Jane Jacobs, who already draw attention to the crisis of the cities and the importance of creativity in her works in the 60s and 70s. Paul Romer also expressed his opinion that, in time, creativity will be an increasingly important factor of economic growth, while David Brooks anticipated the growing importance of the bohemian urban values and social freedom already before Florida (Glaeser, 2005).

When Florida used the phrase “class”, it assumed that there is some kind of self-identity and the same values within the socio-political hierarchy (Clifton, 2008), but the characteristics Florida described in not too much detail (as for example common view of life) (Pratt, 2008) suggest that the interpretation of the creative class in a Marxian sense is problematic because it is not based on common economic interest. The members of the class are not characterized with collective action and most likely they are not even aware to be in the same “class”. The same contradictions are outlined by Heerden and Bontje, the creative class specified by Florida, which includes one third of the workforce, is not characterized by common standards (Heerden, Bontje, 2014).

In our opinion, it also does not favour Florida’s theory that the class he outlined is not homogenous, but already divided into sub-groups. According to Krätke, even if we accept that these groups were identified properly, the mixing and the joint examination of these still cannot be acceptable. In this sense, it is only a self-idealizing approach, focusing on the occupational groups of today’s capitalist society (Krätke, 2010). Pratt found Florida’s occupational list eclectic and outlined that although in Florida’s theory education produces culture, this is not the same as cultural capital explained by Bourdieu, who explains the connection between education and culture in a more complex way (Pratt, 2008). However, Florida argues that the links between the different occupations are those underlying creative-skills they rely on (Florida, 2014). Even if we accept this kind of reasoning, in this case the members of the creative class can be found in every industry – not just the creative and cultural industries that are well specified, the huge task to segregate the creative workforce from the non-creative workforce awaits for researchers (Boschma, Fritsch, 2007). In our opinion, it also should be considered that the theory widens the gap between classes by favouring urban transformation from which only elite groups benefit (Pratt, 2008) and supporting only those who have higher educational background and those who have a larger salary already. In this way, it marginalizes the working class and the employees working in lower service industries, those who create the desirable conditions for the creative class (Peck, 2005; Tocherman, 2012).

We believe that, scientifically, the main drawback is that it causes difficulty for the researchers to get hold to the specified occupations – and only those – and it needs enormous efforts to be successful. We examined other studies that deal with Florida’s definition of the creative class and found that these studies use industry classification rather than creative class (Lawton, Murphy, Redmond, 2013; ACRE researches). In the case of the Hungarian studies, research is divided. Some of them use Florida’s definition (Ságvári, Dessewffy, 2006; Ságvári, Lengyel, 2008; Lengyel, Ságvári, 2009), although the classification changes slightly, as for the others, they use the industry classification instead (Kovács, Egedy, Szabó, 2011). For this reason, we searched for an existing different creative class definition, which we believe combines Florida’s definition and the creative industry classification and makes research easier to conduct.

AN ALTERNATIVE: THE CREATIVE TRIDENT APPROACH

The creative trident approach is a special definition, which aims to find the connection between those who are working in the creative industries doing creative jobs and those who are having creative jobs but are not working in creative industries. The primary objective of the model was to interpret the creative occupations and the workers in the creative industries in a statistically analyzable way – and not to contain replicates. The approach differentiates three types of occupations:

- ‘specialist’: artists, professionals or creative individuals working in creative industries;
- ‘support’ staff in those industries providing management, secretarial, administrative or accountancy back-up;
- and creative individuals ‘embedded’ in other industries not defined as ‘creative’.

Table 1 illustrates the creative trident approach. The three categories collectively define the “creative workforce” (Higgs et al., 2008, p. 3).

Table 1. The creative trident approach

	Creative industries	Employed in other industries	
Creative occupations	Specialist creatives	Embedded creatives	Total employed in specific creative occupations
Other occupations employed	Management and support staff		
	Total employment within businesses in the specific creative industries		Total employment in the creative workforce

Source: Higgs et al., 2007

Similar to Florida’s classification, the creative trident approach uses double standards when defining the creative class. In Florida’s interpretation, the member of the creative class can be someone who has a specified occupation (hard classification factor) or has a certain set of values (soft classification value). We believe the creative trident approach fulfils this definition, as those who have creative occupations even in the creative industries or beyond that are matching Florida’s hard classification factors. However, the support staff are likely to possess the soft classification factors Florida describes, as they are the ones to assist the creative occupants.

In our research, we decided to use the creative trident approach. Due to the lack of enormous resources, we focused on the employees who are working within businesses in the specific creative industries. Before conducting the survey, it was a key method to determine the creative industries.

DEFINING THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

The concept of creative industries (CI) can be defined in many ways. The creative industries are part of the service sector: “[...] the creative industries are by definition involved in the process of new value creation [...] the creative industries do not just supply creativity (for creativity is everywhere), rather they process creativity” (Potts, 2009, p. 142) and they are also strongly linked to the cultural industries.

In 2005, an EU policy paper was published, “The future of the creative industries”, which discusses the cultural and creative industries together. In this interpretation, the cultural industries are a kind of subset of the creative industries (Figure 2).

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Figure 2. Relationship between cultural and creative industries

Source: own edition

Potts and his co-authors define the creative industries in their article based on the social media market. “A new social network-based definition of the creative industries may be proposed as such: *The set of agents and agencies in a market characterized by adoption of novel ideas within social networks for production and consumption*. In this view, the CIs are not subsidized arts; although such sectors are routinely incorporated (e.g. performing or fine arts, or heritage). They are also not the cultural industries; although again, there is some significant overlap (e.g. fashion, media, music). Neither are they individual firms alone, since cultural and educational agencies are active players” (Potts et al., 2008, p. 172).

The research of ACRE project also uses similarities between the cultural and creative industries, when defining creative industries: “The ‘hard core’ of these creative industries, consisting of the economic branches mentioned above, is most often labeled ‘cultural industries’. However, these cultural industries have intensive links with several other creative economic branches, as well as with creative departments of various production activities. The wide array of creative activities developed around the cultural industries is most often called ‘creative industries’” (Musterd et al., 2007, p. 18).

According to a 2014 report of the DCMS: “The Creative Industries, a subset of the Creative Economy which includes only those working in the Creative Industries themselves (and who may either be in creative occupations or in other roles e.g. finance)” (DCMS, 2014, p. 5).

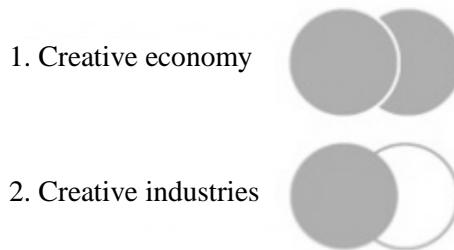


Figure 3. Relationships between creative economy and creative industries

Source: DCMS, 2014

Overall, some highlights can be made: the creative industries are more than cultural industries, but they also include them, have a creative content and an economic value, carry out the creation and distribution of creative goods and services produced and consumed by the society, primary input is creativity and intellectual capital.

In addition to these general classifications, there is much more literature (DCMS, 2001, 2014; Hartley, 2005; WIPO, 2003; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; KEA European Affair, 2006; Howkins, 2004; United Nations, 2008) which makes a concrete lists of the specific industries. A summarized list is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Creative industries classifications

DCMS model	In 2001: 13 industries In 2014: 9 industries
Hartley's model	11 industries
Howkins' model	15 industries
UNCTAD model	8 industries
WIPO model	Core and support industries (21 industries)
Symbolic text model	Core and peripheral cultural industries (12 industries)
Concentric circles method	Core cultural expression, core creative industries, wilder cultural industries and related industries (15 industries)

Source: United Nations, 2008; Howkins, 2004; DCMS, 2001, 2014. Own edition

In summary, it can be emphasized that during the classification of the creative industries two main trends occurred. According to one, all the creative industries are equal to each other, while the other one differentiates core and supporting creative industries. In addition, it can be also outlined that there are not just researchers (Throsby, 2001; Howkins, 2004; Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007) who investigate this topic but also various national and international institutions which are committed to explore the questions related the creative industries (DCMS, 2001b, 2014; WIPO, 2003; UNCTAD, 2008). The research of the DCMS in 2014 was also based on the creative trident approach. Therefore, we decided to use its classification of the creative industries for two reasons: the DCMS was one of the first governmental institutions that made research of the UK's creative industries, before Florida's definition had gone worldwide, and also because this institution has always had a leading role in creative economy research.

METHODOLOGY

As mentioned before, the literature and the industry researches are still in the development phase. We found that the DCMS in the UK is at the forefront of the creative industries research at the European level. The definition of the creative industries published in 2014 includes the previous experiences of the professional literature and gives a comprehensive look of the topic. Therefore, when we prepared the research we decided to use their definition. There were 31 NACE codes in nine industries identified, which were converted according to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (CSO). The industries identified by the DCMS were the following:

- Design: product, graphic and fashion design
- Publishing
- Film, TV, video, radio and photography
- IT, software and computer services
- Architecture
- Advertising and marketing
- Music, performing and visual arts
- Craft
- Museums, galleries and libraries.

We chose to focus our research to businesses that have a headquarters in Pécs. Therefore, we assumed their creative workers also live in Pécs or its agglomeration. Pécs is the county seat of Baranya County, located in the southern part of Hungary. Pécs has a population of almost 150,000 inhabitants, with its agglomeration it is almost reaches 180,000 inhabitants.

We chose Pécs as a scope of our survey for many reasons. Pécs has a tradition regarding the cultural and creative industries. In the different innovation strategies, the topic of cultural and creative industries appeared first in 2004 and has been a key element in governmental development strategies since then. The first cluster for cultural and creative industries was also established in Pécs in 2007. Pécs was European Capital of Culture in 2010 and it has been an important question ever since how to

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retain this position and gain as much benefit from it as possible. Pécs is also a main economic, social and cultural base of the Southern Transdanubian Region and its long development strategy is a key element in the regional scope.

A survey based on the ACRE researches was prepared to be conducted among the creative businesses within the Creative Industries in 2014. For this, we asked the help of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Pécs-Baranya. After filtering the database only to contain the 31 NACE codes of the creative industries, the questionnaire was sent out to 826 email addresses. In overall, we received 110 complete answers.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Although it was not included in the original survey, as result of our pre-inquiries, we found it important to ask participants how long they have lived in Pécs or its agglomeration. Our assumption was that this factor largely influences the further answers. The answers we received were divided into three groups:

- those who were born in Pécs or its agglomeration (48.2% of the total answers),
- those who moved to Pécs or its agglomeration more than 10 years ago (38.2% of the total answers),
- and those who moved to Pécs or its agglomeration less than 10 years ago (13.6% of the total answers).

The gender ratio of the participants is balanced, 53.8% men and 46.2% women. Most of the participants are married with children (39.4%), the other live in double households (31.7%) and only 11.5% live in single households. Most respondents (62.5%) are aged between 25 and 44 years old, which means a most likely completed education history and an active worker status. 52.9% of the respondents have a university degree, as the other 21.2% have a college degree. This result is completely consistent with our prior knowledge that the members of the creative class are highly skilled and educated workers. We also asked where they received their degree and it was found that most of the workers finished their schooling in Pécs (65.5%) and another significant group studied in the capital city, Budapest (13.6%). This could mean that the educational institutions of Pécs have a significant retention force, but to make a statement like that further factors should be analyzed. Although we can already see that Florida's assumption that the members of the creative class change place of living easily is already not true to Pécs and its agglomeration.

One third of the respondents are working in the IT sector. There are five industries represented by more than 10% of the respondents and four other represented by less than 10% (Figure 4).

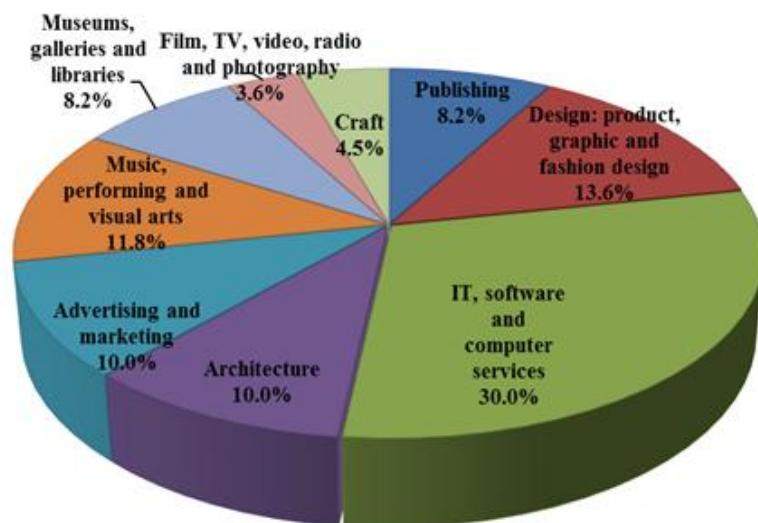


Figure 4. *The distribution of respondents by creative industries (%)*
Source: own edition

WHY LIVE IN PÉCS

The most important aim of the questionnaire was to find those factors that influence the members of the creative class the most when talking about staying in Pécs or moving to Pécs. We believe these factors are the key elements when planning long-term development strategies for the city and its agglomeration. We asked participants to choose the four most important from the following list and rank them. The factors could be divided into subgroups (only the acronym is used in the tables):

- *Personal connection* (P): was born here, family lives here, studied in the city, proximity to friends;
- *Job* (J): moved here because of the job, moved here because of partner's job, good employment opportunities in the city, higher wages in the city;
- *Location* (L): size of city, weather/climate, good transport links, proximity to natural environment;
- *City characteristics* (C): housing affordability, housing quality, safe for children, diversity of the built environment, diversity of leisure and entertainment facilities;
- *People/Social Atmosphere* (S): openness to different types of people (in terms of race, colour, ethnicity, religion); open minded and tolerant, gay/lesbian friendly, language (able to communicate in other languages), overall friendliness of the city, cultural diversity;
- *Education* (E): presence of a good university.

In Table 3, the lines illustrate the four most common ranking lists (using the four most common factors and the top four ranking, we created a 4x4 matrix).

Table 3. *The four most common factors according to the creative class in regards to living in Pécs or its agglomeration*

	Ranked 1 st	Ranked 2 nd	Ranked 3 rd	Ranked 4 th
First most common factor	Family lives here: 30.5%; P	Family lives here: 21.8%; P	Proximity to friends: 15.2%; P	Proximity to friends: 15.1%; P
Second most common factor	Was born here: 27.6%; P	Studied in the city: 16.8%; P	Cultural diversity: 10.1%; S	Prox. to natural environment: 15.1%; L
Third most common factor	Studied in the city: 13.3%; P	Proximity to friends: 13.9%; P	Size of the city: 10.1%; L	Overall friendliness of city: 11.8%; S
Fourth most common factor	Moved here because of partner's job: 7.6%; J	Was born here: 6.9%; P Moved here because of job: 6.9%; J	Prox. to natural environment: 9.1%; L	Climate/Weather: 9.1%; L Cultural diversity: 10.8%; S

Source: own edition

The table clearly shows that most of the ranked factors were linked to personal connections. Another major part is connected to the local characteristics of the city and the social atmosphere. Although the table illustrates that personal connections are the main factors to keep or attract those working in the creative industries, we found that it is important to make further tests and make a cross-table analysis. As most of the respondents were born here, we believed it could have biased our results

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and may have shifted the focus towards personal connections. In advance, three groups were developed:

- Those who have lived here less than 10 years
- Those who have lived here more than 10 years
- And those who were born here.

Using these three groups, the most common factors ranked in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd places have been illustrated in Table 4 (the table had to be simplified - P: personal connections, J: job, C: city characteristics, L: location, S: social atmosphere).

Table 4. Cross table analysis

	Less than 10 years			More than 10 years			Were born here		
	Ranked 1 st	Ranked 2 nd	Ranked 3 rd	Ranked 1 st	Ranked 2 nd	Ranked 3 rd	Ranked 1 st	Ranked 2 nd	Ranked 3 rd
First most common factor	P 26.7%	P 26.7%	P 21.4%	P 32.5%	P 23.7%	P 18.4%	P 56.0%	P 41.7%	L 17.0%
Second most common factor	J 26.7%	C 20.0%	L 21.4%	P 30.0%	P 13.2%	L 18.4%	P 30.0%	P 18.8%	S 12.8%
Third most common factor	J 13.3%	J 13.3%	J 7.1%	J 12.5%	J 13.2%	C 10.5%	P 8.0%	J 13.2%	P 10.6%

Source: own edition

First, we analyzed those participants who were born in Pécs or its agglomeration. As it was our assumption, the factors linked to personal connections dominate in this group. The factor related to jobs appears only once, but only as the third most common factor.

Those who have lived in the city more than 10 years were the second group to analyze. In the first and the second rows, the majority of the ranked factors were still linked to personal connections. In this group, the factors related to job appear two times, but still on less significant ranks.

Finally, we analyzed those who have lived in the city less than 10 years. As we can see in the table, in the first row, all of the factors were linked to personal connections. However, in the second and the third rows, the factors related to job show a growing presence and seem to become more dominant than personal connections.

Overall, we draw the following results: the longer a creative worker lives in Pécs or its agglomeration, the greater the importance of factors linked to personal connections. Otherwise, the shorter time the respondents live here, the greater the importance of the factors related to job. We believe, therefore, that to attract the creative workforce to the city and its agglomeration, the sparkling city life, the culturally rich environment, the openness, the cultural diversity, the hint of bohemian lifestyle is not enough. Hard factors, related to job opportunities are a key element; the city has to offer suitable jobs to the members of the creative workforce. However, we also see that in the long term, personal connections do have an important role in keeping this group, so it is also important to create some kind of personal connection from the very beginning, even through education or friends who live here, too.

CONCLUSION

The article aimed to outline a complex issue regarding the creative class theory and the research surrounding it. Showing the problems of the Florida's creative class theory from the research side and making an overview of its critics, we aimed to raise awareness of the necessity of a

reinterpretation and try to provide a suitable alternative, the creative trident theory. Using this theory we shortly summarized the definition of creative industries, which was the basis of our empirical research, as the creative trident approach, unlike Florida's theory, does not only use the occupational-based classification of the creative workers, but it also takes into account the industry-based approach. As we believe this approach makes a complete explanation to the creative workforce theory, using this definition we conducted a survey among the creative industries workers living in Pécs or its agglomeration.

Summarizing the research results, the following highlights can be made: those critics who claim that jobs do not follow the creative class, but the other way around to Florida's theory (Storper, Scott, 2009), and that the mere existence of different material factors (such as physical environment, built environment, the accessibility to creative places) (Rantisi et al., 2006) is not sufficient in itself to attract the creative class proved to be true in the case of Pécs. This result is consistent to the findings of ACRE researchers, who claimed that the European creative class is less mobile than the American one and that the personal connection, the attraction of the individuals' experience and the personal and organization network are among the most important installation factors the creative class choose (Bontje et al., 2011). As Florida argues that the attraction of creative people to the city is of main importance, the European tendencies show that in this social environment, the promotion of the creative businesses colonization is more important and the different soft factors can be used in the long-term retention of the creative class. Overall, we can declare that suitable job opportunities are a key element in attracting the creative class, as according to our results, those who have lived in Pécs or its agglomeration for less than 10 years had moved here because of job factors and, in order to retain them in the long term, the city has to assist the formation of personal connections and other soft factors.

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