

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

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INTERNATIONAL MARKET OF POST-MODERN CITIES

The attractiveness of post-modern cities for the creative class and knowledge
workers, and promotion of urban art

DIPLOMSKO DELO

LJUBLJANA, 2006

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MEDNARODNI TRG POST-MODERNIH MEST

Privlačnost post-modernih mest za kreativni razred in delavce s posebnimi znanji z
vidika uporabe urbane umetnosti

DIPLOMSKO DELO

GRADUATION THESIS

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CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	6
List of Figures.....	6
1 INTRODUCTION.....	7
2 DECLINE OF A NATION STATE AND RISE OF A CITY.....	10
3 FORDISM AND POSTFORDISM.....	12
3.1 Fordism as a System of Production.....	12
3.2 Post-fordism.....	15
3.3 Differences Between Modern / Fordistic and Post-modern / Postfordistic Cities.....	19
3.4 The Case Of Los Angeles.....	21
3.5 Urbanization of Ljubljana, Slovenia.....	22
3.6 Economy and Jobs in Post- fordistic cities.....	25
4 POPULATION IN POST- MODERN CITIES.....	26
5 CREATIVE CLASS, KNOWLEDGE WORKERS AND THE SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF CLASS.....	32
5.1 Creative Class.....	37
6 THE CREATIVE CLASS AND THE RESIDENCY CHOICE	42
7 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS FOR THE LOCAL ECONOMY GROWTH.....	48
8 THE RELATION BETWEEN ART& CULTURE AND THE CREATIVE CLASS.....	54
8.1 Case Study of Utrecht.....	54
8.2 Case Study of Amsterdam.....	57
8.3 Ljubljana as a Creative City, Facts and Possibilities.....	60
8.4 Art, Culture and Communities.....	66
9 CONCLUSION.....	69
10 SUMMARY IN SLOVENE.....	73
11 REFERENCES.....	79

KAZALO

Seznam tabel	6
Seznam slik	6
1 UVOD	7
2 ZATON NACIONALNE DRŽAVE TER VZPON MEST	10
3 FORDIZEM IN POST-FORDIZEM	12
3.1 Fordizem kot način produkcije	12
3.2 Post-fordizem	15
3.3 Razlike med fordističnim / modernim In post-fordističnim / post-modernim mestom	19
3.4 Primer Los Angelesa	21
3.5 Urbanizacija Ljubljane	22
3.6 Ekonomija in trg dela v post-fordističnih mestih	25
4 POPULACIJA POST- FORDISTIČNIH MEST	26
5 KREATIVNI RAZRED, DELAVCI S POSEBNIMI ZNANJI TER SOCIOLOŠKO RAZUMEVANJE RAZREDA	32
5.1 Kreativni razred	37
6 KREATIVNI RAZRED IN NASELITEV KOT IZBIRA	42
7 POMEMBOST KREATIVNIH DELAVCEV ZA LOKALNO EKONOMSKO RAST	48
8 ODNOS MET UMETNOSTJO, KULTURO IN KREATIVNIM RAZREDOM	54
8.1 Primer Utrechta	54
8.2 Primer Amsterdama	57
8.3 Ljubljana kot kreativno mesto, dejstva in možnosti.....	60
8.4 Umetnost, kultura in skupnosti	66
9 SKLEP.....	69
10 POVZETEK V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU	73
11 LITERATURA	79

CONTENTS OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Differences Between Fordism and Post-fordism.....	16
Table 3.2	Differences Between Modern / Fordistic city and Post-Modern / Post-Fordistic City.....	19

CONTENTS OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1	Age Structure of People Who Moved into the Renovated Parts of Manchester.....	28
Figure 4.2	Marriage Status of People Who Moved into the Renovated Parts of Manchester.....	29
Figure 4.3	Household Type of the Newcomers in the Renovated Parts of the Manchester Downtown.....	29

SEZNAM TABEL

Tabela 3.1	Razlike med fordizmom in post-fordizmom	16
Tabela 3.2	Razlike med fordističnim / modernim in post-fordističnim / post-modernim mestom	19

SEZNAM SLIK

Slika 4.1	Starostna struktura novo priseljenih v obnovljene dela Manchestra.....	28
Slika 4.2	Zakonski status novo priseljenih v obnovljene dela Manchestra.....	29
Slika 4.3	Gospodinjstvo novo priseljenih v obnovljene dela Manchestra.....	29

1 INTRODUCTION

The introductory part opens with a story- an imagined case of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. The case never actually happened, but it could have, although perhaps not in Ljubljana but in some other city. It could be presumed that after the acquisition of the full membership in the EU, the amount of migrations will increase; this would make it much easier to study or work in the other member states or to buy real estates there, so Europeans would travel or move more frequently. The main presumption in this case would be that the flow of people running through Slovenia would be rather one-way, which means that the number of people moving out of Slovenia to other cities would exceed the population growth of Ljubljana. Which part of the population would be the first to move? Educated people¹, artists - people that are wanted on the employment market and speak foreign languages well enough to live abroad.

The lack of all these promising people would affect Ljubljana, and sooner or later the city would face severe problems because of turning into a market place without a significant contribution to the world's technological or cultural innovation or newest artistic movements. Therefore the question is, what can be done to avoid this vortex of urban decay. Perhaps the city was made too monotonous with so many malls built on the city fringe, consequently luring urban dwellers out of downtown. Perhaps there was a lack of small scale art and culture facilities in the downtown and surrounding communities, although the old industrial buildings located near the downtown were there - like the old Rog² factory and the Sugar factory, which were no longer in use, and could have been turned into interesting places offering art studios, theatre perhaps, or *DJing* and graffiti workshops for the local underprivileged youth. Several other ways of avoiding urban and economical

¹ According to *CMEPIUS* (Slovenian National Erasmus Organization) the number of Slovenian students having studied abroad (in 2004/05- 1031) exceeds the number of international students having studied in Slovenia (in 2004/05- 396), which shows the temporal decrease of educated population in urban areas- the main Slovenian universities are located in Ljubljana, Maribor and Koper.

² Rog factory is an old devastated bike factory, located near the downtown of Ljubljana. Currently it is being transformed into a cultural cluster, but the activists running the project have occasional difficulties with the authorities, who probably have other plans for the factory. Considering the size and location of the Rog factory it could significantly contribute to Ljubljana's art and culture amenities.

decay could be presented here, but this diploma will mainly focus on the potential use of art and culture in contributing to a more liveable city with a prosperous economy growth, attracting (and keeping) educated, creative and mobile residents. That was just a case that could easily have happened, although it has not, and yet there are cities, which are developing in a similar way.

How to avoid the urbanisation trend, that causes the city to be lagging behind, is the main focus of this diploma. I'm quoting Richard Florida here, just to stress the importance of being a desirable location for educated creative people, future leaders of inventions who tend to cluster around particular places: "*Just a few places produce most of the world's innovations. Innovation remains difficult without a critical mass of financiers, entrepreneurs and scientists, often nourished by world-class universities and flexible corporations*" (Richard Florida in European Commission).

With the globalisation of economy and other issues, cities started playing a new role on the supranational level; they became places supplying people with jobs, which could be considered as increasingly mobile. Cities should aim to attract business and people to temporary or permanent settlement. In the fordistic economy firms were not that mobile and stayed in cities for some time, while corporations relocate with much greater ease nowadays. Post-modern firms are not focused on manufacturing as they used to be in the past, and even if they are, the manufacturing part had probably already been relocated to some other part of the world where production is cheaper. The consequence is that mainly services, high-tech and creative jobs stayed in Europe and North America, so the question is how this transformation affected our cities. Are cities really running a race to attract employable people that would make local economy more successful, and if they are, how can art be used in attracting this group? Therefore three hypotheses were established: the *creative infrastructure*, the *creative class* and the *street-level art* hypotheses.

The creative infrastructure hypothesis:

Post-modern cities compete on a kind of a market to attract potential citizens, so they have to offer a certain quality to improve liveability. The things newcomers are looking for most are: urban art, interesting authentic scene and liveable atmosphere (tolerant, diverse, developed...).

The creative class hypothesis:

Cities should aim to attract a new class of people, called the creative class, because it boosts city economy.

The street-level art hypothesis:

Art, especially small-scale street level art, attracts creative class and brings closer economically successful newcomers and poorer local people. It also makes post-modern cities more liveable.

The discussion on these three hypotheses will be based on the qualitative research of several different theories by different authors. Both, books and articles will be used to support the above hypothesis. Empirical data will be based on research studies made by other authors and properly quoted when used.

2 DECLINE OF NATION STATE AND RISE OF A CITY

My diploma opens with a comparison between nation state and city. At the end of the eighteenth century cities were incorporated into a larger inter- regional hierarchy of cities defined by the territorial borders of the emerging nation-state and national markets (Soja, 2000: 77). Nineteenth century could be described as a time of homogenisation within nation state (ibid, 78) - an implementation of a nation-based economy related to the centralized hierarchies. This centralized economical and political power was established because it was needed to control cities and the new type of urbanization.

In the past, before the emergence of nation-state, there had been cases of important cities, both politically and economically. Hanseatic cities, for example, were a medieval league of North European (mainly German) cities, which had a significant impact on the supranational trade till 17th century.

Nowadays nation-state is considered less important than in the past. Markets, economy or laws are no longer exclusively supervised by nation states. States are now members of international organizations like EU or NATO, so their decisions and policy have to be in accordance with international issues, laws or concepts, which reduces the level of autonomy of a nation-state. Main reasons for the decline of the nation-state are:

- World economic and financial interdependency.
- Decline in protection of national markets.
- Decline in institutionalised relations between national markets.
- National governments with a limited four years mandate can no longer cope with the pace of technological development, which makes the pace of economy faster.
- Global capital flow got so massive that it can no longer be influenced – not even from the most important states.
- Bigger economic expectations from investors who are no longer satisfied with the profits on the national level (Lenarčič, 2002: 42).

Although the role of a nation-state is decreasing, the role of cities on the other hand is increasing. The less important the nation-state is getting – the more important the cities (ibid, 2002: 43). The growing importance of cities³ is also related to the internationalisation and deterritorialization of post-industrial cities, which contain mixed population in terms of race and nationality, and international economical actors like trans-national corporations.

According to the European Commission, the difference between cities and their countries was noted, meaning that cities can be better or worse off than their countries in the perspective of unemployment and population growth. Additionally, the difference between cities and their respective countries can be argued in several parameters like technological development, education, life style of residents and so on. Technology for instance is more related to urban entities than rural places - a phenomenon which will be discussed later.

Decreasing importance of the phenomenon of the nation state could be discussed from another point of view. It is argued that the gap between rural areas and some cities within a nation state is wider than the gap between cities, located in different countries, meaning that there is a greater difference between a small rural village in Germany and Berlin than between Berlin and Paris (Mlinar, 1997). The differences in life style, economy, every day life, traffic, art and culture, and difficulties all cities have to deal with, are included in this gap. Competition between cities was therefore expanded from national to supranational level and from global to secondary and tertiary cities. This notion is included in *the creative infrastructure* hypotheses.

Centers of global economy are created in the cities, which are becoming more and more deterritorialized and are changing into places of flow (Lenarčič 2002: 45 and Mumford in Hočevár 2000: 133); this contributes to the increased mobility between them and changes the hierarchy of post-modern cities. Furthermore, the importance of the relation between the economy and cities is increasing -

³ The relation between nation-state, supranational organizations and decentralization was also discussed by Mlinar, who claimed the growing decentralisation and autonomy of sub-national entities (1995: 125)

according to Charles Landry and Phil Wood, competitiveness and innovativeness of nations are quite dependant on the success of their cities (2003: 17), which was also claimed by Florida, who has been arguing that educated people tend to choose between different cities on the global level when deciding where to live, instead of choosing between countries (Florida, 2005:10). Although the uprising role of the cities was stressed in this chapter, the importance of the national policies in the global competition for knowledge workers and creative class should not be neglected or underestimated. Florida analysed the case of United States after 9.11th, where right-oriented national policy lowered the competitiveness of American cities on the global market of cities (ibid.).

We analysed how the hierarchical relationship between nation states and cities was transformed, but this transformation was strongly related to the development of global industry in general. A shift from fordism to post-fordism and relocation of manufacturing are factors, which severely affected our cities in several ways.

3 FORDISM AND POSTFORDISM

3.1 FORDISM AS A SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION

End of the 18th century was marked by industrialization, which had a great impact on economy, production, consumption and urbanization. Henry Ford and his invention of assembly line in Detroit are often presented as the peak of industrial production. Mass production was first started in the Ford factory in the year 1913 - a car called T was produced with the use of assembly line, which resulted in the production of a car that was made for masses and called T. Before the production of Ford T car factories were focused on rich buyers, but the cost reduction achieved through assembly line made cars available to American middle and working class families. Assembly line increased the number of produced items, and contributed to lower work costs and higher quality. Workers became part of a bigger rationalised system, which tried to get as close as possible to a mechanical operation. The work was called “minute division labour”, which means it was highly simplified and uncreative; a worker was only responsible for one task, which demanded greatest precision and the was completely predictable (Zuboff, 2002:

45)- a complete opposite of the creative work. Production was based on the idea of *scientific management* of Frederick Taylor, American engineer, who developed production in which everything was planned and made simple; clear division between mental and physical labour was regarded as a standard - it was very clear who made decisions and who didn't; it was also planned what employees who were paid for intellectual work, used their brains for- their creativity was quite limited (Florida, 2004: 64).

Due to reduced costs (assembly line), the price of the car called T lowered in 1924; it was 260\$ per car and that was the lowest price for a four- cylinder automobile ever (Zuboff, 2002:45). Because this car was so cheap, millions of them were sold, and that changed American and European cities significantly. Distance became less important and because of that (and many other reasons) the form of the cities changed drastically. They were subordinated to the car transport, which was commented as a sacrifice of cities to the good of the cars by Lewis Mumford.

Fordism initially meant a mode of production, although consumption and culture were both significantly influenced by it. The significant increase of wages in the Ford factory- to 5\$ per day, made workers consumers and producers of cheaply produced goods (Zuboff, 2002: 47, 48). At that time economic growth index in USA was relatively stable and United States were economically quite successful. The economic growth index in the USA between 1960 and 1968 was 4,4%, and 2,5% between 1979 and 1985 (Harvey in Lenarčič, 2004: 46), which shows a positive growth, but a negative trend. The success after the Second World War was a consequence of a stable car, shipbuilding, electrical and oil industry, which were facing certain difficulties since 1970. The work force in these industries is regarded as the main part of the consuming population of that time (Lenarčič, 2004: 48). The decay of fordist production has slowly resulted in a process of switching to post-fordist production.

The description of fordism as a system was necessary because of the general impact of production on a society. The manner of production influences other areas like culture, consumption and urbanization. The relationship between a city and culture is well described by Harvey, who said "*social and spatial post-modernity*

represents a cultural form of post-fordistic production and a flexible accumulation of capital, so basically it is contemporary economical and capitalistic change expressed culturally” (Harvey in Hočevár, 2000: 49).

Modern City

As noted above, growing industry in the cities required manpower, which moved from rural areas to urban places in order to live and work there. Increasing urbanization changed the relationship between rural and urban places. Due to bad transport connections manpower had to live near factories, and that’s why population of cities was growing (Hamnet in Bridge, 2000: 334). The case of Manchester was described by Soja who claimed that the growth of the Manchester population was significant in the 19th century, after several factories were opened in the inner city of Manchester (Soja, 2000: 79).

Urban development consists of four stages; *urbanization*, *suburbanization*, *deurbanization* and *reurbanization*. Fordism was related to the first three, starting with centralization, which means that factories and working class moved in the inner cities. Later *absolute centralization* turned into a relative centralization, meaning that the growth of cities decreased a bit – it was still positive but the number of people living in surrounding areas was getting bigger too. This could be explained with upper and middle classes moving out of the city. Later it will be discussed how Los Angeles and Ljubljana were affected by this process.

To function was the main task of the industrial city, and other things were neglected. Cities were considered as support for local work force and buildings usually had the function to accelerate the process of industrialization. Historical buildings were often destroyed, including those with important social or symbolic meaning (Uršič, 2005: 29). Such policy has lately been criticized because cities nowadays should be upgrading their image, and old symbolic buildings could be used in adding an image to a city. Ecology was not considered an important issue in modern cities either- a lot of pollution was caused by heavy industry, green areas were lacking and cars were used as the main means of city transport; all these factors made industrial city less liveable. The consequences of suburbanization were bigger urban spaces, into which lots of small places that

used to be surrounding villages were included. Car traffic can be viewed as very important for the spread of American cities (Uršič, 2005: 30), because it changed the localizing patterns of production and consumption. It made it possible to live in suburbia and commute to the city on daily basis in order to work and consume—shopping malls, reachable mainly with cars have become a standard part of American and European city fringes.

Geographically cities expanded, because the distance was not an obstacle anymore. This changed in time because the infrastructure for car transport could not be provided anymore from the post-industrial cities. Unattractiveness of industrial cities and possibility to commute on the daily bases resulted in pauperisation of modern city centers, as was the case of Manchester, described by Soja (2000); classes that were able to leave the center eventually left and poorer part of the city population was not able to move out, thus having formatted the ghettos and slums like south Central L.A. for instance.

There were also attempts to reorganize the old industrial city in the era of fordism. One of them was Howard's idea of a *garden city*. Garden city was a small city with a lot of parks and surrounded by an agricultural belt. Traffic was also reorganized and so was the morphology of a city (Howard, 1946). Basically the Garden city notion represents an attempt to make the industrial city a better place for its population. The positive feature of a garden city is that it fosters a sense of community, and in my opinion modern and post-modern cities have not been doing enough to overcome the lack of social capital.

3.2 POST-FORDISM

In the seventies there was a significant economical crisis, so alternative economical and organizational strategies were required (Soja, 2000: 96). Fordist mode of production could not deal with the current economical matters anymore. Several factors brought fordism into crisis. These factors, which caused the decay of fordism, were described by Lenarčič, but here only those will be mentioned that are considered important for our hypothesis:

- Investments in research were not big enough.

- Monotonous, alienating kind of “assembly line” work that produces millions of same low quality products.
- Interest for mass production goods is decreasing, contrary to the increasing demand for high quality products
- Specialized goods demand shorter productivity time and are made in smaller workshops or factories. The number of these is increasing
- Flexible production that creates profit, using new technologies
- New technologies demand better educated work force, which made education more important

(Lenarčič, 2004: 56)

It would be worth noting that fordism was based on the means of production, that are relatively hard to move (machines, factories...), while on the other hand post-fordist production mainly depends on know-how, talent, information technology etc., which are all much more movable. Post-fordist cities should therefore be aware that the companies located within them could easily relocate.

Differences between fordism and post-fordism could be compared in many ways, but here we will mostly focus on economical and spatial changes. The terms fordism and postfordism will be used, although there are other expressions for the economic transformations of this time: old and new capitalism, organized and disorganized, fordist and just-in-time production...).

Table 3.1: *Differences Between Fordism and Post-fordism*

Fordism, Organised capitalism, the Old capitalism	The new capitalism, disorganized capitalism, Just-in-time production
Mechanistic structure	Market networks
Concentrations and centralization of industrial banking, and commercial capital in regulated national markets	De-concentrations of rapidly increasing corporate power away from national markets. Increasing internationalisation of capital and in some cases separation of industrial from bank capital
Expansion of economic empires and control of overseas production and markets	Industrialization of the third world and competitive de-industrialization of core countries which turn to specialization in services
Hegemony of technical-scientific rationality	Cultural fragmentation and pluralism coupled with undermining of traditional class or national identities
Extractive- manufacturing industries dominant sources of employment	Decline of extractive- manufacturing industries and rise of organizational and service industries
Growth of large industrial cities dominating regions through provision of centralised services	Decline of industrial cities and deconcentration from city centers into peripheral or semirural areas resulting in acute inner city problems
Mass production of homogenous goods	Small batch production
Vertical and (in some cases) horizontal integration	Vertical integration sub-contracting. More horizontal labour organization
No job security	High employment security for core workers. No job security and poor labour conditions for temporary workers
Functional spatial specialization (centralization/decentralization)	Spatial clustering and agglomeration
Spatial division of labour	Spatial integration
Homogenisation of regional labour markets (spatially segmented labour markets)	Labour market diversification (in-place labour market segmentation)
Centralised state	Decentralisation and sharpened interregional/intercity competition
Mass consumption of consumer durables: the consumption society	Individualized consumption: yuppie- culture
Modernism	postmodernism
socialization	Individualization, the spectacle society

Lash, Urry, Swyngedouw in Harvey (1989: 174- 179)

The post- fordistic system of production could well be described as a *lean production (just-in-time production) directly following market demands* (Scarfone, 2001). But some authors like Naomi Klein go even further and claim that the production has been actually moving out of the first world to China, India, Sri Lanka and so on (Klein, 2001). If production has indeed been moving out of Europe and

USA, other phases in merchandising are probably getting more important. It could be claimed that selling, brand-building, advertising, designing... substituted mass production. On the market, already overloaded with goods, it is important to compete, and the creative cultural industries are the way to make a product special and outstanding. Or as Naomi Klein wrote: in USA we have 4,5 times more workers that sell clothes as compared to the number of workers producing them (Klein, 2001: 232). It is not manpower that companies need; it is creative ideas about how to sell their products or how to make them special in technological (better developed) and perhaps some other sense, which can also be non-material. As manufacturing is moved to Asian countries like India and China, so educated talented workers are moving in the other direction. According to Florida there are many knowledge workers and students from Asia studying and working in America, Europe and Australia. These workers significantly contribute to American, European and Australian economy, so we should be striving to attract them (Florida, 2005). According to Florida outsourcing is not such a threat to American economy, if we are able to replace it with jobs that require special skills and knowledge (ibid., 98). I find the morality of luring third world educated work force questionable, because if a poor state like India invests in an education of a young prospective student, and he then moves away and works in Australia, India lost a significant amount of money and an educated worker, which altogether negatively affects the pace of the Indian national development.

Of course manufacturing was not replaced by selling alone - service sector and financial services became much more important in our economy as well. In United Kingdom total employment fell by 5% between 1975 and 1985, but employment in service sector and FIRE (financing, insurance and real estate) increased significantly⁴ (Sassen, 1991: 131). It is worth noting that Sassen's theory was written back in 1991, and that it refers to the period around 1985, which makes it rather old, but still, it points out the decay of fordistic jobs and increase in rather post-fordistic industries. Here it should be noted, that the decrease of manufacturing jobs first occurred in Western or capitalist Europe. Because Eastern

⁴ Employment in service sector increased for 41% and in FIRE industries for 44% (Sassen, 1991: 131).

Europe had different political and economical system this shift took place after the break up of socialism- mostly after 1989.

3.3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MODERN/ FORDISTIC AND POSTMODERN/ POSTFORDISTIC CITIES

Following the description of the transformation of production system, we will now discuss the ways this change influenced or changed our cities. Let us first look at the Hočevár's comparison of modern/fordistic and post-modern/post-fordistic cities.

Table 3.2: *Differences Between Modern/Fordistic city and Post-Modern/Post-Fordistic City*

TYPE OF CITY CHARACTERISTICS	MODERN/ FORDISTIC CITY	POST-MODERN/ POST-FORDISTIC CITY
URBAN STRUCTURE	Particular, permanently closed urban spaceness, localized zoning, distinguished difference between periphery and center, linear suburbanization, cities involved in the national territorial structure, national infrastructure and technological standard, national space corridors	Fragmentised, heterogeneous space, selective and flexible space zoning, more centers, integration in global networks, global (infrastructure and technology) standards, international space and virtual corridors
URBAN ECONOMY	Industrial production, mass production, economy of large series, material production, focusing on territorial hinterland	Service economy instead of production, flexible “consumption” production, diverse services, immaterial services, not oriented territorially,
URBAN CULTURE	Class based, social and spatial segregation, homogeneity, culture divided in elite and mass culture, local and national connection	Lifestyle dividedness, horizontal dividedness, socially and spatially spread, service focused and microlocalised but at the same time globally comparable
URBAN ARCHITECTURE	Functional, universal standards, indistinctive style, monotony of urban land, non-aesthetic and functional	Eclectic, universal global standards with incorporated local styles and tradition, spectacle oriented, aesthetics more important than function
URBAN PLANNING	Long run planning, city defined as a limited area planned according to static social needs, technical planning, city placed in a national hierarchical urban system,	Long run planning- strategy and fragmentariness, city as an open spatial system in the sense of dynamical social needs, combination of holistic, partial and consumption oriented planning, openness
URBAN REIGN	Institutionalised reign, political and institutional state owned agency, redistribution of sources for satisfying public needs, dealing with public services.	Combination of institutional in corporative enterprise, partnership of public and private agency, co-investing, market oriented public services.

(Hall, Flanagan, Borja, Castells, Antikaisen and Hočevar in Hočevar, 2000: 50, 51)

There are several differences between fordistic cities and post-fordistic cities, but cases exist to which these differences cannot be applied. Particular situations may be somehow different than the theoretically discussed issues; we will therefore illustrate some of these changes on the case of Los Angeles.

3.4 THE CASE OF LOS ANGELES

First urban growth in L.A. started around 1870, lasted till 1920, and was related to the new railway system built in this time. Mainly White Anglo- Saxon Protestant Americans immigrated to L.A. The city's urbanisation process was very different from that of London or Manchester, and its lack of centralised downtown has given L.A. the reputation of the most American-style city, although its urbanisation was related to industry growth. The first crisis took place between 1900 and 1920, when it ended with L.A. becoming a leader in new manufacturing jobs in America. The new boom started in the twenties and was a consequence of car and similar industries, which were mainly based on assembly line. After several crises, mainly *the great depression* and the Second World War, fordism and mass production still dominated and attracted lots of new immigrants.

At this point some urban phenomena, mentioned earlier, could be observed. First is the decentralised urban form. There were lots of surrounding cities built near L.A.- Soja calls it "*fragmentation of metropolis*". Clusters of defence, military and aerospace industry were established around L.A.- a phenomenon which is in some way still present, but the military and aerospace industry were substituted by high tech industry clusters.

When the surrounding villages emerged, a great decay of the downtown took place. In the sixties poor African Americans and Mexican Americans were the main population of the downtown, because most of the white people left it to live in the suburbs. An interesting thing about L.A. is that even minorities and poorer working class lived in the suburbs. In the downtown town hall, decaying financial center, some hotels and a flagship project (serving the white population) were located (Soja, 2000: 137).

Riots already took place in the poorer neighbourhoods of L.A. at that time. These suburbs were segregated on the basis of wealth and race, which, in fact, contributes to the likelihood of riots.

From the seventies on, the fordist mode of production underwent serious difficulties. Defence, aerospace and electric industry were becoming less and less profitable and new kind of industries emerged; especially high-tech and entertainment industry have been getting more important for the local economy than the old heavy industry. Jobs, offered by this new industry were mainly “*focusing on upper end of labour market*” (Soja, 2000: 143), like FIRE industries. The consequence of the shift in the economy was also the change of the urban form. Significant increase was noted in regional urbanisation- cities out of L.A. were growing bigger and were getting a status of *exopolitan*, as Soja calls it. Some of these new cities are related to the high- tech industry, like Orange County Technopoles. (Soja, 2000)

3.5 URBANIZATION OF LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA

The urbanization process of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, could be characterised as untypical, even when compared to other socialist countries. At the moment Ljubljana lacks quite a few features of a successfully urbanised city. First of all, it is not very international⁵, or at least not as international and racially mixed as other European capitals, especially west European. Internationality⁶ and cultural diversity is essential for a successful urbanization and metropolization. Secondly, density and heterogeneity⁷ are questionable, especially the former- considering the fact that Ljubljana suffers from a very dispersed suburbanization.

Slovenia had been an agriculturally⁸ oriented state before the socialists tried to modernise it. Ljubljana was a provincial city in Austro-Hungarian period and the town center’s development was mainly the domain of the German population

⁵ The biggest part of Slovenian minorities comes from the other republics of former Yugoslavia.

⁶ According to Hočevar has Ljubljana about 3% of residents with foreign nationality. Amsterdam, for example, has 23% of foreign residents (Hočevar in Kos, 2002: 38).

⁷ Urbanity was analysed by *Wirth as large, dense and permanently settled heterogeneous individuals* (Ozaki, Uršič, 2005: 2).

⁸ Within Ljubljana there are still protected areas because of having a status of agriculture land (Spatial Plan of Ljubljana 2002: 5)

(Italian in the Western Slovenia) (Hočevar, Uršič, Kos, Trček, 2005: 281). Ljubljana of that time was a transit city linking Trieste and Vienna. Industrialization was significantly accelerated after the Second World War by the socialist regime and Slovenia was successfully industrialised. Actually it has always been considered to be the most developed former Yugoslavian country (ibid.). Although the industrialization could be estimated as successful, Slovenia's urbanization process was much slower than expected. It could be argued that Slovenia has been under urbanised as compared to development of the national economy. In other Yugoslav republics the post-war industrialization was accompanied by a faster growth of urban populations than in Slovenia, although the latter was better developed. (ibid.:286). This phenomenon is called the *urbanization gap*.

Because Slovenia was always a part of some larger state or kingdom and because of relatively agricultural economy, Slovenian urban middle class could not develop as in other European cities. Hočevar, Uršič, Kos and Trček also relate urbanization gap to the *blut und boden* mentality of Slovenian nation, resulting from the fact that Slovenia was always a part of some larger state (2005: 288). The *blut und boden* mentality can be seen in several nationally distinctive patterns. Statistically, Slovenians are very keen on living in an owned⁹ house, located in a rural area. According to *Slovene Public Opinion Research* (2002), 31,3% of Slovenian population would prefer living in country side (rural area), which is quite a lot when compared with only 3,2% of the population, keen on living in a center of a larger city (with more than 50000 inhabitants) (Ozaki and Uršič; 2005: 10).

The main consequence of an unsuccessful urbanization is a dispersed settlement pattern, which is still a significant problem of Slovenia, discussed in many urbanistic publications¹⁰. The economical, cultural and ecological consequences of dispersed settlement can already be seen. But because of the reasons, mentioned above, Slovenians are very keen on living near larger urban areas and commuting on daily basis, which in Slovenia is quite possible. Car transport developed much faster than public transport, so it is easier to drive a car to work than to use a train

⁹ The share of owned residences is significantly high in Slovenia, among the highest in the world (Hočevar, Uršič, Kos, Trček, 2005: 288). Sidney utd.

¹⁰ The Spatial Plan of the City of Ljubljana defines dispersed settlement as a serious regional problem, which should be dealt with promptly (M. Cerar and others, 2002: 17)

or a bus. There is no underground or light rail train in Ljubljana. According to European Commission Slovenians own 500 registered cars per 1000 capita (statistically the largest share in Europe), and are quite keen on using a car to travel to work, this being a consequence of the dispersed settlement. Towns, which used to be rural in the past, have been transforming into settlements, where people working in Ljubljana, sleep and spend some of their free time. This type of settlement could partly be compared to *exopolitan*, a notion argued by Soja, although most of the surrounding towns near Ljubljana do not have some particular industrial or high tech cluster located within themselves, so residents mainly work in the Ljubljana. It should be mentioned that they often consume on the city fringe of Ljubljana as well.

In the Soja analysis of L.A. pauperisation of the downtown was noted. On the case of Ljubljana pauperisation or ghettoisation was not observed, although there are some parts, which have a reputation of being partly ghettoised (Rakova Jelša, Fužine). Because of the socialist regime the gap between the rich and the poor was not that extreme as in L.A., and ghettos could not develop. According to Szeleny in the socialist countries the economics of the spatial development was rather neglected, as well as real estate market (Hočevar, Uršič and others 2005: 285), which could also be the reason for less segregated and segmented spatial settlement.

Due to the long lasting socialist system Slovenia entered post-industrial or post-fordistic period rather late. In my opinion the shift into post-industrial society took place after the independence of Slovenia. Since then the national economy has been changing into market-oriented economy, which caused a growth of the gap between rich and poor and denationalisation of real estates. The flow of the people, capital, information, goods and services increased enormously. Since then society has been more and more comparable to the western capitalist societies- in the terms of economy, culture and work.

3.6 ECONOMY AND JOBS IN POST- FORDISTIC CITIES

After the Second World War the number of manufacturing jobs has declined in developed countries. It is noted by Sassen that global cities¹¹ like London, New York and Tokyo have all experienced changes in occupational structure over the last few decades (Sassen, 1991: 197). In all the three cities (London, NY and Tokyo), the number of manufacturing jobs has been reduced. However, the decline was a bit bigger in London and New York than in Tokyo (1991: 201). There is another interesting phenomenon about Sassen; global cities have less manufacturing jobs than their surrounding regions or states. New York has less manufacturing jobs than USA, and Manhattan has less manufacturing jobs than NY (24,8%; 16,4%; 14, 6%) (1991: 204). London is characterized by the same situation - less manufacturing jobs are located in London than in England, and the city of London has less manufacturing jobs than the region of London (1991: 209). In all the three cities, the level of tertiary industry increased (1991: 201), but important fact for us is that there is more tertiary industry or producer services¹² within these cities than on the national scale. For example, 37,7% of total New York City employment in 1987 worked in producer services, which represents 7,6% of national employment in producer services. In 1987, only 3,7% of the total national employment was in the producer services (Sassen, 1991: 133). Although I find Sassen's ideas important, it should be noted that her book was written in 1991, and that the situation has been changing since then. The question is if the jobs in service sector can be considered as middle class jobs nowadays, especially jobs in transnational companies like McDonalds for instance, because there is a huge lack of creativity in these jobs, salaries are low, and some signs of *alienation* can also be perceived. I'm only mentioning this because it should be made clear that not all service sector jobs mean a huge progress from fordism. However, Sassen's notions on downtowns having less manufacturing jobs and more tertiary industries and producer services, also proved to be right in the research performed by the Utrecht School of Economics, concerning Dutch cities. In the research it was noted that high skilled workers (in the research the creative class, which will be defined

¹¹ In Sassen's text it only dealt with global cities, which could be misleading, considering the fact that global cities are exceptions, but the research made by Marlet and Woerkens show that the transformation of urban economy is a broader trend, present in many cities.

¹² According to Sassen the main *producer services* are banking and finance, insurance, real estate and business services

later) do prefer living in cities- 22,2% of the workforce in the fifty largest Dutch cities is creative (knowledge) manpower, and in the rest of the country mentioned manpower accounts for 17% of the work force (Marlet& Woerkens, 2004). Richard Lloyd also claimed *a dramatic shift in manufacturing jobs from the center city to the suburban locales in the Chicago region* (Lloyd, 2006:39). It is worth noting that in the case of artists the tendency of moving towards inner city was argued by Markusen (2006, T-5).

The above mentioned statistics shows that economy has been changing in the past decades, and the same goes for cities. There is a tendency of moving from manufacturing to service and producer service economy. These changes are not always the same all over the country, which means that some cities are seeing faster changes than others. Some authors (Florida, Delany) argue this as a big issue for the cities lagging behind. Paul Delany claims that these cities are becoming a pure market place (Delany, 1994), which cannot be considered a profitable long run strategy.

Form, economy and culture of the American and European cities have all been changing after the decay of fordism. As it was noted in the case of L.A., Tokyo, London and New York, industry and labour market of these cities transformed, which also had an impact on the populations of post-modern cities.

4 POPULATION OF POST- MODERN CITIES

In post-modern cities there is a tendency of places replacing spaces. Space is functional and used to satisfy our particular needs. Place has a character - it is considered a bit special and it does not only satisfy our need, but gives us something more, a special feeling perhaps. We experience or even consume¹³ a place - consumptive urban placeness as Hočevár calls it (2000: 299). Experiencing events is increasingly important in post-modern societies - and cities, of course. Pine and Gilmore observed that experiences have become more sought after than

¹³ John Urry also argued that places are being literally consumed, especially in the visual terms (1995:1).

goods and services; this means that people prefer consuming an experience which engages them in a certain way, than purchasing a certain good (Pine and Gilmore in Florida, 2004:167)¹⁴. Applying this idea to cities people like experiencing places because they supply them with certain experiences that cannot be offered by an instrumentally built space.

Hočevar observes that urban mobility makes individuals aware of what kind of places they consume (2002: 36)- they are more aware of what certain places offer and lack, and the choice they make about which places to consume is a lifestyle matter or even a wish (2002: 36, 37). To conclude, some social groups' choice of residence depends on their lifestyle. The question is, which population would be the first to choose which urban places to consume (in a life style way, not because they are forced to, like war refugees, or people that are forced to move for economic necessity). Especially if we are not focused on places within one city but places located in different cities, perhaps even different countries or continents. It could be argued that the answer is - people who speak foreign languages¹⁵, are educated (so they can easily find a job) and have urban lifestyle. Similar findings were reported by the European Commission; high income and educated people are selective about where they live and work.

As already mentioned, the fluctuation is bigger between post-modern cities as compared to modern/fordistic cities for example. Lots of people living in a city are not considered permanent inhabitants. Some of them are city users, metropolitan businessmen¹⁶, students and periodic inhabitants (Hočevar, 2002:38). Some inhabitants of post- modern cities stay in a city for a while, and some are only tourists or visitors. It should be added that travelling between European cities became much easier, or rather, cheaper. Flights are offered by airline companies called *low cost carriers*, firms like Ryan Air, Easy Jet, HLX and many others offer

¹⁴ Florida adds that the creative class of people (defined later) prefer more active, authentic and participatory experiences (Florida, 2004: 167)

¹⁵ Especially in Europe or other continents nations might speak different languages, which makes it a bit harder to move to a city in another country. In USA migration is easier because people speak American English (or sometimes Spanish) all over the US.

¹⁶ City users and metropolitan businessmen are both terms used and defined by Guido Martinotti (1996).

connections between European cities for a price of a taxi¹⁷. If post-modern city inhabitants are not permanently settled in a city, they might move one day, especially if some other city attracts them more. Post-modern inhabitants do not stay in a city for granted, which is why a strategy to attract and keep this potential population is urgently required.

We are still focused on the question which type of population is most likely to inhabit a certain city. Illustrative is the example of Ljubljana, where according to Rebernik the process of reurbanisation (people start moving back into downtown) started. The research done by Rebernik, using data from 1981 till 1991, shows a distinctive trend of gentrification. There are more educated, young and young professional people without children moving into the downtown of Ljubljana (Rebernik in Hočevar in Kos, 2002: 37). There are several texts arguing the dispersed settlement and suburbanization of Ljubljana (Kos, 2002), but it is possible that part of the younger professional population started valuing urbanity. Another important finding of this research is an increased level of fluctuation - people moving in and out of the city, which, in fact, could not be claimed as very typical for Slovenia. The sample in this research was not large enough to be fully trusted and perhaps we cannot be convinced by it alone, but the general European trend points to the same processes going on in other European cities (Hočevar, 2002: 37). In the research made by the Urban Audit and European Spatial Observatory Network and published by the European Commission, similar results were obtained: urban population is more likely to be single, without children and educated; however, urban population is also more likely to be unemployed.

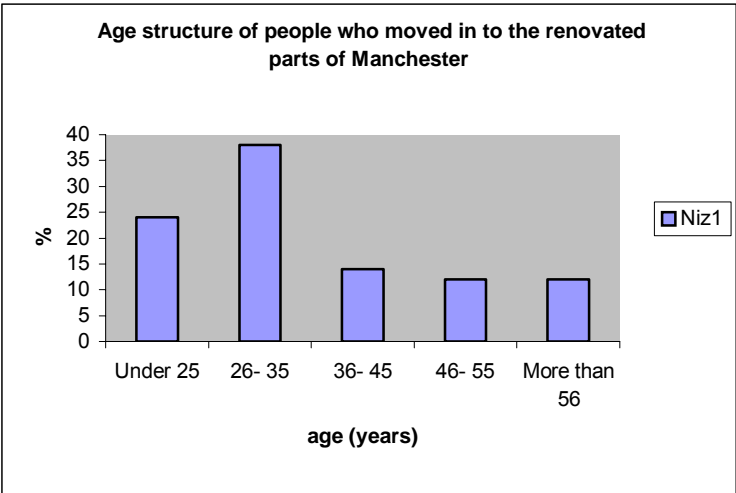
Analysis of city centres' population is also mentioned by Hočevar. It is believed that it cannot be described by classical sociological parameters like status, wealth and ethnicity. Living in a downtown became a cultural characteristic of a certain lifestyle groups like singles (D.I.N.K.)¹⁸, artists, scientists, young urban professionals, gay people and global nomads (Hočevar, 2002:39). According to Hočevar, these social groups represent between 25 and 45% of population in North American and

¹⁷ An add of Hapag Lloyd Express airline company.

¹⁸ D.I.N.K.- *Duble income no kids*- a couple with a double income but no children, which makes them more likely to spend more, be outgoing and enjoy urbanity in general.

European cities, and the number has been increasing (Hočevár, 2000: 151). There was another research made in Manchester by Wynne, who examined the population that moved into the renovated parts of Manchester. The first thing he classified was the age of newcomers in the renovated parts of Manchester downtown. Most of the people that moved in were between 26- 45 years old, which is in conformity with the theory about younger people favouring living in downtowns than older generations.

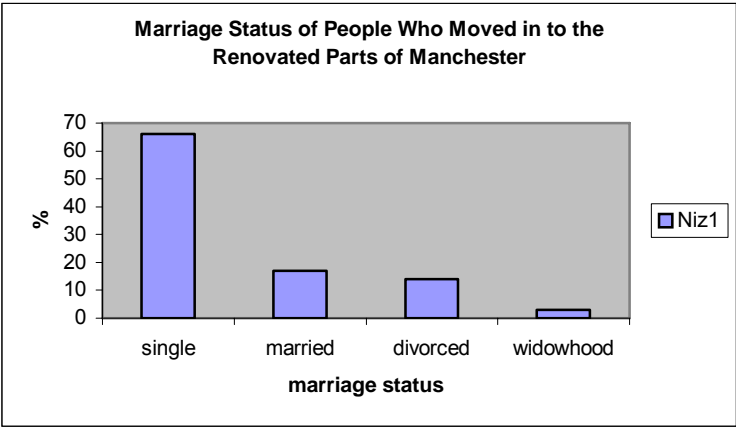
Figure 4.1: *Age Structure of People Who Moved into the Renovated Parts of Manchester*



In Hočevár 2000: 151

The second thing he classified was the marriage status of people who moved into renovated parts of Manchester downtown. Most of them were single.

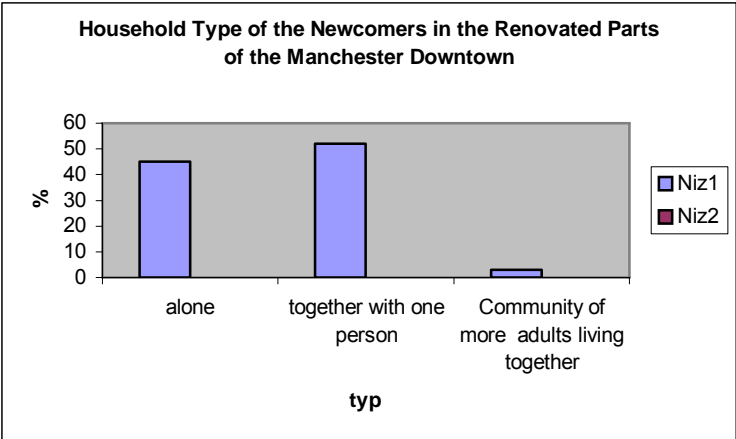
Figure 4.2: *Marriage Status of People Who Moved into the Renovated Parts of Manchester*



Hočevar 2000: 151

The third thing he classified was a household type of the newcomers in the renovated parts of the Manchester city center. Most of them were living as couples or alone.

Figure 4.3: *Household Type of the Newcomers in the Renovated Parts of the Manchester Downtown*



Hočevar 2000: 151

As mentioned before, young professional single or D.I.N.K. people are most likely to move into downtown of a city. If this description matches the profile of a potential inhabitant of a European or North American downtown, these cities should aim to

satisfy the needs of these people. As already noted, mostly lifestyle groups live in cities nowadays, from artists to gay people, and a city that wants to match the demands of these lifestyle groups has to be very diverse but still somehow focused on young professionals. Not directly focused because diversity is a key to success, but aware that this group is a potential city population or at least a part of it - according to the statistics mentioned above, even a large part.

Why exactly should North American and European cities aim to attract young single professionals or even knowledge workers as some call them? There is another statistics made by Wynne - he classified a household income of the population that moved into the renovated parts of Manchester by its age. People between the age of 26 and 35 years earn more than the other age groups in this research (Hočevár, 2000: 152). The age group that follows is the group under 25, and this makes these two groups very important for the city economy. Lenarčič supports this hypothesis; he wrote that economical success of some cities and firms depends on so called knowledge workers, and that cities should try to attract them (Lenarčič, 2004: 66)- an idea we could apply to the L.A and technopoles around it. Other authors agree that post-fordistic cities should try to attract a lot of educated and qualified work force in order to improve their economical situation (Marlet & Woerkens, Glaeser, Uršič). In Richard Florida's work similar views are argued- educated professionals who should be attracted by the postforditic cities. The group of people discussed in the book is a bit similar to the *knowledge workers* used by Lenarčič. They are all well educated, professional and like living in the cities, but Florida uses the term *the creative class*. Florida and Lenarčič agree on how important it is for cities to attract knowledge and creative class, which can be done by offering them some local specialities they are likely to find attractive (Lenarčič, 2004: 66, Florida 2004: 95, 218). It seems all these authors discuss educated, qualified, urban and creative people, whom cities should try to lure in order to improve the local economy, so we will proceed with the discussion of the idea of social class. The chapter will be focused on the existence and characteristics of the new class related to education, cultural capital, skills and creativity.

5 CREATIVE CLASS, KNOWLEDGE WORKERS AND THE SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF CLASS

For better understanding of the term *class*, sociological definition will be given, together with a brief presentation of the ideas of Weber, Giddens, Bourdieu and Gouldner. Let us start¹⁹ with Max Weber who defined class as *a group of people whose shared situation is a possible, and sometimes frequent basis for action by the group* (Ritzer, 1992: 127). The main definition of class situation would - according to - Weber be: “(1) *A number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, insofar as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labour markets*” (Ritzer 1992: 127). The opportunities mentioned above are related to owning means of production (capital class), owning skills (middle class) and owning unskilled labour power (working class). The important part of Weber’s theory is that he differentiated property-less according to the market demand of their skills (Giddens, 2002: 79). Property-less people who possess skills are placed in one class, and the other property-less people who can only offer their unskilled labour in another one (Giddens, 2002: 79), because there is a need to place them in different classes- consider a clear difference between an unskilled worker and a skilled architect, although they both work in a construction business and none of them owns production means (machines and land in this case).

Status groups (also defined by Weber) are built upon other criteria than market. This is more a lifestyle group (Giddens, 2002: 80) and cannot exist without having some shared awareness of being a part of a status group on the part of its members. If class is based on production relationships, status groups are based on consumption relationships, but both of them are related through property possession, which usually influences our lifestyle (Giddens, 2002: 80).

¹⁹ This chapter could be opened with Karl Marx and his writings on class, but considering the fact that this diploma does not focus on class theory it will be omitted in order to leave more space for the authors that I find more relevant. According to Marx the definition of the term class is based on the ownership of capital or means of production (Florida, 2004:68)

Bourdieu defines class as a distribution of economic and cultural capital. A notion of class can be seen in the taste of the individual, which is based on the amount of cultural capital he possesses. *“To appreciate a painting, a poem or a symphony presupposes mastery of the specialized symbolic code of which it is a materialization, which in turn requires possession of the proper kind of cultural capital”* (Wacquant in Stones, 1998: 223). Different classes possess different amounts of this capital and they are trying to change one type of capital for another. Classes are organised as dominant and dominated and the dominating class can be bifurcated into two directions according to their capital structure. First is the *dominant fraction* of the *dominant class*, mainly managers and business owners and the *dominated fraction* of the *dominant class*, mainly intellectuals and artists. The former could be related to the economic capital and the latter to cultural. The hierarchy of capitals is a constant target of social classes, which would all like to impose their kind of capital on the top of the hierarchy. According to Bourdieu, the term class is related to taste and *habitus*, which *“designates the system of durable and transposable dispositions through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world.”* (ibid. 220).

Bourdieu also relates classes and the structure of individual's capital to occupations. The polarization within the dominant class could be illustrated with the case of industrialist and teacher, the former primarily having economic and the latter cultural capital. Lifestyle is very much related to the capital one possesses, and so is *habitus*, therefore a lifestyle difference was noted between members of dominant class endowed primarily with economic capital, and those endowed with the cultural one. The former would favour boulevard theatre, fast cars, luxury hotels, TV, etc., and the latter poetry, avant-garde theatre, art, mountaineering, camping, walking, museums and classical music. In between these two poles, Bourdieu placed the third group; professionals and senior executives. They eschew luxury of executives and asceticism of intellectuals and commit themselves to aesthetics of modernism, dynamism and cosmopolitanism. Bourdieu analysed them as favouring foreign culture, relaxed, *laid-back* and liberated lifestyle (Bourdieu in Weininger in Wright 2005: 119-128).

So far all the authors were mentioned briefly because the theory of class is not the main point of my diploma although the relation between cities and the new class or knowledge workers was described in the chapter 3. The upper part of the middle class is what interests us, and was defined by Weber as between the class that owns means of production and the class of unskilled workers. A class primarily owning skills and knowledge. Bell mentions a rise of professional- technical working force (Bell in Esping- Andersen, 1993: 9), but criticises their lack of class awareness (Bell in Jarec, 2004: 21,22). A similar class was mentioned by Alvin Gouldner in his book *The Future of Intellectuals*. Supposedly this new class has emerged in capitalist and socialist systems, and owns a kind of monopoly over culture and knowledge (Gouldner in Miyahira, 2000: 5). Technical intelligentsia and humanistic intellectuals are included in the knowledge class. This *knowledge class* is quite universal and its importance²⁰ in the class structure is increasing according to Gouldner, who sees the new class as a replacement for the old capital owning class (2000: 5). The old class structure is not rejected by the new class, quite the opposite; new class domination is initiated in relation with its own self- interest, and that is how a new conflict within upper class- between knowledge workers and capital owners -emerged (Gouldner in Miyahira, 2000: 5). Similar views of the new class were written by Bourdieu and will be discussed later. Miyahira claims that knowledge class is less interested in money, rents and profits, and more likely to act according to the logic of cultural capital (Miyahira, 2000: 6), which could be related to the dominated fraction of the dominating class by Bourdieu.

Presenting Gouldner's ideas on the new class structure requires that we also deal with the critics of his theory, and this starts with the fact that knowledge class has been defined as a stratum instead of a class (Szelenyi in Miyahira 2000:8), since there is not any clear antagonism between knowledge class and capitalists. This topic was discussed by Bourdieu. He adds that the knowledge class is not really establishing some new alternative goals for working class, which would make new class order legitimate, as the shrinking of the working class in the first world also diminishes its importance unless the issue is understood as a global matter. In the

²⁰ Wright for instance also analysed changes in the American class structure and he found out a significant increase in managers and nonmanagerial experts (Wright, 2000: 62).

first world it would make more sense to discuss the relation between service and knowledge sector workers.

The new class or knowledge class, as some call it, is also mentioned in Esping-Andersens writings. It represents professional and technical workers with a lot of autonomy and is related to post-fordistic system of production (1993:9). A significant amount of autonomy is given to these professionals, much more than to managers (1993: 13). Post-industrial theory finds *experts* important for the post-industrial economy, because of the shift from industrial to post-industrial society, in which expansion of jobs requiring “*high level of expertise ad autonomy*” will take place. On the other hand there will be a decrease of working class (Wright, 2000: 58).

In Bourdieu’s texts the new class is not that directly mentioned although he deals with the groups within the bourgeoisie class. Dominated part of the middle class is better educated, favouring art, culture and diversity, and enjoying outdoor recreation. Professionals and senior executives are also educated, more cosmopolitan, less interested in showing their wealth and quite relaxed and *laid-back*. Both, dominated part of the middle class and *professionals* could be compared with the new class or creative class as we will call it after discussing Florida and his ideas on class.

Politically the new middle class, as Goldthorp calls it, tends to vote green and left-libertarian oriented parties, which represent post-materialist values. It is worth noting that the new class and better-educated people are most likely to express post-materialist values, which also affects their voting patterns (Knutsen, 2003: 7,8). Florida examined voting patterns as related to regional economic success. It turned out, that U.S.A. regions, which are more democratic and liberal (politically), are more post-industrial than regions where people mainly vote for republicans (Florida, 2005: 218). *Democrats* are certainly more left-libertarian oriented and eco-friendlier than *Republicans*; it could therefore be argued that the regions having more left-oriented voters, meaning more members of the new class, perform better economically, than the right oriented regions, because higher percentage of new class and post-industrial economy leads to better regional development.

In the previous text we discussed the theories of some of the scholars who wrote about classes. We started with Weber and Giddens because they separated property-less classes according to the skills they possess. Gouldner, Bourdieu and other authors all mentioned a class, called new, creative, knowledge or professional class, by which a high amount of cultural capital is possessed and its members are supposed to be educated and not that focused on money and material goods. In economical terms the importance of this class has been increasing since the sixties, which could also be related to the rise of the post-industrialism.

Comparing this with the findings of the chapter three we come to quite interesting conclusions. In my chapter three the population of post-fordistic cities was discussed. Most of the authors we dealt with argue that cities should try to attract educated young professionals. These actually like living in a downtown (considering Ljubljana and Manchester research), and many authors agreed that these young professionals or knowledge workers represent an important factor that can boost city economy. Considering the importance of the knowledge or creative workers for the economy nowadays, we believe that the presence of this class would certainly affect economy and boost the regional economy growth. At this point we could refer to our first two hypotheses; *the creative infrastructure hypothesis* and *the creative class hypothesis*. It was claimed that post-industrial cities compete on a market to attract the knowledge or creative workers, who in fact are important in the post-industrial economy according to the authors above, and this partly proves our first two hypotheses.

At this point it could not be argued that new class or professional knowledge class is the population of post-modern cities, although it could be related to the workforce in global cities, which are so exceptional that our hypotheses could not be proved by the cases of Tokyo, London and New York. According to Lenarčič, knowledge workers favour living in cities because of their lifestyle and work (2004: 65), but after discussing the dispersed settlement pattern of Ljubljana it is not possible to claim that the major part of knowledge workers prefer inner city life to rural life.

5.1 THE CREATIVE CLASS

Richard Florida deals with a new class of people called the creative class, which is also related to the cities and inner city life. The creative class is a highly debated issue lately, even by mayors²¹ of some American cities, so we will use this term for the members of new, educated, expert etc. class.

Creativity is understood as a crucial commodity²² in post-modern economy by Florida. *Most highly prized* which brought *new order in the work place ...* (Florida, 2004: 5). First his definition of a term class:

“A class is a cluster of people who have common interests and tend to think, feel and behave similarly, but these similarities are fundamentally determined by economic function- by the kind of work they do for a living. All the other distinctions follow from that. And a key fact of our age is that more of us than ever are doing creative work for living” (Florida, 2004: 8).

It is emphasized by Florida that class is an economic issue and that the creative class is based on the economic value added through the work they do (2004: 68). *“Consumption, social and cultural preferences and buying habits all flow from people’s economic function”* (2004: 68), so the life style of the creative class should be considered as a consequence of the work they do. The difference between the creative and other classes is in what they are paid for, and the creative class is paid to create and invent (ibid. 8), or creatively use their skills, as Marlet and Woerkens defined it (ibid. 20).

The relationship between knowledge, professional and technical workers is also discussed in Florida’s book. They are included in the creative class (2004: 68). The role of the creative class can hardly be compared to the role of working class in their time. The creative class is less distinctive than working class used to be, although the creative class does share some preferences, tastes²³ and desires. But

²¹ Mayor Martin O’Malley, Baltimore (Peck, 2005: 32

<http://www.geography.wisc.edu/faculty/peck/Peck-strugglingwiththecreativeclass.pdf>)

²² According to Florida creativity is a commodity, which is actually not a commodity because it comes from people, who can be *hired and fired* (2004: 5).

²³ Understanding the issue of class in relation to the taste and preferences was also made by Bourdieu (Bourdieu in Wacquabt in Stones, 1998: 223)

who exactly is a member of the creative class? Florida distinguishes between two levels of the creative class; the creative core and the creative class (ibid. 69). The creative core includes “*scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion-makers*” (ibid. 69). Creative professionals working in legal and health care professions, knowledge industries, financial services and business management are included in the creative class. Basically, the difference between these two classes is that the creative core has to find out the solution and the reason to find out this solution, and the creative class workers deal with the *creative problem solving* (ibid. 69). In 2005 Florida redefined the creative class as the measure of creative occupations, based on *International Labour Organization* (ILO), which includes occupations such as: scientists and engineers, artists, aesthetic workers, musicians, architects, engineers, managers, professionals, health care, law professionals, planners and so forth (Florida, 2005: 26, 27, 28, 272).

Following the definition of creative class, values of the creative class, relevant for my topic, are going to be presented. According to Florida, the creative class is considered as fond of *individuality, meritocracy, diversity and openness* (2004: 77, 78, 79). Individuality means they are eccentric, not traditional and not ready to conform. Meritocracy is more important because it means that merit is better valued than money and wealth by the creative class (ibid.). Earlier in this chapter it was mentioned that Bourdieu understood a class in relation to cultural and economic capital, and especially the former was considered as a capital possessed by the middle class. The new class (*the cultural creatives*) was researched by Paul Ray and Ruth Anderson, and it was also described as not traditional, but culturally creative and post-materialistic (in Florida, 2004: 81).

Considering the fact that there is a new, substantially discussed class nowadays, and that lots of authors deal with this kind of matters, Florida’s theory makes sense- it does deal with a relevant topic (new class), which is discussed by several authors - Gouldner, Bourdieu and Wright all mention the new class, based on skills and knowledge. The idea of the creative class represents an interesting sequel to the aforementioned class theories, but Florida’s does not deal properly with the

other class theories as they are not really discussed²⁴. He simply includes knowledge workers in the creative class, but he should give more effort to define a term class, and then his creative class theory should be within it. The term class actually is defined although not sufficiently because it is based only on the occupation of its members- a creative work in this case, which could be compared with the theory of Max Weber, discussed on the page 16 in this diploma. According to Weber, class means a number of people sharing a *specific casual component of their life chances*. In this case creativity could be claimed as the specific casual component, usable on the market as an opportunity for income.

Still, there are many points, which can be compared or related to the theories of the other mentioned authors. Bourdieu, for instance, claims that there is a bifurcation within middle classes, and the dominated part of the dominating class could as well be compared to Florida's creative class. Gouldner argued that the new class has a monopoly over culture and knowledge and includes technical intelligentsia and humanistic intellectuals, which can as well be related to the creative class. According to Miyahira, knowledge class is more focused on cultural than on economic capital, which is quite similar to Florida's idea of meritocracy and Ray and Anderson's theory of The Cultural Creatives being post-materialistic.

Florida's book has also been reviewed by Edward Glaeser, who agrees on the growing importance of the creative workers, although he mainly argued the importance of the human capital, which of course could be related to the creative class. The latter is a broader concept because it also embraces skilled, professional people without formal education.

Some of Florida's ideas can be well compared with the ideas of other authors, which proves an existence of a new class, even though I am still not sure that we can call this class a creative class because Florida's theory of "being in the age of creativity" has not convinced me completely yet, but we could agree on the growing importance of creativity and creative workers. Florida sees creativity as

²⁴ Also noted by Peter Marcuse, who was actually Florida's PhD professor.

increasingly valued by the firms and individuals and his bottom line in this case is: *as creativity is becoming more valued, the creative class is growing.*

Next issue to be discussed is the size of the creative class. This refers to the creative part of the American work force and how much the creative class actually earns. It is estimated by Florida that the creative class represents around 30% of the entire U.S. workforce, and it has been rising for the past 50 years²⁵ (2004: 74). Similar estimations were made by Marlet and Werkons who studied the creative class in Netherlands. The latter includes roughly 35% of the Dutch work force (Marlet and Woerkons, 2004: 7). According to Florida, the creative class nowadays represents a larger part of the U.S. work force than the working class. Only the service class numbers more workers than the creative and working class (2004: 76). The wage earned by a member of the creative class is approximately two times bigger than a wage earned by the working or service class worker (ibid.), or in other terms; the creative class earns nearly half of the total wages and salaries (Florida, 2005: 29). To sum it up; creative workers or the creative class as Florida calls them, are increasingly important for the economy nowadays. This idea could also be related to the post-modern cities, because in the case of L.A., Soja noted the replacement of fordist industry within L.A. with the cultural (movie) and high-tech industry, which are both creative industries according to Florida.

Florida's definition of the creative class might not be adequate, but there is a wider agreement on a rise of a new class possessing skills and knowledge, which has been argued by Goldthorp, Wright and others. This new class of people is getting increasingly important economically, being well educated, mobile, having a lot of cultural capital and probably exhibiting some kind of creativity at work place. It has been stated in this diploma that many authors agree on a new population of educated young professionals, who like living in urban areas. This group might be keen on living in urban places, meaning that a city, able to attract them, might experience better economy growth than other cities. Even if it turned out that a part of the creative class prefers rural areas, they still might be beneficial for the

²⁵ The biggest rise has been noted since 1980 (2002: 74).

regional economy, therefore attracting the creative class makes sense, no matter how big a city is.

Although it has been suggested that urban areas might do better in attracting the creative class, Urry expressed a rather different opinion, claiming that rural areas have become important locations for capital investments in recent years. He considered capital as indifferent to location, which won't be discussed here, because even in that case, location certainly matters more to workforce than to capital, and a part of capital will always follow skilled workforce (1995: 86). In the following chapters it will be argued that skilled workforce prefers diverse urban areas.

In the last chapter the existence and importance of the creative or knowledge class was discussed. It is impossible to overlook the similarity between post-fordist manpower, post-modern city population and creative or knowledge class, which indicates that the creative class fits in the post-fordist economy perfectly, and that at least part of it is keen on living in cities, but not any kind of cities, because the creative class is highly mobile (Lenarčič. 2004: 116). That is why cities and regions should start considering investing in the creative infrastructure in order to attract new skilled and expert middle class. Here I discussed class on the supranational level, although it could be argued that class is a geographically specific issue. Urry for instance believes there is a difference between American and English class structure (1995. 90). I am aware of geographical differences, but it would make our thesis too complex to incorporate this, so a supranational approach combined with cases will be applied.

6 THE CREATIVE CLASS AND THE RESIDENCY CHOICE

We will now proceed with the relation between cities and the creative class. Assumption about the creative class or some new class favouring living in a city was made by Florida, Uršič, Lenarčič and Hočevar (all mentioned in the chapter 3). On several occasions jobs were mentioned: cultural, high-tech and fire industries were quite related to urbanity, and all this jobs could be considered *creative* jobs, if we use Florida's theory creatively. If we repeat the last few notions - creative jobs are located in urban places, and the population, moving into the European cities reminds us of the creative class and so does its lifestyle. The conclusion is that creative class likes living in cities, but not any cities, as it is quite careful about the residency choice.

A case of a young information technology worker was described by Florida (2004: 215- 217). This student just got signed by a successful high-tech firm from Austin, which offered him a respectable well-paid job. He accepted the offer, although he also had some tempting offers from Pittsburgh. In his case Austin was chosen because of the life style options it offered: lots of young people, interesting nightlife, outdoor recreation and good music scene were mentioned as the qualities of Austin, as the student did not really care about flagship projects like opera or symphony. Therefore the lack of lifestyle options like cultural diversity and tolerant attitude were mentioned in relation to Pittsburgh by this student, who also looked a bit like a member of a rock band²⁶. To sum it up, he chose to live in Austin because he simply found it more liveable, interesting, tolerant and diverse than Pittsburgh, although in the next work of Florida, Austin is considered over gentrified, and new creative cities emerged on the global level, cities like Amsterdam, Melbourne and other *global talent magnets*, which are competing in attracting talents on the global level (Florida, 2005). Global talent magnets were defined by Florida as: world-class cities, aggressively competing for expanding their share of creative, educated and talented residents. *Global Austins* are cities like Tel Aviv and Singapore, which

²⁶ Mentioned because members of the creative class might also be members of some other subcultures, or at least keen on them, which was also often argued by Florida.

are investing in education, amenities, research and development in order to retain homegrown talent and become magnets for regional talents (Florida, 10: 2005).

According to Florida, lifestyle matters to the creative class more than economic benefits (2004: 224), which makes sense, considering the fact that similar observations were mentioned by other authors regarding class (see above). If we apply this idea to post-modern cities, it could be said that the creative class would choose a place to live according to the lifestyle options offered by a particular city rather than the economic benefits, as was noted in the case of the student who chose to work and live in Austin. Considering the previous chapters, especially the one dealing with post-modern urban population, it makes sense that lifestyle, nightlife and culture are important for city inhabitants, because most of them are single, well paid, educated and without children. It will be argued that this kind of population most probably enjoys in going out and urban nightlife. They are well off, having no kids or family they are often single, which makes them particularly interesting in mating market. Another important issue is the relation between the city and the lifestyle, which we already discussed before, when it was noted that living in a particular city might be a lifestyle matter, which means that the creative class residence choice would most likely be based on the lifestyle possibilities.

Knowledge workers and the creative class are also supposed to be interested in diverse urban regions. Florida explains this with his focus groups, which have been used for interviews in order to collect information on the creative class lifestyle and habits. In reference to these focus groups it was mentioned that diversity plays an important role in choosing where to live (2004: 227, 228). According to the last chapter, members of the new class have cultural capital, are more relaxed, and interested in consuming remarkable urban places (last two notions discussed in chapter three), so they most likely are interested in consuming and experiencing culturally diverse urban places that stimulate them.

We will now focus on another research field, which dealt with a rather different phenomenon - food and eating habits -, but brought up similar conclusions. The research was made by Blanka Tivadar in Slovenia. Respondents were classified into several groups- here we will deal with only two of them, *traditionalists* (modern)

and *hedonists* (post-modern). The most important finding for us would be that *hedonists* are most likely to visit exotic restaurants and are not interested in classic- traditional and fast food restaurants. It is now necessary to define *hedonists*, who can be considered similar to the creative class or knowledge workers. *Hedonists* are defined as mostly urban, educated, with educated parents, interested in diverse music, quite mobile, they support gender equality and are well paid (Tivadar, 2004: 165). They earn significantly more than the traditional group from the research study. The most important thing is that diversity in the city (restaurants in this case) has been mainly used by the class of people, which seems quite similar to the creative or knowledge class. On the other hand, *the hedonists* were not that interested in visiting fast food restaurants, which are often franchise chain restaurants, found all over the world. If uniformity and mcdonaldization²⁷ do not interest *the hedonists* they probably prefer consuming diverse, interesting or special spatial forms than instrumental non- places²⁸.

There is another similarity between Florida's theories and Tivadar's research. It was expressed by the creative class focus groups that they enjoy ethnically and racially diverse places. In the *Eating Habits Research* it was noted that *the hedonists like* ethnic minorities, and both the creative class and *the hedonists* also like gay population (Florida 2004: 227, Tivadar, 2002: 165).

The comparison discussed above emphasizes the importance of diversity for the creative class - diversity as related to eating habits, mixed city population or gay population. The bottom line of this chapter is that creative class would be more interested in enjoying the city diversity than any other class, and because of that, the creative class would search for places offering such diversity²⁹. According to Richard Lloyd and Terry Nichols Clark, *the workers in the elite sectors of the postindustrial city make quality demands, and... increasingly act like tourists in their own cities* (Florida, 2002: 224), which is another reason why the creative class enjoys diverse cities.

²⁷ A term used and defined by Ritzer.

²⁸ A term used and defined by Augé.

²⁹ That diverse districts attract people was already noted by Jane Jacobs in 1961 (Jacobs, 1961: 143)

Identity was already mentioned as the factor influencing the residency choice. It was observed that social groups, which favour urban lifestyle often have a particular post-modern lifestyle, like D.I.N.K., young urban professionals, artists³⁰ ... or to put it another way, living in a downtown became a part of specific lifestyles or identities. Perhaps hip-hop subculture could be used as an example of urban lifestyle. Cities located in Wisconsin or South Austria have not been mentioned that often (probably never) by hip-hop artists, but on the other hand they quite like talking about Brooklyn, Queens, Brixton, Kreuzberg and other urban or suburban areas with some symbolic meaning. Somehow rural places and villages are most often mentioned in the traditional music, at least here in Slovenia. It could therefore be argued that a place does represent a part of our identity, and identity differs among different classes and social groups. *Traditionalists*, used by Tivadar, would most likely enjoy traditional alpine music, which would provide them with the sense and identity of a rural locality that could be understood as particularly opposite to urban. On the other hand, we have hip-hop, garage, trip hop, break beat and so on, which are all very related to urbanity, and because of the mentioned difference between rural and urban music it could be concluded that there is an identity, which is strongly related to the phenomena of urbanity, rurality and place in general. If the relation between urban art (or music) and creative class could be proved, it would be possible to claim that an urban identity exists and is also expressed through art, including music. Although more data are required to prove the relation between music, place and classes, it could be claimed that place is also used as a means of identity, expressed also in art. Another relation between art and cities is observed by Landry and Wood, who claim that popular movements in arts and sports most likely start in cities, not rural areas (2003: 13). Members of the creative class, who according to Bourdieu and Florida value cultural capital, probably prefer living in urban places to be closer to the newest popular art movements. In fact Bourdieu related a phenomenon taste to class, and probably urban areas are more likely to satisfy the taste of a creative worker than rural areas.

³⁰ Increasing diversity of city users was noted by Hočevar, which is another reason for the diversity in the city.

Place and identity were also researched by Florida, who argues that the work we do is getting replaced by the place we live in, regarding the sense of our identity. People more likely start a conversation by asking each other *where do you live* than *where do you work* (2004: 230). Because of the increasingly important influence of the place on identity, people became more fastidious about choosing places, which provide them with a symbolic part of their identity (ibid.).

Another important characteristic, which the creative class is looking for, was mentioned by Florida - authenticity. The places, which aim to be attractive for the creative class, have to be authentic and unique, has been argued by Landry and Wood (2003: 25), and Florida (2004: 228), who especially emphasised the music as a means that makes a particular place unique and authentic. This makes sense, considering the status that Seattle has nowadays. By Florida, American regions were ranked according to several parameters, and Seattle was placed relatively high³¹ in almost all of them, which makes it an important place for the creative economy. Although it is worth noting that in Florida's next work Seattle was still ranked high on *the creativity index*, but suffered from a severe class divide, which, according to Florida, is often the case in the most creative cities (2005:189, 283).

Seattle is not only a place where some creative high tech firms are located; it is also the city, where grunge had started. Nirvana was one of the most significant rock groups of the nineties and Jimmy Hendrix was one of the most important musicians of the late sixties; he was also born in Seattle, which makes it an important cradle of new music styles and a world-wide known sub-cultural city. Basically Florida argues, that the creative class moves into places, where some authentic music scene is offered (like grunge in Seattle); therefore it could be suggested that creative class is not interested in places overfilled with chain stores and chain restaurants, which are actually a synonym for a lack of authenticity. Las Vegas, an example of disneyfication and consumption, is at the bottom of Florida's ranking list in the creative economy. The similarity between *the Hedonists* from the

³¹ Florida ranked regions (those with the population over 1 million in this case) according to the amount of creative economy they poses- the creativity index as he calls it, which embraces technology, talent and tolerance, all based on other researches and indexes such us gay index, melting pot index, bohemian index, occupation and employment survey and so on. The complete definition can be found in Florida, 2005: 282/283)

Eating Habits research, who were not interested in the chain restaurants, and the creative class, which is not interested in consuming *chain places*, was noted above. The difference, however, is that *the Hedonists* were not interested in traditional restaurants, which actually do represent some level of local authenticity.

It is often mentioned that the creative class prefers participating in arts than in spectator assets like mass events or big sport stadiums (Florida, 2004); Florida therefore suggests that lively street music scene might do more for attracting the creative class than a new flagship museum. Creative class prefers lively street culture, which is spatially clustered on particular streets with lots of hybrid places like galleries, restaurants and clubs. The clustering of such industries and hybrid places is estimated as crucial for revitalization of particular areas, because a sum of several amenities (cultural clusters for example) makes a district more attractive than an isolated amenity. Jane Jacobs noted: "*People aiming for food or drink, is itself an attraction to still other people*" (Jacobs, 1961: 47), and if we apply this notion to the phenomenon of cultural clusters, it means that the people who are there for some particular reason like theatre, attract more people that might be looking for something else, a concert maybe. A reputation of a lively place is an attraction in itself, and places that can lure several different groups of people, are more likely to be lively, diverse and full of people, as compared to places that focus on just one particular group of people. An alternative ex-squad called Metelkova, located in Ljubljana, is a good example of the mentioned theory and will be discussed later.

Considering the fact that the creative class deals with creativity, it could be argued that places or cities, which stimulate creativity, have better chances to attract the creative class. It was discussed that creative class enjoys lively street culture and art in which they can somehow participate; therefore a bohemian index was made which measures the correlation between the amount of art and the pace of the regional economic growth (Florida, 2004).

The last but not least preferences of creative class are openness and tolerance (Florida, 2004: 259), which are considered highly important. As mentioned above, the creative class is defined as quite mobile, wanting to be accepted and tolerated

when moving into a new community. Members of the creative class might also be immigrants, a bit nerdish or just a bit odd, preferring to live in open and tolerant communities, “*where people do not raise eyebrows*” (Florida, 2002: 259). The last issue could be related to the notion, launched by Bourdeu, who characterized new bourgeoisie as more relaxed and less conservative (see above). It could be added that relaxed people, who do not like being conservative, also prefer places where people act relaxed and open towards them.

7 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS FOR THE LOCAL ECONOMY GROWTH

The previous chapter focused on the characteristics and preferences of the creative class, but now we will try to discuss this matter from a rather different point of view. It will be argued that the creative class is quite useful for cities. As already mentioned, it is believed that the presence of the creative class in a city positively influences the economy on the regional level. Again diversity, openness, the bohemian index and arts will be discussed, the question being if they can be considered important for the increase of the regional economic growth.

It would make sense to open the discussion with Richard Florida’s theories, because the next few chapters will mainly deal with them. Florida argues that diversity, amenities and lots of artists (bohemians) attract the creative class. The latter attracts firms, which finally increases the economic growth. The presence of creative people leads to new business formations, inventions, job generation and economic growth (2004: 249). Edward Glaeser’s theory of *Human Capital*, by which the amount of high- skilled people is used as a growth predictor, was already noted by Florida, who replaced the high- skilled professionals with the creative class, which can, according to Florida, only be attracted by using the 3T’s of *Economic Development* (tolerance, technology and talent). Statistically it was proved by Florida and his colleagues that successful cities like San Francisco, Austin, Seattle, Los Angeles... are strong in all the three T’s.

Technology and talent will be discussed together as the first two T's. According to Florida, they can be related to the Gleaser's theory, because the amount of high-skilled people (Florida uses *Talent index*³²) does correlate with the regional economic growth (Florida, 2004: 251), although *Innovation Index*³³ and *High-Tech Index*³⁴ were used in relation to the talent index. The research was made in 249 regions- 49 with more than million people and 200 with less. The findings show a strong correlation between high-tech industry and innovation on one side, and the locations of the creative class and talent on the other (ibid.: 257). The correlation between talent and working class regions was, as expected, quite the opposite - negative and highly significant, which means that working class regions do not possess a high amount of human capital.

As noted above, diversity is considered very important for the creative class. Florida and Jacobs both see diversity as related to the regional economic success. Florida explains it with the creative class being interested in the cities, which are tolerant and have *low entry barriers for people*- so newcomers can be accepted quickly (2004: 250). Several indexes were made by Florida and his team to measure the correlations between regional economic growth and tolerance. First he focused on immigration³⁵ as a sign of tolerance, which positively influences regional economic growth. The melting pot index does correlate with the high-tech index positively, but it is not statistically correlated with the innovation index. Furthermore no significant statistical relationship between immigration and the creative class could be found and immigration does not correlate with the job growth on the regional level (ibid.). The results Florida and his team got were quite ambiguous and therefore it is not possible to argue that immigration directly influences economic growth, although the case of Amsterdam might be useful here. Amsterdam was ranked quite high among the global creative cities by Florida

³² *Percentage of the population with a bachelor's degree or above* (Florida 2004: 252)

³³ *Patents per capita* (Florida, 2004: 252)

³⁴ *A number based on the Milken Institute's Tech Pole Index, which measures both the size and concentration of a region's economy in growth sectors such as software, electronics, biomedical products and engineering services* (Florida, 2004: 252)

³⁵ Melting pot index was first introduced by Milken Institute and ranks the most diverse regions in the U.S.A. Florida and his team used the percent of foreign born people. (2002: 253, 254)

(2005). It also has a significant share of foreign population³⁶ living in the city according to Hočevár (2002).

Another interesting concept to measure diversity was implemented by Florida and Gary Gates- they made a *Gay index* in order to measure tolerance and openness of the particular cities. Their assumption is that cities with a large gay population actually welcome all kinds of people. A large gay population living in a city is a sign that a city welcomes and tolerates diverse social groups, and the other way around: the lack of acceptance for gay community is a sign of a general intolerance (Florida, 2005: 60). Statistically there was a positive significant correlation between high- tech industry concentrations and the Gay index; furthermore, the Gay index also positively correlates with the creative class regions and negatively correlates with the working class regions (2004: 258, 2005: 174), which shows that the creative class locations are more tolerant than working class locations, which might be an initial factor that helped to attract the creative class according to Florida. The correlation between gay index and economic growth was rejected by the study made by Thomas, Sopianich and Darnton (2005: 2) as well as from other scholars, therefore we could claim that this correlation is at least questionable.

The *Bohemian index*³⁷ was made to measure the number of art producers, which is better than measuring region's amenities, according to Florida, because the index really includes the people that actually produce arts. The Bohemian index is considered a very strong predictor of high- tech base, population and employment growth (2004: 260), which Florida concludes with "*...places with a flourishing artistic and cultural environment are the ones that generate creative economic outcomes and overall economic growth*" (ibid. 261).

The final index made by Florida was diversity index, called Composite diversity Index (CDI), which actually combines the Bohemian, Gay and Melting Pot Index.

³⁶ Amsterdam has 23% of foreign population living in the city. In Europe only Geneva has more- 32,8% (Hočevár, 2002).

³⁷ Bohemian index measures the number of writers, designers, musicians, actors and directors, painters and sculptors, photographers and dancers (2004: 260). In 2005 Florida defined it as concentration of artists, musicians and entertainers (283).

Like the indexes used before CDI, it also reconfirms the positive influence of diversity and creativity on innovation and economic growth (2004: 262).

Richard Florida's views on urban economy growth were presented because he reformulated the preferences and characteristics of the creative class into a theory, which deals with the increase of the regional economy growth, caused by the rise of the creative class. Some of his ideas were statistically proved, which makes them even more important. I suggest we discuss some other theories and statistics gathered from other authors to see how they view regional economy and employment growth.

First Edward Glaeser –the author of the Human Capital theory - will be presented. Glaeser claims that the regional economic growth is influenced by high- skilled people because they might come up with useful new ideas that promote regional economic growth, which means that being an attractive city for the high- skilled people is actually the best investment a city can make to grow economically. Glaeser went further and agreed on different lifestyles across different occupations, which eventually could be applied to the creative class theory, meaning that the cities would have to provide lifestyle options interesting for the creative class. Up to this point, Glaeser agrees with Florida and his theories, although he strongly rejects the relation between the creative class, diversity and bohemianism (Glaeser, 3). Glaeser made a similar research by using the data of the 242 American Metropolitan areas. First he examined the correlation between population growth, the education (number of adults who have at least college degree) and the share of employees in the Florida's super creative core (see above); he claims that schooling is more reliable prediction factor regarding local growth than the super creative core.

The amount of patents per capita proved to be insignificant for the local growth according to Glaeser, as well as the relation between a large gay share and the growth (Glaeser, page 4). The correlations between diversity, bohemianism and regional growth were also discussed and measured by Glaeser, who found diversity and bohemianism quite insignificant and unimportant for growth when

compared to his human capital index (4, 5). This is actually a direct critic of Florida's ideas.

Two different (sometimes opposite) theories have been discussed above, and to get more information about regional economic growth, a study measuring Florida's theories on Dutch³⁸ cities will be presented. Gerard Marlet and Clemens von Woerkens from the Utrecht School of Economics made an important study discussing both: the creative class (Florida) and Human Capital theory (Glaeser) in Dutch cities. First the difference between the concept of human capital and the creative class was argued. Although the presence of both - high-skilled people (human capital) and the creative class - predicts urban growth, it is reckoned by Marlet and Woerkens that the creative class theory is more suitable for dealing with urban economy growth: population, which maybe is not highly educated but still an important part of the creative manpower, is not embraced in Human Capital theory, and that makes it less useful for the prediction of employment or economy growth on the regional level (Marlet & Woerkens, 2004: 6). Marlet and Woerkens also measured which is a better growth predictor; they found the presence of the creative class a better growth predictor than high-skilled people (human capital theory) (2004: 6). The share of the creative class positively correlates with the employment growth on the city level (2004: 9), which once again stresses the importance of cities attracting creative class. Precisely 1% increase of the creative class results in a 0,86% increase of employment growth in the Dutch cities (Marlet & Woerkens, 2004: 14). The correlation between the high-skilled population and employment growth is lower: 1% increase in the share of people with the Bachelor degree results in an average 0,66% employment growth in the Dutch cities. All in all, it is claimed by Marlet and Woerkens that the creative class theory is a better predictor of urban employment growth on the city level than human capital theory, which is a critic of Glaeser's theory. In other words, a city will benefit more by attracting a member of the creative class than by attracting an educated person.

³⁸ The Netherlands was ranked quite high on Florida's ranking of the states by the percent *The Global Creative Class* and *the Global Creativity Index*. In the former the Netherlands were positioned on the 4th place, and in the latter on 8th place (Florida, 2005: 275).

Marlet and Woerkens also repeated Glaeser's system for measuring the difference in human capital and the creative core influencing the economy growth. In Dutch cities economy growth is more reliably predicted by the presence of the creative class than by high- skilled people (2004: 18), which is explained in a simple but logical way. Human capital includes know-how and education, and educated people do not always participate on the labour market nor necessarily take the full advantage of their skills, meaning they might decide for easier or routine jobs. The difference between Florida and Marlet and Woerkens' study is in the understanding of the creative class, which is understood by Florida rather artistically sometimes, while Marlet and Woerkens define it as a *creative use of skills and knowledge* (ibid. 20).

As noted above, Florida found a significant correlation between diversity, bohemians and creative class. The same idea was rejected by Glaeser, who found no evidence of relationship between the bohemia index and the creative class after having excluded³⁹ a couple of regions which were responsible for this correlation in Glaeser's study. Marlet and Woerkens came to similar conclusions- the bohemian index positively correlated with the employment growth only in the case of Amsterdam (2004: 17, 18). In other Dutch cities it was impossible to use the bohemian index as a particularly good predictor of the local employment growth. It could be concluded that Florida oversimplified the bohemian effect, which is obviously not that important for the employment or economy growth in the city, considering the fact that neither Glaser and Marlet nor Woerkens found any evidence as would support the importance of the bohemian index. Although the relation between artists and high- tech industry was also proved to be less significant by Markusen (2006: 17), the most economically successful Dutch cities do have a flourishing street level art scene, which will be analysed later.

Although the bohemian index did not correlate positively with the regional employment growth, diversity turned out to be strongly related to the presence of the creative class. According to Marlet and Woerkens, the lack of diversity

³⁹ First Glaeser noted a significant correlation between bohemian index, but after removing Las Vegas, Nevada and Sarasota, Florida the correlation was gone, so these two regions were actually responsible for the correlation (Glaeser, 4).

correlates negatively with the employment growth (2004: 189). This makes sense, because it was claimed by several authors (Florida, Lenarčič, Tivadar...) that the creative class⁴⁰ enjoys diversity. I suggest we use simple common sense: diversity makes cities more attractive and interesting, and if a possibility to make a residency choice is given to someone, a monotonous industrial place would probably not be chosen. This claim could be supported by the data gathered in research study on Dutch cities; if we agree on diversity being an opposite of monotonous and homogeneity, and because a large share of employment in manufacturing sector also negatively correlates with the employment growth, the conclusion is that monotonous industrial cities will be left behind in economical depression because they won't be able to attract creative class. In the second chapter, the decay of the fordist city was described, and the correlation mentioned above actually discusses the same phenomena. Fordist cities have a large share of employment in manufacturing sector and are not that diverse, so the creative class avoids them⁴¹. The places in which the post-fordist mode of production is located and which are able to attract creative class, are more likely to experience the economic growth; this can be explained with Florida's theory of the correlation between the share of creative class and the amount of patents in a particular city. The rise of employment, which is a consequence of the large share of creative class, could also be related to the Schumpeter's theory of business cycles and development; economy growth is defined by Schumpeter as ups and downs occurring rhythmically. The creative economy could be the new cycle of the economical development, so the growth in the cities with a large share of creative class and economy is faster.

8 RELATION BETWEEN ART& CULTURE AND THE CREATIVE CLASS

8.1 CASE STUDY OF UTRECHT

The large share of creative class in some Dutch cities could be explained by some of the theories made by Richard Florida. In the research made by Marlet and

⁴⁰ The term creative class is not used by all the mentioned authors.

⁴¹ The urban economical decay of Pittsburgh, which is described as quite industrial, was also noted by Florida.

Workens, Utrecht was ranked highest among creative cities in the Netherlands, followed by Amsterdam. With the term the most creative city we mean there is a larger share of creative class living in Utrecht than in any other Dutch city- to be precise, 33% of the labour force in Utrecht, and 27,2% in Amsterdam belongs to creative class (Marlet and Woerkens, 2004:8). It could be claimed it is no coincidence that Utrecht was ranked among the most creative Dutch cities. It is world known for its famous university, which is actually ranked the sixth among the top hundred European universities⁴². Utrecht might already have a large share of the local creative class, which has been studying there or is in some other way related to the Utrecht University; after all, educated people predict local economy growth according to Glaeser.

Furthermore, the success of Utrecht in attracting creative class will be related to the art and culture used as urban revitalization factors. Utrecht is known for its Museum Quarter located in the old inner city and the Theatre quarter in the eastern part of the city. Museum quarter has a function of improving public space and residential living conditions, and additionally the surrounding area was also included in the project. Some existing art facilities were renewed: an old building was turned into a hotel, and some working places, located in old buildings, were given to artists to preserve the old buildings⁴³ (Mommaas, 2004: 513). The Theatre Quarter is located in an old veterinary medicine faculty in the eastern part of the city, surrounded by a neighbourhood, which had also opposed the demolishing of the old faculty and building apartments instead. Some parts of the building have been transformed into a theatre (office, rehearsal and performing space). Later on, some more theatre groups moved in, and a youth theatre centre was established, so local kids could join them. The theatre quarter is known for cooperating with the local arts academy, municipal theatre and the local municipality. There are other art and culture institutions in the area, which together with the theatre quarter form a *creative quarter* (ibid.).

⁴² Top 100 European Universities, http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/rank/2005/ARWU2005_TopEuro.htm

⁴³ Jane Jacobs argued that some of the old buildings should not be demolished, because they are cheaper and therefore should be given to artists or people with creative new ideas. New ideas must be located in the old buildings (Jacobs, 1961:201)

It could be claimed that when one particularly interesting spatial form gets shut down, the whole street or neighbourhood would be negatively affected by it. If we turn this theory the other way round we see that the whole area could be somehow revitalised by an interesting building, like a theatre or museum. People attract more people as Jane Jacobs said (1961), and a museum or a theatre certainly is a good start for exponentially attracting people. A new building like a theatre is a great opportunity for the area, because amenities, which could perhaps not be profitable if they were alone and dislocated, get lots of audience, which accidentally passes or simply hangs around the creative quarter because it is an interesting place to be. A bit like *Metelkova* in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

In *Metelkova* there are at least eight alternative bars, which are often used for very diverse art and culture happenings, and they are much more successful because of their clustered spatial form than they would be if they were spread all over the city. On the market of evening amenities, Ljubljana is able to offer *Metelkova*, as a cluster which also attracts people that maybe do not really know in which of the eight places of *Metelkova* they would fit, but the place itself became a trademark for alternative art, culture and nightlife, and a trademark like this is quite crucial for the art and culture clusters if they aim to attract more people and start revitalising surrounding neighbourhoods. The role of *Metelkova* will be analysed in the case of Ljubljana.

Utrecht's museum quarter and local art amenities together are consciously branded as the creative quarter according to Mommaas (2004: 513). After the importance of building and branding cultural clusters for the revitalizing particular neighbourhoods and areas was argued, this theory will be related to the creative class. The relation between large share of creative and knowledge workers and a "large proportion of highly educated people living in the area" was noted by Mommaas (ibid.), who also emphasised the link between the development of the creative quarter and nourishing the local creative economy⁴⁴. The bottom line would be that there is a relation between the success in attracting the creative class and building interesting local art and culture scene in the case of Utrecht,

⁴⁴ A direct reference to *the street-level art hypothesis*.

although there might be other amenities, which had an important role in attracting the creative class. Even though the local art scene cannot be presented as the only attraction⁴⁵ for the creative class, I still find it important for making a city more interesting and diverse, which probably helps local economy (with attracting the creative class) and on the other hand makes the city more liveable for its residents. After all, a city should offer a lot of interesting lifestyle options and diverse amenities to its residents, because they are the ones who pay taxes and permanently use their cities. It does not make sense to fully focus on attracting the creative class and neglecting the local residents, because as noted in the case of Utrecht- local art can be used as both, an attraction for the creative class and tourists, and an *interesting thing at the end of our street* where the local residents socialise and get in touch with diverse art and culture.

8.2 CASE STUDY OF AMSTERDAM

The case study of Amsterdam starts with the claim that Amsterdam was ranked as the city with the second largest part of creative class in the Netherlands (Marlet and Woerkens, 2004:8). By Florida Amsterdam was argued as a global talent magnet, and Netherlands was, in fact, ranked as one of the countries with the largest percent of the creative workforce (2005: 10, 278). Similarly as in the case of Utrecht, the reasons for the high rank of Amsterdam will be discussed.

In the past, Amsterdam was highly important. Especially in the 17th century, it was a great city with a flourishing market place and an important harbour (Delany 1994). Not only did its market include non-material goods, such as finance, expertise, information, and belief (ibid.), it also had many characteristics which have been ascribed to post-modern successful cities, such as Seattle, Austin and San Francisco by Florida. According to Paul Delany, Dutch republic was the first to accept religious tolerance. Great scholars and artists working in Amsterdam in that time were also mentioned; Rembrandt, Spinoza, Locke, Descartes and Voltaire all

⁴⁵ Art and culture can significantly help us to attract the creative class and improve local economy growth, but it cannot be considered as the only factor in attracting the creative class and revitalising particular places. For example, transport connections between the cities were described as a key element in attractiveness of the post- modern cities. Amsterdam (presented in the next chapter) for instance was ranked quite high in the *Multimodal Potential Accessibility* map made by the European commission (European Commission, 2001: 6,7) which could have helped attracting the creative class.

worked or published in Amsterdam, some of them because it was the only place liberal enough to let their books be published. According to Delany, Amsterdam was one of the most Cosmopolitan cities of the 17th century, partly because it had a tolerant and welcoming attitude to immigrants⁴⁶. Amsterdam was also a self-governing city, free from the influence of aristocrats and with a lot of bourgeoisie . Amsterdam had lots of characteristics, nowadays known for attracting the creative class and improving the economic growth in the city. Perhaps they should be mentioned again: tolerance, diversity, large share of immigrants, and art and culture were all observed in the historic case of Amsterdam. Basically all these characteristics were mentioned by Florida as crucial for the economical development of the city. It is hard to say that these characteristics have always worked the way Florida claims, but they were all present in Amsterdam in the 17th century, when it was one of the most successful cities in Europe.

Amsterdam is still known as diverse, tolerant, decadent⁴⁷, and for its high share of immigrants and tourists⁴⁸, a very tolerant attitude towards drugs and prostitution, and a very tolerant policy towards gay minority and other social issues. The unique combination of tolerance and decadency actually became some kind of a logo or brand for Amsterdam.

Amsterdam is also technologically highly developed - the largest free-net network in the world was established in 1994 in Amsterdam and was called the Digital City (DDS- De Digitale Stad) (Sassen, 2001: 327). People who started this movement could well be compared to Florida's creative class in some way. They were involved in socio- cultural movements and located in cultural centers like Paradiso - a creative place built in a converted church, also known for staging sub cultural

⁴⁶ Florida argued that tolerant attitude towards immigrants and large part of foreign-born population could be related with urban and economical success of creative cities. Amsterdam has the third highest immigration level among global cities (2005: 170).

⁴⁷ Lately the Netherlands had quite some problems dealing with the tolerance and diversity. Couple of frightening incidents happened- murders of Pym Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh, but these incidents will not be discussed in this diploma and Dutch society will however, be reckoned as an open and tolerant society.

⁴⁸ It is not my intention to present tourists as a factor which positively enlarges the diversity of the city, because I tend to believe that post-modern tourists could also be considered as city users, and how they affect a particular city is a debatable topic in my opinion.

concerts. All that somehow reminds us of the student who decided to work in Austin.

In the case of Utrecht, a cultural cluster was mentioned, and it was noted that this cluster could be important for the attraction of creative class and improvement of the liveability of Utrecht in general. *Westergasfabriek*, located on the north-west side of the Amsterdam inner city, could well be compared to the Creative Quarter of Utrecht. *Westergasfabriek* also used to be a factory and was given to the local authorities in the early nineties (Mommaas, 2004: 511). In the past eight or nine years *Westergasfabriek* became a successful cultural cluster, attracting both, people of Amsterdam and tourists. There are several different activities within *Westergasfabriek*: café, restaurant, movie theatre, theatre, visual artists, designers, spatial planners, spaces for dance parties and festivals, conferences, fashion shows, company parties etc. (ibid.). According to Mommaas, the place was minimally restored just in order to function, which could be estimated as good for the small scale artists, because it is easier for them to enter such places than flagship projects. On the other hand, Jane Jacobs claimed that old places and houses could be used for new ideas, which are not profitable enough to finance new buildings (Jacobs, 1961: 200).

Paul Treanor (2004) noted that *Westergasfabriek* mostly helped to gentrify Westerpark and mainly attracted middle class of people, like D.I.N.K and yuppies, interested in art and culture and ecology, which were both offered by the Westerpark Borough. An important contribution of cultural cluster in attracting people who remind us of the creative class, is shown by this notion. Although a rise of high-income households was noted in the area, the phenomena itself was not estimated as positive. Treanor sees the process of gentrifying as a planned low-income displacement strategy, which in some way could be true- after all residents do pay taxes to their cities, and to get more taxes, cities might be interested in getting gentrified; however, on the other hand, unprofitable projects are supported by *Westergasfabriek*, which actually has a policy of linking profit- generating activities to less profitable activities, crucial for the atmosphere (Mommaas, 2004: 511). These less profitable activities could well be activities focused on the poorer

local residents, which could result in cooperation between poor residents, local culture cluster and the creative class or new reach newcomers.

The fact, that some authors are complaining on cultural cluster gentrifying local neighbourhoods actually proves our *street-level art hypothesis*.

8.3 LJUBLJANA AS A CREATIVE CITY, FACTS AND POSSIBILITIES

As noted before, Ljubljana could be described as not particularly dense, partly urbanised and dispersely settled city. It lacks several characteristics of a creative city, although the situation is slightly improving in my opinion. Of course there is also ground for further improvements. The dispersed form is a first set back of Ljubljana. Dispersal reduces density, which makes the city less interesting; less people on the streets, spaces without any function within the city, bad public transport... (also referring to Jacobs). The fact that the residents of Ljubljana mostly use cars to travel around, makes the city more sprawl, which diminishes the amount of contacts between people and makes urbanity less enjoyable. A nice example would be the cinema case.

A new cinema complex was built on the city fringe and in a month several old cinemas (some of them were located in the community centers) were shut down. It is interesting, that the only cinema which still has the same amount of audience as before is art cinema (Uršič, 2003). Closing the neighbourhood cinemas made community centers less important and forced people to travel to the city fringe. Closing the cinemas reduced the level of amenities within the inner city. The fact, that alternative cinemas and film festival stayed located in the downtown without experiencing any significant decrease in the amount of audience, should be discussed. Could it be related to the theory of Florida, who argued that creative class prefers more street level, underground and authentic art? Perhaps alternative films could not be directly related to the concept of street level art, however they could be categorized as a part of authentic, culturally diverse form of art, less commercial than Hollywood mainstream movie production, which represents the major part of the program of the city fringe cinema complex called Kolosej.

As a place Kolosej represents a massive consumption oriented hall, located near highway ring in the city fringe shopping area. On the other hand downtown cinemas offer more authentic movie experience in a more authentic urban surroundings than Kolosej, therefore they were able to keep their audience that could probably in some way be at least partly related with to creative class. Characteristics which creative class and the potential audience of city cinemas have in common, would be interest in urbanity, authenticity, underground and diverse movie production and places oriented on culture instead on commerciality. If we further developed this analysis it probably would be possible to compare *the Hedonists* (food and eating habits research) and Ljubljana urban cinema audience. Of course they might not match completely, but in my opinion we are dealing with a group of people fond of urban amenities and less commercial culture, which city should focus on. The relation between the group of cinema viewers, *the Hedonists* and the creative class should be further analysed, but some similarity could certainly be proved in my opinion.

It is quite easy to reach hills, mountains and nature from Ljubljana. The spatial plan of Ljubljana anticipates two green sides both reaching into the inner city. The possibility of outdoor recreation⁴⁹ should be interesting for the creative class, due to favourable relation between outdoor recreation and post-industrial work. Offering nature, outdoor recreation within the city and outside it, might be one of the strongest amenities Ljubljana has to offer.

The economy of Ljubljana is relatively stable, also due to the fact, that Ljubljana is the capital of Slovenia. In Ljubljana several state organizations, embassies, ministries and government are located, which increases the total amount of jobs in the city. Added value (bruto dodana vrednost na prebivalca) of a resident of Ljubljana is 157% larger of the added value of the rest of Slovenian population, according to the Spatial Plan of Ljubljana (2002: 2). Several authors in these theses argued that education plays an important role in economic and creative development of the city. Perhaps Ljubljana does not have a world-class

⁴⁹ In Ljubljana and it's surrounding areas it is possible to walk, hike, bike, mountain bike, ski, climb...

university⁵⁰, but there are only three universities in Slovenia, and Ljubljana university has more students than the other two, meaning that there is an inflow of students from rest of the country.

At this point we could relate the case of Ljubljana to the theory of Florida called “Global Austins”. Although many *Global Austins* (Dublin, Ireland for instance) became more successful by attracting foreign high-tech firms, the crucial point is retaining and investing in local home-grown talents and attracting them back from abroad (2005:176). In my opinion it would be better if Ljubljana focused on attracting back the talents from abroad and invested in local talents, than trying to compete supranationally for the creative, educated workforce, although the latter should not be completely neglected. As mentioned before, Ljubljana is not a particularly international city and there are more students moving out than coming to Ljubljana on the supranational level. On the national level, however, there is a significant amount of students moving to Ljubljana. Some of these students stay in Ljubljana after having finished their studies. Ljubljana should be aware of emerging competition on the national and supranational level, meaning that a part of the students might prefer some other Slovenian city, or move abroad to study there. Of course, same patterns could occur among the work force, so Ljubljana had better start transforming into a more creative city with a more diverse cultural urban scene in order to be attractive for potential work force and students, so on the national as on supranational level. Here we are emphasizing the importance of the foreign-born population staying within the city on the long run, because it contributes to all the segments of the urbanity. Immigrants from abroad bring new ideas, which might be useful in business, innovation, education, art and culture and in other areas of urban life. Of course immigrants also make the city more diverse. Perhaps we should consider the case of Amsterdam, which has a relatively large part of foreign-born residents and is ranked among flourishing cities according to Florida and Marlet and Woerkens. It is worth noting that Ljubljana has been attracting an increasing amount of tourists, which positively influences city economy, although tourists could not be considered particularly beneficial for the

⁵⁰ On http://www.webometrics.info/top500_europe.asp.htm Ljubljana university is ranked as the 93th in Europe. It would be better to use the rank used in the Utrecht case, but University of Ljubljana is not among the 100 universities included.

city on the long run. As a matter of fact, tourists usually have other needs⁵¹ than permanent residents, so a city should not be too focused on them.

According to Florida tolerance is a factor that positively influences local economy growth, which might be debatable; however, tolerance makes the city more liveable and more relaxed for the local residents. Tolerance is also a base of a democratic post-industrial society, therefore it should be a characteristic of every city, and not just because of the presumably favourable relation to economical growth. Urbanization and tolerance grow together, because urbanization transforms the traditional social control, which simply does not function in urban areas (Kos, 2002:19). The tolerance will first be related to suburbanization of Ljubljana. According to Kos, the level of tolerance is diminishing because of suburbanization that negatively affects already traditional and socially relatively closed environment, which is certainly true of Slovenia. Over 50% of the respondents of Slovenian Public Opinion Survey were not in favour of having gay or immigrants for neighbours (ibid. 20). An example would be the case of the mosque, which Islamic community has been trying to build in Ljubljana for years. The fact that the project was not particularly successful could as well be related to the low level of legitimacy of the mosque in Slovenia (ibid. 21). The lack of tolerance could eventually make Ljubljana uninteresting for foreign immigrants and domestic marginalized social groups. Both would result in losing potential creative people, which will eventually negatively affect the diversity of the city. In fact, the lack of tolerance makes the city monotonous, which has also been discussed in reference to lower economy growth in the past chapters.

Considering the research made by Rebernik, discussed in the third chapter, it could as well be claimed, that the trend of suburbanization is slowly transforming into reurbanization and gentrification of the downtown. That could eventually be a first step of reurbanization, which could slowly increase tolerance.

Ljubljana is the capital of Slovenia, so a lot of art and culture amenities are already located in the city, especially things like Philharmonic orchestra, National gallery,

⁵¹ Referring to Martinotti.

National museum, opera and other flagship projects. In the summer there are several different art and culture festivals in the city, or its surrounding communities, like *Trnifest* and *Ana Desetnica* for instance. Clearly the city of Ljubljana is trying to make Ljubljana a diverse city with a flourishing art and culture scene, which is good in terms of making city more liveable and economically interesting for the creative class, referring to Florida. There is also creative art and cultural cluster called *Metelkova* or *Metelkova City*, which is in some way comparable with *Tacheles*, Berlin or Amsterdam *Westergasfabriek*, although it used to be an army place, instead of old industrial building. After Yugoslavian army left Metelkova was squatted by diverse subcultural groups. City administration had of course other plans with *Metelkova*, located close to the main railway station and national television building. Its plan was to build business commercial center on that location (Gržinić, 2001:1). Nowadays Metelkova is a cluster, including bars, alternative discos, youth hostel⁵², galleries, studios and Punk and Working Class University. Metelkova is governed by a committee called Network, which “*demande*d the restructuring of the city’s social cultural life. The Net sought the political mobilisation of artists and, above all, the future architectural and cultural innovations” (Gžinić: 2001: 1). Even now the city authorities or some other Slovenian Governmental Agencies occasionally threaten to demolish *Metelkova* or parts of it, which shows how Slovenian authorities understand, or actually do not understand the impact of cultural clusters on urban environment.

In 2006 an old building was squatted in Ljubljana: an old, abandoned bike factory called *Rog*, which could also be transformed into a cultural cluster. At the moment some film activities are taking place there. The current impact of *Rog* factory on the city could not be compared with the one of *Metelkova City*, yet it could be argued that it has a great potential and could make Ljubljana more creative and diverse. A creative district could be established, because *Metelkova* and *Rog* are located approximately 0,5km from each other. If they could revitalise the area in between, Ljubljana could have a creative neighbourhood. According to several authors, discussed above, a creative district could indirectly improve local

⁵² Hostel Celica was ranked as the hippest hostel in the world by Lonely Planet. The hostel used to be a prison and it was very creatively rebuilt, which could be a reason for its popularity. (from Mladina magazine, available in on-line edition on May 31st, 2006 on <http://www.mladina.si/dnevnik/82452/>)

economy. Even if it's impossible to predict the actual economical growth, caused by the emerging creative scene, this could still be evaluated as positive for the city. A creative district adds to the diversity of the city, makes it more liveable, offers local residents participation in new activities and provides space for activities, not profitable enough to afford renting their own premises. In my opinion *Metelkova* and *Rog* are important amenities for the city of Ljubljana. They can be used as image and brand builders of Ljubljana- image of a city can function as a commercial, so cities should be aware of the importance of being distinguished. The hostel *Celica*, located in Metelkova already functions as an image builder of Ljubljana. Therefore *Rog* and *Metelkova* should be supported by the city, because they do not require some huge investments, but can significantly contribute to building a creative city.

Creative clusters could also be built on the neighbourhood level by using abandoned buildings. An example would be the neighbourhood called Dravlje⁵³, which according to the local residents has a problem with youngsters harassing local night shop salesmen, polluting local parks with rubbish when socialising there, stealing bikes, etc. All this was reported by the residents and is not based on any official statistics. Of course, I am not accusing local youngsters, and it is not our aim to deal with local criminality. In the middle of the neighbourhood there is an abandoned building and if it were a bit renovated, it could be used as a local art and culture center where children could get in touch with the kind of art they prefer. Maybe a local successful *dj* should be hired to teach them two times a week, or a local graffiti artist. This is just a hypothetical case, but here we argue that with relatively small financial support Ljubljana could start offering cultural clusters on the neighbourhood level that could eventually positively affect local delinquency with incorporating local youth to participate in such actions. Of course, there are organizational problems like how to find a leader⁵⁴, and who should be in charge of financial matters, but all these matters will not be discussed in these theses.

⁵³ Dravlje, a neighbourhood located near highway ring on the west part of Ljubljana. There are mainly high buildings located in that area.

⁵⁴ Also discussed by Landry (2000)

8.4 ART, CULTURE AND COMMUNITIES

Although it was claimed that *Westergasfabriek* gentrifies the neighbourhood and that poorer residents are forced to leave, and are being not incorporated into such projects, I would tend to agree with the theories, which emphasise a positive effect of the urban art on the local communities. According to reports made by *Eurocities* and an article from Tom Borrup (2003), social inclusion and local safety are both positively affected by the presence of urban art. It could be claimed that improved safety and positive effect on social inclusion is actually a consequence of the higher social capital⁵⁵ on the local level, influenced by the urban art. High social capital was estimated quite negatively by Florida, who argued that the creative class is not really attracted by the regions with high level of social capital, because such communities are more complicated to enter. We see these things rather differently, because if high social capital increases the level of safety and social inclusion, the creative class should be attracted by it. Borrup⁵⁶ and Mark Stern (in Borrup, 2003) argue that small-scale art facilities are capable of significantly impacting their communities, in the way of increased level of safety⁵⁷, positive effect on school truancy and civic engagement. Additionally we could claim that new local art institutions simply increase the amount of local art production, which probably adds to a better image of the community or neighbourhood. By founding art institutions where the locals can participate, the chance of having some important artists in the community increases, because a possibility of developing their artistic talents is given to the locals and local children as well. Therefore I believe that the local art positively influences the community and should be considered as important factor of revitalisation, which was our *street-level art hypothesis*.

⁵⁵ A term used and defined by Bourdieu but I am mainly interested in Robert Putnam's concept of social capital related with the concept of trust; among people, residents, families... (Bourdieu and Putnam in Siisiainen 2000; 2).

⁵⁶ By Borrup several cases were presented in which urban art and culture is used for revitalising communities and building social capitals within neighbourhoods (2003).

⁵⁷ Jane Jacobs (1961) related safety to the concentration of people on the streets of the particular community, because it is quite unlikely to be attacked on the streets full of people. Interesting urban art can lure people out on the streets or some other public place, therefore it can help reducing street crime.

City as a Brand

After presenting claims from Florida, Mommaas, Marlet and Woerkens and Glaeser it could be claimed that cities compete on some kind of a market in order to attract the creative class, which would eventually boost their economy growth. It could be argued that post-modern cities have to promote themselves and create an image that will attract potential population. Amenities like *Metelkova*, *Westergasfabriek* or the *Creative Quarter* can help them brand themselves as interesting diverse cities, which might help them in acquiring some particular image that would make them special. Amsterdam did that by supporting tolerance and decadency, and Seattle by using grunge. Cities get advertised by spatial forms like *Westergasfabriek* or *Creative Quarter*, which could result in attracting the creative class. Harvey claimed that a competition between cities does exist and therefore cities have to construct an image⁵⁸ of themselves (2001: 297, 298), which could be related to the theory that cultural clusters can be used as image builders in attracting the creative class.

The cases of Utrecht and Amsterdam will be concluded with an impact a cultural cluster can have on a city in two ways; it attracts the creative class which does predict local economy growth and provides new amenities for local residents, thus establishing a connection between new, creative residents on the one hand and local residents on the other. According to Florida inequality is more visible in the creative centers than other cities, therefore it is important to invite local population, especially the part not having creative jobs, to participate in local art, culture or some other movements.

In the first chapter the theory of similarity among the post industrial cities of the first world was dealt with. Even though these research studies were performed on Dutch cities, same ideas could be used in reference to many other cities. After all, most of the European and American cities have an urban underclass, minorities and socially excluded immigrants, and are in a process of establishing post-fordistic industry.

⁵⁸ Image and brand building as crucial for the success of the cities was also argued by Landry and Wood (2003: 25).

This chapter closes with the theory that urban art could be used in several ways to attract creative class or as an inner-city gentrifying factor; of course, this is not the only measure a city can use to attract the creative class- I am aware of other possibilities which can help build the local economy growth. Reports of cultural clusters being linked with the creative economy and gentrification were presented above, but the success they had in boosting the regional economy or employment growth was not directly measured, although the success at the national level of Utrecht and Amsterdam was mentioned above. However, it is still impossible to estimate the direct impact of art and culture on the regional economy, but the fact is that the most successful cities in America (according to Florida) all have a flourishing art scene, which was also observed in the case of Netherlands; all these claims partly prove the relation between arts and culture on the one side, and the creative class and local economy growth on the other, although more research is required to properly define relations discussed above.

9 CONCLUSION

The three hypotheses were exhaustively analysed in the thesis above and proved to be right, with using data and analysis gathered from other authors. Examples of several cities located in different countries were discussed, and all of them proved to be economically more successful than their respective countries, having large share of educated people within the city and having flourishing art and culture scene that also offers street level and participating art.

The creative infrastructure hypothesis

Our first hypothesis dealt with cities competing on a market of potential citizens. It was claimed that potential citizens could be attracted by offering them interesting authentic amenities and liveable, diverse atmosphere. Both was proved as right by the thesis. Research made on Dutch cities and food research both show that educated or creative people favour urban, authentic, diverse places, they can experience and consume. Diversity was mentioned as a characteristic of successful urban areas on the cases of Amsterdam and Utrecht, and in several other theories. Tolerance was also argued as an important factor in attracting potential citizens, which was analysed in several cases, but the results are rather ambiguous. Tolerance was mainly argued by Florida, and it was noted in the case of Amsterdam, but the favourable relation between tolerance and economic growth was criticised by several authors.

Ljubljana on the other hand is considered as less tolerant and has more students moving abroad than foreign students coming in to study at its university, but has a lot of students moving in from other parts of Slovenia, so it would be interesting to compare the level of tolerance in other Slovenian cities and Ljubljana. If it turned out, that Ljubljana is more tolerant and has a larger gay community than other Slovenian town and cities, this would prove the tolerance theory launched by Florida, because Ljubljana also has a better economy growth. According to Florida tolerance statistically correlates with a high share of creative economy, which is increasingly important in post-industrial society, considering the decrease of manufacture and fordist industry in the first world. However, tolerance is the basis

of a democratic society and makes a city more liveable, so it should be a general characteristic every city, no matter how it affects urban economy.

In several researches discussed in these thesis it was claimed that post-fordist industry often clusters in particular cities, which have in common a small amount of old fordist industry and good education possibilities, like a respected university for instance. This kind of places have higher economy growth and higher employment rates than places related to old fordist industry. We could conclude that high skilled professionals are required; therefore corporations cluster around good universities, where high skilled people are located. Because people change jobs nowadays more often than they used to, these high skilled professionals might eventually move to some other city and find a new job there. To prevent this, good university is not enough to retain high skilled professionals- cities have to offer them quality life style possibilities, which would also attract high skilled professionals and creative people from other cities. It was argued in these thesis that new educated class expresses post materialistic values, meaning that they would prefer quality life style to a high wage. Clustering of post-fordist industries around good universities should be understood in the aspect of post-fordist firms searching for knowledge and know-how, therefore attracting knowledge and know-how means attracting firms and industry. Educated and creative people are the consumers on the market on which post-modern cities compete.

The creative class hypothesis

The second hypothesis was partly proved as right, although I find the issue of the creative class debatable. There is a wider agreement on a new class of people defined by knowledge, education, culture and post materialism. On the other hand our economy should be focusing on post-fordist industry, because manufacturing and fordist industry are not able to compete with places like China, where unskilled workers work for a dollar per day. Building fordist industry will not make profits and will not contribute to economic growth in the future. Post-fordist industry is increasingly important, so cities should try to attract it with attracting skilled and creative people, required by such industry, as would eventually boost local economy growth. Educated and skilled people are therefore increasingly important

in post-fordist economy, and they can be considered a new social class, although Bell's critic should be taken into consideration, because the class interest of the new class is questionable.

In the case of Utrecht creative class theory was more useful than human capital theory when predicting local economy growth, because there are successful people without formal education who contribute to local economy growth. Thus the whole theory of creative class is debatable, because it has only been based on occupations and some of the creative occupations do not have that much to do with creativity. In this case one could claim that the creative class means creative use of knowledge and skills, but can people who use knowledge in their work really form a class? How many characteristics like preferences, taste, wealth and values do they actually share? Economically there is a class possessing knowledge and skills instead of capital, but can it be dealt with sociologically and used as a class with a particular subculture? It will be concluded that there is a class of people who are increasingly important on the work market, but the whole issue of class and stratification has changed and perhaps classes cannot be treated the way they were in the times of industrial society, because the class divide is much more blurred nowadays, meaning a bigger class fluctuation and that classes have less common interests than working class used to have in the time of industrialisation.

The street-level art hypothesis

The street-level art hypothesis is fully proved as right. The cities we dealt with are economically better off than their respective countries. All of them have some flourishing creative art and culture scene located within them, which of course does not prove the causal relationship between art and economy, however, several authors claimed that participating in street level art can be used for attracting the creative class or knowledge workers. On the other hand it was argued that incorporating local youth or residents in community art and culture programs may be very beneficial for the residents themselves and for the city. Not only that it makes a city more diverse and interesting, it also raises social capital and might help reducing delinquency and crime. It would require relatively modest financial contribution to make such projects work, but the contribution on the liveability might be significant, therefore it will be suggested that cities start actively searching for

old unprofitable buildings in order to give them to local organizations in order to start some community actions. Participating in local actions could make citizens respect their communities better and present them new art in which they could also participate. Actually it could also be cleaning a local park, building local basketball court or some other community project, which would incorporate local residents and youth to make their neighbourhoods better. Locals would participate in a project and start respecting their communities, because they would be proud of the work they did, and their neighbourhoods would be more attractive. In any case, the profit of the local residents exceeds the cost paid by the city.

In my own city Ljubljana local art scene is developing, although with a relatively small financial contribution and better policy it could be on a much higher level, which would help keeping the local and attracting new knowledge workers or creative class and would make our city more diverse and interesting. In other words: *when a place gets boring, even the rich people leave* (Jacobs in Florida, 2005: 199).

10 POVZETEK V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU

V diplomski nalogi sem preučeval povezavo med populacijo in ekonomsko uspešnostjo določenega mesta. Predpostavil sem, da obstaja nek neviden trg na nad-nacionalnem nivoju, na katerem mesta tekmujejo za potencialne meščane.

V prvi hipotezi, imenovani *hipoteza kreativne infrastrukture*, sem se ukvarjal z vprašanjem, kako mesto privabi potencialne prebivalce mesta. Le-te lahko mesto privablja z lokalnimi ugodnostmi, predvsem z zanimivim urbanim umetniškim dogajanjem, zanimivo avtentično sceno ter z družbeno-kulturnimi dejavniki, kot so raznovrstnost, toleranca in razvitost.

V drugi hipotezi, imenovani *hipoteza kreativnega razreda*, predpostavljam, da lahko mesto izboljša svojo ekonomsko rast z privabljanjem tako imenovanega kreativnega razreda⁵⁹.

V tretji hipotezi, imenovani *hipoteza ulične umetnosti* predpostavljam, da lahko ulična umetnost služi več namenom, predvsem pa jo lahko uporabimo kot zanimivost, ki v mesto privablja kreativni razred ter povezuje revnejše lokalno prebivalstvo z novo priseljenim kreativnim razredom, ne nazadnje pa mesto naredi tudi bolj raznoliko in zanimivo.

V diplomski nalogi sem uporabljal predvsem tujo in domačo literaturo, ter primere Utrechta, Amsterdama, Los Angelesa in Ljubljane. Skozi te primere sem raziskoval praktično uporabnost teoretično predstavljenih instrumentov, ki naj bi mestu zagotavljali hitrejšo ekonomsko rast, preko privabljanja kreativnega razreda in delavcev s posebnimi znanji. Na primeru Ljubljane sem predvsem razmišljal, koliko so teorije tujih avtorjev, predvsem Floride, uporabljene za razvoj Ljubljane, ter katere od njih bi bilo še potrebno vnesti v politiko mesta, da bi to postalo prijaznejše do meščanov ter ekonomsko uspešnejše.

⁵⁹ V slovenščini ta razred občasno imenujemo tudi ustvarjalni razred, vendar ga bomo v tej diplomski imenovali kreativni razred. V obeh primerih pa je govor o razredu definiranem s strani Richarda Floride (2004).

Za začetek sem analiziral odnos med nacionalno državo in mesti, ki se je precej spremenil s preходом v post-industrijske družbe. Moč ter vpliv nacionalne države se je postopoma manjšal, medtem ko je pomembnost mest naraščala. Država je del svoje suverenosti prenesla na mednarodne organizacije, mesta pa so postajala deterritorializirane entitete locirane v sistemu vozliščnosti. To poveča pomembnost mest in nekateri avtorji povezujejo uspešnost držav z uspešnostjo njihovih mest (Landry). Za nas je bila pomembna predpostavka, da se delavci z posebnimi znanji in kreativni razred ne selijo med državami, temveč med mesti, kar pomeni, da se dejansko odpira nekakšen trg mest, kjer se mesta potegujejo za delavce z posebnimi znanji ter kreativni razred. Kljub predpostavki o naraščajoči deterritorializaciji pa so mesta še vedno odvisna od politike na nivoju nacionalne države, primer tega pa je sprememba ameriških mest po *enajstem septembru*, ko naj bi ta postala manj prijazna do tujcev ter tako odpravila izobraženo tujo delovno silo, kar naj bi se jim poznalo tudi v padajoči ekonomski rasti. Zaton nacionalne države, če ga lahko tako imenujem, je povezan tudi s spremembami na področju same ekonomije, ki je postala bistveno bolj globalizirana, saj meje nacionalnih držav v času globalne ekonomije igrajo vse bolj simbolično vlogo.

Sama vloga mest se je spremenila tudi zaradi prehoda iz industrijske v post-industrijsko dobo, oziroma fordistične v post-fordistično dobo. V fordizmu gre za vnaprej predvideno sistematično in neustvarjalno proizvodnjo serijsko zamenljivih dobrin, medtem ko post-fordistična produkcija temelji na ožjih serijah specializiranih produktov z visoko dodano vrednostjo, ki je velikokrat posledica uspešnega reklamiranja in marketinga ali tehnoloških inovacij. Stara, fordistična produkcija se iz razvitega sveta seli v nerazviti svet, predvsem Jugovzhodno Azijo, kjer je strošek nekvalificirane delovne sile znatno manjši. Evropa, Severna Amerika in ostali razviti svet se ne more več razvijati in ekonomsko rasti s fordistično proizvodnjo, pač pa mora le-to nadomestiti s post-fordistično. Vse to pa poveča pomembnost post-fordistične delovne sile.

Sama industrija je bila v času fordizma bistveno manj mobilna- locirala se je blizu naravnih virov in le redko selila, medtem ko se post-fordistična industrija locira blizu izobražene delovne sile in pogosto seli. Florida predpostavlja, da visoko

tehnološka industrija sledi delavce s tovrstnimi znanji, kar bi pomenilo, da privabljanje teh delavcev pomeni privabljanje industrije. S spremembami in razvojem industrije so se spreminjala tudi mesta. V industrializaciji so se mesta urbanizirala, torej širila, saj so se vanjo začeli priseljevati industrijski delavci. Sprva so se začeli iz mest izseljevati bogatejši sloji, kasneje pa ponekod tudi delavci. V nekaterih mestih je prišlo do pavperizacije centralnih predelov. Trend urbanizacije se je transformiral v suburbanizacijo in deurbanizacijo, ki se v Ljubljani še ni prevesila v občuten trend reurbanizacije. Nekateri avtorji (Florida, Hočevar, Lenarčič...) napovedujejo selitev mlajše, izobražene, življenjsko urbano naravnane populacije nazaj v mesta. To je bilo analizirano na primeru Ljubljane in Manchestra, kjer se je ta trend potrdil. Zanimivo je, da ima opisana populacija na primeru Manchestra višje osebne dohodke od ostalih. Podobno nekateri avtorji opažajo koncentracijo post-fordistične industrije v centralnih mestnih predelih in dodajajo, da imajo New York, London in Tokio večji delež tovrstne industrije kot države, kjer so locirani, obenem pa se fordistična proizvodnja umika iz centralnih predelov razvitih mest ter se seli na bolj oddaljene lokacije, stran od mestnih središč.

Več avtorjev (Wright, Gouldner, Bourdieu in Florida) obravnava novi družbeni razred, ki temelji na znanju in izobrazbi. Ta razred umeščajo med tradicionalna razreda delavcev in kapitalistov, saj na trgu dela nastopa predvsem z znanjem. Značilnosti tega novega razreda so kulturni kapital, post-materializem, visoka izobrazba in po nekaterih drugih raziskavah (Tivadar, Florida) tudi urbanost. Florida novi razred ali razred delavcev s posebnimi vprašanji umesti v nov razred, imenovan kreativni razred⁶⁰, ki ga definira preko poklicev, ki jih ti delavci opravljajo. Bistvena prvina tega razreda naj bi bil nekakšen monopol nad kreativnostjo, ki naj bi bil bistvena v post-moderni družbi, saj naj bi ves napredek temeljil na kreativnih izumih, s čimer smo se prisiljeni strinjati, saj je dodana vrednost post-fordističnega proizvoda inovativno trženje ali tehnološka dovršenost, kar pa je oboje plod kreativnega pristopa. Obstoj novega družbenega razreda, ki temelji na znanju, zagovarja več avtorjev in tudi sam se temu mnenju pridružujem. Kljub temu pa v tej teoriji obstajajo pomanjkljivosti, saj ni obrazložena relativno nizka raven razredne

⁶⁰ Kreativnemu razredu se lahko reče tudi *the creative class* ali *ustvarjalni razred*.

zavesti novega razreda. Vsekakor pa lahko govorimo tudi o splošnih spremembah na področju družbene stratifikacije, kot na primer prehajanje med družbenimi razredi in sloji, ki postaja vse bolj fluidno.

Kreativnemu razredu pripiše Florida tudi ostale značilnosti, kot na primer urbanost, kulturo ter zanimanje za zunanjo rekreacijo, ulično, participativno umetnost, raznolikost in toleranco, ki naj bi bila še posebej pomembna karakteristika mest, ki imajo velik delež kreativnega razreda. Le-ta naj bi bil precej mobilni in naj bi si izbral kraje, v katerih bo živel, na podlagi lokalnih ugodnosti, ki jih ti kraji lahko ponudijo. Posledično Florida trdi, da bodo kraji, ki nudijo lokalne zanimivosti, raznolikost, neko ulično-participativno umetnost⁶¹, kreativnost, možnost rekreacije in tolerantno okolje, ekonomsko bolj uspešni od ostalih. Pomembna je tudi kvaliteta lokalne univerze, saj naj bi visok delež diplomiranih ljudi pozitivno vplival na lokalno ekonomsko rast.

V nadaljevanju diplome smo se ukvarjali z nekaj študijami, ki izhajajo iz teorij Floride. Glaeser zagovarja predvsem povezavo izobraženih ljudi in ekonomske rasti. Zavrne teorijo kreativnega razreda, tolerance itd. in primarno zagovarja napovedovanje lokalne rasti z deležem izobražencev. Kot nekakšno sintezo študij Floride in Glaserja sem obravnaval študijo, narejeno na primerih Nizozemskih mest. V njej sta Marlet in Woerkens dokazala, da je kreativni razred boljši napovedovalec lokalne rasti kot sami izobraženci, saj so v njem vključeni ljudje brez formalne izobrazbe, ki kljub temu uživajo neko težo na trgu dela. V nadaljevanju potrđita tezo, da se kreativni razred v glavnem naseljuje v urbanih predelih ter da imajo kraji z večjim deležem kreativnega razreda boljšo ekonomsko rast. Na Nizozemskem to potrđita s primerom Utrechta, ki ima največ kreativnega razreda in boljšo ekonomsko rast od ostalih krajev. Drugo mesto na tej lestvici zaseda Amsterdam. Marlet in Woerkens sta med drugim ugotovila, da je raznolikost pomemben dejavnik, medtem ko je vloga same tolerance manj jasna.

Kot sem že omenil, je bil Utrecht izpostavljen kot najuspešnejše mesto v privabljanju kreativnega razreda, ter posledično kot mesto z najboljšo ekonomsko

⁶¹ V kar po mojem mnenju ne spadajo projekti, namenjeni predvsem turistom.

rastjo na Nizozemskem. Vredni omembe sta dejstvi, da ima Utrecht eno najboljših Evropskih univerz ter odlično razvito umetniško sceno (Creative quarter), v kateri lahko lokalno prebivalstvo sodeluje.

Amsterdam je znan po svoji historični toleranci, prav tako pa ima dobro univerzo in je tehnološko dobro razvit. Ima zelo jasno in prepoznavno podobo tolerantnega, mogoče celo dekadentnega mesta, kar mu lahko pomaga pri nastopanju na *internacionalnem trgu post-modernih mest*. Florida je trdil, da delež tujega prebivalstva pomembno prispeva h kreativnemu razvoju mesta, kar pri Amsterdamu gotovo pride do izraza, saj ga različne lestvice uvrščajo v enega najbolj internacionalnih mest. Urbana umetnost je v Amsterdamu umeščena v Westergasfabriek, starem opuščnem industrijskem objektu, kar je dokaj normalna lokacija za tovrstne umetniške projekte, saj so ti praviloma manj dobičkonosni, zato jih je smiselno locirati v cenejše, starejše zgradbe, ki pa naj bodo kljub temu v bližini centra. Tovrstna umetnost je po svoji definiciji urbana, zato naj bo tudi njeno mesto blizu centra.

Ljubljana sicer ima določene značilnosti Utrechta in Amsterdama, odlična je pri omogočanju rekreacije v naravi, manjka pa ji predvsem tolerantnost, ki je lahko posledica suburbanizacije, pa tudi kompaktnost- kot nasprotje razpršeni poselitvi, ter internacionalizacija in vlaganje v urbano umetnost, katere zasnovu ocenjujem kot zelo dobro. Prav tako bi bilo potrebno vlagati v bolj kakovostno univerzo, saj ima le ta manj tujih študentov kot pa svojih, ki trenutno študirajo v tujini, kar kaže na deficit izobraženih ljudi, še posebej če se trend razširi med visoko izobraženo delovno silo.

Urbana umetnost je že bila povezana s kreativnim razredom, ki naj bi ga tovrstna umetnost zanimala. Poleg tega lahko tovrstno dogajanje, če je locirano v mestu, prispeva k njegovemu *trademarku*. Dodaja mu »imidž«, ki ga mnogi avtorji (Harvey) ocenjujejo kot izjemno važnega za post-moderna mesta. Privabljanje kreativnega razreda pa ni edina funkcija urbane umetnosti, le-ta ima lahko izjemno pozitivne učinke na mesto, če vanjo vključujemo lokalno prebivalstvo. Medtem ko sem v primeru Amsterdama zagovarjal umetnost, locirano v bližini centralnih predelov, bi izpostavil še en segment urbane umetnosti, katerega bistvo pa je

lociranje znotraj četrti oziroma sosesk. Z njo lahko višamo socialni kapital znotraj problematičnih sosesk, ter s tem nekako posredno vplivamo na varnost in znižujemo kriminaliteto (glej Borrup). Prav tako vključujemo lokalno prebivalstvo z nižjim kulturnim kapitalom v različne kulturne projekte, ki mu odpirajo nova obzorja, kar lahko pomaga pri nadaljnjem izobraževanju in iskanju zaposlitve. Nenazadnje je Florida opazil relativno visoko stopnjo neenakosti v mestih z visokim deležem kreativnega razreda. Projekti, povezani z urbano umetnostjo, lahko gentrificirajo določene soseske, kar lahko pripelje do odseljevanja revnejših prebivalcev⁶², vendar lahko trdimo tudi nasprotno, namreč, da tovrstna umetnost približa bogatejši, kreativni razred revnejšim, manj perspektivnim prebivalcem, kar je lahko obojestransko koristno, saj zmanjšuje segregacijo v mestu.

V diplomu so bile vse tri hipoteze potrjene, *hipoteza kreativne infrastrukture* in *hipoteza ulične umetnosti* zadovoljivo, medtem ko bi *hipotezo kreativnega razreda* označil kot delno potrjeno, saj nisem prepričan, da lahko družbeno skupino kreativnih ljudi označimo za razred. Vprašljivo je definiranje razreda zgolj na podlagi poklica, kakor je vprašljiva tudi razredna zavest kreativnega razreda. Zato kljub visoki ekonomski vrednosti kreativnih delavcev nisem prepričan, da jih lahko definiramo kot razred, saj je vprašanje, koliko so si različni. Dopuščam pa možnost, da se mora spremeniti pogled na samo stratifikacijo, saj so meje med družbenimi razredi bistveno manj jasne, kot so bile v času Marxa in Webra.

⁶² Opisano v primeru Amsterdama.

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