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The New Creative Class Crisis: A Critical Review of Creative Class Theory

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Abstract

Since its emergence in 2002, Creative Class Theory (CCT) has served as a leading twenty-first century model of urban and socioeconomic development. The purpose of this research is to conduct an extensive literature review to inquire into debates surrounding CCT and address the implications and blindspots of the CCT model. Firstly, a historical overview is conducted to understand the context of the ideological resonances of the theory. Secondly, critical analysis is undertaken to examine major criticisms of the CCT and the evolution of the model as a response. Furthermore, case study analysis is used to highlight the practical applications of the CCT model, which illustrate instances of resistance due to the CCT's inaccuracies and negative implications. Finally, the discussion section inquires into the aforementioned conversation surrounding the theory, which establishes the socioeconomic understanding of CCT as both a neoliberal and a neo-Marxist model. This analysis is motivated by the need to better understand the CCT's agendas to avoid further uncritical application of the CCT by relevant urban stakeholders.

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I dedicate this thesis to my mother, best friend, and partner who love and support me, my colleagues and supervisors who challenge and inspire me, and to those urban developers who strive to make the city a creative space full of art and culture for all.

“How can we maintain a social balance in our cities and what kind of society will we provide for the next generation?”

Conny Brännberg

“Culture is not simply a large and important sector of the economy. It’s the «social software» that is badly needed to manage the complexity of contemporary societies and economies in all of its manifold implications.”

Phil Wood

Introduction

Creative Class Theory (hereafter CCT) or *the creative turn*, is noted as a groundbreaking theory in twenty-first century urban and socioeconomic development. The theory was introduced in 2002 by urban theorist Richard Florida's first publication, *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Florida has since expanded on CCT through his follow-up books such as: *The Flight of the Creative Class* (2005), *Who's Your City* (2008), *The Great Reset* (2010) and *The New Urban Crisis* (2017). Florida's 2015 text, *The Creative Class and Economic Development*, is his latest reflective scholarly work that examines how, since its emergence, the theory has been applied on various levels in urban public policy and development: local, regional, and national. He thereby engages with the key issues and debates regarding CCT.

CCT has largely been viewed as an attractive model for economic, social, and aesthetic transformation of urban space; however, I argue that this has inadvertently resulted in the fetishizing of CCT by a twenty-first century global audience of various stakeholders in urban development such as: politicians, government agencies, private urban design firms, and other social actors. In this thesis, I argue that CCT has been applied in an uncritical manner due to a lack of understanding of its origins, relevant critiques, its socioeconomic agenda, and theoretical lacunas or blindspots. For example, with the case of Atlanta, Georgia's 2008 growth management strategy. *Fostering the Creative Class: Creating Opportunities for Social Engagement*, "[...]the strategy was implemented with little empirical evidence... which sought to institutionalize Florida's rhetoric in public policy" (MacGillis, 2009).

The strategy, based on CCT, institutionalized Florida's rhetoric in public policy by calling upon the city to focus its urban policy specifically on measures aimed at attracting the creative class by enhancing Atlanta's arts and cultural scene and thereby spurring economic growth. In other cities such as Detroit, Austin, and Florida's new home, Toronto, have seen the application of CCT in projects to the ostensible benefit of their populations and economies. However, upon further examination, it is clear that it has been done with little critical attention paid to the model and its potential weaknesses. The success and widespread implementation of the CCT has resulted primarily from Florida's perceived authority and credibility with similar self-identifying urban elites. CCT and Florida have accordingly crucially influenced mainstream discourse in urban socioeconomic development. Therefore, this thesis argues that CCT's claims, to be proven sound in light of its weaknesses, require more evidence of its historical background, criticism, and the implications the socioeconomic agendas, which constitute the theoretical basis of the theory.

The thesis is divided into the following chapters: Chapter 1 is a general and historical overview of CCT; Chapter 2 examines major criticisms of CCT and how these critical voices have influenced the evolution of Florida's theory; Chapter 3 is an examination of the implementation of CCT by way of an analysis of selected case studies; Chapter 4 presents a discussion of CCT's socioeconomic agendas and their implications. The conclusion is a summary of the thesis, further CCT implications and benefits, followed by suggestions for future research.

0.1 Thesis Objectives

The first section of my thesis provides a historical analysis of CCT. This is accomplished by reviewing the various concepts and theory that shaped the theory. Secondly, vis-à-vis case studies critical analysis is conducted, which facilitates discussion of the most relevant criticism leveled against the CCT. The analysis of the literature is motivated by the following goals: reviewing the most relevant critiques via content analysis and highlighting case studies in Detroit, Hamburg, Toronto, and Austin. The case studies emphasize the inaccuracies of CCT in relation to its implementation and resistance to the theory on the grounds of the critiques, which are discussed below. In conclusion, the theory's socioeconomic agendas and their implications are discussed to address the following research question, which ultimately motivates this analysis:

- *Due to the uncritically assessed blind spots and assumptions inherent in the CCT, what are the implications of the implementation of the CCT?*

In order to understand the critiques and development of the theory, it is important to analyze and understand the fundamental, theoretical framework of CCT. This includes an explanation of the theory as discussed in Florida's early work, alongside a historical overview of CCT's influence in specific academic domains such as urban public policy and socioeconomic development. This is followed by an introduction of the major critiques leveled against CCT by various scholars. Furthermore, case studies are used to highlight the ideological characteristics of CCT by illuminating how its implementation and reported outcomes, further support such critiques. In doing so I examine the case studies in order to not only understand the evolution of the theory, but also the resulting implications in praxis and theory. As such, I answer the following questions:

- *Who are the theory's relevant critics and what are their respective concerns regarding CCT?*
- *What ideological assumptions are inherent in the critiques of CCT and how does that impact the weight of their critiques?*

In the final discussion, I review CCT's evolution and posit that the theory exists in two socioeconomic agendas i.e. ideological resonances, that are perpetuated by Florida and his critics. I argue that both have been critically under-reviewed prior to the theory's implementation. Furthermore, I argue that CCT's ideological resonances can be broadly characterized according to the following socioeconomic agendas: neoliberalism and neo-Marxism.

0.2 Scientific Value and Rationale

Since the publication of *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2002 until present-day, CCT has positioned itself as part of a broader debate within urban public policy and socioeconomic development. This literature review serves to fill an academic gap in the criticism concerning Richard Florida's theory by critically sharpening the picture of CCT with regard to its discourse, evolution, worldview, and implications. By examining its background and citing various scholars and their contributions or influence toward CCT, one can better understand the evolution of the theory.

This is done by examining CCT's origins, case studies, and various scholars' critiques which have shaped the evolution of CCT over the course of fifteen years.

Building upon this theoretical and conceptual ground work, this thesis selects several prominent case studies to demonstrate the potential implications and pitfalls of CCT in a detailed and thorough manner. This is due to the fact that current research suffers from an alarming lack of consideration of how the CCT is going to affect the future of urban development and economic growth. Furthermore, examination of these case studies demonstrate how cities have applied CCT in their cultural and urban development policies. This analysis is done in light of and with respect to the fact that the notion of a "creative city" has become a buzzword in public policy and attempts to elucidate the concepts at the heart of the theory.

Coming from both a cultural anthropology and fine arts background, I am intrigued by the nature of creativity; namely, how creativity can be an occupational byproduct within the urban space of the twenty-first century. This led me to Florida's work. Upon reading the *Rise of the Creative Class*, I was originally thrilled with the text's ability to define a new class which utilized creativity at its core. However, after encountering major critiques concerning both Richard Florida as an iconoclast and his work, I felt uncomfortable about how uncritically the theory was accepted by current policy-makers. Much like them, I felt very inspired by the theory, but found it problematic because in its original state it was applied universally to address a variety of urban issues in several cities, which rather than illuminate the problems plaguing urban policy – seemed to obscure them by its over-broad and simplistic application. As well, I felt the theory lacked consideration for inclusivity or plurality due to its tendency to generally ignore social populations outside the creative class and their contributions to the social fabric and culture of cities. The hope is that this thesis will address my original concerns and this sharpens CCT's conceptual elucidation prior to implementation, which I argue is necessary for future city developers.

Ch.1 General Overview

The aim of this chapter is to provide a general overview of Florida's definition of CCT, alongside a historical analysis of CCT in urban and socioeconomic development. This was accomplished by researching the early work of Florida and contributors he cites in the formulation of his theory. For urban development, they include writers and urban theorists Charles Landry's *Creative Cities* (Landry 1995), John Hawkin's *Creative Economy* (2001), David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989), Jane Jacob's *Creative Clustering* (1967) and Åke Andersson's *Creativity and Regional Development* (1985). For socioeconomic development, they include Adam Smith's free market concept for economic growth (1779), Karl Max's critique of the capitalist model and class recognition (1887), John Locke's tenants of a liberal sociocultural atmosphere (1687), Daniel Bell's *Post-Industrial Society* (1967), and Gary Becker, Jacob Mincer's *Human Capital Theory* (1964).

1.1 Understanding Richard Florida and Creative Class Theory

It is important to describe and contextualize CCT in terms of Florida's authority and credentials, alongside further defining the theory itself. Whereas, Florida has garnered much attention since the formation of the theory, through which his rhetoric has seeped into the public consciousness in the form of his publications, appearances, and influenced urban development policy. Central to his authority and credentials is his scholastic credibility as an academic, researcher and writer. He received his bachelor's degree from Rutgers College, his Ph.D from Columbia University in 1987. Shortly after, he started teaching at George Mason University's School of Public Policy, then Ohio State University, followed by Carnegie Mellon University's Heinz College from 1987 – 2005. He is now a professor at University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management where he manages the Martin Prosperity Institute. In 2011, he was named Senior Editor at the Atlantic Magazine, is the co-founder and Editor-at-Large of CityLab Org, and founder of his global consulting firm, Creative Class Group.¹

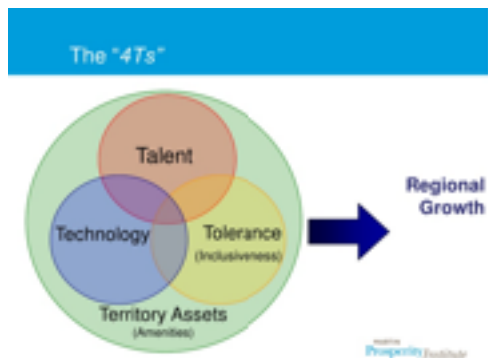
Florida's ability to implement and capitalize on CCT might also be due to how Florida has managed to market his research (Lang, 2005). Florida and his research colleagues at Martin Prosperity and Creative Class Group set measurements and indexes which reflect cities mishaps, then sell the problem-solving solutions to them such as: as the Creative Cities Index (2002), Bohemian Index (2002), Innovation Density Measurement (2010) Economic Strength of Cities Index (2012), and Global Creativity Index (2015). For example, utilizing the Bohemian Index, Florida suggests the presence of artists and a LGBTQ+ community, foster a more tolerant and diverse atmosphere in cities, which leads to a successful city (Florida, 2002, p.16)

Broadly speaking, the theory argues for the emergence and normative importance of fostering a new "creative class." In Florida's early work, *Cities and the Creative Class*, he writes, "(I believe) diversity and creativity are basic drivers of innovation and regional and national growth" (Florida, 2002, p.4). Florida later adds that the innovative and the growth-boosting impact of CCT also extends to the global landscape. In, *Flight of the Creative Class*, he

¹ More information on Richard Florida's academic and professional career can be found here: http://www.creativeclass.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/RichardFloridaCVApril2017_NEW.pdf

states, “America's growth miracle turns on one key factor: its openness to new ideas, which has allowed it to dominate the global competition for talent, and in doing so harness the creative energies of its own people, -and, indeed, the world” (Florida, 2005, p.4). These quotes represent the fundamental goal of CCT: implementing an urban atmosphere for growth and competition for a highly mobile global class.

Central to CCT is the notion of the *creative class*: a twenty-first century labor population which is defined by their ability to use *creativity* as economic capital. According to Florida, they are a labor class of at least 41 million or about a third of the U.S workforce population (Florida, 2015, p. 197). At the center of the creative class lies the “super-creative core,” i.e. those endowed with or highly educated to help them develop creative capital such as: scientist and engineers, university professors. poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects. He broadens this definition by labeling this core as existing within the “thought leadership” of modern society to include: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion makers (Florida, 2002, p. 8-9). Outside of the super-creative core is the “creative class,” who have a more practical orientation being individuals able to produce entrepreneurial products or designs to be distributed in a broad sense, or those redefining societal standards with new theories, strategies, or cultural values (Florida, 2015, p. 192). These individuals typically possess a high level of skill or academic training and education. Florida argues



that the creative class is socially relevant because of its members' ability to spur regional economic growth through innovation (ibid, p.8). Florida further explains that regional growth inspired by the creative class is encouraged by an atmosphere of talent, technology, tolerance (the 3 T's), which account for territorial assets in urban development (see chart 1).²

Florida posits that the presence of the creative class can and should be used as an opportunity to reinvigorate urban development and to revamp urban policy to attract and expand economic growth. Florida argues that the “creative core” is largely understood and invaluable to the cultural fabric of a community due to their contribution as a tolerant constituent part of the community; able to nurture an open-minded atmosphere, which can lead to creative innovations and economic vitality (Florida, 2002, p.69). This class is urban-oriented with a perceived need for inclusiveness, diversity, and sustainability within the urban landscape. Cherished values of this rising class are those of sustainability, authorship, authenticity, and artistry – which translate into work practices that prioritize concepts such as DIY (do it yourself), sustainability, the local, bottom-up management, open-source, peer-to-peer, and creative commons (Florida, 2011). Such a creative class shifts the paradigm concerning the market and employment to the idea that work is important for the relationship one has with oneself and with the social and natural environment (Florida, 2002 p. 69).

In Florida's 2015 text, *The Creative Class and Economic Development*, he begins to trace the ideological lineage of CCT starting with classical-economist Adam Smith, who identifies three key factors of economic development:

² Chart 1 is provided by the Martin Prosperity Institute.

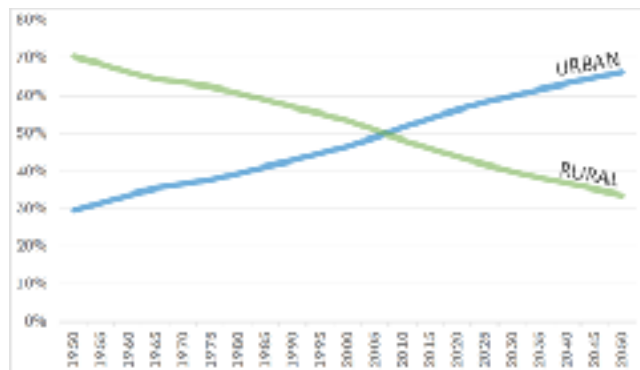
production labor land, and capital. Florida re-interprets Smith in the twenty-first century with CCT by reevaluating the three key factors to economic development and applying his 3 T's. Florida also cites the work of Peter Drucker (1969, 1993) and Daniel Bell (1973, 1976) as laying the socioeconomic fundamentals of CCT by outlining the post-industrial knowledge economy. In the text, Florida states that he is "heavily influenced by their perspectives, but my own interest began to shift from knowledge, per se, to innovation and ultimately creativity" (Florida, 2015, p. 197). Most importantly, this shift in focus to creativity led him to psychologist Robert Sternberg's *Handbook of Creativity* (1999), where he borrows Sternberg's definition of creativity to form the guidelines for the creative class and super-creative core as, "an underlying construct or skill that links what were thought of as separate and distinct fields of science and technology, business management and the professions, and art, design, and entertainment" (Sternberg, 1999; Florida, 2015 p.197). However, the theories of Jane Jacobs in urban development and Karl Marx in political-socioeconomic development influenced Florida's CCT the most (Florida, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2004a, 2008, 2009, 2015). Researcher, Brian Tochtermann references the inspiration in his 2012 text, "Florida's innovative work in the past decade relied on the quantification of Jacobs's qualitative findings of place and economic development elucidated in *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1964) and *Economy of Cities* (1969), and fusing them with Marx to tap into the zeitgeist of the neoliberal era" (Tochtermann, 2012 p. 80). In order to better define CCT, the following sections of this chapter build upon Florida's 2015 text to detail a historical analysis of CCT in urban development and socioeconomic development.

1.2 Historical Overview of CCT in Urban Development

1.2.1 Rise of Urbanization

Urbanization or the process of migration and settlement patterns from rural to urban settings dates back to Mesopotamian and Egyptian societies (Mark, 2014). However, it is hard to accurately detect when the concept was first conceived. Urban studies researcher, Christopher Watson considers the main developmental understanding of the concept to have arisen around the industrial revolution whereby the world's populations, especially in the West, experienced the main urban settlement turning point (Watson, 1993). Only within the last one hundred and twenty years has the term been adopted in academic circles; mainly due to attempts to define the characteristics of the research in modernization and later globalization eras. Watson confirms the lack of historical understanding of the modern day shift thusly, "[...]urbanization is not merely a modern phenomenon, but a rapid and historic transformation of human social roots on a global scale, whereby predominantly rural culture is being rapidly replaced by predominantly urban culture" (Watson, 1993, p.1). In 1993, Watson studied the trend of modern global migration patterns from the 1970s- 2010 from rural to urban settlements. He postulated that modest growth rates were expected in economically modernized or developed countries i.e. so-called "first worlds" and large increases to growth rates in so-called, "third worlds." His data predicted that globally the population who migrated from rural to urban settlements would increase from 37.2% in 1970 to 56.2% in 2010 (Watson, 1993). Therefore, as a result he suggests that the increase in urbanization and population growths necessitated the demand for a more structured approach to city development with modern-day techniques and thinking in urban planning and design.

Modernist urban development techniques which prevailed from the decline of the industrial revolution, were defined by twentieth-century urban planning and design saw innovations such as grid-style city design, introduction of public transportation, building of skyscrapers, and overall fundamental groundwork of city space. In the 1950s researchers, such as Watson, began to notice an accelerating trend of settlement patterns from the rural to urban setting with 2010 being the turning point (see chart 2 below).³



It was around the early 1950s when western governments began to make huge national infrastructure investments into the urban atmosphere, with such investments as *The New Deal* and the *New Towns Act of 1946* in the United States. This came out of a reaction to the failing national infrastructure of the post-industrial revolution within city space. This consisted of outdated sewage intake systems, increasing city population density, vast slum style housing and communities, and a need to address the increased role of the automobile in society.

According to Nigel Taylor, urban planning as we know it today i.e. data driven, structured, and emphasizing free-market regulations, was first viewed in the early modern era as, *town planning*; or the exercise of the physical design and planning of land use and built form (Taylor, 1998). This term predated World War II (hereafter WWII) beginning with the European Renaissance. After WWII there was a change to urban planning, which differed from traditional town planning, in that vision, form, and imagining became motivating ideas behind urban concepts (Taylor, 1998, p.17). Town planning later gave way to the Modernist Urbanization Theory and Conventional Suburban Development Theory of the 1940s-1980s; which kick started urban sprawl and emphasized cities' reliance on individual automobile transportation. This period saw the shift of separation of living and working space due to the mass production of the automobile, a new industrial mechanization of city space as a reaction to globalization, and the population shift from rural to urban areas. Furthermore, many experts claim the premise of the automobile and its role in urban infrastructure lead to an ideological automobile-centered culture and society between the 1940s and the 1980s (Maagensen, 2015).

1.2.2 Jacobs, Andersson, and CCT

Urban theorist Jane Jacobs, whose work was motivated by social activism, critiqued Modernist Urbanization Theory by questioning various aspects of environmental sustainability within the theory. Jane Jacobs's theory on urban development was devoted to the development and advocacy of alternative planning principles such as: mixed-used housing as opposed to segregation planning, diverse and multicultural communities, commercial and industrial zones, more sidewalks rather than relying solely on the street, favoring the communal plaza space, infill practices rather than displacement and utilization of creative clustering (Jacobs, 1961, 1969). Fundamentally, Florida seeks to further expound on the social values and planning aesthetics of Jacob's work, namely maintaining

³ Chart 2: Modern - Future Migration Trends. Provided by Science Daily.

diverse communities and creative clustering for economic growth. Florida also adopts urban theorist, Åke E. Andersson historical understanding of communities benefiting from a focus on the social values of knowledge and tolerance. He writes in his 2016 text:

“Jacobs (1961, 1969) emphasized the role of cities and regions in the transfer and diffusion of knowledge; known as *clustering*. As the scale and diversity of cities increase, so do the connections between economic actors that result in the generation of new ideas and innovations. Andersson (1985a, b) explored the role of creativity in metropolitan regions for economic development. With a historical sweep reaching as far back as Athens, Rome, and Florence, he stressed the importance of knowledge, culture, communications, and creativity in regional prosperity. He also argued that tolerance plays a role in stimulating creativity in cities and regions” (Florida & Mellander, 2016).

This suggests that CCT has been developed in order to build upon Jacob’s idea that diverse clustering leads to innovation and moreover Andersson’s notions that utilization of knowledge and creativity leads to regional growth. Jacob, Andersson, are influenced by and subscribe to, New Urbanization Theory, which gained traction in the late twentieth-century. This theory addresses topics such as environmental damage, city sustainability and preservation, citizen wellness and livelihood, mix-use developments, and arts and cultural developments.

1.2.3 Landry, Harvey, and CCT

New Urbanism led to the 1978 organization of urban think-tank, Comedia, by Charles Landry. The organization pioneered the concept of the creative city, which sought to probe the connections between culture, creative, and societal transformation and thus established the basis for CCT. In his 1995 book, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, Landry posits that creativity is a cultural resource, which drives urban growth and that cities should set conditions, which exploit this resource (Landry, 1995, p.7). Landry sets the groundwork for new urban thinking by arguing that city planners and designers should build cultural amenities around city identities, for example, the Blues in New Orleans and a new cultural industry (ibid, p.8). He further posits that by fostering an atmosphere in urban development that breeds creativity, this new sector of cultural industry would lead to a creative workforce (ibid, p.9). David Harvey’s 1989 publication, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, argues the same and posits that successfully planned cities would promote consumer attractions, focus on entertainment allure, and promote recreation and environmental amenities. He declares the post-Modernist age in urban development as centered around, “imagining a city to attract capital and people in a period of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism” (Harvey, 1989, p.92). He continues: “the city, above all, has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live, visit, place, and consume in” (ibid, p.39). Florida builds upon the work of Landry’s creative city and Harvey’s post-Modern city by arguing that cities should develop cultural and consumer amenities around a shared identity in order to attract a new creative workforce: the creative class. It is through this lineage that CCT has evolved and can be thought of as a twenty-first century urban development strategy. However the theory also exists in the realm of socioeconomics, in the sense that the creative class is serving as a new form of labor capital; this vision of the creative class, as labor capital, is explained in regards to defining capital in political, cultural, and economic development context of Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and John Locke.

1.3 Historical Overview of CCT in Socioeconomic Development

1.3.1 Smith and CCT

Adam Smith, the well-known political economist, laid the economic groundwork for CCT in his 1779 book, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. The text outlines his classic theory concerning the modern free market economy, which advocated for the promotion of individual self-interest, competition for the benefit of society, and economic growth (IEP, 1995). Central components of Smith's liberal political-economic theory outlines the free market and includes the notions of free trade, *natural law*, limits on government intervention, structure of the market, and accumulation of economic capital driven by self-interest. It is important to understand some of the commonly overlooked nuances of Smith's theory. He is not advocating for complete free market domination; rather he was worried that the state would exploit people by unnecessarily interfering in their ability to conduct trade or accumulate capital. He argued that there needs to be a certain level of institutional control for the growth of the state as well to ensure that inequality on a large scale was avoided (Wells, 2012).

Adam Smith's political-economic theory of free-market capitalism highlights four types of capital which he argues foster the economic growth of states. For economic growth, this included the combination of monetary capital, labor force, land, and technology. He posits that division of labor does not depend merely on technological feasibility; it greatly depends on the extent of the market as well. Moreover, the size of market depends on the available stock and the institutional restrictions placed upon both domestic and international trade (ibid, 1995). Smith concludes by recognizing the importance of technological development in productivity which is possible only if sufficient capital is available. As mentioned, Florida reinterprets Smith's notion of state development with CCT by reevaluating the three key factors to economic growth and applying his 3 T's

Furthermore, in *The Wealth of Nations* Smith introduces trade theory that first indicated importance of specialization in production and division of labor, -or reducing large jobs into smaller jobs by assigning jobs to workers (Smith, 1779). For urban development, Jane Jacobs took on Adam Smith's notion that specialization leads to economic growth (Jacobs, 1969). She countered basically that specialization can and does lead to doing the same thing better, but that it does not lead to creating new things and the new industries and work that go with it. For that, a social collectivity was required. In which case, Florida fills that niche by introducing the creative class as a mean for economic growth by their ability for increased innovations in the creative economy, given the conditions of 3 T's were present in the urban space. Finally, Florida cites Adam Smith in order to lay conceptual groundwork for the creative economy^{4 5}

I argue that CCT as an economic growth model, has adapted certain concepts, which are outlined by the aforementioned models of Smith. This includes understanding the early version of CCT as an update of Smith's

⁴ Florida noted Smith and Marx for the conceptual contributions of CCT and the creative economy in a 2012 RSA President's Lecture for their inquiries into land, class, physical labor, and capital migration into urban areas. Link to *Why Creativity is the New Economy - Richard Florida*: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VPX7gowr2vE&t=13s>

⁵ The creative economy as defined by John Howkin's 2001 book, *The Creative Economy*, which he posits a economic system where value is based on novel imaginative qualities rather than the traditional nineteenth-twentieth century resources of land, labour, and capital.

formulation of economic growth and the accumulation of monetary capital driven by self-interests. As the economic motivation behind CCT is similar to Smith's, Florida argues that capital is accumulated for individual self-interest and state growth. However, the key difference is that Florida's update shifts Smith's focus on *monetary* capital to *knowledge* capital. The growth of the state then is not achieved through investments in a holistic free market, but in attraction and clustering of both knowledge capital as is argued by Jacobs and knowledge as a key component of social values as Anderson argues. Smith's view of capital within the free-market as the main impetus for state growth and preservation, is eventually adapted to serve as the conceptual basis of the neoliberal economy, which Florida uses in connection with CCT. Florida argues that the creative class both develops and serves as fluid knowledge capital helping to drive competition under a new global free-market system. As well, Smith advocated that states have a vested interest in maintaining an edge in technological capital and self-preservation. Florida co-opts this idea and claims that the focus on this interest is in cities rather than states.

1.3.2 Marx and CCT

Karl Marx outlines his critique of Smith's liberal political economy in *Das Kapital*. In the text, Marx's approach is different, in that he argues that class and the division of labor in Smith's capitalist free market model leads to inequality and exploitation, because the worker is both not compensated and their vested interests are not counted as capital. Marx posits that capital should be conceived of as a social relationship between the product and the worker and conceived of as a part of the value of the resulting commodity (Marx, 1887). Marx's main argument is that the worker has an interest in their product, which is sold or traded for what the person would need, not want. He argues in the liberal, free market economy workers contributions to the commodities they create are systemically undersold and therefore cannot provide for the worker's personal needs (ibid). This contrasts with Smith's idea of commodity as monetary capital, which he suggests is accumulated in order to purchase more capital to invest into both the wants and needs of the worker. Furthermore, Marx challenges Smith's idea of individual self-interests as the main driving force of economic growth. Unlike Smith, Marx believes economic growth is motivated by collective interest, which leads to not only more growth, but also a more ethical arrangement of the market as exploitation of one individual over another disappears (ibid).

Furthermore, Marx writes, "the individual laborer is, "made poor" in individual productive powers in order to make the collective laborer, and through him capital rich in social productive power" (Marx, 1887). Unlike Smith, Marx's main critique of the capitalist system is that it ultimately must be abandoned due to its intrinsic construction around the idea of class, which as he saw, leads to class exploitation, -mainly by the aristocratic class of the working class. Marx argues that workers are exploited because their work or social capital, is undervalued and thus workers are exploited when they settle, out of desperation or poor bargaining power, for working for goods or commodities that are valued at exactly the price they would need to survive instead of the actual price including the costs of forfeiting social consensus and their contribution to the commodity. Through this, Marx's approach sought to advocate for agency for the worker by demonstrating the relationship between the worker and their product, which should also be considered as added value contributed by the worker: an *intrinsic* value. Marx's approach manages to show that the worker is not merely a form of capital themselves. Thus, Florida similarly defines a *class* like Marx, as his definition of a *class* as a "collective-cluster" of people who have common interest and tend to think, feel and behave similarly, but these similarities are fundamentally determined by their economic

function, -or the kind of work they do for a living (Florida, 2002, p.8-9). Florida diverts from Marx by further defining the creative class as having a high level of social capital and is considered very valuable in the work they do.

Marx's influence can be seen in the CCT with its recognition of class and their relationship with their production. Marx suggests that the worker plus their product leads to a commodity. Florida's formula is similar with CCT in that the creative class plus their creative production leads to innovation. Furthermore, Florida's CCT is similar to Marxism, in that, Marx recognized and defined a particular class by focusing on their agency and relationship to their product. Florida does the same, but in this case he argues that developing a global creative class leads to innovation due to their ability to develop products and services based on their own skills and notion of creativity, which are highly valued in the creative economy. Finally, Florida's rhetoric commonly describes his work as updating Marx for the twenty-first century: "being trained early in my academic career in Marxist thought and the Frankfurt School, basically, my project has been to graft Jane Jacobs onto Marx" (Jacobin, online; Novakovic, online).

1.3.3 Locke and CCT

While CCT has clear conceptual ties to classical economic theory such as that of Smith, and later Marx, it additionally has connections to Locke's sociocultural theory of liberal inclusiveness and tolerance. Florida argues that its main sociocultural component is: "to create an atmosphere of tolerance, which harbors innovation." This idea has historical roots in the work of can be John Locke on liberalism and political economy (Florida, 2002, p.4). John Locke's work predates Smith and Marx, as it was introduced during the Enlightenment era of humanism and brought together liberal economic and political thinking, by asking the question: where should the state invest? Locke suggested the state should invest in public institutions and thereby shape human capital (Locke, 1693). For example, Locke suggests that the state should make public investments into education in his 1693 text, *Thoughts Concerning Education*. Furthermore, in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1698) and *the Letters on Toleration* (1689), Locke defined the terms: liberty and equality and applied them expound upon the reasons that public investments and religious inclusiveness play an integral role in their realization (Locke, 1689).

Locke's work argued that state growth would flourish following investments into education and inclusiveness of freedom of all religions, in what Locke defines as the "Humanist atmosphere" (Locke, 1689). It is important to understand this lineage and its relationship to Florida because Locke's notions of public investments, inclusiveness, and maintaining a liberal atmosphere of tolerance play an important role in defining the CCT's main sociocultural proponent as mentioned above. However, the main contrast is in the mechanism through which those values are fostered and eventually realized and their relationship to the individual for state growth. Florida diverts from Locke's version of tabula rasa, i.e. the notion that humans are born as a blank slate, in that Florida believes all humans are born with innate creativity under a similar sociocultural atmosphere of liberal tolerance (Locke, 1689; Florida, 2002, 2005).

1.3.4 Neoliberalism and The Post-Industrial Society

Locke's tenets of liberalism have since infiltrated into political and economic thought to influence the twentieth-century American political-economic doctrine of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is the culmination of the influence of Smith's free market model and Locke's tenets and terminology outlining the liberal economy, when they are applied to corporate interests and the private sector as a means to advance state growth. Under the guise of liberty and equality, proponents of neoliberalism seek the deregulation of the welfare state by claiming that society should be shaped not by the apparatus of the state vis-à-vis paternalistic public institutions, but by the expansion of the free market, which aids the development of privatization and corporate interests. Thus, the ideas of liberty and equality were applied to economic thinking in the form of market de-regulation rather than Locke's sociocultural atmosphere of tolerance. Therefore, under neoliberalism, -or new-liberalism, the public state was no longer seen as the primary source of regulation or vested interest for growth, but privatization under a deregulated free market structure was.

Under their New Right movement in the 1980's, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Alan Greenspan are associated with the introduction of the doctrine of neoliberalism into the mainstream by popularizing and advocating for policy that featured , "trickle-down-economics," -or the idea of strong government deregulation of the access to the global free market will lead to corporate and wealthy monetary gains, which in turn *trickle down* to lower-class benefits. The suggestion for deregulations typically were tax cuts on businesses, high-income earners, capital gains and dividends (Kitschelt, 1999, p. 371). Political anthropologist, James Ferguson defines neoliberalism as a government phenomenon itself. He argues that it mainly acts in the private sphere to work within the state itself, so that even core functions of the state are either subcontracted out to private providers, or run 'like a business' (Ferguson, 2010). The New Right's neoliberal agenda is formed by building upon the development of a globalized free trading market utilizing the political goals and instruments of right-of-center party ideology such as: fiscal conservatism, centralization of power after deregulation, and a tax policy favoring subsidies benefiting higher income earners (ibid, p. 373). The neoliberal conceptions of commodity and capital is shaped by the trickle down of corporate competition for customer satisfaction i.e. in attempts to offer more competitive goods, the benefits will trickle down to the consumers (ibid, p. 372). This was evident during the New Right administrations of Reagan and Thatcher; both governments embarked on a systematic scaling back of postwar Keynesian economics and social policy, which stemmed from the Anglo industrial societies (ibid, p. 372). Keynesian economists argued for an active role for government intervention through fiscal policy or monetary policy by a centralized bank, especially in times of market instability and rescission such as during the Great Depression of the 1930s (Blinder, 1986).

Neoliberalism rose to prominence in connection with *The Post-Industrial Society*, a concept developed in Daniel Bell's, *The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society* (1967). Bell suggests that the nineteenth-century witnessed a shift from agrarian to industrial economic systems. He claims that the industrial society can be divided into three phases: *pre*, *industrial*, and *post-industrial*. He defines the twentieth-century as "post-industrial." The post-industrial society is characterized by technological advancement, which includes such developments as: energy

replacing raw muscle power, mass production, producing more with less, the service economy⁶, power stemming from information and data sharing and gathering. The central figure is the professional trained through education. Crucial to the post-industrial society is that sources of innovation are the codifications of theoretical knowledge (Bell, 1967, p. 4). Researcher Andy Pratt has since suggested Florida defines the creative class based upon Bell's *Post-Industrial Society* (Pratt, 2008, p. 8) in which he argues that this societal framework belies the advent of a new form of capital centered around knowledge and service as a commodity: *human capital*.

1.3.5 Human Capital Theory and CCT

The concept of human capital emerged in the Post-Industrial Society under the neoliberal economy due to the diminishing liberal welfare states of early twentieth-century governments. Conceptually, human capital incentivizes governments to push individuals to compete for their own self-interest, similar to Smith, yet it is due to the decrease of the institutionalized state welfare. This is evident in economist Gary Becker's 1964 book, *The Theory of Human Capital*, which defines Human Capital Theory as applicable to "any stock of knowledge or characteristics the worker has either innate or acquired that contributes to his or her productivity" (Becker & Mincer, 1964). The factors, which get invested and incentivized to contribute to the quality of human capital include: innate ability, schooling, school quality, training, and the understanding of the pre-labor market. Florida finds the Becker view problematic because his understanding of humans as capital views humans according to a utilitarian perspective in terms of cost and benefit void of social-cultural constructs for the need of the production process of labor economics. Additionally, it fails to address certain inequalities in its measurements, such as families' investment into education based on their income levels and occupational-based measurements.

In his 2006 text, *The Creative Class or Human Capital*, Florida along with researcher Charlotta Mellander, recognizes the correlation between the creative class and what is problematic about human capital. He agrees with Becker that: "Human capital is observed both to be an important contributor to growth and to be unevenly distributed geographically", (Florida & Mellander 2006, p.7). In order to address this issue, Florida identifies the necessary social-cultural values, which play an intrinsic role in attracting human capital:

"While there is consensus on the importance of human capital to economic development, debate takes shape around two central issues. First, there is the question of how best to measure human capital. The conventional measure of human capital is based on educational attainment (share of population with a bachelor's degree and above). But more recent research suggests that it is more important to measure what people do than what they study, and thus occupationally based measures, associated principally with creative class occupations, have been introduced. Second, there is debate over the factors that yield the geographic distribution of human capital in the first place. Three alternative factors have been found to play a role: universities; amenities (measured here as diversity of service industries); and openness and tolerance We also find that universities, amenities or service diversity, and openness and tolerance affect the distribution of human capital. These factors do not operate in competition with one another, but tend to

⁶ In the post-industrial society, the service economy is primarily centered on, "human services," and " professional and technical services. "Major sectors in human services are education and health, while the other major areas have been in research and development, in data-processing and the like (Bells, 1967, p.5).

attract or affect different types of talent. They can be thus said to play complementary roles in the geographic distribution of talent” (Florida & Mellander, 2006 p. 2)

Thus, Florida suggests elements of CCT demonstrate that it is both a critique of the problematic features of Human Capital Theory by Becker and an addition measurement to the model (Florida, 2002; Becker, 1964). Florida diverges from Becker and argues for the need to better understand the factors that both produce human capital and enables regions to attract it (Florida, 2002a, b, 2005, 2006). He suggests that human capital operates less as a “static endowment or stock and more as a dynamic flow” (Florida & Mellander, 2006, p. 3). On this basis, Florida posits that the factors that most heavily impact the geographic distribution of human capital and the creative class are cities, which create the atmosphere of tolerance and openness to diversity. Furthermore, he claims that labor economies should invest in individuals who seek this atmosphere of “creative meaningful new forms,” which he defines as the *sine qua none* of the creative class (Florida, 2002, p. 38). Florida’s response to what is problematic of Human Capital Theory, is presenting a *flow* version of human capital to suggests the creative class, as labor capital, typically does not settle in one place and are highly mobile relocating in clusters and concentrations; and with their migration introduces additional social-cultural variables of diversity and tolerance. (Florida, 2002, 2005, 2010). He recognizes his argument for attracting human capital as concordant with his arguments that universities play a key role as is shown with Becker’s educational attainment measurement for human capital and urban amenities playing a role in attracting and retaining highly educated, high-skill households (Glaeser, 1993; Glaeser et al., 2001 Glaeser, 2005; Shapiro, 2006; Clark, 2003). However, Florida deviates from Becker’s conventional educational attainment model in human capital by citing more recent research, which suggests it may be more important to measure what people do than what they study. Thus, he introduces occupational based measurements associated principally with knowledge capital and knowledge-based or creative occupations (Florida, 2002, 2006; Markusen, 2004, 2006). It is based upon this framework that Florida sketches a new economic “atmosphere” for the creative class, in which cities compete to attract the flow of this class as human capital and should be investing to support and foster their cultural consumption needs. The “atmosphere,” Florida argues for, is that of tolerance – specifically creating “low barriers to entry” for individuals associated with geographic concentrations of talent, higher rates of innovation, and regional development (Florida, 2002). Per Florida, the more open a place is to new ideas and new people the lower its entry barriers for human capital and the more talent it will likely capture. I agree with Florida that lower entry barriers such as: promoting equal access, tolerance, and diversity as central facets of a city’s overall cultural atmosphere, could be attractive to members of the creative class and therefore could potentially promote multiculturalism and thus result in the realization of urban growth through increased access to cultural collaborations.

1.3.6 Summary of CCT’s Ideological Components

To summarize, the historical lineage of CCT as a socioeconomic model can be understood in the following veins: liberal, Marxism, neoliberal, and neo-Marxism. The theory builds upon classical elements originating with Smith that a global free market and states’ ability, depending on the availability of stock and capital, to maintain an edge in technological feasibility leads to economic growth. Marx challenged Smith’s model by highlighting the exploitation of the working class by arguing that state-sponsored institutional investments into human capital leads to workers realizing the value of their commodity, to which they have their own vested interest and thus realize the *intrinsic*

value in their product. Marx's relationship to CCT is his focus upon the importance of class agency and institutional investments. Florida, also like Marx, recognizes and defines a particular class and focuses on their role in promoting state growth. In the case of Florida, he argues that this class is the global creative class, who develop products and innovation based on their own skills, notion of creativity, Smith's version of self-interest, and Marx's version of vested interest. Locke's liberal economic theory provides the sociocultural bedrock of CCT by suggesting institutional investments into education lead to state growth. This relationship is later seen through Becker's educational attainment measurement of human capital. Locke also formulates the early humanist atmosphere of CCT by suggesting the importance of maintaining the cultural atmosphere of tolerance and inclusiveness through the notions of *liberty* and *equality*. Liberty and equality were later co-opted by the New Right's neoliberalism of the twentieth-century, which applied the terms of Smith's free market to the expansion of the global market and privatization. Neoliberal proponents sought to further global corporate interests through the deregulation of the free-market, scaling down of government assets, and by diminishing the welfare state. This was set in motion by governments in the early twentieth-century and culminated in the emergence of the post-industrial society.

Because of the decrease in the welfare state and the paradigm shift to knowledge-based economies, *Human Capital Theory* formed as an incentive for governments to push individuals to compete for their own self-interest. Florida's critique reintroduced Locke's humanist approach by arguing that an atmosphere of tolerance should be maintained in cities to attract human capital and thus highlighted what Becker lacked in his definition (Florida, 2002). Florida agrees with Glaeser's arguments regarding human capital and that universities play a role, along with a city's amenities in attracting and retaining a *fluid* creative class. However, he diverges in arguing that productivity measurements of human capital deviate from Becker's educational-attainment model in CCT. This is due to Florida's suggestion that occupational-based measures, associated principally with the knowledge-based or creative occupations, are more accurate.

In order to understand the fundamental nature of the CCT's intellectual forebearers, I have outlined and investigated its root elements by tracing the historical lineage of CCT within the relevant discourses of urban development and socioeconomics. I position CCT as a social-economic model, which could possibly serve to propagate a twenty-first century neoliberal or neo-Marxist economic agenda. This is due to its reliance upon Smith's understanding of the free market and individual self-interest for state growth and reintroduces the Locke's liberal humanist sociocultural values of tolerance, equality, and diversity. Furthermore, it can be understood as neo-Marxist because it applies Marxists thought concerning agency of those within a particular labor class and understanding their relationship to their commodities. Finally, I review three modernist socioeconomic theories and suggest CCT's ideological resonance is formed by tapping into the zeitgeist of Daniel Bell's *Post-Industrial Society*, through reevaluation of Becker's *Human Capital Theory*, and understanding the consistency with Glaeser's arguments for attracting human capital. The following chapter engages with the theoretical dimensions of CCT by examining major criticism of the theory and the evolution of the theory as a response to Florida.

Ch. 2: Main Criticisms and Later Development of CCT

Building upon the historical overview of CCT, this chapter aims to review several criticisms of the theory's original socioeconomic understanding to begin to sketch a few responses to the aforementioned research sub-questions. It is crucial to understand the peer-reviewed narrative in CCT formation in addition to the historical lineage. The scholars I am concerned with in this chapter include: Robert Lang, Jamie Peck, Andy Pratt, Ann Markusen, Carl Grodach, and Edward Glaser. Section 1 introduces the criticisms of CCT, which includes the main critiques of the "chicken and egg" paradox and CCT not focusing on the dynamics of cities beyond the creative class that are working to facilitate urban growth (Kotkin, 2009; Lang, 2005; Moretti, 2012; Storper, 2013). This is followed by introduction of Peck's critique of CCT being applied universally and why that is problematic (Peck, 2005). Furthermore, I review Markusen and Pratt's comments that CCT has a "fuzzy" conceptual framework and appropriated an artistic language for its agenda (Markussen, 2006; Pratt 2008). Finally, I examine Gleaser's critique of CCT for having inaccuracies in its original measurements (Gleaser, 2005). Section 2 will examine Florida's response to the criticisms and then concludes with a suggestion of how CCT could evolve from its original form to escape some of these critiques.

2.1 Criticisms of CCT

As previously discussed, much of Florida's early work and original conception of CCT focused on the social aspects and planning principles found in the work of Jacob, Andersson, and Landry. His original economic theory borrowed from Smith, Marx, and Locke and CCT has derived its social-economical underpinnings for economic growth from these bases. However, the theory in its original form has been heavily criticized for failing to account for the mechanisms behind its socioeconomic understandings. This has been aptly called the "chicken and egg" paradox, which was first raised by Joel Kotkin.

Robert E. Lang suggests that economic growth in urban environments can be explained the opposite way that Florida's theory posit as well i.e. rather jobs attract people as well as people attract jobs, which he declares the "chicken and egg paradox" (Lang, 2005, p. 18). This debate is central to CCT implementation in urban development because Florida's prescription for struggling cities is two-fold. He argues that instead of aiming chiefly to attract businesses, cities should focus on enticing young creative talent to take up residence and innovation will follow. To do that, Florida suggest cities should invest in the kinds of amenities which cater to this talent, particularly by fostering a cultural climate "known for diversity of thought and open-mindedness" (Florida, 2002, p.67). Florida's line of argument is that the creative class or talent, is selectively concentrating in those cities and regions that offer the best qualities of place. According to Florida, these qualities of place are: cultural amenities of a specific character which are used to attract the creative class, such as a "vibrant music scene," a "cool scene" of clubs, pubs, and restaurants, a strong sense of "artistic identity", and expression of social-cultural values of "openness and tolerance" and "cultural diversity" (Florida, 2005, p. 68-86). The relevance of social-cultural values of place, particular those mentioned above, has been emphasized in many contributions to urban and regional research (Landry, 2000; Krätke, 2010; Peck, 2005). Following Florida's original theory, city officials around the country have eagerly set off down the creative path by funding arts projects, music festivals, building

sports stadiums, and bike paths, and nurturing downtown arts and entertainment districts. This development aims to set in motion economic growth through the creative clustering effect, as outlined by Jacobs.

Enrico Moretti's book, *The New Geography of Jobs*, devotes several hundred pages to the roles that clustering and concentration play in innovation, firm formation, and job creation, echoing observations made by Jacobs, Glaeser, and Florida. However, he criticizes CCT in that, as he puts it, simply calls for "making a city an interesting place to live is a good prescription for economic development" (Moretti, 2012). Pointing to Seattle and Berlin, Moretti declares that what Florida essentially got "causation backwards". As he writes: "A good quality of life does help cities attract talent and grow economically, but on its own, it is unlikely to be the engine that turns a struggling community into an innovation cluster" (ibid). Lang's critique too, concerns correlation does not imply causality, that Bohemian and similar identifying alternative groups as measured by Florida could be attracted to already successful cities (Lang, 2005). Michael Storper develops a similar argument at some length in his book, *Keys to the City: How Economics, Institutions, Social Interaction and Politics Shape Development*. In his text, Storper sums up the debate as such:

"In the recent US version of this debate, a great deal of urban economics and regional science claims that migration is the chicken, and that migration is fundamentally driven by consumer choices for cheap housing in the Sun Belt and various kinds of quality-of-life features of places, such as climate or landscape. A still more recent version of this argument is that "creative" people lead the way to development, as they migrate in search of talent and tolerance (Florida 2005); another version is that skilled people lead the way by seeking to be with other skilled people (Glaeser and Maré 2001). The contrary view that I will defend in this chapter is that individuals and households do indeed make such choices, but that they are the egg, with the chicken being the location of jobs and opportunity to earn income" (Storper, 2013, p. 26-27)

In this, Storper highlights the role of individual preferences for the formation of the urban landscape and economy. However, unlike Florida, he places these preferences in a broader framework which allows for structural variations. In Storper's model there is not one economic structure that functions universally for all cities connected to the global economy. On the contrary, in addition to his framework, his model includes local conditions, labour market variations, housing market structures, variables attributed to personal security, and many more. In relation to Storper's model, CCT suggests migration of individuals is a component of creating a "humanist atmosphere" of the 3 T's and amenities, which concordantly lead to growth. Thus, originally CCT fails to recognize the security variables, -such as access to safe neighborhoods, education, affordable housing, and a viable job market; associated of individual choice for migration and a city's urban growth. Jamie Peck recognized this in *Struggling with the Creative Class*, where he cynically writes: "This group of aspiring professionals, it transpired, were not simply motivated by material rewards, like salaries and stock options and suburban security, but instead wanted to live exhilarating lives in interesting places, to be challenged and stimulated 24/7" (Peck, 2005, p. 744).

Another concerned raised by these critiques focuses on the manner in which Florida applies CCT to frame individual choice. He attempts to apply the theory universally as the pre-condition for choice. Whereas Florida, Moretti, and Storper suggest that quality-of-life through cultural development attracts talent as a primary

mechanism of CCT. Therefore, Florida makes the assumption that all creatives are motivated by this mechanism thus influencing their migration patterns. Hence he reaches the conclusion that cities should adjust their development strategy to capture their migration. Florida develops this claim in, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, the book's thesis suggests that urban fortunes increasingly turn on the capacity to attract, retain and even pamper a mobile and finicky class of creatives, whose aggregate efforts have become the primary drivers of economic development (Florida, 2002; Peck, 2005). Peck criticizes Florida's assumption by writing, "[...]the creatives, apparently, wanted it all, [...] with some shallow expression of cultural hedonism or conspicuous recreation, about which so much (assumption) was made in this new-economy" (Ibid, p. 744). As well, there is little evidence to suggest that *tolerance* and *diversity* are universal values of the creative class and Florida's measurements are not statistically significant determinants of those values (Fairlie, 2012). Therefore, CCT is problematic on both a qualitative and quantitative level, due to the flawed assumption that it is possible to universally apply the theory in terms of capturing the mechanisms that determine if and how a city will prosper and the measurement of individual choice and values associated to their migration patterns.

There is also concern with the language Florida uses in CCT to describe the functional mechanism of the theory. It calls for the "humanist atmosphere" as a main pre-condition of this atmosphere, which resultantly allows for the projection of the notion of *creativity*. Ann R. Markusen and Andy Pratt have both critiqued Florida based upon his understanding of the fundamental nature of creativity. They claim Florida's definition is "fuzzy" based upon the lack of clarity of key terms such as "creativity", "creative class", or the "creative industries" (Markussen, 2006; Pratt, 2008). Markusen approaches CCT as a socioeconomic model, which fails to support local economies by appropriating the language used for an artistic agenda in the name of what is ultimately, for her, perceived as increasing gentrification in cities (Markussen & Schrock, 2006). In her 2005 article, *Urban Development and the Politics a Creative Class: Evidence From Study of Artist*, she writes: "I argue that artists as a group make important, positive contributions to the diversity and vitality of cities, and their agendas cannot be conflated with neoliberal urban political regimes" (Markussen, 2006, p. 7). Markusen connects the notion of CCT with its association to a neoliberal worldview by highlighting its sociolinguistic appropriation of the artistic agenda and lifestyle. The notion of CCT worldview as a neoliberal agenda is explored in the discussion section of this text.

Edward Glaeser critically critiqued CCT on a micro-scale for having a weak empirical foundation (Glaeser, 2005). He examined Florida's quantitative data measurements in his 2005 article, *Review of Richard Florida's The Rise of the Creative Class*. Glaeser generally agrees with Florida on the ideological claims associated with CCT stating, "Florida is not becoming popular by spewing nonsense about the evils of globalization—he is becoming popular by telling the world things about itself that are fundamentally true" (Glaeser, 2005, p. 5). His critique of Florida is more concerned with the efficacy and validity of CCT's data measurements. Glaeser ran a regression analysis using data for 242 metropolitan areas, provided by Florida and his colleague Kevin Stolarnick. They analyzed regressions of population growth in the 1990s on four different measures: (1) the share of local workers in his super creative core (his definition), (2) patents per capita in 1990, (3) the Gay Index, which is the number of coupled gay people in the area relative to the number of total people in the area, and (4) the Bohemian Index—which represents the number

of artistic types in the population relative to the overall population. Glaeser includes only the sparsest specifications, but is convinced that the "...basic results are robust to reasonable perturbations" (Glaeser, 2005, p. 4). His data shows that school and education do have a positive impact on generation of cities, however little can be said with regards to certain CCT measurements such as the Gay or Bohemian Index. In fact, the Bohemian Index, or the measurement of a city's tolerance and diversity levels, which theoretically attracts the migration of core-creatives to a city, only demonstrated a positive impact in two metropolitan areas: Las Vegas, Nevada and Sarasota, Florida.

Per Glaeser, CCT as an economic model is only slightly different from Becker's Human Capital Theory (Glaeser, 2003). In his paper, he comes to this conclusion by suggesting, "*(The Rise of Creativity Class)* work is best seen as a great volume popularizing the academic literature on the importance to cities of attracting human capital" (Ibid, p. 5). Researchers Gert-Jan Hospers and Roy van Dalm draw similar conclusions to Glaeser in their Dutch case studies, which examine Florida's CCT in comparison to Human Capital Theory. They measure the Dutch creative class, which consists of about nineteen percent of the labor force, and compared their growth to the overall employment growth in various Dutch cities and towns. They suggest that the creative class as a predictor of employment growth measurement is superior to the educational-attainment measurement advocated by human capital theory and could predict employment growth in large comparisons. However, on regional levels they find that CCT does not appear to influence employment growth in cities or towns (Hospers & Dalm, 2007). Their final conclusions reaffirms Glaeser's review of Florida's theory by agreeing that CCT is much the same as Becker's Human Capital Theory (Ibid, p. 22). Florida states in his response paper, *Response to Edward Glaeser's Review*, that CCT includes slightly better measurements of actual skills and economic growth due to creative class classification and innovation as opposed to the only education-based measurements originally introduced by Becker (Florida, 2004, p. 2; Hospers & Dalm, 2007). Florida references the Dutch case study to demonstrate how he has found a better standard for measuring human capital than the often used education-attainment measurement of regional growth (ibid, p. 2620). Florida's response is one of the first steps in the evolution of CCT because when it was originally published, Florida failed to include CCT as a possible new measurement for Human Capital Theory. His first text, *Rise of the Creative Class*, served more as a "how-to" guide for economic growth for city developers and urban elites. This demonstrates that Glaeser, Hospers, and Dalm's critique influenced the way Florida thought about how to apply his theory. Over the years, Florida responds in a similar manner by replying to the early criticism of CCT and evolving the theory's purpose and claims based upon the critiques.

2.2 Florida's Response and CCT Development

In 2017, Florida and Glaeser publicly engaged in a debate over the inaccuracies of CCT at the Urban Land Institute in Washington D.C. In this conversation Florida and Glaeser address ideological issues, which were generally ignored or have arisen since CCT's release. This included several critiques such as Ann Markusen's, knowledge-based clustering economies contributing to the exacerbation of class division or gentrification. Florida dubs this problem, "winner-take-all" capitalism, which refers to the negative externalities of deregulated markets such as inflated housing prices, evisceration of middle-class neighborhoods, suburban poverty, and accelerated displacement. In the debate, Florida presents these issues as new epidemics faced by cities, which he features in

his latest book, *The New Urban Crisis* (2017). While Glaeser is in agreement to the presence of a crisis, he pivots back to the idea that CCT serves Human Capital Theory by debating if the issues are systematically caused by political and national disagreement over local urban issues and suggesting that policy-makers should focus on urban security investments, like education, low tax rates, crime reduction and new housing development to attract high-skilled labor. This begs the question of where should cities focus their investment for the attraction of the creative class. As the original iteration of CCT calls for cultural amenities, which animates a diverse and tolerant atmosphere. However, Glaeser suggests investments into the education-attainment model and security as more imperative citing Human Capital Theory. This is because he views CCT as an extension of Human Capital Theory. These remarks have an obvious impact upon Florida; he begins to implement these suggestions in connection to CCT. First signs of this progression can first be noticed in his rhetoric in, *The New Urban Crisis*. In the final chapter of the book, Florida gives policy recommendations and introduces the idea of “Urbanism for all” as fundamental to CCT. He claims this new slogan addresses the importance of security related investments, which was originally missing from the CCT.

In the latest book, he introduces the “New Urban Crisis Index,” which ranks metro areas of the United States from top to bottom. He explains that high scoring cities are where the problems of “winner-take-all crisis” of capitalism are most acutely felt (Florida, 2017). Now under the credo, “urbanism-for-all”, Florida’s rhetoric shifts to a neo-Marxist⁷ tone of by claiming the dwindling state investments under the neoliberal economy has caused various urban infrastructural issues such as: inflated housing costs, lack of affordable housing, lack of adequate public transportation, lack of an individual livable income, diminishing middle class, and lack of federal action to solve these issues under the Trump administration. Thus, “urbanism-for-all”, is an inclusionary vision for equality, namely in terms of economic support and security for individuals. In his 2017 publication, Florida outlines a new conception of CCT, which attempts to address the shortcomings of only focusing on the creative class and requesting cities cater to them for economic growth thus resulting in an exclusive model used to maximize the urban profits and urban growth, much like a corporative agenda. This too, was at the expensive of marginalized and underprivileged community actors in the urban space because urban investments that could have gone towards community realization: security, education, welfare; under the original CCT, were instead channeled into cultural amenities and identities to attract the newly formed creative class. Florida accepts what was problematic with CCT originally and realizes why it can be seen as serving a neoliberal agenda. Florida also address the other major criticism he has received and reevaluates his theory on this basis. He writes a response to the “chicken and egg” paradox in a 2012 article, *What Critics Get Wrong About the Creative Class and Economic Development*. In his response, Florida references a 2012 article by Frank Bures titled, *The Fall of the Creative Class*, in which Bures argues his choice to migrate to Madison, Wisconsin, deemed a creative city, did not occur on the metrics Florida

⁷ The neo-Marxist tone is inherently linked to Critical theory (or “social critical theory”): In sociology and political philosophy, the term critical theory describes the neo-Marxist philosophy of the Frankfurt School, which was developed in Germany in the 1930s. Frankfurt theorists drew on the critical methods of Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. Critical theory maintains that ideology is the principal obstacle to human liberation though. The theorist Max Horkheimer described the theory as critical insofar as it seeks “to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them”. In this context, the neo-Marxist tone is a critique of the neoliberal thought and the social conditions it has perpetuated by its advocacy of decreased state welfare and thus, -an “enslavement condition”.

outlines. Bures argues that much of the migration to Madison had little to do with Florida writing, “[...] the migration of creative workers to places that are tolerant, open and diverse—was simply not happening” (Bures, 2012). Bures suggests that the rationale behind the migration had more to do with the jobs offered, security, and affordable housing. Thus, he sketches the “chicken and egg” paradox, which discusses the difficulty in location causation of migration rather than correlation and rebutes CCT’s version of events that argues a socially conscious, values-driven, and cultural diverse atmosphere of tolerance attract people and as such innovation follows. In Florida’s response he writes:

“Bures invokes the old chicken and egg dilemma of what comes first, jobs or arts and cultural creativity, an overly simplistic formulation.. As proof, he cites a study that purportedly uses “Granger causality tests” to tease out the relationship between arts funding and regional growth development. The study has little to do with my theory... Rather, my argument is that open-minded, diverse and tolerant places where vibrant artistic, ethnically diverse and gay and lesbian communities have settled and thrived reflect underlying characteristics that are more likely to be accepting of new ideas, and better able to incubate new innovations and house and motivate entrepreneurial business ventures. Still, the findings that Bures summarizes are decidedly mixed. Arts funding seemingly does contribute to economic development in four of the 15 metros covered by the study” (Florida, 2012).

Florida goes further to claim he has never suggested arts investments serve as a means to attract the creative class and accordingly that Bures and others have misinterpreted his claims and ignored the social values and driving mechanism of CCT. However, it is hard to defend the idea the Florida has never claimed arts investment is essential to attracting the creative class – as much of his early rhetoric in his speaking tours, lectures, and policy recommendations as demonstrated by the Michigan’s 2003 strategic investment policy, *Michigan Cool Cities Initial Report* (see chapter 3, section 1) suggests otherwise. In *The New Urban Crisis*, Florida reevaluates the “chicken and egg” paradox, and seemly begins to agree with Bures, Moretti, Storper, and Glaeser that security and welfare concerns are a priori essential to cultural investments to CCT and prosperous cities. Chapters 7-9 in the book discuss and add these components of security to CCT by arguing they are now essential for attracting creatives and bolstering economic growth vis-à-vis: affordable rental housing, turning low-wage jobs into class work, raising the minimum wage, and investments for poverty reduction (Florida, 2016).

This section examined the ideological orientation of CCT by highlighting several major criticisms of the original version of the theory and Florida’s response to some of them. Furthermore, the prior section engaged with CCT by discussing the sociocultural mechanisms and investments for the theory’s application, addressing the universal application of the theory and why that is problematic, addressing the inaccuracies in the quantitative data measurements of CCT, debating CCT as a better measurement for Human Capital Theory, and suggested one interpret the early form of CCT as a neoliberal model of city development, shifting away from the neo-Marxist view. The following section features a case study analysis, which highlights some of the criticism observed in the real-world application of the theory and expands upon the critiques of CCT.

Ch. 3: CCT Case Study Analysis

The following section applies the previously discussed critiques of CCT to the case studies, in which CCT has been implemented as an economic growth strategy. Additionally, this chapter develops understanding of CCT by evaluating its use in the case studies of: Detroit, Hamburg, Toronto, and Austin. These case studies emphasize both the benefits of CCT and resistance to the theory. The chapter continues exploring the underlying narrative of CCT in order to answer the above outlined sub-questions.

3.1 Peck and Detroit: Universal Application of CCT

Shortly after the publication of CCT, Jamie Peck writes, “Hailed in many quarters as a cool-cities guru, assailed in others as a new-economy huckster, Florida has made real waves in the brackish backwaters of urban economic development policy” (Peck, 2005, p. 740). Peck continues by pointing to the “[...] the potentially negative redistributive impact of serially reproducing ‘hip’ urban downtowns” (ibid). Peck approaches CCT with deep cynicism regarding its ability to be universally applicable in its contributions to planning prosperous cities. His critiques primarily address the framing of CCT’s affect on the cultural atmosphere in spacial-planning. This cultural affect is the result of Florida’s preconditions cities should meet in order to attract the creative class. As mentioned above, the preconditions are cities focusing on the 3 T’s for regional growth. Cities that satisfy the preconditions are likely to see an attraction of what Florida refers to as: “young global talent who seek to develop themselves professionally in an open, diverse, and tolerant atmosphere” (Florida, 2002, p. 166). A diverse and tolerant cultural atmosphere refers to the things, which define the ambiance of the inner-city i.e. an abundant nightlife, an avant-garde underground music and art scene, various cultural facilities, and the presence of alternative or bohemian individuals not considered within a normative mainstream; for example, of Greenwich village circa 1960s-1980s. This highlights to the salience of Peck’s critique of the universal application of reproducing “hip” downtowns through a focus on the value of avant-garde, or namely diversity and tolerance. However, Florida’s use of this as a precondition to spacial and social planning is nothing new. David Harvey writes fifteen years before CCT creation:

"The urban terrain is open for display and “presentation of self” in a surrounding of spectacle and place. Everyone, from punks to rap artist to rap artist to “yuppies” and the bourgeoisie can participate in the production of an urban image through their production of social space” (Harvey, 1989, p.14)

In a 2013 lecture at Simon Fraser University, Peck publicly announces Florida as “a researcher with a sales pitch to cities”. Peck’s choice re-frame the narrative around Florida, not as the researcher but rather as an opportunistic businessman, has created backlash aimed at the creative cities atmosphere promulgated by Florida, by positioning him as pitching a one-size-fits-all solution in approaching urban development to cities globally. For example, evidence of this backlash can be seen in the application of CCT in American Rustbelt cities such as Detroit. In response to the industrial and manufacturing decline in the early 2000’s, Michigan’s former governor, Jennifer Granholm launched the “cool cities” urban revitalization campaign after hosting the *Creating Cool Conference*, 2003 which featured Florida as the keynote speaker (Takemoto, 2003). This initiative sought to rebuild the economic and cultural vision for Michigan by subsidizing and investing in such amenities as the arts in Detroit and across the state as a means to cultivate and retain Florida’s newly-minted creative class (ibid). In the 2003,

Michigan Cool Cities Initial Report, the government institutionalized Florida's rhetoric by forming the Cool Cities office within the Department of Labor and Economic Growth to oversee the main components of urban development strategies for CCT. The report collected data from forty cities and utilized these findings in order to outline and implement a broad urban investments strategy. A few examples of such urban investments include: supporting historic preservation, building mixed-used development, focusing on adaptive re-use development, walkability, arts and culture investments, and incentivizing business developments. Although the report seemed promising in its premise of economic recovery, it failed to deliver and even admitted in its qualifying statement that the data and investment are interpreted qualitatively not by means of an empirical analysis (2003, p. 4). Florida's suggestions to Governor Granholm for urban development in Detroit were later discredited in a 2011-2012 study by economist Jed Kolko, which showed Detroit expressing a -0.94% decrease in urban growth and a +0.22% increase in suburban growth.⁸

In his 2009 text, *The Ruse of the Creative Class*, writer Alec MacGillis conducted an interview with Florida. He writes that after Detroit and Michigan's economies' continued to decline, the Cool Cities initiative came under much mockery. In the interview, Florida stressed that he was not a paid consultant for Michigan and that Cool Cities was not his idea (MacGillis, 2009). In a similar vein as his response to Frank Bures, Florida denied that CCT was a plausible contributor to the ineffectiveness of economic recovery in Detroit and Michigan. CCT as an urban growth strategy failed Detroit's economic recovery due to the short-sightedness that can occur under the assumption that the CCT model is universally applicable. Which calls into question if CCT can be utilized data based solely on qualitative interpretation and if the investments into CCT are sustainable because ultimately the case study of Detroit demonstrated an expressed negative increase in the city's urban growth.

3.2 Markussen, Pratt, and Hamburg: Linguistic Appropriation by CCT

In her work, Markussen refers to the collective based in Hamburg, Germany, *Not in Our Name*, whose two-page manifesto outlines the negative impacts they have seen at the hands of CCT in Europe. Echoing Markussen's gentrification claim, the collective wrote to Hamburg's urban policy planners: "The number of social apartments will halve in the next ten years. That the poor, the old and migrant residents move to the outskirts, and the urban housing allocation policy ensure this. We believe that your "Creative City" is really the segregated city, as in the nineteenth-century: promenades for the wealthy, tenements for the rabble" (Hamburg Manifesto, 2008). They believe that in the effort to promote the "Hamburg-brand" of diversity, tolerance, and culture in their city, policy planners and elites have ignored the *real* social issues to cater to the creative class and tourism. Through Markussen and *Not in Our Name*, the resistance to CCT is framed in a manner, which reflects that the theory generally ignores many demographic groups of society such as the urban poor or elderly. As well, they managed to illuminate that Florida's rhetoric and language surrounding CCT utilize language, which is fuzzy and results in vague strategy, inapplicable or mis-guided strategy, which is appropriated and repackaged as an artistic cultural agenda in order to sell the idea to the creative class in city development. Essentially, Markussen sees the theory as

⁸ Jed Kolko's data was originally featured on New Geography's, *Even After the Housing Bust, Americans Still Love the Suburbs*. Kolko measured data by using the U.S Postal Service reports delivery statistics through 2010 Census approximation of ZIP codes.

continuing a nineteenth-century trend of subtly promoting segregation by class in policy development in order to craft a city-brand of artistic creativity and attract creative elites and tourists. Further evidence of CCT's perpetuation of class segregation is seen in the following case study of Toronto.

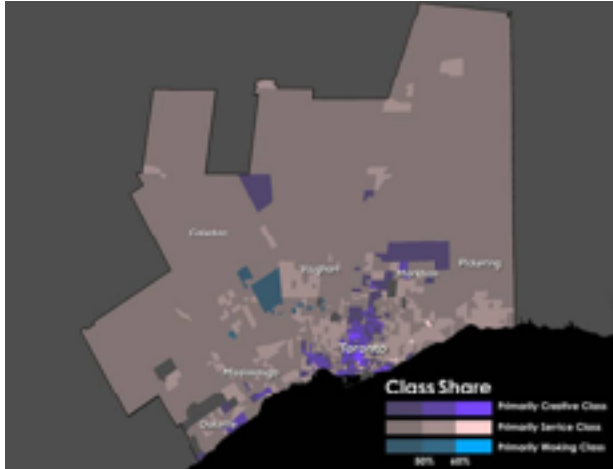
3.3 McGuinty, Whyte and Toronto: CCT's Perpetuation of Class Segregation and the Resistance

Similar problematic conditions such as those in Detroit and Hamburg are found in Richard Florida's current place of residence, Toronto, Canada, where concurrently both Florida's influence and the resistance to CCT is evident. In 2009, Florida was commissioned by Ontario's Premier, Dalton McGuinty to write an exhaustive report entitled *Ontario in the Creative Age*, which sought to institutionalize his rhetoric stemming from *The Rise of the Creative Class*, much like in Atlanta and Detroit. The main goals as stated by the report were: to undertake a study of the changing composition of Ontario's economy and workforce, to examine historical changes and projected future trends affecting Ontario, and to provide recommendations to the Province on how to ensure Ontario's economy and people remain globally competitive and prosperous (MPI, 2009). In the course of this process, Florida and his researchers reframed fundamental principles found in CCT and applied them to their research. They put forth four sets of recommendations for Ontario's economic growth: 1) Harness the creative potential of all Ontarians, 2) Broaden the talent base through higher education 3) Establish social safety nets to maintain a diverse and tolerant atmosphere, and 4) Build a province-wide transportation network to help with the flow of goods, people, and ideas. As previously mentioned, the notions of including social safety nets and emphasizing transportation in relation to CCT formation, were severely neglected in its original form. In the case of Ontario, these ideas of providing welfare and public infrastructure are an indicator of one of the earliest phases of the evolution of the theory from neoliberal to neo-Marxist in its ideological orientation.

During the commission, the city of Toronto and McGuinty and Florida received much criticism from *Toronto Star* writer Murray Whyte and Uzma Shakir, in *Why Richard Florida's Honeymoon is Over*. The article details Shakir's community-based activism in the organization of the *Creative Class Struggle* website. She states on the website: "We are a Toronto-based collective who are organizing a campaign challenging the presence of Richard Florida and the Martin Prosperity Institute at the University of Toronto, as well as the wider policies and practices they represent [...] this includes the narrow focus on city development which Florida brings with his claims" (Whyte, 2009). In the article, Whyte goes further to suggest: "(CCT) is relocation agent for the global bourgeoisie. And the rest of us don't matter" (ibid). Namely, Whyte and Shakir find CCT problematic based upon reasons similar to Markusen and Pratt i.e. the theory's focus on catering to one particular class and generally ignoring socioeconomic issues outside that class' needs and wants.

Evidence of this is shown on the map below.⁹ The map measured the migration of three typical socioeconomic classes present in Toronto; the creative class, the service class, and the working class. Taken together, this map present a troubling picture of a new kind of class division and socioeconomic segregation. Within Toronto, the affluent and educated, -deemed the *creative class*, have colonized the most central, economically functional, well-

⁹ Maps provided by The Globe and Mail and the Martin Prosperity Institute. Published November 6, 2014. Accessed on October 6th, 2017. Link: <https://beta.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/the-new-class-divide/article21456139/?ref=http://www.theglobeandmail.com&>



served locations in the downtown, but also out into the suburbs along transit routes, near universities and other knowledge institutions, and close to waterfronts and other natural amenities. Most of all, they cluster and concentrate around one another gaining additional economic leverage.

As an outcome, housing costs in these highly desirable urban and suburban locations are driven up, thus the options of desirable housing for the service and working classes become increasingly limited, -especially in terms of affordability. Therefore, CCT's potential for new class divides are cause for deep concern. Toronto's once thriving middle-class neighborhoods are being hollowed out. Instead the city is seeing enclaves of advantage

juxtaposed against a growing number of socioeconomic disadvantage. Thus, there is an increasingly the divisions in Toronto cut across the city and suburbs, with the real divide being along lines of economic and social class. Similar conditions were observed in Canada's next two largest metro areas: Vancouver and Montreal. Ultimately, in the case of Toronto, the city highlights the tensions between the theory, real-world applications, the resistance, and its implications, namely furthering a new socioeconomic division of class. In the following section, the case study of Austin, Texas is outlined in order to demonstrate the link between criticism and resistance as elements to CCT discourse.

3.4 Austin and Austinites: Blind Attraction to CCT and Furthering of its Resistance

Florida addressed some of the issues raised by the aforementioned critics in his 2006 follow-up book, *The Flight of the Creative Class*. This book used a macro-level analysis to posit that the United States is losing its creative competitive and innovative edge in the global economy (Florida, 2006 p. 2). He suggests that this is due to the fact that national economic growth in the twenty-first century has moved away from harnessing natural resources, maintaining manufacturing industries, military dominance, or even scientific and technological prowess and re-focused on the competitive advantages, which are dependent upon a nation's ability to mobilize, attract, and retain human, creative talent (ibid, p. 4). According to Florida, in the new economic model he understands global competition for creative talent to be the key dimension of success and states that the United States lays claim to between 20% and 30% of that total global creative class pool (ibid, p. 2-8). Moreover, Florida utilizes Austin's case to demonstrate that the "chicken and egg" paradox could also result in "jobs going to the people," in the US, with the city serving as a talent "magnet" for companies in the global creative economy (ibid, p. 17).

In a 2011 lecture, Carl Grodach suggests that Austin is a case study in which the city did not implement Florida's amenity-building ideas from *The Fight of the Creative Class*. He suggests however, that as Florida included Austin in his 2010 measurements as the 16th creative metro in his creativity index (Martin Prosperity Org), he used Austin

as a main case study for developing CCT to analyze the job migration trend. Carl Grodach argues this in his text, *Cultural Economy Planning in Creative Cities: Discourse and Practice*. He posits that the creative cities model embraced by cities globally have largely appropriated the language of CCT for economic development, yet in practice, tend to adopt and utilize other developmental and cultural economic strategies, which are crafted by other leading urban theorists (Grodach, 2013, p. 5). Grodach suggests that Florida's actual contribution to Austin was simply developing a new linguistic understanding of economic growth, which Markusen would consider this being achieved through appropriation. Thereby, Austin developed a new economic and marketing model to attract the migration of the creative class and creative industries (Grodach, 2013). This model included the expansion of existing cultural programs, which was publicized by developing rhetoric to shift of government attitude from the "arts" to "cultural economy."

Grodach suggests that the implementation of CCT is inextricably intertwined with Smart Growth Theory¹⁰ in the case of the attraction of the creative class to downtown Austin. Since the last plan was introduced in 1993, this new focus in cultural planning for Austin introduced a new creative alliance responsible for creating a task force and a new city department of arts and culture to implement the new updated version of the Austin cultural policy. The plan included developing a music-loan guarantee program, creating a new staff position of creative industries development manager, developing programs to enhance the music scene in Austin, developing more amenities in the downtown area, and increasing funding for public art. The plan was completed in 2008 but not approved until 2010. However, Grodach ultimately concluded that the plan was not supported because of several issues: the disconnect between political leaders and the arts as economic developments, overly-complex organizational hierarchies; mainly the commission groups present in Austin, divisions and bias in the newly formed organizations, a divided cultural coalition, and the 2008 US recession. While Grodach acknowledges that CCT helped create a window of opportunity in the imagination of Austin's urban development and cultural scene, he suggests that localized factors ultimately dictate CCT's implementation for attracting the creative class and eventually jobs.

However, not all Austinites praise the influence of CCT in Austin as is demonstrated by the evidence of resistance to CCT in Austin, which is framed in the media by journalist Alec MacGillis, Angie Schmitt, and Lydia DePhills. The first evidence refers back to Alec MacGillis' 2009 article. MacGillis, derisively positions Florida as a "development guru." Citing Florida's 2010 book, *The Great Reset* he suggests Florida is backpedaling on previous understandings in CCT for Austin:

"In a warm-up to his next book - *The Great Reset* [...] Florida has been arguing that the recession has decimated so many cities and regions that it's time for the country to cut its losses and instead encourage growth in places that are prospering, like Silicon Valley, Boulder, Austin, and North Carolina's Research Triangle. And the rest?" (MacGillis, 2009)

¹⁰ Smart Growth Theory is a New Urbanism development model and regulatory framework introduced by the America Planning Association featured in 1997's *Growing Smart Legislative Guidebook: Model Statutes for Planning and the Management of Change*. The theory challenges the preconceived notion of urban growth which the United States Environmental Protection Agency(EPA) defines in the 2006 *This Is Smart Growth Manual* as, "Smart growth" covers a range of development and conservation strategies that help protect our health and natural environment and make our communities more attractive, economically stronger, and more socially diverse."

MacGillis, in a sarcastic tone, is indelicately pointing out that Florida originally lacked an understanding of the effects of implementation of CCT in smaller, less dense, and less “hip” cities. For MacGillis, *The Great Reset*, is a clear indicator that Florida seems to be retreating on his claims regarding application of the CCT in a universal manner. Florida thus seems to advance the claim that in the cases of these smaller cities, where CCT efforts have failed, CCT implantation should be abandoned as an urban growth strategy. MacGillis cautions Florida stating that: “[...] ill will could exist in cities that paid handsomely for his insights, only to find themselves declared beyond repair a few years later” (Florida, 2009). Florida addressed this criticism and the claim that he was backpedalling regarding the universal implementation of CCT in the March issue of *The Atlantic, How the Crash Will Reshape America*, he states: “We need to be clear that ultimately, we can't stop the decline of some places, and that we would be foolish to try” (ibid).

In the above article, Florida ultimately suggests that following the 2008 recession there might be a need for urban migration due to the dramatic decline of growth in some U.S cities and that CCT could not be a “cure-all” solution. Therefore, *The Great Reset* reformulates CCT in order to point to and incorporate new social and economic forces that need to be accounted for and in place for the cultivation of the creative class: a new attitude regarding consumption, which is less centered around houses and cars; new forms of infrastructure that speed up the movements of people, goods, and ideas; and a radically altered economic landscape organized around mega-regions that will drive the development of new innovations, jobs, and ways of life (Florida, 2010, p. 15). This is divergent from the original CCT conception of a highly fluid and tolerant creative class which realizes the idea of place through cultural amenities and inclusive atmospheres. Thus, Florida has broaden CCT to include certain economic and cultural factors, which should be grouped into “mega-regions” (the culmination of regional cities existing as a “super-city”) prior to attracting the creative class.

Angie Schmitt builds off of Alec MacGillis in her article, *Richard Florida: Your City Hopeless that will be \$35,000*. She acknowledges that several US cities such as Cleveland, Toledo, Baltimore, Rochester, Green Bay, Des Moines, Elmira, New York were deemed “losers” by Florida’s own economic and creative measurements. All of which, coincidentally had hosted lectures with or inspired by Florida on how to improve their urban attractiveness. She cites MacGillis’ observation that in a 2008 lecture, Florida told the residents of Sackville, New Brunswick, population 5,000, that they were in a “cosmopolitan country town” with obvious advantages over Toronto (Schmitt, Online). For cases such as Sackville, there is a severe exaggeration of urban and cultural amenities aimed at communities willing to hear Florida’s “cure-all” prescription to attract the creative class. However, Florida defends this approach:

“I've never tried to sugarcoat the message to any of them...I've given them the facts ... about what they were up against. I never tried to give them false hope. I encouraged them to work on their assets, but I tried to be honest and objective in helping them engage their problems. I hope they don't feel let down“ (MacGillis, 2009).

Briefly, two more cases are worth mentioning to elucidate the rationale behind the resistance to Florida and CCT in Austin. The first one refers to the discussion of Florida’s 2009 book *Who’s Your City* in MacGillis’ article. MacGillis argues that the text extols the importance of place and retention for the creative class and asks if the same

elements and amenities are found in Austin, could they not be as well present in places like Buffalo, New York? He further enquires, if these elements and amenities are in not place why are their local creative class is rooted to their respective city? Why have they not left? He answers his question by citing David Lewis, who argues that CCT generally denies agency to those in the creative class, who express a level of attachment through community value: *emotional* or *social* attachment to their sense of place. He says:

“In *Who’s Your City*, Florida casts this in economic terms. Those who resist the pull of opportunities in creative cities and remain rooted in their hometowns are “perhaps ... intuitively aware of the economic value of close social relationships.” But family isn’t the only reason some people don’t want to leave rural southern Virginia for Raleigh-Durham or Fairfax County -- they may simply prefer where they are. The prophet of place seems to discount its most intuitive and intangible grip. Transient job-seekers also weaken the urban fabric in magnet cities, a point that Florida, for all his invocations of Jane Jacobs, overlooks” (MacGillis, 2009).

The second case of resistance is found in Lydia DePhillis 2016 work, *The Re-education of Richard Florida: A Rockstar Urbanist Walks Back Some of His Creative Class Teachings*. She writes the article from a critical perspective of CCT starting with its development and following its its evolution leading up to the release of Florida’s latest book, *The New Urban Crisis*. DePhillis suggests that over the course of sixteen years, since the publication of CCT by Florida, the theory has only proven half true. She argues that the theory generally lacks a layer of universality Florida includes in the basic pitch and as such the impact of the theory proves minimal as far as creative class marketing is concerned in many small, post-industrial cities without such cultural amenities, universities, or credible tech companies established. She provides the example of Elmira, New York, where Florida had visited, praised, and pitched CCT urban development, yet outlines how in actuality the theory failed to materialized or attract a creative class. Similar to the Sackville, New Brunswick case, the extent of the development was limited to Elmira citizens moving into newly redeveloped downtown apartments (DePhillis, 2016). Thus, she suggests that CCT and its application only fulfills its mandate in major metropolitan areas such as Austin; seeing rather the negative externality of the skyrocketing of redeveloped downtown housing prices to the point only elites can afford (DePhillis, 2016).

Finally, resistance to CCT is most visible when DePhillis animates the piece with a quote from Florida from at a 2016 Q&A session at the Kinder Institute for Urban Research. In the session Florida is asked by the audience his view on and role in how CCT had gone wrong in Austin. His reply:

“I got wrong that the creative class could magically restore our cities, become a new middle class like my father’s, and we were going to live happily forever after ... I could not have anticipated among all this urban growth and revival that there was a dark side to the urban creative revolution” (DePhillis, 2016)

I argue, that through examination of such examples, one can attain a more holistic sense of the application of theory, -namely of the resistance to it and its implications. The main implications, as these cases suggest, are that there is a need for government agencies to further investigate both the theorist and theories in which they are investing and empowering. Furthermore, that original implementation of CCT in public policy was problematic due to, what could be considered, an overlooked underlying ethos on the part of Florida of “research-for-sell,” with

“quick-fix solutions” to eager urban elites. Consequentially I argue, due to a general lack of long-term understanding of the facets and implications of CCT due to a combination of, “rose-tinted glasses” by policy makers, and/or a blind attraction on behalf of urban elites and its seemingly holistic solutions in regards cities’ problems to CCT. This is arguably because CCT was overly applied in a similar manner to unlike cases by Florida for those willing to pay, to address a wide variety of economic and cultural issues presented, which should have been addressed on a case-by-case basis. This evidence is suggested by my previous examination of local publications and rhetoric such as websites, journalistic investigation, and community activism.

The prior sections have engaged with CCT on a macro-scale by addressing relevant academic criticism, citing real-world applications of implementation of the theory, and highlighting different public perspectives while emphasizing resistance as an important perspective. The final section readdresses the prior implications and evolution of the theory to tie together my previous discussion and further discuss CCT’s socioeconomic agendas.

Ch. 4: Discussion

The aim of this chapter is to utilize the insights gleaned from examination of the prior criticisms to form a more in-depth understanding of CCT and thereby address the main research question: *due to the uncritically assessed blind spots and assumptions inherent in the CCT, what are the implications of the implementation of the CCT?* I argue that the CCT can be interpreted based upon two socioeconomic perspectives and each perpetuates its own benefits and implications. These perspectives are shaped by the political-economic theories of Locke and Smith, and Marx and serve as the theoretical foundations of CCT and determine if it can be interpreted as serving either a neoliberal or neo-Marxist socioeconomic agenda in urban development. The perspectives I am concerned with are further expounded upon in the following subsections.

4.1 CCT as a Neoliberal Agenda

According to by critics, CCT is a theory, which exists as a means to perpetuate a neoliberal agenda of urban and socioeconomic development. The case studies support this claim by demonstrating that its universal application was short-sighted due to the over-eager acceptance of the theory by policy-makers. Moreover that the theory appropriates a language intended for an artistic agenda. Ultimately, many argue that CCT's impact on urban public policy development rather than ameliorate various societal issues could have done the opposite and contributed to them. The former sections mention such issues as increased urban segregation.

Analysis of Florida's previous and current rhetoric reveals that he was possibly over-opportunistic in its universal application of the CCT and as such the CCT perpetuated a neoliberal framework. This was mainly illustrated by Peck who claimed, CCT's original ideological mechanism utilized an exclusionary model, which catered to one social class isolated by Florida, in service of maximizing urban profits and urban growth through (Peck, 2010). The CCT's success in influencing urban policy and the public awareness of it was achieved by effective marketing of his ethos and what academics and journalists refer to as his capability as a research-for-sell businessman, who markets CCT to cities by setting measurements for problems within urban settings and accordingly selling solutions to cities, which address the the problems he outlines. The theory and measurements contains structural inaccuracies, but also appropriates a the conception of creativity from the artistic agenda and applies it to a new social class and mainly via recommendations for urban investments. (Glaeser, 2005; Markusen, 2006; Pratt 2008; Grodach, 2013; MacGillis, 2009; DePhills, 2016).

Brian Tochtermann ties in the historical overview in his 2012 text in which he argues that Florida has views the transformation into the post-industrial society as crucial to understanding the kind of capital necessary to encourage economic growth i.e. human capital. He then continues to show how Florida then merged this notion with Jacobs's theories in order to cast himself as a key public advocate for the message of the importance of nurturing creative economics to address a plethora of issues plaguing cities. Therefore, arguably, Florida has become the face of emergent neoliberal economic development trends (Tochtermann, 2012, pp. 67-73).

The claim is defended by several academic critiques leveled at the theory. Ann Markusen adds to the critique by arguing that Florida blurs the lines of creativity in order to scapegoat the artist, which ultimately leads to an increase in gentrification (Markusen, 2006). Furthermore, as Jamie Peck deftly sketches, Florida's rhetoric caters to a class of elites, which creates an urban atmosphere that leads to the cultural clustering of a highly talented, highly mobile class. This he argues leads to a trickle-down effect of benefits, rewards, and wages to other social-economic classes, which supports the notion of the CCT as serving a neoliberal agenda (Peck, 2005). Additionally, the case studies highlight, as Krätke and Peck mention, that Florida's urban policy recommendations can be characterized as a modernized and extended variant of the phenomenons of inner-city upgrading and segregation (Krätke, 2010; Peck, 2005). This was evident in major metropolitan settings such as: Detroit, Hamburg, and Toronto. Furthermore, resistance to the theory was highlighted, in the following case studies: Detroit and Peck's cynical critique of CCT's implementation, Markusen's citation of Hamburg and *Not In Our Name*, and Whyte and Shakir's rejection of the theory in Toronto.

Moreover, I argue that the CCT in its first iteration perpetuated a neoliberal trend in city development, as defined by Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010; Theodore, Peck and Brenner, 2011; Jessop, 2002; Krätke, 2010; Peck, 2012; Theodore and Peck, 2011; Tasan-Kok & Baeten, 2012 and Markusen 2008, through its ability to market an urban area "hip" or to an urban elite. I argue that this was accomplished by appropriating creative language, applying it in a universal manner, and generally ignoring social-economic issues outside the realms of the creative class and their enclaves. These means all served as a mechanism, which maximized profits in the local housing market and demonstrate the CCT model as neoliberal in nature.

As Glaeser suggests, CCT fails to address certain social-structural issues of a society such as the idea of community or security by neglecting concerns regarding economic equality, lack of access to higher education, or lack of access to affordable housing and ultimately can be seen as encouraging urban gentrification, urban inequality, and urban segregation. Therefore, this suggests that there might be important insights to glean by examining the "class struggle" within Florida's CCT. Accordingly, a particularly problematic feature of the CCT is that it is centered around attracting the *mythical other*, ideally for economic growth rather than calling for direct urban investments into certain communities. I understand the "other" as a generalization of Florida's highly mobile and educated creative class, which is ideally embodied by the concept of a Yuppie (young urban professional) or tech hub progressive types. Therefore, CCT can be more accurately understood as focusing on development of a global free-market competition as a pre-condition for attracting, namely creative elites, as the dominate variable for urban, economic growth.

I further claim, CCT has been fetishized by a global audience of policy makers, urban planners and designers, city economic planners, power holders, urban elites, and other relevant stakeholders because it in some ways represents the epitome of neoliberal utopian thought. The aesthetics model and experience is thereby fetishized reclaiming livelihood, human capital, and city attractiveness as means to expand economic growth in declining urban centers. This was evident in the theories original advocacy for investments into the cultural infrastructure, "hip" amenities, and downtown renovation of the urban space; all as a means to maximize urban growth and profit much like a corporate agenda. Finally, it was not until 2013 when Florida publicly admitted following a decade of criticism that the cultural-clustering and cultural amenities investments components of CCT have

disproportionately distributed urban and economic benefits only to the members of the creative class (Florida, 2013).

4.2 CCT as a Neo-Marxist Agenda

The second perspective is often expounded upon by Florida, who claims the theory is crafted in light of neo-Marxist ideology and thereby redefines sociocultural values of the urban atmosphere. His perspective evolved in response to the aforementioned critiques of the theory. Accordingly, Florida introduced the ideas of innate creativity, diversity, and tolerance, to readdress twenty-first century urban development issues such as class inequality, wage inequality, and equal access and opportunity.

Florida's CCT can be construed as neo-Marxist because like Marx's theory, it is constructed around recognizing and defining a particular class by focusing on the importance of realizing their agency, their relationship to the commodities they produce, and intrinsic value to the market itself (Florida, 2002). However Florida, unlike Marx, is concerned with only the global creative class; emphasizing the role of innovation and such a class' ability to develop products and services based on their own skills and notion of creativity. His main conceptual connections to Marxism are: crafting CCT to define a new social class and focus on classifying people not by educational attainment, but by their occupation, which leads to higher rates of production (ibid, p. 8-9). Furthermore, in his 2015 reflective text, *The Creative Class and Economic Growth*, Florida addresses the ongoing research leading up to *The New Urban Crisis*. He attempts to respond to the major questions by stating CCT addresses issues such as inequality, class division, the negative effects of the clustering, and how to create a more balanced and equitable urban growth model that his earlier work had failed to take into account (Florida, 2015 p. 202-203).

Moreover, Florida's rhetoric indicates that CCT is neo-Marxist. In his latest interviews during the build up to and post-publication of *The New Urban Crisis* (2014 and so forth), he commonly describes himself as updating Marxism for the twenty-first century. In the same interview with Jacobin, Florida further elaborates that the CCT is neo-Marxist by discussing how the theory has served to show how *place* plays a role in both the growth and instability of capitalism (Jacobin, 2014). In the article, Florida defends the CCT from the critiques that it has worsened or played into neoliberal social-structural issues outcomes by referencing *Rise of the Creative Class*. He argues that he in fact did say that *place* would become the arena for class conflict in modern capitalism – he simply underestimated how that would play out. Furthermore he claims that he always cautioned city leaders and the creative class to be well aware of the potential effects of CCT (ibid). Moreover, he states that the intellectual foundation of CCT was rooted in Marxism applied by means of adopting insights taken from both the urban development work of Jane Jacobs and political-socioeconomic work of David Harvey (ibid).

However, the earliest indication of the CCT neo-Marxist orientation, occurred in a 2009 interview with Murray Whyte of *The Star*, whereby Whyte tells Florida he struggles with the sociopolitical positionality of CCT, In response

Florida replies: “I have a strong grounding in Neo-Marxism[...] When I did my Ph.D., my thesis was on the political economy of financial deregulation and housing. And it was very influenced then by the Neo-Marxist debates (of David Harvey, Neil Smith [...]) A lot of my theory comes with my attempt to grapple with these much bigger issues about class, society, and economy” (Florida, 2009). Florida even bolsters his Marxist credentials by saying that he left his position at MIT to transfer to Columbia due to a lack of understanding at MIT of CCT as neo-Marxist (ibid).

Florida’s detractors of his “research-for-sell neoliberal salesman” ethos have received some pushback on their claims. Florida’s power to pitch CCT to urban elites is possibly rooted in his credibility due to years of robust research in academia, as defended by Vanags and Glaeser. In 2012, Marty Vanags defends Florida’s academic integrity: “Florida is not some pop-demographer whose main forte is selling books; rather, Florida is the professor of business and creativity at the Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto. At Rotman, he is the academic-director of the Lloyd & Delphine Martin Prosperity Institute. He has also spent time at Carnegie Mellon University, is a visiting professor at Harvard and MIT and a visiting fellow of the Brookings Institution[...]Known as an economic demographer, Florida has scholastic credentials and mounds of data, which he is not shy about revealing and discussing in a particularly telling and informative book” (Vanags, 2012). Glaeser similarly agrees and suggests that Florida has only revealed fundamental truths about cities through his research; however, he does question the claims the theory makes regarding economic investments and efficacy and validity of the CCT’s measurements.

In summary, only by Florida’s own admission and this thesis’s analysis, CCT is a fundamentally Marxist theory designed for the twenty-first century. To assure this claim, this was illustrated by CCT’s roots of the thought of Jacobs, Harvey, and Marx; whose work namely demonstrated a critique of the capitalism model and class inequality and segregation. Florida updates this critique to suggest creativity, inclusiveness, and diversity as recommended by the CCT model for economic growth, will lead to higher production rates and equality.

Ch. 5 Conclusion

In conclusion, in the previous analysis I have argued that it is important to understand the socioeconomic agendas of CCT as neoliberal and/or neo-Marxist. I have done so by citing its ideological resonances and demonstrating them utilizing case studies, which was critical to legitimize my central research question. Investigating the ideological orientations of the model was central to my attempts to address and understanding the CCT's blindspots due to the respective socioeconomic agenda it was promoting, which I claimed was under reviewed due to application of the theory in an uncritical manner as an urban development strategy.

I originally approached this analysis by Florida crafted CCT under the influence of Marxism thought to address the concerns of urban livelihood and productivity. However, after review of the outcomes of the theory following its implementation, it became clear that it is more accurate to understand and frame Florida as originally perpetuating a neoliberal agenda of city development, because of his lack of consideration or ignorance of social-structural issues outside the realms of the creative class's consumption habits; which was bolstered by his theory catering exclusively to a particular class. Overall this strategy was used to maximize urban growth and profit in declining post-industrial cities.

Firstly, a historical analysis has been applied to develop and contextualize the CCT and its lineage as both an urban development and socioeconomic model. The historical analysis method contextualized CCT by outlining the intellectual forbearers to whom its conceptual elements can be credited and tracing them to show their development and culmination in its contemporary understanding and application. This was critical to understand and define CCT's socioeconomic agendas as neoliberal and neo-Marxist. Through this analysis it became clear that the historical lineage of CCT establishes it as existing as an urban development and socioeconomic model. In urban development, Florida builds upon Jacobs and Andersson while continuing the work of Landry and Harvey in defining a new creativity workforce: *the creative class*. In socioeconomic development it was elucidated that CCT shares fundamental economic elements, which were introduced by political-economic philosophers Smith and Marx and sociocultural elements rooted in Locke which are developed upon by modernists Bell, Becker, and Gleaser.

Secondly, a critical analysis is used throughout chapters 2 and 3 to analyze content from a variety of sources with an emphasis on the importance of Florida's rhetoric, implementation, resistance, and inaccuracies. Major criticism were in review, alongside Florida response and later an evolution of CCT's discourse. In addition, the case studies explore criticism of CCT and its real world applications in Detroit, Hamburg, Toronto, and Austin.

Finally, the discussion critically examined the impact of the uncritical implementation of the CCT through the lens of the potential impact of encouraging of fetishism concerning the efficacy and appropriateness of the CCT as a universally applicable theory. Furthermore, in this section it was established that the theory perpetuates two sociopolitical agendas: *neoliberalism* and *neo-Marxism*. I further argue that although the CCT was crafted utilizing Marxist thought, it nonetheless perpetuated a neoliberal agenda in its original implementation in urban development due to its focus on marketing to *the mythical other* for the maximization of economic growth and ultimately came at the expense of ignoring structural-social issues in contemporary societies.

However, in response to these critiques, the theory later evolved to reflect a more neo-Marxist tone with Florida's rhetoric of "urbanism-for-all". This was mainly during the build up to *The New Urban Crisis*, in which the theory directly addressed the criticisms regarding the problematic outcomes of the CCT's original implantation. The following section will be a brief discussion of problematic issues and blindspots in the CCT model: *universal application, blind fetishism, and lack of understanding concerning the theory's socioeconomic agendas*, followed by a discussion on three main advantages of CCT implementation: *increasing livability, inserting the value of creativity into a linguistic mainstream as a policy and cultural buzzword, and its potential to address issues found in modern-day Capitalism*. This is demonstrated in the following by taking into account the insights claimed from the above to establish a deeper understanding of creative class theory.

5.1 Discussion of the Implications, Blindspots, and Advantages of CCT

As suggested above, Florida's re-adjusts the CCT in *The New Urban Crisis*, in order to refocus on his neo-Marxists roots. He does so by arguing that dwindling state investments under the neoliberal economy have caused various urban infrastructural issues (Florida, 2017). Therefore, he frames his newly formed motto of "winner-take-all capitalism" as a critique of modern neoliberalism and attempts to address the urban infrastructural issues, which he overlooked as original components of CCT. Thus, under "urbanism-for-all" CCT has evolved its vision to a more inclusionary one aimed at realizing equality, namely in terms of economic support and security for individuals. However, the CCT's original iteration severely neglected investments into community realization such as security, education, and welfare. Instead, these investments were channeled into cultural amenities and identities to attract the newly formed creative class.

While the theory was at first quickly and broadly embraced due to its unique and original thought; overall, CCT is problematic because it has been too quickly adopted by a global audience. This is due to Florida's attempts to market it as a universally applicable urban development and socioeconomic model. The notion of *universality* is problematic because not all cities have the same issues. Examples of contemporary issues in some post-industrial cities include: social and class inequality, declining middle class, housing shortage, neighborhood segregation, gentrification, and a decline in federal funding. From 2002-2017, CCT was implemented uncritically in: Detroit, Hamburg, Toronto, Austin, alongside Milwaukee (Zimmerman, 2008), Amsterdam (Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007), Copenhagen (Bayliss, 2007; Colombo, 2015), Turin (Vanolo, 2008), Melbourne (Atkinson, 2009), Tokyo (Sasaki, 2010) and more.

CCT's main blindspot, is that urban stakeholders utilized CCT as a "quick-fix" to a plethora of complicated and multi-faceted issues in declining urban spaces without critical analysis of its implementation or socioeconomic agendas, they progressed and help developed, what I consider to be a form of blind fetishism concerning the efficacy and appropriateness of the CCT. Therefore, there is a need to engage in more complex analysis of the solutions cities should adopt. While the investments that are called for according to the CCT model in urban development strategies and socioeconomic policy might increase livability in a city, the most important question that arises is for *whom* exactly is that and should that be? As discussed the CCT focuses mostly on benefitting gentrifiers and elites, serving to only increase their status as a demographic, which I argue is a negative outcome of CCT implementation.

However, I would suggest that CCT in its original iteration has three main advantages. The first being that it adequately address the twenty-first century global trend of increasing livability within cities. Since policy makers and developers have implemented CCT and marketed it for the creative class, often without much empirical data to support or to decry its effects, cities in mainly Anglo-western regions have begun wide-spread revitalization efforts in urban development to bolster economic and social conditions. These methods to increase livability include: inclusive marketing to promote tolerance and diversity, which promotes a socially conscious way-of-living in urban settings; revisiting and investing in cultural amenities in order to attract the “other” and a reconnecting to the idea of community through Florida’s recommendations of mixed-use housing efforts, increasing city walkability and access to cycling, and increasing access to public green spaces. The second benefit is how the CCT has shaped the language in which one thinks about cities, as economic spaces oriented towards innovation and are constructed featuring an intrinsic reliance on the notions of *innovation* and *creativity*. Since the beginning of implementation of CCT and appropriation of *creativity* (Markusen, 2006), the word has been circulated and accepted as a buzzword in policy development, urban marketing, within work environments, and in society generally. Arguably, emphasizing the value of *creativity* in mainstream discussions such as these, could have positive social-cultural benefits by encouraging the reconnection of the urban space with the the value of arts and culture. Finally, CCT in its neo-Marxist form found in, *The New Urban Crisis*, has the potential to address issues within modern day capitalism by creating a dialogue around urban inequality and segregation through the “urbanism-for-all” rhetoric currently being advanced by Florida.

5.2 Suggestions for Future Research

Concerning future research this analysis has shown that there is a need to address the implications and blindspots of the CCT model. The overarching pattern, which can be used to understand and frame these issues is that they conceptualize culture as a commodity. This has been demonstrated by examining the problems of the CCT such as its universal application as a solution for urban issues, its commodification and over-simplification of creative class consumer habits vis-a-vis appropriation of the artistic language of creativity, and its influence upon the public consciousness in policy implementation. This has led to serious lacunas in the research and created negative impacts following its implementation such as class segregation. This is problematic because it indicates rather inaccurately that the creative class and the products they produce can be sold as one-fits-all solutions for social-structural issues and are vital component of recovering economic growth. In the case of CCT, due to its influence in the public consciousness, this serves to monetize to the notion of creativity, culture, and other invaluable goods and creates issues in the urban space. Furthermore, this has perpetuated, in connection to the blind fetishism concerning the willingness to universally apply the CCT by relevant stakeholders, other issues stemming from the inaccurate understanding of why one should invest in the arts and culture that is advocated for CCT. This is primarily because CCT originally recommends strategies involving investments into cultural amenities in order to attract the creative class’s consumer habits, which promotes the idea that art is valuable because of the potential contribution for economic growth rather than the other intrinsic values it serves in creating culture in a community.

Additionally, there is both a need for further examination into case studies, which have utilized Florida’s newly-found neo-Marxist rhetoric of “urbanism-for-all” by means of improved recommendations from *The New Urban*

Crisis and there is a need for analysis of case studies, which examine how Florida's previous rhetoric and recommendations, according to the CCT in the original neoliberal perspective, further affected the urban space.

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