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Track 5. The city of talent - knowledge economy and urbanity

Title:
Cultural amenities, talent and creative class in Spanish municipalities

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Abstract:

In addition to human capital, cultural consumption opportunities play an important role explaining local development and growth. They promote the attraction of visitors, as well as the attraction of creative class improving local income and wages. This paper analyzes the relative importance of these factors explaining income growth in Spanish municipalities. Indexes to measure talent, creative class, and different kind of opportunities to cultural consumption at the local level are proposed, using multivariate analysis to show their complementary impact on local income. In addition to human capital and creative class, main results show different kind of opportunities to cultural consumption has an independent impact on local income. This paper is based on the Cultural Dimensions of the City, funded by the National Programme of Research (Government of Spain).

Cultural amenities, talent and the creative class in Spanish municipalities[1]

There is no doubt that in the context of the new information economy the creative or cultural economy is becoming ever more important (Scott, 1997). It is for this reason that the thesis of the creative class formulated by Florida (2000) has been receiving greater attention in analysis of urban and regional development. This thesis analyzes the impact of an occupational group that stands out for its creativity and cultural consumption patterns. However, it has also been the subject of several criticisms ranging from its conceptual and operational definition of the creative class to the novelty of its hypothesis by comparison to previous theories, the strength of its empirical evidence, and the distance between its analytical proposals and its indicators[2].

Without overlooking the above, here we focus on one aspect which, although central to this perspective, has received little attention in its development and analysis; the opportunities for cultural consumption. Moreover, this question gives rise to a more generic perspective on urban and regional development of which the thesis of the creative class might come to be seen as a particular example. Different sets of cultural consumption opportunities, as 'cultural scenes', attract different groups and have a certain impact on regional development, independently of other factors (Silver, Clark y Navarro, 2010).

This paper seeks to show the value of the creative class thesis in the case of Spanish municipalities, both regarding factors that influence their location as well as their impact on income differences between places. This will allow for progress in the comparative analysis of this perspective. It will also attempt to develop its hypotheses from the perspective of cultural scenes. More specifically, we seek to answer three common questions relating to the creative class thesis: where it is located, what factors influence it and what effects it has on the income of places. We address other questions as well: where are different as cultural scenes located, what impact they have on the location of the creative class and, finally, what impact do they have on the differences in income between municipalities.

1. Creative class, cultural consumption, and local development.

1.1. Revising the three main ideas of the creative class thesis: occupations, life styles, and technology.

[1] This paper has been developed in the framework of the 'La Dinámica Cultural de las Ciudades' (CSO2008-04288/SOCI) funded by the National Research Program (Government of Spain).
[2] For instance: Glaeser (2004), Peck (2005), Markuse, 2005; Scott, 2006; Kräten, 2006, McGranahan and Wojan (2007) or Hansen and Niedomyls (2009).

The creative class thesis is basically organized around three hypotheses relating the three Ts (talent, tolerance, and technology) (Florida, 2002). The first notes that in the new information economy talent, understood as creativity developed in certain occupations, rather than human capital is a crucial factor in regional development (Florida et al., 2008). However, some criticisms of the thesis, perhaps the most important ones, point out that there are virtually no differences between the two views, with human capital theory being a more settled perspective and with clearer evidence to back it up (Glaeser, 2000, 2005).

The second hypothesis is that the creative class is attracted or tends to locate itself in those regional spaces known for having a social climate characterized by tolerance, diversity and anonymity. This social atmosphere favors the development of more innovative and transgressive lifestyles which find their expression in specific practices of cultural consumption. According to Florida the creative class constitutes the most important group of consumers for urban services, not so much for their volume as for the fact that they have very specialized preferences, particularly their most innovative sector, the bohemians. These develop an “ethos” and neo-bohemian lifestyle which progressively extends to the creative class as a whole (Florida, 2002a, 2002b; Brooks, 2000). However, this relationship between creative class and cultural innovation is a premise often taken for granted. There exists little evidence relating creative class to these patterns of consumption and whether they differ from that of other occupational groups, and whether they are homogenous across its various sectors (core, professionals, and bohemians).

Furthermore, there is little discussion about the relationship between the three factors which make up a favorable social climate. In general it is taken as a premise that tolerance usually occurs in the same way as racial and social diversity, the existence of groups with innovative lifestyles and existence of certain kind of cultural consumption opportunities. However, the relationship between tolerance and ethnic diversity is, at best, problematic, and there are conflicting hypotheses and empirical results related to it (Sharp and Joslyn, 2008, Oliver, 2010). Similarly, the existence of a small group of bohemians does not necessarily imply a generic diffusion of their lifestyle in the entire locality, or a large part of it. Indeed its existence could provoke a “cultural war” with more conventional groups (Sharp, 2005). And finally, the existence of more opportunities for cultural consumption does not necessarily imply the existence of a tolerant population: art museums, opera houses or theaters can mean that people have “refined taste”, but not necessarily tolerance (Bourdieu, 1999). In any case these traits are often related to scale, to the urban (Fisher, 1976), being the creative class a urban phenomena Its development in rural space is something that would be worth studying to address the effect of social climate regardless agglomeration effects (McGranahan y Mojan, 2007).

The third hypothesis indicates that the effect of the creative class on regional development is facilitated by the existence of a business climate oriented towards the

new economics of information and the intensive use of technology. However, this supposes that what is involved here is not only the direct effect of the creative class or technology on regional development but rather a joint effect; the impact of the creative class is greater when it carries out its work in a climate characterized by competitiveness and innovation. It is not, therefore, a question only of the direct effects of these two Ts (technology and talent), but rather of an interactive effect arising between them. However, the latter is not generally considered in the empirical analyses. These focus on the attraction effect of business climate and then its effects on different indicators of regional development (Florida et al., 2008; Boschma and Firstch, 2009). Thus, the empirical analyses show the importance of sectoral specialization, in this case technological sector (Glaeser et al., 1992), but not its facilitating effect on the impact of the creative class on regional development.

1.2. Cultural consumption, life styles and regional development: the urban amenities premium and the cultural scenes approach.

Thus, the thesis of the creative class, and its second hypothesis in particular, attaches crucial importance to opportunities for cultural consumption. To attract and retain the creative class places, must, among other things, offer opportunities for cultural consumption that are appropriate for its members (Florida, 2008). From this perspective, the creative class thesis can be understood as an approach that focuses on cultural consumption as an explanatory factor for regional development (Pratt, 2008).

In general, this postulate of the creative class focuses attention on quality of life, in terms of urban services and cultural amenities in particular, as a significant explanatory factor in urban and regional development. This supposes that cultural consumption could drive territorial development (Lloyd y Clark, 2001). Thus, for example Glaeser, Koldo and Saiz (2001) show that the population and income growth of cities depends on both classical factors associated with transport costs and human capital, and the existence of cultural amenities, what they call “premium amenities”. Other arguments and analysis also point to the importance of amenities and cultural consumption on urban growth (Roback, 1982; Wong, 2001; Colwell, Dehring and Turnbull, 2002; Clark, 2003; Shapiro, 2006). Thus, these contributions imply the existence of a different hypothesis to explain regional development: opportunities for cultural consumption have a direct effect on regional development independently of other factors. Thus to the three Ts (talent, tolerant, and technology), ‘cultural amenities premiun’ would have to be added.
Furthermore, opportunities for cultural consumption transform places into different cultural scenes based on the lifestyles they promote and allow to express themselves. More specifically, the cultural scenes involve spaces where a lifestyle in the form of significant cultural consumption manifests itself. It is not about a specific amenity or a cultural consumption but rather a set of amenities that encourage the development of cultural practices that reflect a set of values and aesthetic criteria of recognition and authenticity (Clark, Silver and Navarro, 2010).

Thus different localities, or parts of them, on the basis of their cultural scenes, attract different groups in relation to their lifestyles and patters of cultural consumption. It is not, therefore, a generic assumption about the influence of cultural scenes on development but rather some "contextual relativism", different kinds of people move to different locations with distinct amenities. What attracts one person can repel others. There is no 'silver bullet' for urban dynamics, life style, subcultures differ (Clark, 2003: 123-124). There will exist, therefore, specific "cultural scene premiums". Each individual set of cultural consumption opportunities, each cultural scene, will have a different value for different groups, attracting them, or not.

In fact Florida (2008) shows that in the United States the aesthetic of a city and its cultural consumption possibilities are important factors in the satisfaction of residents, though in different ways for different sectors of the population. However, he offers no evidence relating to the creative class. In other studies these opportunities for cultural consumption appear to be related to the possibility of enjoying life performances and an active night life, places that can be characterized as "cool" and "neo-bohemian" (Florida, 2002a, Florida et al., 2008). More generally, Clark (2003) shows that change of population for different groups (people with a degree, old people, immigrants, professionals …) depends on different types of amenities. In the same way Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz show how only certain amenities explain changes to the metropolitan population of the USA (natural amenities, live performance venues and restaurants) while others have either no influence (museums) or a negative one (bowling alleys and movie theatres).

Thus, what scene, what set of cultural opportunities is attractive to each group must, be defined analytically, as well as what kinds of cultural scenes produce or do not produce regional development?. From this perspective the thesis of the creative class can be understood as a specification of the more generic view of the impact of cultural consumption on regional development, the application of the cultural scenes approach to that occupational group. This in turn implies the specification of the second hypothesis of the creative class. Firstly, the creative class tends to locate itself in regions whose cultural scenes are characterized by a ethos and lifestyle of cultural innovation. And secondly, cultural scenes of this type generate regional development both directly and through an interactive effect by creating a cultural environment favorable to the creativity of the creative class. Thus the effect of the creative class is not uniquely related to a business climate oriented towards technology but also to a context of cultural innovation, cultural consumption and lifestyles which strengthens its creativity and innovation.

Thus from the general perspective of the cultural scenes the thesis of the creative class might be formulated on the basis of the following postulates or hypotheses, with those points already made in this text signaled in italics.

H1. The creative class, as an occupational vision of talent, has a direct impact on territorial development, but independent of the effect of human capital.
H2. The creative class is attracted and/or retained by localities where there is a social climate of tolerance and diversity.
H2a. The creative class is attracted and/or retained by localities where there are cultural scenes characterized by cultural innovation.
H3. A business climate that is oriented to technology businesses and innovation favors regional development.
H3a. The impact of the creative class on regional development is greater where there is a business climate that is oriented to technology businesses and innovation.
H4. Cultural scenes oriented to cultural innovation have a positive effect on regional development.
H4a. The impact of the creative class on regional development is greater where there is a cultural scene characterized by cultural innovation.

2. Scenes: the urban amenity premium as specific opportunities for cultural consumption.

As has already been indicated, both studies on the effects of cultural amenities on urban development and the creative class thesis usually measure opportunities for cultural consumption in terms of the number or density of certain cultural installations (or the number of workers employed by them). The logic behind this is that a greater density of these cultural facilities explains the presence of creative class. In this case the analyses usually look for the presence of museums, literary and artistic activities, performances and sport as well restaurants, bars and nightclubs. (Florida, 2002a, 2002b, Hansen, 2007; Clifton, 2008; Boschman and Fritsch, 2009).

From the perspective of cultural scenes, interest is focused not so much on number of amenities (in terms of either volume or density) but rather on the kind of lifestyle they support. It is not a question of carrying out isolated cultural practices but rather a set of practices which shape a specific lifestyle based on the reasons and motives that justify them, the way they are shared with others or the feeling of authenticity that is found in them (Silver, Clark and Navarro, 2010). Thus the "grammar of cultural scenes", the conceptual framework for interpreting the opportunities for cultural consumption that exist in a place focuses on the meanings of the cultural practices that can be carried out in them.

Cultural scenes approach sustains that cultural consumption facilities could be interpreted on the basis of three broad dimensions and a total of 15 sub-dimensions. The first dimension has to do with the moral values that underlie the cultural practices, the motives which orient and justify the cultural practice and endow those who carry it out with legitimacy. In this regard five sub-dimensions or sources of legitimacy are recognized: *tradition,* stressing the authority of the past (archaeological museum or a historical site), *charisma*, the aura of a star, his/her activities and way of life (film

festivals and productions, or an important sports club), individual *self-expression*, the non-repeatable uniqueness of an experience (art gallery or live performance), *egalitarian* universalism, the value of universal ideas and open places (public park, libraries or traditional bars), and *utility*, the value of future outcomes (fast food vs. fine restaurants).

Table 1. Cultural scenes: dimensions and sub-dimensions

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Examples of amenities
Legitimacy	Tradicional	Histotical sites, archeological museums, Archives
	Utilitarian	Fast food restaurants, Convention Centres
	Egalitarian	Public Parks, Libraries
	Self-expressive	Live performance, dance companies, galleries, tatto, piercing
	Charismatic	Film festivals, fashion, flamenco, golf
Theatricallity	Glamour	Film festivals, production, fashion
	Formality	Opera, Fine Dinning, Golf
	Transgression	Nigth Clubs, Tatto, piercing, adult entertainment
	Neigbourliness	Little commerce and artcraft
	Exhibitionism	Fashion, Aduldt entretainmennt, Night Clubs
Authenticity	Local	Historical site, Little comerse
	Ethnic	Flamenco, folk music, mexicano r thai restaurants
	Corporate	Convention centre, Theme Park
	State	Embassies and delegations, Historical sites, Libraries
	Rational	R+D, Libraries, Aquarium,Nnatural Sciences Museum

Source: Silver, Clark and Navarro (2010).

But as well as their moral significance cultural practices take place in specific places where people recognize each other in their lifestyles from the way they participate in the cultural practice, in the way in which they see and are seen. “Scenes” implies some kind of *theatricality*: *transgression*, in stressing deviance or opposition to conventional norms (a body piercing salon), *formality*, in stressing the conformity to conventional manners and behavior, the etiquette (fine food restaurant or opera), *exhibitionism*, bodies are to be displayed (a gym or a beauty salon), *glamour*, according to external beauty and elegance (a film or fashion festival), or *neighborliness*, the inner intimacy of recurrent and close places and people (the corner pub, a little artisan studio).

Finally, a lifestyle developed in cultural scenes implies some kind of identification or *authenticity*, feelings about the real essence of cultural practices. This authenticity may be promoted in terms of *localism*, the adhesion to local roots and customs against the foreign (a historical site or a local museum), *ethnicity*, the flavor of specific cultures (flamenco, ethnic music or cuisine), *corporateness*, the adhesion to brands, their products and activities promoted by them (specialized commerce, sport activities), public *stateness*, as a citizen rather than as a member of class or religious communities (public centres, libraries, official buildings or embassies) or, *rational* logic, the universality of rational thinking (libraries, archives, universities, or I+D centres,).

The central idea is that each one of the amenities that exist in the city can be "read" with the aid of this "grammar", as different types of legitimacy, theatricality, and authenticity (the sub-dimensions) are constitutive elements, or, on the contrary, they may oppose the practices in which they are developed (i.e. a tattoo parlor is transgressive but not at all formal while the contrary is true of opera). For this reason the "mathematics of cultural scenes" consists of each facility or service being codified for each sub-dimension on a scale of 5 points with 1 meaning that the sub-dimension opposes the essence of the cultural practice in the codified amenity, with 5 meaning that it is essential in order to count for it and 3 denoting a certain neutrality in relation to the dimension being considered. Thus each amenity is measured on the basis of 15 indices.

By weighting the number of establishments for each amenity by its score in a sub-dimension (i.e. tradition) and then adding up all these values we obtain the *intensity indicator* for each subdimension (i.e. the level of traditionalism in the city). Thus the opportunities for cultural consumption in a city will not be calculated on the basis of the number of amenities but rather by their value in the 15 sub-dimensions. In order to detect the specialization of a city with regard to the provision for certain types of cultural consumption in certain sub-dimensions, those that make it different, attractive and recognizable for certain groups, a *performance indicator* is taken into account. It is calculated by dividing the intensity indicators by the total number in the city,

This indicator will show to what extent this dimension is noteworthy and visible in a locality. It will also show in what specific combinations of sub-dimensions that abovementioned specialization exists. Cultural scenes, therefore, involve specific patterns of relations between 15 sub-dimensions. From an operational perspective the application of factor analysis to the performance indices reveals the underlying dimensions of cultural consumption opportunities, with each factor being a specific combination of different types of legitimacy, theatricality and authenticity. This can be seen in the importance of self-expression and glamour in Los Angeles compared to the rational corporateness of New York and the more neighborly and egalitarian features of Chicago (Silver, Clark y Navarro, 2010). Similarly the traditionalism and local authenticity of historic cities like Córdoba in Spain can be distinguished from the atmosphere of transgression in Barcelona and exhibitionist and glamorous feel of noted Mediterranean resorts like Marbella.

3. Data and methodology

The bulk of the data available at the municipal level to analyze the creative class and cultural scenes comes from the 2001 national census. Nevertheless, given the high degree of fragmentation of the Spanish municipal system 806 local labor markets were be used here as territorial units. These are groupings of municipalities based on commuting as work-residence mobility (Boix y Galletto, 2006). However, as there are considerable differences in size between them logarithmic scales will be used for the majority of our indicators. Scale of local labor market will be included as control

variable in our models (number of inhabitants). Furthermore, this will allow for an understanding of the dynamic of rural areas with regard to the attraction of the creative class and its impact on the development of these regions[3].
More specifically, average rent per habitant has been taken as the measure of regional development as was done by Florida (2002) and Florida et al. (2008). Here it is used in the form of a interval scale that identifies ten income ranges for 2002. Our measurements, therefore, take account of place differences rather than changes in the level of territorial development over time. The other variable and indices are those commonly used in the examination of the creative class, though with certain changes.

To measure the creative class a restricted definition has been used based on the proposal by MacGranaham and Mojan (2007), accepted by Florida et al. (2008).
Specifically, those occupations which mainly involve labour force reproduction duties have been excluded. This focuses the analysis on those occupations that involve greater creativity without including those most sensitive to the concentration of population or the presence of government entities[4]. Furthermore, although there are some differences in patterns of location of different segments of the creative class, which might be related to varying opportunities for cultural consumption, an attempt is made here to treat the creative class as one. Thus, the group of bohemians will not be treated as an indicator of tolerance but rather as a segment constitutive of the creative class[5].

Business climate is measured through the location of technology businesses following the criteria set out by Hansen (2007). Three factors are considered in the measurement of the social climate: diversity, tolerance and opportunities for cultural consumption. The first of these measures the number of foreigners in the local labor market. The justification usually given for this is that the presence of immigrants will give rise to a greater degree of tolerance by way of daily contact, a certain form of bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000). However in Spain the results produced by contact the Spanish and immigrants regarding tolerance have been ambiguous (Navarro, 2011). For this reason a specific indicator of tolerance is included, the percentage of couples that are either comprised of homosexuals or who live together without being married. Both amount to unconventional forms of life which indicate a greater degree of social tolerance (Sharp, 2005), especially in a country like Spain where the vast majority of people are Catholic.

[3] 'Local labor market', 'localities', and 'places' will be used as synonymous terms.
[4] Basically, this supposes the exclusion of professional creative class, mainly, welfare public services (education, health, social services, judicial system,..), as well as a political elites (councillors, state governors, or MPs).
[5] Models including bohemians show more explanatory capacity (R2), but similar results. These results could be interpreted as similar patters of localization among different segments of the creative class. This is the main pattern in Spain, even if little difference appears among creative sectors: the core group and, especially bohemians, are located in central cities or metropolitan areas; professionals live in metropolitan suburbs (Navarro y Mateos, 2010).

Finally, with respect to opportunities for cultural consumption, two indices were used. Firstly, the one that is commonly used in the literature, a density measure (the number of employees in cultural businesses per 1000 inhabitants). The categories of economic activities used in previous studies (Hansen, 2007; Clifton, 2008: Boschman and Fristch, 2009) have been used here, as well as others from the commercial sector (leather, footwear, clothes, second-hand goods and antiques). Although other studies have not usually included these activities, both the thesis of the creative class as well as other studies of the influence of cultural consumption on regional development show their importance (Zuckin, 2005; Llyod, 2006).

The second measure uses the cultural scenes approach. Each economic activity included has been coded with a score in each sub-dimension[6]. On this basis the performance indicators were drawn up, following the criteria outlined in the previous section. Finally, in order to define cultural scenes as underlying dimensions to these 15 indicators factor analysis was carried out. The scores for each locality for the first factor were used as an indicator of cultural scenes. As will be shown in the next section, this factor is a continuous variable which differentiates between "communitarian scenes" and "unconventional scenes", with the second being close to the patterns of cultural consumption related to the creative class[7].

Our analysis is focused on finding out what factors are associated with the location of the creative class and to whether, along with other factors, they account for differences in income levels. As in the case of other analyses, causal relations cannot be inferred in the absence of appropriate variables for doing so. Thus, analyses show more or less robust associations between variables. More specifically, for each dependent variable (creative class or income) three models of multiple regression analysis were carried out modifying the indicators dealing with opportunities for cultural consumption. The first model includes the standard indicator of opportunities for cultural consumption, that of the density of cultural amenities. This allows for a comparison between Spain and results obtained in other countries. The second model includes the cultural scenes index and the third includes both kinds of measures. These latter show the impact of cultural scenes to attract or retains the creative class, and their interactive effect with the creative class on income inequalities between municipalities[8]. That is, our specifications of the creative class thesis from the cultural scenes approach.

[6] Unlike in other studies, we use 4 digits to select categories. This allows us for a more detailed understanding of the cultural practice in which they are carried out. Codification of categories was done by a team of 13 coders. Tests of validity and reliability were performed with good results (Navarro y Guerrero, 2010).

[7] The cultural scenes approach uses other categories and sources. This makes possible a richer and detailed analysis of scenes. Here similar categories to previous analyses of the creative class thesis are used to permit comparability. Nevertheless, factor analyses using more categories show similar results; even if different scales are analyzed such as cities, postal codes or census tracks (Navarro et al., 2011a).

[8] In spite of high correlations among variables, tolerance tests show favorable results to include in the same models. Correlation matrix is included in Annex. Tables show standardized OLS coefficients. More details about analyses could be obtained by request to the authors.

Table 2. Basic indices of Spanish local labor markets: descriptive statistics.

Concept	Dimensions	Indexes	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Economic	Income level(1)	Mean income per capita: (0-10) scale	4,29	2,01	1,00	10,000
Size (scale)	Population	Nº of inhabitants (*1000)	52,49	238,44	1,95	5.3165
Talent	Education	Working population with a degree or more (%)	12,69	4,74	3,46	29,62
	Creative class	Delimited occupational groups (%)	14,98	4,42	3,92	32,83
Business climate	Tech-pole Index	Technological industries (%)	2,22	2,09	,09	16,67
People climate	Tolerance	Household: homosexual and non-married couples (%)	3,94	2,99	,51	25,93
	Diversity	Foreign born (%)	2,96	4,35	,02	42,90
Cultural consumption opportunities	Density	Employees in cultural industries by 1000 inhabitants	33,96	15,61	6,20	122,28
	Scenes	Communitarian <-> Unconventional	0,00	1,00	-3,13	2,78

Source: Census (2001) and (1) Informe Socioeconómico La Caixa (2002). N = 806 local labor markets

4. Creative class, amenity premium, and income: analysis and results.

4.1. The geography of creative class.

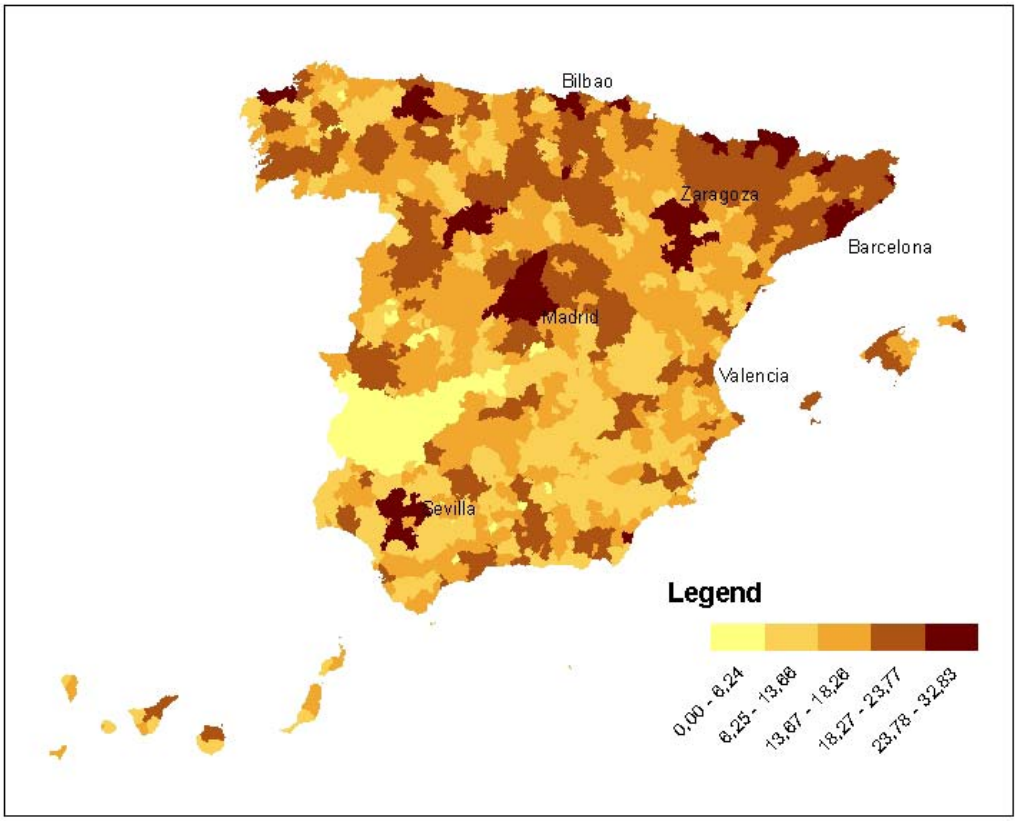
According to the definition used here, in 2001 the creative class made up about 14% of the working population of Spain. The Creative Professionals (12.8%) formed the largest group with the Creative Core (1.6%) and Bohemians (0.6%) being much smaller in size. This distribution among sectors of the creative class is similar to that found in other countries. The difference in the total size of the creative class arises from the more restrictive definition used, one which excludes related occupations, principally public sector workers[9].

Also similar is its close relationship with the standard measurement of human capital, as the percentage of the working population with a degree (an equal correlation of 0.750). The same holds for its patterns of geographic location. As can be seen in Figure 1 the creative class is concentrated in the large urban areas like Madrid and Barcelona, as well as Seville, Zaragoza and Valencia. But it also is present in small local communities where the majority of the labor force works in occupations related to entertainment (natural parks and sports facilities, for example). Nevertheless, the general pattern shows that the creative class, just like human capital, is to be found concentrated in the

[9] Another analysis using a definition similar to Florida shows a share of 22% (Navarro y Mateos, 2010). According to Florida and Tinagli (2004), the share of creative occupations in Spain is 19.48%.

largest labor markets. The correlations with the number of inhabitants are equal at 0.310 and 0.349 respectively. Thus, as in other countries, the creative class is mainly a urban phenomena or, at least, located in a way that is closely related to the size of localities (Lorenzen and Vaarst, 2009).

Figure 1. Location of Creative Class in Spain in 2001
(% of workforce in local labor markets)



4.2. Opportunities for cultural consumption: the geography of scenes.

Specialized cultural consumption facilities require a market of a minimum size in order to be efficient. There is thus a threshold above which it may be expected that certain amenities will appear (Fisher, 1984; Lucchini, 2000). It is therefore normal that the density of cultural opportunities correlates with the size of localities, as is shown by the indicator for the case of Spain (r= 0,265). There is the same pattern for cultural scenes?.

The application of factor analysis to the performance indices of the 15 sub-dimensions shows that the first factor explains something less than half of the variance (see Annex). This differentiates between two kinds of scenes. On the one hand there are those in which the following sub-dimensions predominate: tradition, egalitarianism, neighborliness, localism and ethnicity, while on the other there are scenes that are characterized by self-expression, charisma, transgression, and glamour. In basic terms the first accounts for a communitarian type of cultural scenes in which values and identities related to tradition prevail, in short these are conventional lifestyles. The

second ones accounts for cultural scenes that allow for the development of non-conventional, innovative lifestyles in which transgression and 'aesthetic distance' become important. In these localities are found amenities related to artistic and literary creation (museums, artistic and literary creation…) but also those related to entertainment: both those that can be characterized as "natural", located in rural areas (like natural parks and sporting facilities), as well as those that are more characteristic of urban areas (concert halls, cinemas and amusement parks, but also beauty parlors and gymnasiums). Thus, the highest figures for this indicator mark sites that are "cool" and transgressive, where it is possible to live unconventionally.

Table 3. Opportunities for cultural consumption: the main empirical dimensions of scenes.

Dimensions	**Scenes**	
	Communitarian	**Unconventional**
	Sub-dimensions	Sub-dimensions
Legitimacy	**Tradition, Egalitarian**	**Expressiveness; Charisma** Utilitarism
Theatricality	**Neighborliness** Formalism	**Transgression, Glamour** Exhibitionism
Authenticity	**Localism, Ethnicity** State, Rational	Corporate
Typical amenities	Libraries, s, restaurants, beauty salons, commerce (clothes)	Artistic and literary creation, Museum, natural park, thematic park, gym, performances, commerce (second hand and

Note: Bold: loading factors > 0,70

In general terms this differentiation reflects one of the classic dichotomies of sociological thinking, community vs. association, which in territorial terms is usually associated with the difference between rural and urban environments. Our cultural scenes index show scenes which specialize in the encouragement of cultural consumption associated with the conventional nature the traditional community as against scenes which promote non-conventional consumption, where sub-cultures or communities of different sorts live together while sharing their distance from conventionalism. There may exist a certain relationship with the size of localities because the urban environment is the one where diversity and cultural innovation occur (Fisher, 1976).

Figure 2. The geography of cultural scenes in Spain: communitarian vs. unconventional scenes (factorial scores: conventional <-> unconventional)

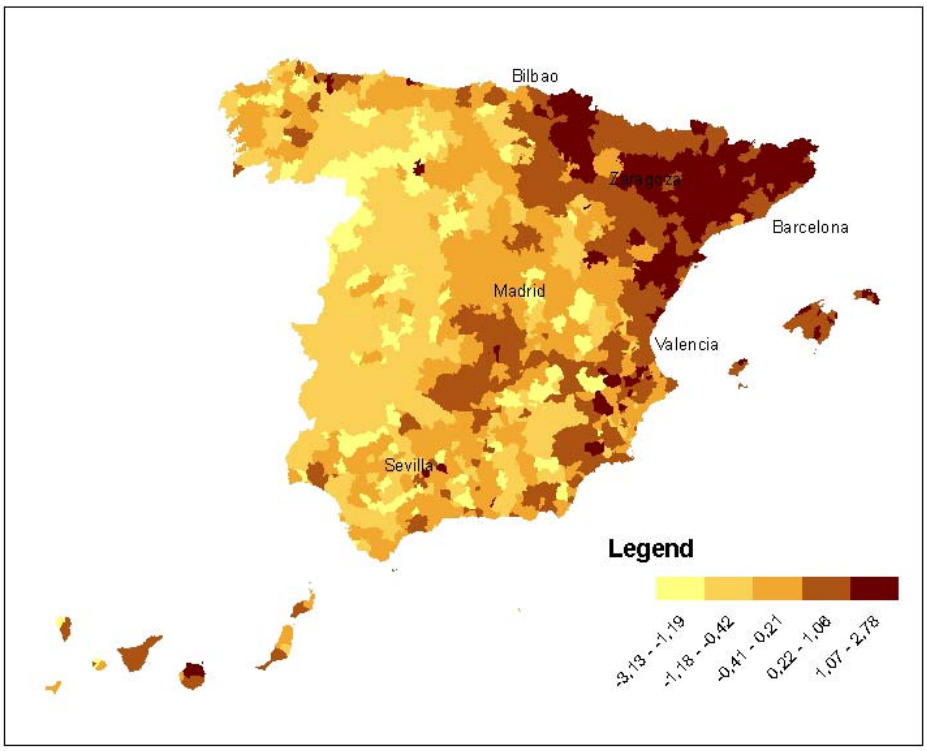
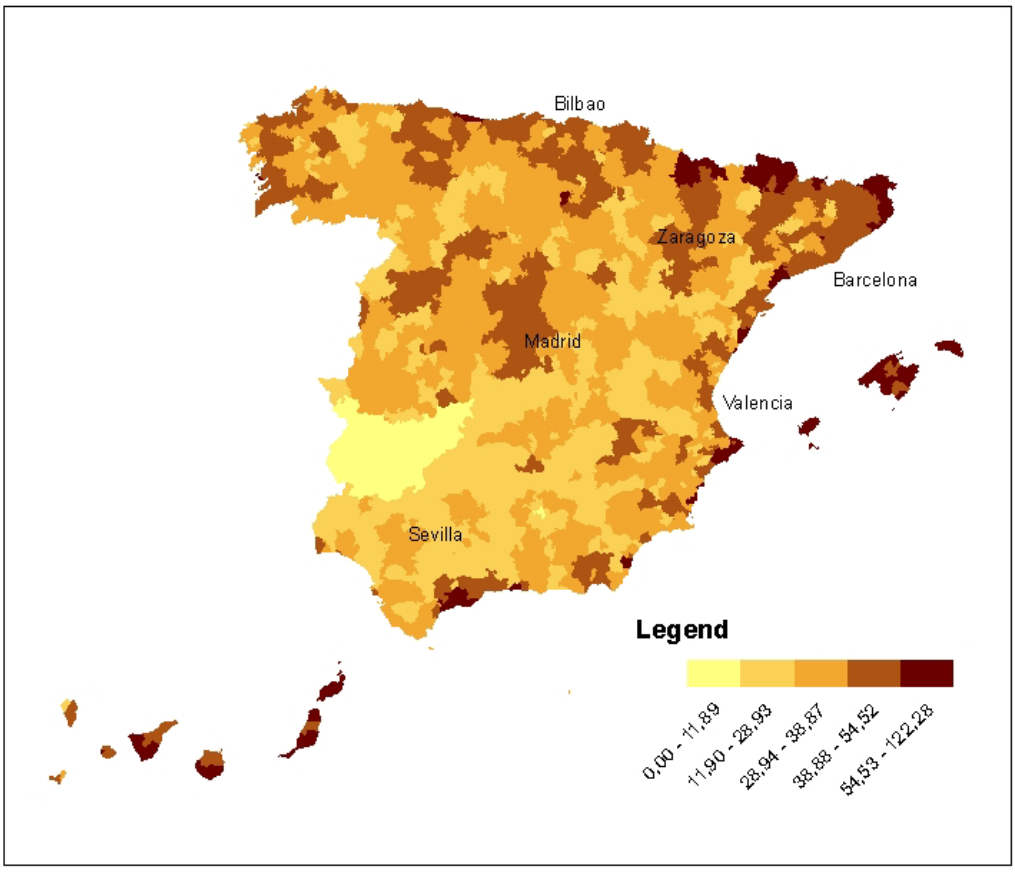


Figure 3. Opportunities for cultural consumption (density)



However, the association between the indicator of cultural scenes and the size of localities is low (r= 0,168), lower than the correlation of size with the density of cultural amenities (r=0,265). Furthermore, cultural scenes follow a specific geographic pattern that is not strictly related to municipal size and rather more so to cultural frameworks. These tend to be less community-based and less conventional in the north east of the country than in the south and somewhat more so in the islands and coastal areas, especially of the Mediterranean, by comparison with the interior of the country (Figure 2). The density measure reflects, more strongly, criteria of city size. The big cities like Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao and Zaragoza stand out clearly, along with some coastal areas where tourism is important (Islands, Marbella, Alicante) (Figure 3). Furthermore, the association between both indicators is low (r=0,226). Though they are related, these two indicators account for different phenomena: density of cultural opportunities and specialization in unconventional cultural consumption. Thus, in accordance with the creative class thesis, this group should locate in spaces where non-conventional cultural scenes predominate and not just in places where there is more volume or density of cultural amenities.

4.3. Attracting and retaining the creative class: tolerance, diversity, and cultural consumption.

As has already been indicated the thesis of the creative class holds that this occupational group tends to locate itself in places notable for their tolerance and diversity as well a broad range of specialized opportunities for cultural consumption (H2). We have specified this statement indicating that the localization of the creative class depends on the existence of cultural scenes which encourage non-conventional lifestyles (H2a); that is to say, a positive relationship with the cultural scenes indicator.

Table 4. The location of creative class: tolerance, diversity and cultural consumption. (OLS standardized coefficients)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Size	**0,309**	**0,312**	**0,290**
Tolerance	**0,236**	**0,374**	**0,174**
Diversity	-0,046	**-0,077**	**-0,119**
Culture: density	**0,340**	**0,233**	**0,359**
Culture: scenes			**0,254**
R2	0,447	0,424	0,497

The regression analyses show that the creative class tends to be concentrated in larger towns, and in areas with higher levels of tolerance, but, unlike other countries its presence is negatively associated with the diversity indicator (table 4). Thus, it should be noted that, at least in the Spanish case, tolerance and diversity are two different factors with regard to their influence on the creative class localization. This group is

concentrated in spaces where there exist new forms of habitation but tends to keep away from areas that might be regarded as melting pots[10].

With regard to opportunities for cultural consumption it can be seen that, as was found in other studies, their density was positively associated with the presence of the creative class, and this remains true even when the size of the population is controlled for (model 1). It also tends to locate itself where non-conventional cultural scenes are prevalent (model 2), though this does not greatly reduce the explanatory power of this model with respect to the previous one (R2=0,447 vs. 0,424). Moreover, this effect of scenes is maintained in the model in which it is jointly included with the density indicator (Model 3). It is, therefore, a robust result. All of this confirms that opportunities for cultural consumption are a relevant factor when it comes to explaining the location of the creative class in Spain. However, both the density of the opportunities and the type of cultural scene are important; the creative class tends to be found in places where there is a lot of cultural activity and it orients itself towards less conventional cultural consumption[11]. The main difference is that unconventional scenes account for the analytical premises about the localization of creative class showing a similar empirical explanatory capacity than previous models.

4.4. The impact of the creative class, social climate and business climate: territorial income inequalities.

Is the location of the creative class related to income differences? Is the effect of its presence reinforced by the existence of business and social climates orientated towards innovation? To answer these questions the models used here include the presence of the creative class, human capital and the business climate (technology businesses) but also variables related to the social climate. This allows the models to see whether the presence of the creative class has a direct effect on income independently of human capital (H1), the effect of the business climate (H3) and the effect of opportunities for cultural consumption (H4). Furthermore, in order to examine other proposed hypotheses those models were replicated to include the interactive effect between the presence of the creative class and the entrepreneurial climate (H3a), as well as the two indicators of opportunity for cultural consumption used here (H4a).

The results are similar to those obtained in other countries (table 5). The size of the locality implies lower income levels but this increases when human capital does and even more so when the presence of the creative class increases (according to standardized coefficients), though its effect is less than the existence of favorable social and business climates (especially the second)[12]. By contrast, the density of cultural

[10] Case studies in Spain show a "residential xenophobia" pattern, especially among people with higher incomes (Navarro, 2011).
[11] Other models including the interaction effect between density and scenes show that these variables have an independent influence on creative class location (interaction term not significant).
[12] Members of the creative class could probably be workers in the technological sector.

opportunities, the impact of which has not usually been analyzed in studies of the creative class, shows a negative or insignificant association with income (according to the model) while the cultural scenes indicator shows the expected effect on all the models, independently of the size of the locality.

Tabla 5. Income inequalities: the creative class, business climate people climate, and opportunities for cultural consumption.
(OLS standardized coefficients)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 1c
Size	**-0,356**	**-0,338**	**-0,338**	**-0,388**	**-0,365**	**-0,355**
Human capital	**0,081**	**0,089**	**0,085**	**0,056**	0,064	0,057
Creative class	**0,172**	**0,092**	**0,102**	**0,310**	**0,228**	**0,237**
Technology	**0,430**	**0,385**	**0,387**	**0,448**	**0,395**	**0,397**
Tolerance	**0,336**	**0,287**	**0,296**	**0,282**	**0,225**	**0,223**
Diversity	**0,283**	**0,209**	**0,212**	**0,299**	**0,239**	**0,234**
Culture: density	**-0,072**		-0,022	-0,055		0,001
Culture: scenes		**0,242**	**0,239**		**0,257**	**0,258**
Creative*Technology				**0,140**	**0,136**	**0,112**
Creative*Cultural Density				**0,056**		**0,063**
Creative*Cultural Scenes					**0,067**	**0,052**
R2	0,641	0,681	0,680	0,659	0,701	0,703

The analysis carried out here confirms the effect of the three Ts on regional development independently of human capital (H1, H2, and H3) and specifies the effect known as the "urban amenities premium" (H4); this latter is not about the density of cultural amenities but rather the presence of those that facilitate the non-conventional lifestyle thought to be characteristic of the creative class (H4a). Thus, this is a "cultural scenes premium". As was pointed out by Glaeser et al. (2001) and Clark (2003), not all amenities have the same effect on urban development. In the case of Spain those of significance with regard to the creative class are the ones which provide opportunities for the development of unconventional lifestyles.

I fact, in those models which include interactive effects the results mentioned above are maintained except that in two of them the effect of human capital is no longer significant ($p< 0,05$). Furthermore, these models show that the innovative character of the business climate and cultural scenes reinforces the effect of the presence of the creative class on income levels (H3a and H4a). There is a direct effect of creative class on income, and this is reinforced by innovative business and cultural scenes climates.

In summary, the analysis shows that innovation, both business and cultural, accounts for differences in regional development, not only directly but also by enhancing the effect the creative class has on it. These are, therefore, not only factors that explain development but are also facilitators of the effect of creativity, and all of this, to some degree, independent of the size of the local labor market. It is not appropriate, therefore, to attribute the effects of less unconventional cultural scenes or other of the factors

considered here to agglomeration effects. Though size is an important factor in attracting the creative class and generating a climate of innovation positive effects can also occur in smaller localities, in rural areas, given the presence of a combination of innovative climates and agents, whether entrepreneurial and/or cultural (McGranahan et al., 2010; Nur et al., 2009).

Conclusion and further research: cultural scenes and amenities premium.

One of the objectives of this study was to compare the location patterns of the creative class and its impact on income effects in Spanish municipalities with studies in other countries. Another was to examine the effects of cultural consumption opportunities. This is a central factor in the thesis of the creative class, and more generally, may be considered in terms of a broader perspective on the influence of the cultural scenes on urban development. In this case, the main question is: there is a "cultural scenes premium" related to the localization of the creative class and the differences in income between local labor markets in Spain.

Regarding the first objective the results show the location of the creative class follows a similar pattern to other countries. This occupational group is located in places of a large scale, where there are patterns of tolerance towards new forms of cohabitation, a higher density of cultural consumption opportunities, and cultural scenes that promote innovative, unconventional lifestyles. Similarly, the differences in territorial development, measured in terms of per capita income, appears to be related to the presence of the creative class, the existence of a business climate oriented towards technological industries, and a social climate characterized by tolerance, diversity and certain cultural consumption opportunities. However, in this respect, the differences are more related to different cultural scenes than to the density of cultural amenities. Thus, there is a clear 'unconventional cultural scene premium' regarding the attraction of creative class and the differences in income among municipalities in Spain. Moreover, a more specific analytical approach and a specific measure of cultural opportunities confirm postulates of creative class thesis, and show the impact of this factor in local income, a result normally not included in analysis on creative class.

Basically, the results are similar to those found in other countries though it is necessary to make two extra points regarding social climate. One of these has to do with the diversity or melting pot indicator, measured by the presence of immigrants. This does not appear to be a factor that attracts the creative class, indeed it seems to be a factor that repels it. However, it does appear to be a factor associated with income levels. This could, in part, be due to the fact that immigrants feel themselves attracted to areas with higher levels of growth but end up taking jobs that are noted for requiring neither talent nor creativity. The majority of immigrants in Spain come from less developed countries with low levels of educational attainment. In general this result suggests that there is a need for greater theoretical reflection on indicators that suggest a social climate conducive to the presence of the creative class paying attention to the functional

equivalence of variable and index in different social, political or cultural contexts (countries). Thus, more reflection is needed to propose other factors, after previously having shown whether there exists any analytical relationship between them.

The other point refers to the specifications and proposed new hypotheses about cultural consumption opportunities. The results show that it is important to consider the "cultural scenes premium". This has to do not only with the density of opportunities available for cultural consumption but with a certain level of specialization in those which permit the development of non-conventional lifestyles which, according to the literature, are characteristic of the creative class. More generally, some kind of cultural scenes function as an element that attracts certain groups and affects regional development. What is involved here is the logic of "cultural relativism" which sustains the perspective of cultural scenes. This means that measurements of opportunities for cultural consumption should be analytically orientated in such a way as to ensure that the associations produced by the empirical results show their capacity to attract the creative class or other groups. It is not a question of density, but specialization in cultural offer that allow for developed some kind of lifestyle that could be measured as combinations of the 15 sub-dimensions of the cultural scenes approach.

Evidently, our cultural scene measure has adopted an inductive perspective, as a result of the factor analysis. But it would also be possible to analytically specify 'theoretical cultural scenes' indicating what the sub-dimensions of legitimacy, theatricality, and authenticity are characteristic of the creative class and/or other groups of interests (Silver, Navarro y Clark, 2010). This is a issue that, as has already been noted, has received very little attention. This implies the necessity to substantiate the central argument of the creative class, outlining and measuring the neobohemian lifestyle, its values and cultural practices, to afterwards show, through individual analyses, for example by surveys, that they are the specific cultural practices of this group and that it is homogeneous for all the sectors that comprise it.

In general, the logic of cultural relativism of cultural scenes indicates the need to specify which kind of scene is related to the attraction of particular groups. This could be done, for example, by differentiating between occupational groups or between segments of the creative class. In the case of the latter this ought to be done between the bohemians, those for whom symbolic knowledge is more important than that synthetic or analytical ones (Asheim and Hansen, 2009). In this case unconventional scenes could be a more important factors to attract them[13]. But also, following the same logic, consideration would be given to which scenes could have effects on regional development and to what degree. This study has analyzed the income differences between local labor markets but more work need to be done in relation to other possible indicators. For example, , taking into account the geography of the cultural scenes, our

[13] The correlation of our scenes index is higher for bohemians and the core than the professional creative class (0,400, 0,395, and 0,365, respectively).

results could suggest that the effect of non-conventional scenes is especially related to entertainment sector, and even more especially with the attracting of visitors, either in the form of urban or coastal tourism. Though this exceeds the scope of this study, it represents another possible analytical focus on cultural scenes.

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ANNEX

Annex 1. Correlations matrix

	Income	Size	Human Capital	Creative Class	Tech.	Toler.	Div.	Culture: density	Culture: scenes
Size	,089(*)	1							
H. Capital	,358(**)	,565(**)	1						
Creative C.	,522(**)	,482(**)	,750(**)	1					
Technology	,544(**)	,442(**)	,565(**)	,566(**)	1				
Tolerante	,591(**)	,367(**)	,340(**)	,535(**)	,321(**)	1			
Diversity	,547(**)	,077(*)	,043	,271(**)	,155(**)	,612(**)	1		
Culture: density	,430(**)	,265(**)	,290(**)	,550(**)	,332(**)	,628(**)	,439(**)		
Culture: scenes	,578(**)	,168(**)	,274(**)	,405(**)	,338(**)	,403(**)	,411(**)	,226(**)	1

* p < 0,05; **p < 0,01

Annex 2. Cultural scenes

2.1. Categories included:
National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE).

5242	Retail trade: clothes
5243	Retail trade: shoe and leader
5244	Retail trade: furniture and decoration
5245	Retail trade: TV, radio,…
5247	Retail trade: books
5250	Retail trade: antiquities, second hand
5511	Hotels with restaurants
5530	Restaurants
5540	Bars
7140	Rental: personal and house equipments (clothes, furniture, …)
7481	Photography
9211	Films and video production
9212	Film distribution
9213	Cinemas
9220	Radio and TV activities
9231	Artistic creation and interpretation
9232	Performance management
9233	Fairs and amusement parks
9234	Other performance activities
9251	Library and archives
9252	Museums and historical buildings
9253	Botanic gardens, zoos and natural parks
9261	Management of stadiums and sport establishments
9271	Lottery and gambling activities
9302	Hairs and beauty saloons
9304	Gyms and body maintenance activities

2.2. Factor analysis

Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	Components			
		1	2	3	4
Legitimacy	Tradition	0,861	-0,379	0,303	-0,136
	Utility	-0,145	0,935	0,074	-0,087
	Self- Expression	-0,756	0,576	0,106	0,016
	Egalitarian	0,854	0,456	0,055	-0,076
	Charisma	-0,973	-0,055	0,177	-0,064
Theatricallity	Exhibitionism	-0,503	-0,695	0,425	0,060
	Transgression	-0,885	0,177	0,321	0,088
	Glamour	-0,866	-0,271	0,344	-0,149
	Formality	0,464	-0,676	0,487	0,161
	Neigbourliness	0,738	0,579	-0,160	-0,053
Authenticity	Localism	0,773	0,186	0,586	-0,104
	Ehtnicity	0,824	0,048	0,476	0,020
	Corporate	-0,274	0,594	0,675	-0,178
	State	0,166	-0,803	-0,185	-0,042
	Rational	0,090	0,285	0,145	0,937
	Explained variance (%)	46,287	27,036	12,589	6,806
	Acum. explained variante (%)		73,322	85,911	92,717
	KMO y prueba de Bartlett				
	Medida de adecuación muestral de Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin.		0,586		
	Prueba de esfericidad de Bartlett	Chi2	32956,844		
		gl	105		
		Sig.	0		