

**Do “creative cities” have a dark side?
Some ideas and evidence from Spanish cities**

Clemente J. Navarro
Centre for Local Political Sociology and Policies
Pablo de Olavide University (Spain)

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This paper attempts to introduce some arguments and analysis about the trade-offs between the “economic sustainability” and “social sustainability” of creative cities. Theoretical studies on culture and creativity has shown that these can perform an effective role in promoting local development. Normally, these stress the impact of culture on economic development. However, cultural projects and strategies oriented to promoting a creative city model may also promote inequalities inside the city. According to the analysis of gentrification processes, the result of the development of the creative class or visitor attractions is a new segregation process and the generation of “tourist bubbles”. Thus, creative cities have a “dark side”, which becomes apparent when the analysis compares differences inside cities more than differences among cities.

This paper tries to examine the impact of the creative city strategies in two big Spanish cities. Thus, it is an exploratory analysis. The main objective is to set out some concepts and basic methods to analyze the relationship between cultural market and socio-economic status in cities, as well as the potential advantages to comparing cities and neighbourhoods simultaneously in order to analyze the trade-off between strategies oriented to promoting local development and their effects inside localities.

1. The “creative city”: economic development and social inequalities.

There is no doubt that the literature on the “creative city” and “creative class” has attracted a lot of attention from the academic world and among public actors. Although different, both provide arguments and strategies to promote economic development in cities, either by the effects arising from the presence of the creative class or by attracting visitors. In both cases the provision of opportunities for cultural consumption in the city to meet the demands of these sectors plays a vital role. In fact, their arguments fit into a broader perspective that emphasizes the importance of culture as a factor in

¹ Author thanks Gerardo Guerreo, Cristina Mateos and Lucía Muñoz for helpful comments and some data analyses. They are almost co-authors of this paper.

development, to some degree independent of other, classic factors (such as human capital or technology). This separate development factor consists of an “amenities premium”, the idea that the economic activity related to culture and creativity, as well as the density of opportunities for cultural consumption, constitute a competitive advantage for cities (... ..).

From the point of view of the public authorities these approaches involved the adoption of an instrumental strategy with regard to culture. As opposed to a strategy of planning centered on provision of equipment and programs designed to disseminate culture and bring it closer to the public, the instrumental strategy involves the organizing of big cultural events or the creating of big cultural installations that stand out as being unique or different so that visitors can be attracted by the uniqueness of a tourist experience that includes opportunities for novel forms of cultural consumption. The strategy of planning sees culture as a welfare policy aimed at the inhabitants of the city while the instrumental strategy sees culture as an economic development policy.

This latter is the perspective from which the effects of creativity and cultural consumption on the economic growth of the city are usually studied. The main objective of this papers is to analyze the impact of the instrumental strategy on the “economic interest of the city” understood as a public good, as indicated by Peterson (1981) regarding the conception of urban development policies. Nevertheless, the “economic interest of the city” does not mean the economic interest of all its inhabitants. The adoption of initiatives oriented by an instrumental strategy could also promote segregation processes and inequalities among different areas and social groups in the city. The process of urban renewal linked to this strategy implies the use of new urban space, as well as the renewal of central spaces in the city, promoting the substitution of old inhabitants by new residents with higher socio-economic status.

This is the point, for instance, of the “tourist bubble” thesis. Cities initiate processes of urban renewal in the central-old city to attract tourists. However, the new cultural market based on museums, the promotion of commercial areas, and spaces for entertainment, generates “islands of affluence that are sharply differentiated and segregated from the surrounding urban landscape” (Judd, 1999: 53). Thus, the tourist bubble effect could be understood as a specific process of gentrification due to the

improvement of tourist activity. In general, gentrification processes suppose the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle-class residential use. This implies the concentration of professional and cultural markets in the urban core, where these new inhabitants had markedly non-traditional life styles (Zuckin, 1987). By contrast, pre-gentrification residents are likely to have a lower social status and cultural consumption patterns near to the idea of community in general; against the innovation, expressiveness, glamour or transgressivity of the gentrifiers. These are attracted by the historical and local authenticity of buildings and neighbourhoods, but they change their social composition, patterns of cultural consumption and lifestyles. From this perspective, “the gentrification frontier is a boundary of socially legitimised taste of the new middle class” (Bridge, 2005: 722).

This could be the case of the most innovative and transgressive sector of the creative class: the neo-bohemians. These are the most important sector of cultural consumption in the city because they create new “tastes” that expand to the other sectors of the creative class, generating opportunities for cultural innovation and consumption (Lloyd, 2004.....). One of the main values for neo-bohemians is the aesthetic of the local authenticity, and thus, the old buildings that represent the connection to the history of the city. In this way, neo-bohemians are usually the main actors in the first stage of gentrification processes. They give new value to neighbourhoods by creating economic activities (arts, small scale commerce and arts and crafts) and spaces for cultural consumption that contrast with the aesthetic and communitarian values of the pre-gentrification working class residents. Neo-bohemian and old residents can coexist until the neo-bohemian style attracts other people coming from the core and professionals sectors of the creative class generating the expulsion of the old residents. Thus, while the bohemians play an important role in urban development and innovation, they can also promote processes of gentrification and the generation of social inequalities among neighbourhoods in the city. In other words, the creative city and instrumental culture strategy may succeed in promoting the economic development of a city in comparison with others but it may also generate new inequalities in the heart of the city itself

Table 1. Cultural markets and cities: two perspectives on the impact of instrumental strategies based on cultural markets.

	The “creative city”	Gentrification and tourist bubble
Analyses centred on...	Urban growth	Urban inequalities
Object	The “economic interest of the city”	The “social interest of the city”
Relationship between instrumental strategy and socio-economic status	Positive: local development by attracting creative class or visitors	Positive: segregation processes caused by renewal projects
Main thesis: instrumental strategy improves ...	Local development (more economic growth)	Inequality processes (less social cohesion)
Territorial focus	The city	The neighbourhoods
Comparisons between...	Cities	Neighbourhoods

Both the “creative city” and “gentrification” have their focus on the effects of the instrumental strategy on the development of cultural markets in the city. However they differ with regard to the aspects and scales they study. The first analyzes the economic development of the city, while the second studies the social cohesion inside the city. The first tries to analyze the positive effect of creativity and cultural consumption, while the second studies the inequalities processes promoted by the improvement of cultural markets. The relation between them is that gentrification shows the “dark side” of the creative city.

In fact both assume a relationship between the cultural market and socio-economic status, but of different sorts and scales. From the perspective of the creative city, the cultural market involves economic development through the attraction of high status (creative class) groups and visitors. From the perspective of the second it involves the creation of new processes of segregation because these groups supplant less-favored ones. Thus gentrification is the result of creative city strategies.

However, though the analytical arguments and analysis point in this direction, it is only one of the possible outcomes. Perhaps it is the modal result in the literature but in principle there is no necessary relationship between the instrumental strategy and inequality. Furthermore, this relationship may be different in different cities as a result, for example, of the specific kind of strategy applied or the starting situation of the city concerned. The issue is that, given their premises, empirical analyses do not usually use

these perspectives in a joint or complementary manner, they tend to focus either on a comparison between cities or between different districts of the same city.

2. Cultural scenes: measuring “creative city” orientations.

Anyway, it is clear that cultural markets and cultural consumption play an important role in these perspectives. Thus, it seems very important to characterize and measure these concepts. The literature on creative class, creative cities and gentrification processes usually measures 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 the creative class, visitors and their positive effect on urban development, or according to the gentrification thesis, the segregation process. The analyses usually look for the presence of museums, literary and artistic activities, performances and sport as well as restaurants, commerce, bars and nightclubs (Florida, 2002a, 2002b, Hansen, 2007; Clifton, 2008; Boschman and Fritsch, 2009; Zuckin,.....). This exercise supposes a specific relationship between the creative class and visitors with some kind of cultural consumption and life style. These sectors look for diversity and values oriented to expressiveness, innovation, glamour or transgression. These are values that characterize these groups and that may be different from those of other social sectors, such as people with a lower socio-economic status (.....). Thus, to study the relationship between culture and socio-economic growth or inequalities, the analysis has to pay attention to the values behind cultural practices developed in different amenities.

From the perspective of cultural scenes, interest is focused not so much on the 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.

The cultural scenes approach sustains that cultural consumption facilities can 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 2. Cultural scenes: dimensions and sub-dimensions

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Examples of amenities
Legitimacy	Traditional	Historical sites, archaeological museums, Archives
	Utilitarian	Fast food restaurants, Convention Centres
	Egalitarian	Public Parks, Libraries
	Self-expressive	Live performance, dance companies, galleries, tattoo, piercing
	Charismatic	Film festivals, fashion, flamenco, golf
Theatricality	Glamor	Film festivals, production, fashion
	Formality	Opera, Fine Dining, Golf
	Transgression	Night Clubs, Tattoos, piercing, adult entertainment
	Neighborliness	Small-scale commerce and arts and crafts
	Exhibitionism	Fashion, Adult entertainment, Night Clubs
Authenticity	Local	Historical site, Small-scale commerce
	Ethnic	Flamenco, Folk music, Mexican or Thai restaurants
	Corporate	Convention center, Theme Park
	State	Embassies and delegations, Historical sites, Libraries
	Rational	R+D, Libraries, Aquarium, Natural Science 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 behaviour and etiquette (fine food restaurant or opera), *exhibitionism*, bodies are to be displayed (a gym or a beauty salon), *glamour*, in terms of external beauty and

elegance (a film or fashion festival), or *neighborliness*, the inner intimacy of recurrent and nearby 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 flavour 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 R+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 sub-dimension (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 of amenities 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 the exhibitionist and glamorous feel of noted Mediterranean resorts like Marbella.

The analyses carried in Spain show that the first factor differentiates between two kinds of scenes². 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 scene in which values and identities related to tradition prevail, in short these are conventional lifestyles. The second one 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 commerce and entertainment (concert halls, cinemas and amusement parks, but also beauty parlors and gymnasiums). Thus, the highest figures for this dimension mark sites that are “cool” and transgressive, where it is possible to live unconventionally. These localities attract more of the creative class and have a higher economic level across Spain municipalities (Navarro, Mateos and Rodríguez, 2011).

² The character of this first factor is similar in USA (.....) and Canada (.....).

Table 3. A basic dimension of opportunities for cultural consumption: conventional vs. unconventional scenes.

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

Source: Navarro, Mateos and Rodríguez (2011).

Based on this analysis it is possible to elaborate an index of cultural scenes ranging from conventional to unconventional scenes. First, by adding values of performance indexes to elaborate a “conventional index”, then by doing the same to elaborate an “unconventional index”, and then calculating the differences among them. In general terms, this cultural scenes index show scenes which specialize in the encouragement of cultural consumption associated with the conventional nature of 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; some of the traits of cultural consumption offered by the creative city³. Does this index measure the character of cultural markets as opportunities for cultural consumption related with socio-economic status in the city?

3. The tale of two big Spanish cities: Barcelona and Madrid.

To illustrate the relationship between cultural scenes and social inequalities, two Spanish cities have been chosen. Evidently, this constitutes a limited comparative case study. Our interest is to show some processes and methods that can be used to analyze this basic relationship in the creative city and gentrification literature. In any case these are the most important cities and metropolitan areas in Spain and they have some

³ Other analysis using different territorial scales (local labour market, municipalities, postal codes or district) show a similar pattern (Guerrero et al, 2011)

common important traits. These city areas are big international centres of tourism, and are very similar in terms of socio-economic status, and in 1992 they both held big cultural events: the European Capital of Culture in Madrid, and The Olympic Games in Barcelona. These events, that illustrate the application of the instrumental strategy, introduced crucial changes in these cities in terms of an important project of urban renewal, as well as the improvement of cultural consumption supply (.....). For instance, the unconventional scenes index growth two times in these cities between 1991 and 2001; indeed in Barcelona it increased slightly more (table 4)⁴. Madrid has a more dense cultural market (number of amenities per inhabitants), but Barcelona has a more unconventional profile. Thus, two similar cities that have used an instrumental strategy as tourist and creative cities have shown a moderate increase in their socio-economic traits and a significant growth in cultural markets (density and unconventional orientation). Are these indexes correlated inside cities? More specifically, are high socio-economic status and unconventional scenes correlated in their neighbourhoods?

Table 4. A basic profile of cities: Barcelona, Madrid, Sevilla.

Indexes	Barcelona	Madrid
Population (1991)	1.643.542	3.010.492
Population (2001)	1.503.884	2.938.723
Unemployment (1991 and 2001)	13.7 -10.9	14.8 – 12.3
Creative class (%)		
Unconventional scenes change (2001/1991)	2.23	1.99
Amenities density change (2001/1991)	2.82	3.15
Big cultural event in 1992	Olympic Games	European Capital of Culture
Unconventional scenes: mean (2001)	2.67	2.58
Amenities density: mean (2001)	18.44	17.63
Socio-economic status: mean (2001)	1.126	1.101
Number of census districts	11	21
Number of census tracts	1457	2342

3.1. Mapping cultural scenes and social inequalities.

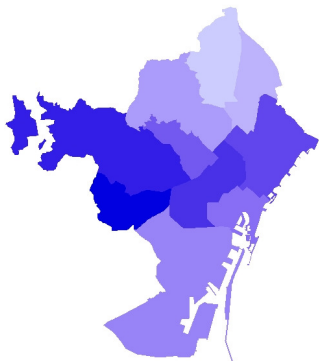
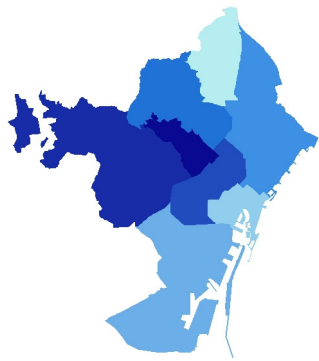
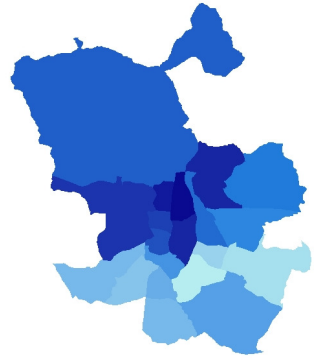
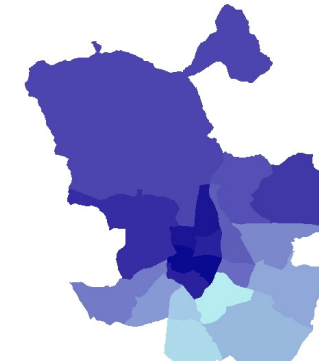
In order to answer this question analyses will be developed at district and census tract levels in both cities. The districts cover a larger area than the tracts being the territorial unit most commonly used for the analysis of processes of inequality in the city.

⁴ The definition of indexes is included in Annex.

However, the localization of status and cultural scenes can best be visualized at the district level and so they will largely be relied on here.

Basic descriptive analysis about the distribution and concentration of scenes shows some common basic traits, as well as some differences between Madrid and Barcelona (Figure 1). The map of cultural scenes in these cities shows that unconventionality is almost completely concentrated in central districts. The “almond center” of Madrid, as well as the district of Le Corts, Sarrià and the well-known “cultural district” of Gracia in Barcelona. Those areas combine the big cultural amenities, such as museums or theatres, with spaces for commerce and entertainment (restaurants, bars, etc ...), that constitute the main attractions for tourists. These central areas have the main traits of the “standard central-city tourist bubble” (Judd, 1999).

Figure 1. Mapping cultural scenes and socio-economic status (districts)

	Cultural scenes: conventional vs. unconventional	Socio-economic status: Low <-> High	Corre- lation
Barcelona	Gini index= 0.801	Gini index=0.915	
			Districts: 0.788 (n=11) Tracts: 0.141 (n=1433)
Madrid	Gini index=0,926	Gini index= 0,996	
			Districts: 0.848 (n=21) Tracts: 0.295 (n=2233)

Legend: Higher indexes of unconventional scenes and socio-economic status are represented by a more intense blue colour.

All correlations are significant for $p > 0.05$

Gini Index computed at district level.

The socio-economic status index shows a very similar pattern (Figure 1). In fact, the Gini indices show a high level of territorial concentration (of unconventional scenes and status), and the correlation between scenes and status is positive at the census tract level, and at the district level. Thus, unconventional scenes and status are concentrated in central districts, where the cultural market in cities is concentrated; a common pattern in cities. In fact, the distinction between central districts and non-central districts explains around 30% of differences among districts in unconventional scenes, status, and density of amenities at the district level. The relation is weak at the tract level, but also positive (Eta2 index in table 5).

Table 5. Central districts: unconventional scenes, status and density
Mean (Std. Dev.)

Level	Indexes	No central	Central	Total	F	Sig.	Eta2
Districts	Unconventional scenes	2.31 (0.509)	2.94 (0.256)	2.50 (0.534)	15.371	0.000	0.305
	Socio-economic status	1.04 (0.099)	1.18 (0.041)	1.08 (0.107)	19.805	0.000	0.361
	Amenities density	10.30 (0.319)	32.81 (13.384)	16.98 (14.374)	38.924	0.000	0.527
Tracts	Unconventional scenes	2.31 (1.42)	2.79 (0.88)	2.45 (1.30)	107.00	0.00	0.028
	Socio-economic status	1.08 (0.11)	1.18 (0.08)	1.10 (0.11)	07.04	0.000	0.160
	Amenities density	12.37 (23.86)	35.11 (54.03)	19.00 (36.89)	1636	0.000	0.078

N: central districts=8. non-central districts=21.

N: central tracts=1084. Non-central tracts=2633.

Thus, there exist similar patterns of concentration regarding unconventional scenes, socio-economic status, and density of cultural market in these cities. However, the concentration and the relationship between these indexes show differences between them. According to the Gini indices, Madrid has higher levels of concentration in socio-economic status than Barcelona (0.996 vs. 0.915), and even more so regarding unconventional scenes (0.926 vs. 0.801). In Madrid, the correlation between scenes and status is 0.848 at district level (0.295 at the tract level), while in Barcelona it is 0.788 (0.141 at the tract level). In other words, in Madrid the concentration of unconventionality according to status is stronger than in Barcelona. In the latter, unconventionality is more spread out across the city and more independent of the status

of inhabitants. And this relationship exists regardless of density of amenities⁵; unconventionality is higher where more amenities exist (density), but this character of cultural scenes has a more intense (and independent) relationship with status being stronger in Barcelona than in Madrid.

Table 6. Three cities: pattern of concentration of status and unconventional scenes.

Traits	Variable	Barcelona	Madrid
Concentration level	Scenes	Less	More
	Status	Less	More
Territorial pattern	Scenes	More dispersed	Centralized
	Status	More dispersed	Centralized
Scenes*Status		Less	More
Types		The unconventional city	The unconventional area in the central city

Nevertheless, our main point is that this pattern is different according to the city concerned (Table 6). In order to show these differences a regression model was developed using the scenes index as the dependent variable and status, density and central localization as independent variables. In this analysis, the residuals showed the importance of density and status to locate the unconventional scenes in each city; more dispersion in residuals indicates a more independent location of unconventionality from status and density. The analysis shows the strong explanatory capacity of status, density, and central locations, but it also shows that the dispersion of residuals is higher in Barcelona than in Madrid, at the district as well as the census tract level (Figures 2)⁶. In other words, the spread of unconventionality in Barcelona across districts and census tracts is more independent of status, density and central locations than in Madrid.

⁵ See partial correlations in Annex.

⁶ The regression analysis is included in the Annex.

Figure 2a. Unconventional scenes according status and density: residuals.
District level

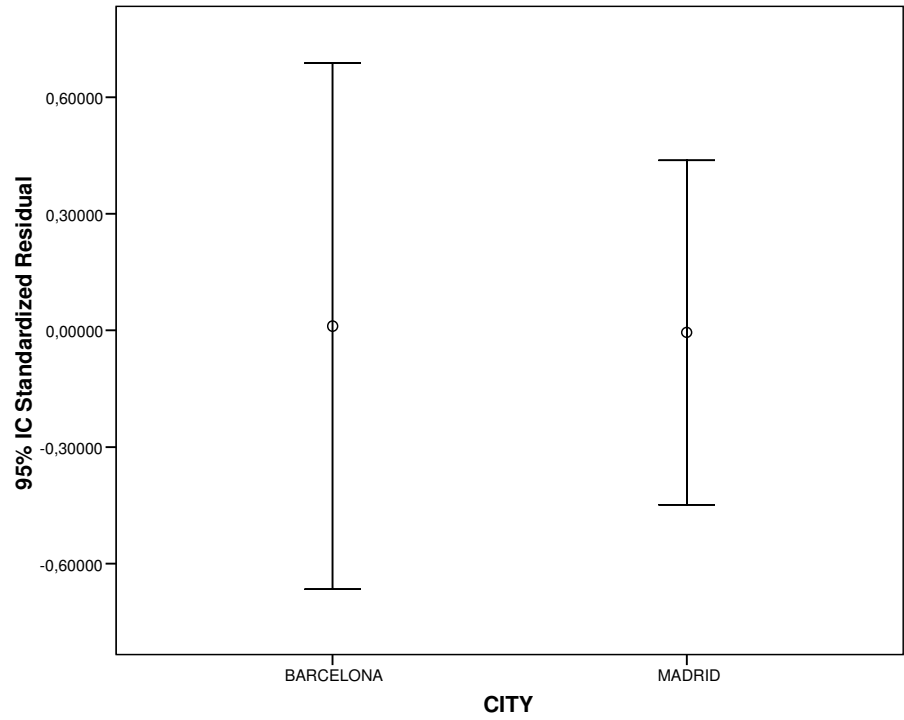
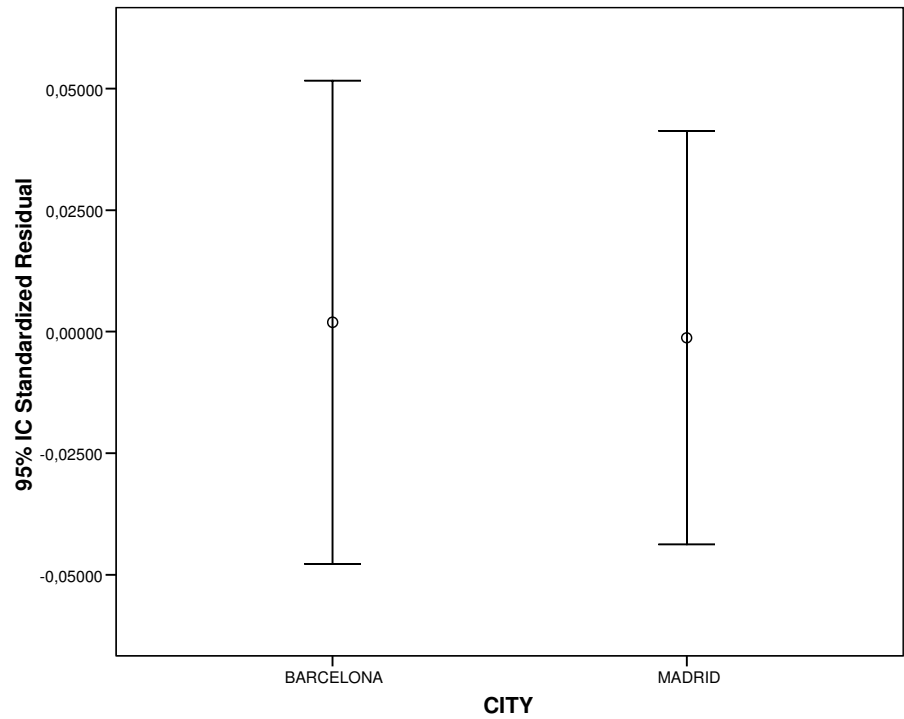


Figure 2b. Unconventional scenes according status and density: residuals.
Tract level



3.3. The social composition of unconventional scenes: status, territory and first bohemian gentrifiers.

The previous analyses show that the cultural market, like density and unconventional scenes, experienced a high level of growth between 1991 and 2001, as well as displaying a strong relationship between unconventionality and status.

However, the pattern of concentration and the relation with socio-economic status is different between them. Cities have changed their cultural scenes in line with the model of creative cities, but the localisation of this strategy (its results), measured as unconventional scenes, shows visible differences inside cities, as well as differences among them that reproduce different patterns of spatial socio-economic inequalities.

These results show unconventional opportunities for cultural consumption and socio-economic statuses have a strong relationship. This could indicate the presence of gentrification processes during the “post big event period” (after 1992). To show these processes it is necessary to compare changes in scenes and status during the same period of time. However, our date makes it possible to detect some traits of the first stages of gentrification in 2001 according to the cultural market, social and territorial composition of census tracts. For instance, this phenomenon should appear when high unconventionality scenes and low status does coincide. The previous analysis and figure 1 indicates this situation could exist in these cities.

Using the average of unconventional and status indices in each city to classify tracts into two groups, and then crossing these two groups, four types could be established: communitarian blue collar tracts (low values in unconventional and status indexes), unconventional white collar tracts (high values), communitarian white collar tracts (high status and low unconventionality), and first-gentrifiers (high unconventional and low status) tracts. The result is presented in table 7. The distribution of types is more or less similar among cities, even if conventional white collar tracts are more common in Barcelona, and communitarian blue collar tracts are more common in Madrid. The percentage of the first-gentrification track is more or less similar for the two cities. Despite their low socio-economic status, these “neighbourhoods” have a cultural market that is even more unconventional than the white collar tracts. This is the type where status and unconventionality are more sharply differentiated, a common description of first-gentrification or neo-bohemian neighbourhoods.

Table 7. Unconventional scenes and socio-economic status: types of tracts or neighbourhoods in Madrid and Barcelona.

Traits	Communitarian blue collar	Communitarian White collar	Pre- gentrification	Unconventional white collar	Total
Uncon. (mean)	Conventional (1.13)	Conventional (1.66)	Unconventional (3.57)	Unconventional (3.25)	(2.44)
Status (mean)	Low (0.99)	High (1.17)	Low (1.01)	High (1.20)	(1.11)
Barcelona	22.8%	29.7%	16.1%	31.4%	100.0% (1433)
Madrid	34.7%	18.2%	17.3%	29.9%	100.0% (2233)
Total	30.0%	22.7%	16.8%	30.5%	100.0 % (3666)

What are the social and territorial characteristics of these types? Is there any particular trait that characterizes the first-gentrification tracts? According to the gentrification and neo-bohemian literature, this creative group is usually the agent of the first stage of gentrification. The neo-bohemian lifestyle looks for urban spaces of local authenticity, central locations, and old building and neighbourhoods, in spite of the conditions of the housing stock or some crime problems in the neighbourhood, due to its preference for innovative and transgressive social contexts. In order to explore this issue a multi-nominal regression was carried out. The dependent variable is the typology, and the analysis compares the communitarian blue collar type to the others types, using some social and territorial traits as independent variables: average age, immigration, central locations, vacant and poor condition housing stock and crime; in addition to the “city effect” (Barcelona vs. Madrid).

The results show strong differences between communitarian blue collar tracts and those with high socio-economic status in almost all variables, especially regarding the unconventional white collar type. In this case there is a “city effect” because the differences versus the communitarian blue collar tracts are more important in Madrid than in Barcelona, showing the more polarized (concentrated) character of this city (Table 8). These results show the existence of a “gentry frontier” regarding status, and especially regarding communitarian or unconventional “tastes”. However, the pre-gentrification type has some characteristics that cross this frontier. In spite of a more unconventional cultural market than the communitarian blue collar type, social traits are basically similar (non-significant coefficients). But some of the territorial tracts are

similar to this type (vacant houses, houses antiquity, and level of crime), while others are similar to the richer types (density of amenities, and central locations). Thus, there are more risky “neighbourhoods” with low quality housing, but in central locations where there is a dense cultural market. These traits may resemble the “neo-bohemians neighbourhood” analyzed by case studies and other analyses (Lloyd.....; Silver, Clark and Navarro, 2010).

Table 8. Social and territorial traits of ‘first-gentrification neighbourhoods’

Multi-nominal regression (coefficients)

Aspect	Indexes	Communitarian blue collar vs.		
		Pre-gentrification	Communitarian White collar	Unconventional white collar
Social	Age (mean)	-.008	-.131	-.135
	Child by house (mean)	.518	.171	1.926
	Immigrants (%)	-.013	-.073	-.081
Territorial	House: vacant (%)	.004	-.024	-.004
	House: years old (jeans)	.000	.027	.020
	House: good conditions (mean)	-.118	.098	.149
	Neighbourhood: crime (%)	-.004	-.055	-.071
	Amenities density	.063	.054	.083
	Central location	.464	2.015	2.582
City effect	Barcelona	.262	-.148	-.345
Cte		.039	4.990	3.071
Nagelkerke P-seudo R2= 0.474		.474		

In bold: sig. coefficients (p<0.05)

Reference category in typology: communitarian blue collar. Reference category in city: Madrid

Some brief conclusions: the need for joint theoretical perspectives and methods.

Evidently, our exploratory analysis about two cities makes it impossible to sustain any general conclusion. The main objective here was to present some analytical ideas and some methods to analyse the relationship between cultural amenities and socio-economic status in the city. Regarding these limited objectives, our main results are:

- 1) The cities have similar levels of growth in cultural markets, but they are more spread out in Barcelona and more concentrated in Madrid
- 2) A strong relationship between unconventional scenes and socio-economic status exists, but this is stronger in Madrid than in Barcelona.
- 3) The potential role of bohemians in the gentrification process: pre-gentrification neighbourhoods resembled the “neo-bohemians neighbourhood” analyzed by

case studies. This similarity, and the presence of this type, is the same in the two cities.

These results show that the creative city, those instrumental initiatives and strategies oriented to improve local cultural markets, measured here as a “big cultural event”, show a common effect: the density and unconventionality of the cultural market is associated with socio-economic status. Thus, the effects of creative city strategies are concentrated in some spaces of the city according to socio-economic status. Thus, creative cities may have a dark side; the distribution of cultural markets reproduces social inequalities inside cities. However, the analysis also shows differences between cities; the pattern of concentration and the relationship between unconventional scenes and status is different depending on the cities analyzed. Thus, different cities show a different trade-off between these processes.

We have only described relationships among crucial variables, showing different basic methods to analyze them. The differences found would merit a specific study. This would certainly involve the inclusion of other cities and a detailed analysis of change in cultural markets and social cohesion, as well as a detailed analysis of the “creative or instrumental strategies” developed in each city. But this limited comparative case study shows that creative and gentrification perspectives could be complementary rather than opposed perspectives. They should be used together, as complementary strategies, to advance our knowledge of contemporary urban change, simultaneously comparing cities and neighbourhoods.

