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International workshop on
“Creative Cities, Creative Classes:
Issues and practices”

Metropolization & Creativity

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Outline of the presentation

Part 1. Metropolization & Metropolises today

Part 2. Defining the creativity and creative persons

Part 3. The increasing role of the metropolis as a place of creativity

Part 4. Why today the metropolis is a privileged location for creativity?

Part 1.
Metropolization & Metropolises
today

Context, Definition

The metropolization today (1)

Post-industrial Economy: De-materialization, differentiation & globalization create a growing need for coordination and information

→ Coordination needs are met by high-order services that are intensive in tacit and coded information

→ **Two factors are accounting for the metropolis emergence:**

1/ Increase of high-order services

2/ Relative evolution of two forces that rule the localization of high-order services: close-distance interaction costs & long-distance interaction costs



Coordination:
Interactions
displayed to
efficiently organize
production,
exchange &
consumption

The metropolization today (2)

The economic logics of metropolization

Since marginal long-distance interaction costs are insignificant thanks to ICTs and the virtual geographical proximity:

- There is a weakening of the permanent geographical proximity constraint between coordination and execution → Therefore **coordination & execution can break up in space**
- The **coordination functions concentrate**, because of:
 - ✓ Increasing returns in internal specialization (services externalization)
 - ✓ Spatial externalities (face-to-face interactions)
 - ✓ Long-distance interactions (communication & transportation networks' effects)

Metropolization is, from an economic point of view, a process by which a city gains major functions of coordination of complex economic activities

Defining metropolis today

A metropolis today is:

- ✓ a city **specialized in metropolitan functions** but...
- ✓ ... relatively **diversified**...
- ✓ ... a place where **the economic power** & the **talents** are concentrated
- ✓ open to the world...
- ✓ ... **spatially structured**

Among the metropolises today, **the “Global Metropolis”, also called “Global City” (S. Sassen) is singled out**

This metropolis is marked by:

- 1/ A strong concentration of **coordination activities**
- 2/ An integration in a **global network of coordination interactions**

Part 2.

Defining the creativity

Creativity, creative people

A definition of creativity

- ✓ There isn't only one definition of creativity but maybe 100 different definitions according to Peter Meusburger (2009)
- ✓ Fortunately, a general agreement exists:

**“the creativity involves the production of novelty,
useful products”**

(Cropley, 1999; Lubart, 2001; Sternberg and O'Hara, 1999; M. Mumford, 2003)

- ➔ So, it seems that the creativity is a more extensive process than the innovation...

Who is a creative person? (1)

A person of the Creative Class?

- ✓ According to Florida (2002), there is a creative class divided into two groups :

Creative professionals	Persons that: 1/ are creative through routines , 2/solve unprecedented problems by relying on complex knowledge bases to assess a situation
11 Management and administration occupations 13 Business and financial operations occupations 23 Legal occupations 29 Healthcare practitioners and technical occupations 41 High-end sales, sales management occupations	
Creative core	Person who create new ideas, new technologies of any other creative product
15 Computer and mathematical occupations 17 Architecture and engineering occupations 19 Life, physical and social sciences occupations 25 Education, training, and library occupations included Bohemians 27 Arts, design, entertainment, media occupations	

Source: Florida, 2002b, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Basic Books, New York.

Note: *Standard Occupational Classification* (SOC) in 23 positions (*ibid.*, 328) :

Who is a creative person? (2)

The limits of the “creative class”

- ✓ Florida relies on occupational groups that include many professions (Markusen, 2006)
- ✓ Definition too large and heterogeneous
- ✓ No qualitative measure of the professions' creativity (McGranahan & Wojan, 2007)
- ✓ Class is an overused concept (Levine, 2004; Vivant, 2006; Shearmur, 2005)

Beyond Florida: Researches have mitigated the concept of creative class

- ✓ McGranahan and Wojan (2007) withdraw the low creative or not-at-all creative professions (US)
- ✓ Markusen (2006) studies the **artists** because their creativity is unambiguous

Part 3.
**The increasing role of the
metropolis as a place of creativity**

**Trading Metropolis, Manufacturing
Metropolis, Metropolis today**

The metropolis: Permanence & Ruptures

Looking backwards, we can say that different kinds of metropolises :

- ✓ have adapted to different economical, institutional & technical contexts that are characterized by different and evolutive production, transportation, communication and transaction costs

- ✓ have coordinated different groups of specific activities

→ The “Trading Metropolis” is city that concentrates commercial functions and their associated functions and coordinates long-distance trade, Braudel's “world-cities”, Amsterdam, Genova, Venice...

→ The “Manufacturing Metropolis” can be defined as the place of concentration of production and of the means of coordination of production

The trading metropolis, birth place of few innovations

From the Middle Ages to the 1st Industrial Revolution:

- ✓ Most of the innovations take place in the countryside (Monasteries)
- ✓ Long-distance trade development and commercial networks (luxury goods) create specific coordination needs
- ✓ and metropolises coordinate trade (like Braudel's World-cities)

So, high-order specialized services (administration, finance, insurance : new institutions, new exchange regulations, new forms of private property protection) emerge and some (banking) innovations take place in the metropolis

For example **the bank note**: 1640, Venice & Amsterdam merchants; around 1668, Great Britain Goldsmith's Notes

The manufacturing metropolis, where innovations fructify

During 1st and 2nd Industrial Revolutions with:

- ✓ Increasing returns
- ✓ Railway development (decrease of intra- and inter-urban transportation costs)
- ➔ information costs (treatment and diffusion) and therefore of coordination costs decrease
- ➔ Large scale factories appear
- ➔ Quantitative investments increase
- ➔ Financial activities develop

New coordination needs appear ➔ economic bureaucracy rise: **new professions** (in Advertising business, investment trusts, finance and insurance) **in the manufacturing metropolis develop and...**

The manufacturing metropolis, where innovations fructify

... Innovations and inventions take life in the central district of the manufacturing metropolis (stenography, typewriter,, printing techniques) **and in returns contribute to its structure** (elevators, skyscraper construction, automobile) (Moss, 1987)

→ Before the 2nd Industrial Revolution, innovations or creative activities (except painting, art for example) **took place outside the metropolises and most of the creative people were located in the countryside** but with post-industrial economy, things have changed...

Today, the metropolis is the most important place for innovation, creativity & creative people

In Europe, the creative people are located in metropolises

✓ Andersen & Lorenzen (2007) show from a sample of 445 European cities that there is a positive relationship between the city size and the distribution of the “creative class”

✓ The result is confirmed in Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Italy, France (Tinagli et al., 2007; Haisch & Klöpffer, 2005; Marlet & Van Woerkens, 2007; Andersen & Lorenzen, 2006; Tinagli & Padula, 2006),

In Europe, the metropolises concentrate the innovation clusters

Part 4.
**Why today the metropolis is a
privileged location for
creativity?**

Metropolitan strengths

Metropolitan strengths, according to the economists

Size and diversity effects

- ✓ The metropolis is where different activities agglomerate → creates **urbanization economies** (external to the firm & sectors, internal to the city)

1/ Better matching of supply and demand of resources & jobs
(D & P 2004)

So, compared to other cities:

- The search costs for resources or business partners are lower
- The attractiveness for very specialized activities, in particular for creative ones, is greater

Metropolitan strengths, according to the economists

2/ The diversity of the agglomerated activities in the metropolis:

- ✓ **Allows the circulation of ideas** (Jacobs, 1969)
- ✓ Facilitates knowledge production, diffusion and accumulation (Learning: D & P, 2004)
- ✓ **Lowers the risk** of resource depletion (Sharing: D&P, 2004)
- ✓ **Allows a better specialization and selection**

3/ The gateway to the global

The metropolis enjoys indivisible public equipment with high fixed costs (ex. airports) and efficient physical networks necessary for interactions (ICTs, inter-urban transport)

- ➔ **Lowers long-distance interaction costs**
- ➔ **Presents a higher probability** for the coexistence between close-distance interactions between highly specialized activities and long-distance interactions

Metropolitan strengths, beyond economics

- ✓ Metropolises are also **socially and ethnically diversified**
 - ✓ They are often **cosmopolitan areas** because of the combination of long-distance and intense local interactions that allow a better mobilization of distant resources
 - ✓ The metropolis displays **more amenities**, in particular urban ones (historical heritage, local services...)
 - ✓ The metropolis **offers places** to:
 - express oneself and to confront ideas: Theatres, cafés...
 - settle up: Marginal spaces like urban wastelands
 - find resources & confront ideas: Museums, art galleries, fairs, exhibitions...
- Metropolis reduces obstacles to the emergence and the spread of new ideas and the expression of creativity**

Conclusion

➔ Today, the metropolis is the privileged place of creativity, because **it concentrates elements that are essential to the creativity process:**

Openness (local/global link, integration in a global network, minds)/Diversity (economic, social...)/High agglomeration economies

... but this has not always been the case in history

To conclude, a question

We have seen that different metropolises have existed in history and that creativity is one of the keys to the today's metropolis.

Do you think that in the future creativity will play a growing role on the metropolization? And that after the trading, manufacturing, global metropolises, there will be the era of the creative metropolis?

Thank you for your attention

Defining metropolis today (2)

We find with this “global metropolis”, the classical combination between local interactions between varied high level services and long-distance interactions

It is a **city where the permanent, temporary and virtual geographical proximities are fully developed**

LBL

Diapositive 23

LBLepage6 voir si je conserve !
Bourdeau-Lepage; 03/05/2011

The metropolis: Permanence & Ruptures

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- ✓ In France, Chantelot (2009) : 354 urban areas - concentration of the “creative class” (Paris: 26% of all jobs & Grenoble, 23% of all jobs)
- ✓ International rankings

In Europe, the metropolises concentrate the innovation clusters

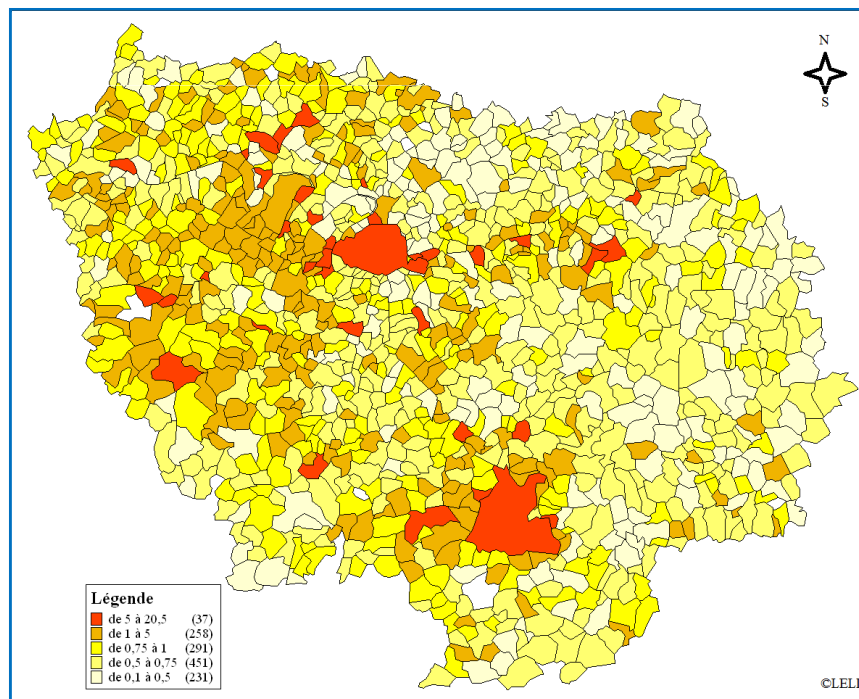
Metropolitan strengths: beyond economics

Urban, social and environmental amenities

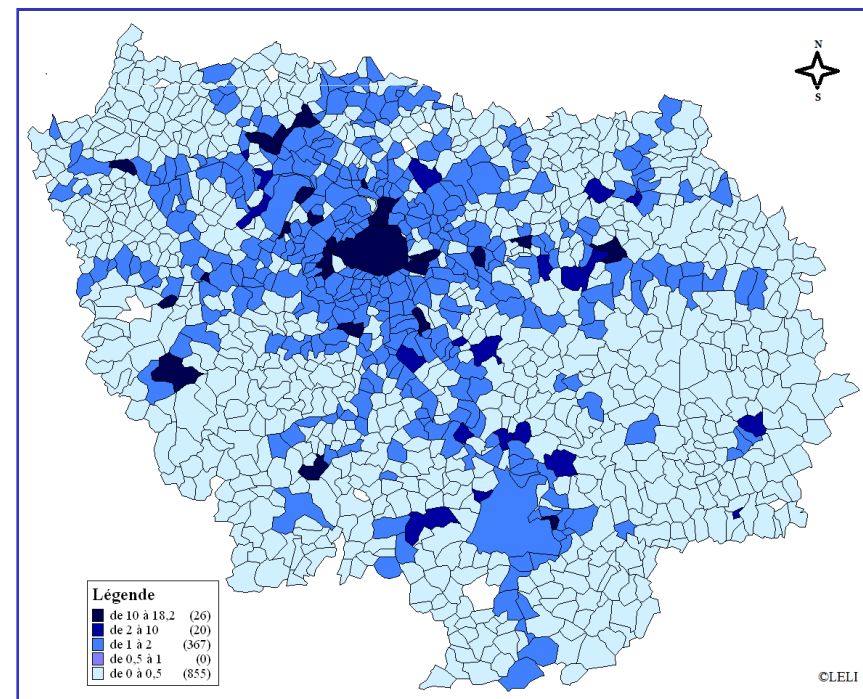
- ✓ The metropolis has more amenities, in particular urban ones (historical heritage, local services...)

→ Geography of amenities in the Paris Region

All Kinds of Amenities (in 2006)



Urban Amenities (in 2006)



Conclusion (2)

A metropolis is not only
the agglomeration of
multiple activities and
high-level functions,

it is above all a delicate
alchemy between minds
and talents !