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Małgorzata Suchacka

Creative class — around related concepts An attempt at critical sociological analysis

The purpose of critical reflection

Considering the specificity of life in the city, the issue of creative class that is the subject of analyses conducted by many contemporary researchers can not be ignored. It is the source of many critical and interesting conclusions. However, a huge popularity of the concept of creative class seems to have its sources, to a large extent, in successful selection of the notion that is scientific but at the same time catchy with respect to marketing. The paper presents sociological considerations and theoretical critical reflections on the concept of creative class on the basis of several major themes connected with the process of its formation and determinants of its functioning. The aim of the paper is to make an attempt at critical reflection on the concept of creative class with the use of the notions of human, social and cultural capital. They were used before in descriptions of particular groups initiating changes and having a unique position in the social structure of the city. The paper is also an attempt at assessment of the adequacy of over hundred years old concept of Thorstein Veblen's leisure class concept in analysis of the concept of creative class. The study is focused on identifying similarities and differences of these two theoretical approaches. In conclusion, reference is made to partial results of research concerning transformation towards a knowledge region conducted in Śląskie voivodeship. They only illustrate the multi-faceted processes that may accompany changes in highly urbanized region.

Capital as the essence of considerations about differences between social groups

The sources of the concept of creative class can be seen in the notion of capital, which was initially convenient in explanations of the complex nature of the phenomena of regional development, however, it proved to be unreliable in the sphere of measuring methods. Firstly all considerations were focused on classifications and divisions of capitals, while looking for main characteristics of individual spheres of social life and its development. Nevertheless, it was important, that it was recognized that people who were the authors of ongoing changes were the source of success of individual communities. For many years social researchers have faced continuously valid questions concerning changing determinants of functioning of communities. Looking for adequate terminology notions also brings some problems arising from the fact that social sciences are still behind, and this leads towards the concepts used in other sciences, primarily in economics and geography.

The notion of “capital” used to define the intangible characteristics of groups such as skills, education, health and entrepreneurship quite quickly contributed to the integration of scientific interpretations in the sphere of economics and social sciences. The impact of investment on human capital and the return of these investments on the scale of both an individual and an enterprise started to be analysed (Becker 1990: 44—54). Extensive scope of interest in this subject area concerned multilateral relationships between factors influencing the level of human capital. The importance of human capital accumulation process and transfer of specific knowledge and skills between generations was emphasized, and analyses in regional approach were suggested (Matur 1999: 203—213), (Herbst 2007a: 118—123).

The concept of “human capital” is gaining special importance in determining what “creative class” is as a specific group of urban, creative individuals. From sociological point of view the whole set of features including the level of education, individual human competences related to specific tasks and social goals, work experience, health, social and economic activity, the worldview and cultural level is taken into consideration (Nowakowska, Przygodzki, Sokołowicz 2011). Economists add some elements to this set of components, and divide them into three categories. They are firstly practical skills, theoretical knowledge and talents; secondly, people’s innovativeness, entrepreneurship, the capability to change, and thirdly, the tendency to ethical behaviour, organizational power and personality features (Bratnicki, Strużyna 2001: 70). Representatives of economic geography have developed a whole set of qualities that distinguish material capital from human capital, such as, among others, the intangible nature of human capital, ability to accumulate in the process of its use, mobility,

internal heterogeneity, independence of demographic potential, the need of long-horizontal investment, undergoing standardization and unification as a result of globalization and integration as well as methodological difficulties in measuring (Domański 2000). All these processes and social phenomena are a valuable explanatory element in designing research of the so-called creative class. They can constitute the basis for formation of determinants defining resources and quality of human capital to a large extent.

“Social capital”, the foundations of which were defined by Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman, provides a relevant complementation with respect to terminology in the analysis of the concept of creative class. The first of them defined the social capital as

a set of actual or potential resources which are associated with possession of a permanent network of more or less institutionalized forms of acquaintance and mutual respect, in other words, with belonging to the group. They provide support to each of its members thanks to the capital possessed by the whole community.

(Bourdieu 1986: 248—249)

The fact that social capital also generates certain risks like for example using connections to take possession of financial resources and block access to knowledge was already noticed in these early studies. At the same time Bourdieu’s reflections encouraged formation of conclusions by other researchers on the subject of aware, also financial, investments of representatives of upper social classes in social capital, during official and less official events, through membership in clubs (Requier-Desjardins 2003). James Coleman indicated not so much calculated approach to investing. He even claimed that individuals are not aware of shaping social capital resources. However, he emphasised that its higher level makes it easier to take joint action or it reduces its costs. His analyses focused on the role of social capital of parents’ environment in shaping human capital of children. He also indicated the importance of social capital in spatial context. According to him its higher level was a guarantee of raising the level of safety in local communities. This was a consequence of formation of strong bonds within a particular group, growth in the level of trust between its members and strengthening standards inside the group. In his view, social capital “helps to achieve the objectives that could not have been achieved in its absence, or would have been achieved, but at greater expenses” (Coleman 1990: 304—305).

Despite notional difficulties social capital has proved to be a concept that applies fundamental sociological terms such as the role of interpersonal relationships, the principles of cooperation and trust in economic development (Herbst 2007b: 196—200). Emphasis on functioning of institutions and study of the level of social trust eventually became the subject of research and measurements

of World Bank economists (Bartkowski 2007: 69—74). It was this category of “trust” that was the subject of Francis Fukuyama’s considerations. He indicated a direct relationship between trust and transactional costs and business risk (Fukuyama 1997). In his approach, norms and not connections are located in the first position. A higher frequency of overlapping the rays of trust ought to encourage socio-economic development (Fukuyama 1999). Similar conclusions were formulated by Robert Putnam, who worked on explaining differences observed in the effectiveness of local government institutions in regions of Italy. He analysed the issues of “citizenship” or “community nature” of a particular region. Economic development is determined by the existence of highly integrated communities, connected by permanent ties, both among individuals and among enterprises (Putnam 2008). In the burst of discussions about the learning region researchers also indicated that social capital is created in the process of local learning. This means that its spatial structures are formed on levels that are lower than international or national ones (Lorenzen 2007). Density of relationship decreases together with the increase in the distance between social interactions. However, development of virtual relationships can disrupt this logic, and this constitutes a new subject area for many researchers.

Polish researchers have also indicated particular importance of the community as a key category in the discussions on the issue of social capital.

Social capital is a part of social awareness, and at the same time of relationships and activities in which the component of “we” is approached as a source and manifestation of both individual and collective capabilities. Trust is a causative factor, a component and a correlate of social capital.

(Frysztański 2006: 23)

Generalized trust is a special kind of ability of the whole community. It has fundamental importance in relationships presented towards abstract entities, such as companies, institutions, markets and nations (Sztompka 2005). J. Działek’s analysis of social capital as a determinant of economic development on regional and local scale in Poland is one of the most interesting contemporary Polish studies concerning social capital in spatial perspective. Detailed description of the way diversity in “social capital resources” in Poland affects spatial differentiation of economic growth and the level of socio-economic development is the result of research conducted by him (Działek 2011: 9).

Both Polish and foreign researchers are aware of multidimensional analysis of the concept of capital, however they furtherly indicate its another specific aspect while distinguishing the category of cultural capital. Pierre Bourdieu defined it as “skills, habits, customs, and language styles, types of finished school, tastes and lifestyles observed in private life” (Turner 2004: 597). In this approach to cultural capital, cultural background of individuals is not as important as the fact of perceiving it in a particular area or environment of

determined norms and values. Only then this capital gains importance and becomes a resource. However, communicating available resources to others is required here as this can lead to capital conversion. The awareness of these processes certainly allows to be prepared better for the analysis of the concept of creative class. Taking into account a specific role of communication in formation of cultural capital, its three forms, i.e. embodied, objectified and institutionalised one, that were distinguished by Pierre Bourdieu must be mentioned. Analysis of creative class conducted with the use of these categories, and also the concept of symbolic violence, introduced by Pierre Bourdieu can prove to be very successful.

An extensive categorization of capital prepared by Charles Landry ought to be quoted as a summary of considerations relating to “capital” as a category useful for the analysis of creative class. It is highly exaggerated if we follow the typical mindless pigeonholing. Nevertheless, such a categorization may draw researchers’ attention to the complex nature of the phenomena. It does not eliminate the necessity that researcher must be aware that many of these capitals overlap and interrelate while creating resources of monolithic character. Analysing transformation of cities Landry indicated 10 types of capitals, necessary for their sustainable, harmonious and rapid development:

- human capital — mainly qualification of inhabitants, specialized knowledge that is higher than average;
- social capital — mainly a network of relationships and cooperation between the main actors: institutions, organizations, communities and interest groups;
- cultural capital — a sense of belonging, properly understood, unique identity and unique character of the place, its climate, the entire heritage, memory and the skill of defining dreams and goals;
- intellectual capital — understood as ideas and innovation potential of the community;
- scientific and technological capital — the ability to make use of talents to discover and to solve problems with available technologies, and to obtain practical applications;
- creative capital — the ability to raise new questions, activate imagination, be unusual and innovative;
- democratic capital — understood as the ability of the community to make transparent and unhidden choices in the course of dialogue, while applying existing institutional structures;
- capital of the natural environment — i.e. natural and diverse landscape;
- capital of leadership — individual abilities and such “soft” factors as motivation, energy, will and the ability to make decisions and their implementation;
- financial capital — the hardest factor representing firstly financial resources, necessary to pay for services and expenditures on infrastructure.

The author of this categorization emphasizes that each of the distinguished capitals occurs with various intensity. Their proportions and the ways they are used are diversified. The task of local leaders is to compose an optimal set of capitals that support implementation of development strategies (Landry 2000).

Systematizing the issues of capital has a rich theoretical tradition and still further attempts seem to be an art on a high level of intellectual considerations, especially if complex nature of virtual relationships, that more and more often accompany individuals who are active and focused on creativity, are taken into consideration. However, it should be clearly emphasized that all these terms, i.e. human, social and cultural capital, are extremely valuable in analyses of creative class.

A new class or new divisions? Critical analysis of Florida's concept

In fact, since the 1950s the role of knowledge, professional approach to work and functioning in the environment has been more and more explicitly emphasised. Rapidly accelerating industrial era and emerging post-industrial trends brought significant revaluation in everyday life in big cities. Along existing division into managers and manual workers, there slowly emerged a new category of production and service workers, which gradually displaced previous dichotomies from circulation (Toffler 1986; Bell 1994). One of modern researchers of specific character of contemporary cities, Manuel Castells, has made an attempt to show that the share of "white collar workers" in the total population of the employed people is increasing in developed economies. However, he focused his attention on knowledge workers mainly associated with services. Nevertheless, the growing importance of new technologies in production significantly changes the specific character of work also in traditional industries. Therefore, it is difficult to capture clear trends focusing attention only on the service sector (Castells 2008).

Apart from the objection indicating incompleteness of analyses it should be emphasized that the discussions concerning urban life of professionals, conducted at least since the mid 1950s, have often been contradictory in their assumptions. On the one hand the effects of organizational society, e.g. alienation, isolation and conformity were criticized, but on the other hand positive aspects of the newly emerging environment in which differences, nonconformity and creativity can grow, were searched for. This only proves multiple character of the analysed processes. The discussion between W.H. Whyte and J. Jacobs,

which latter inspired Richard Florida, was an example of this type of dispute (Florida 2002). The concept of creative class that was presented by Florida was based on J. Jacobs's assumptions; however the whole attention was focused on activity. Therefore preferences, as an element connecting individual members, and not the ownership of capital or means of production were important. As the main objective of his deliberations, Florida looked for factors that determined the choice of place of residence and the work place (Florida 2010). Analysing activity of professionals, their lifestyle, desires, tastes and preferences, he referred to the category of human capital. He emphasised that "such actions will require a formal higher education, and thus a high level of human capital" (Florida 2010: 84). Establishment of the composition of creative class that comprises a superactive core is his achievement. According to him it is nothing else but elite of every modern society. Therefore, it is constituted mainly by scientists, engineers, designers, architects, various artists including entertainers, actors, poets and novelists, and representatives of opinion-forming environments. Creative professionals focusing on areas demanding advanced knowledge, such as high-tech sector, financial services, legal professions, and health care or business management circulate around the core.

In his scientific analysis, while entering the sphere of social geographers, urban sociologists and planners, Florida faced extensive criticism as he emphasised only what was known already long before. Production located outside large city centres ceased to be important for their development. However, significance of the place is still stressed through investments including parks, rollerblade and bike lanes and jogging paths. City centres diversified with lifestyle attractions are becoming the basis for creation of creative environments and cities. Previous reasons for migrations, such as highways, shopping centres or stadiums are no longer as important as high quality of cultural services and rich, diversified opportunities of using entertainment and new attractions.

Florida's view is nothing really revealing, considering a number of other concepts like the one that generally concerns consumer society, where the sale of emotions in various versions and through opportunities undiscovered before is a sign of our times. Also, the fundamental assumptions concerning postmodern society in which production ceases to be relevant, and services occupy a prominent place, seem to confirm the conclusions formulated before. Furthermore, in his analysis Florida is rather inconsistent while claiming that the prices of flats are not affordable in such cities as New York or Boston and that it is a threat for creative class. If such cities are creative places, there occurs a question of how their development proceeded without representatives of the creative class. Therefore, the relationship between financial resources of representatives of professionals and the decision to move and settle somewhere else seems to be interesting. However, Florida has not performed such deeper analysis. Yet, he skillfully applied some ideas from the trend of the new insti-

tutional economics developed by Nobel Prize winners R.H. Coase (1991) and D.C. North (1993). He adopted the institution as a reference point in exploring and explaining economic processes. In his view, they were created to support the generation and transfer of ideas to others. Here he ignored the issue of determination of institution legitimacy. He claimed that institutions as the key link in shaping the models of thinking became “social structure of creativity”. It consists of: “(1) new systems for technological creativity and entrepreneurship, (2) new, more efficient models for production of goods and services, and (3) a broad socio-cultural-geographical environment, that is friendly to all kinds of creativity” (Florida 2010: 65). However, representatives of institutional trend emphasize that institutions define certain ways of thinking, while taking social conditions, habits and ways phenomena are perceived into consideration. This is why they are not fully compliant with the demands of the present times (Stankiewicz 2007). Thereby there occurs the conclusion indicating fossilization of institutions which is not surprising to citizens. Therefore institutions can not determine the level of creativity as it was definitively presented by Florida. The answer to the question about the reasons for the development of creative cities might be provided by the conditions of legitimacy of institutions that are supposed to support creativity.

3T model (technology — talent — tolerance), that in certain situations was to support analysis of the actual presence of the creative class in a particular place and time is the most recognizable element of Florida’s proposal. The first two elements of the model — both technology and talent — are relatively easy to measure. Statistical concentration of innovation or industries based on the latest production methods, or comparison of the number of people actually engaged in creative professions is just a simplification, but in certain circumstances they can be perceived as indicators. The attempt to operationalize the third T, i.e. tolerance, and more specifically, the selection of indices that would define tolerance is most questionable. Florida decided that they would be *Gay Index* (indicator of homosexuality), *Bohemian Index* (index of bohemia), *Melting Pot Index* (index of cultural diversity or simply the index of cultural melting pot), *Coolness Index* (ratio of intensity of social life in the city) (Florida 2005). The parameter that refers to co-occurrence of the rate of homosexual people raises the most doubts as for research methodology and collecting empirical data. Open declaration of such an orientation is culturally determined; this indicator would definitely not work in Polish conditions. Similarly, ethnic diversity could not be considered as reliable indicator of the presence of creative capital, because certain determinants of Polish society that is rather ethnically homogeneous does not preclude the existence of innovative enclaves. Even statistical data including the rate of population aged 22 — 29 years, intensity of nightlife measured by the number of bars, night clubs in relation to the number of inhabitants, and the number of cultural institutions such as galleries and museums, are not convincing enough

in the subject of degree of tolerance observed in a particular city. Perhaps the data should be correlated with the number of robberies and thefts nearby these places. However, according to Florida's concept high levels of these rates are associated with activity of creative class. On the other hand, it would be difficult not to agree that "cities with an attractive cultural premises and rich artistic environment generate growth and will achieve the highest degree of creativity and economic innovation" (Florida 2010: 273). The question remains whether bohemia attracts orientation to innovations, or maybe innovations attract environments of culture creators.

Discussions on the subject of creative class and creative cities have also occurred in Polish literature; however, they mostly focussed on the issue of innovation. Most of them fall into the same trap of using notions that are difficult to define. For example, some economists describe the innovative city with the help of such elements as: the ability to generate new ideas and solutions for building urban structure, pro-innovative policy of public authorities, openness for inflows of all kinds of external capital, creating favourable conditions for investments, development of modern institutional and technical infrastructure, provision of constant investment in science, culture and education and real concern about research and development sector (Marszał 2012: 11). Not of all these terms are easily measured in terms of statistics. However, a critical look at Florida's concept does not exclude positive conclusions concerning not only a simple numerical transformation of matrix into Polish conditions, but indicating qualitative areas "that are neglected in native strategies of regional development, i.e. stimulating development of talent and tolerance" (Klincewicz 2010: 178). Another Polish urban sociologist concludes that

currently the cities got rid of a large part of production, especially industrial. "Ludic" spaces occur in these deserted places. This is due to the demand of the metropolitan class for cultural services and entertainment. They both live in cities, and move between them, while being also the most attractive part of the tourist audience.

(Jałowiecki 2005: 5)

Therefore reflections on creative class intertwined while noticing at the same time the phenomena of shaping cities and specific metropolitan class. They are the processes that may have a wider scope than just the very creation of creative environments. Turning to the sources of urban character, e.g. culture and entertainment, made the city became the place for exchanging new ideas, the seat of the university and religious reflection, inspiration for art and architecture again in new technological and organizational conditions. The character of the very enterprises has also changed. They are engaged "in various types of projects aimed at revitalizing the city. It would serve both direct advertising, as well as shaping the image of the company" (Jałowiecki 2005: 11). This resulted

in the effect in the form of emergence of such companies that provide services for enterprises promoting this type of activities. Sharing time and intellectual property in the form of consulting provided to other companies or institutions (e.g. advertising agencies, architectural and design studios), apart from enabling customers to participate in various cultural events, became the core of a new industry, creative industry, that is very important for development of urban creativity (Creative Economy Report... 2008: 40).

It results from the analysis that the notions used by Florida, e.g. “creative class” and “creative city” despite many criticisms and even controversies have their place in the literature and are the basis for further considerations. They indicate the areas that are not properly operationalized on the one hand, but on the other hand they show qualitative areas for future research.

Around the contest with words

New sociological concepts should be analysed and classical theories that have identified some phenomena a long time ago and today are rediscovered in the new circumstances and forms should also be remembered. This leads to intensifying intellectual discussion, developing and expanding reflections while taking into account the whole range of specific conditions. The theory of leisure class, which actually may show some analogies in the interpretation of social life, is one of these classical theories. Veblen distinguished two classes: the upper class and lower class. Upper-class is released from production activities and is only engaged in such activities as governance, waging wars, serving God and doing sports (Veblen 1998: 6). Lower classes are focused on everyday work that provides livelihoods to them. They include, among others: slaves and other people dependent on upper class in any way. Veblen analysed the social development in historical approach, which cannot be found in Florida’s deliberations. He also noticed the issue of division of labour on the basis of gender, which can not be observed in Florida’s proposal. Women’s work including daily cleaning, housework, cooking and laundry, perceived by Veblen as little honourable production work is not recognised by Florida at all. Sometimes he refers to discrimination based on gender and ethnicity but he focusses all his attention on that last element. On the other hand Veblen emphasized the relationship between the growth of prosperity and growing diversity of the leisure class. This expands the system of ranks and degrees. Florida differentiates his social divisions with respect to taste and possessed knowledge while reducing the issue of material property to the role of the effect that is not even specifically expected by creative individuals. Assuming that search for prestige

approached in any way is a driving force for every society, focussing on the possession and size of consumption of a single person can be found in Veblen's concept. He emphasized that in order to gain position in society as much wealth as possible should be obtained so that one can show off. Those, who do not attain this, cannot hope for respect of the society. However, to enjoy continuous respect of society it is not enough just to be wealthy and have power. There is also a constant necessity to remind the society about the material condition. Some analogies to searching for cultural attractions by representatives of creative class can be noticed here. Extraordinary events, street performances, music events and forums of intellectuals in which they play leading roles of creators are constantly reminding about themselves. They become a specific type of celebrities, of which Richard Florida is also accused. Ostentation is pretty familiar to contemporary people. However it is not manifested as it was 100 years ago in spectacular consumption of material goods, but an ostentatious demonstration of knowledge and emotions. In the system of leisure and consumption described by Veblen the rule is adopted that all performed duties must be performed in such a way, that it is obvious who the entire splendour belongs to (Veblen 1998: 64). This can also be seen today in the literary salons, scientific conferences, meetings of economic experts and at other cultural events. Throughout his book about the creative class Florida refers to the theory of the leisure class only three times, without noticing issues suggested as worth analysing. He clearly shows that

the members of creative class are certainly not the leisure class in Veblen's meaning. On the contrary, these people are more "active class". In their case, consumption is not manifested in such an ostentatious way. What is more, creative class members do not participate in any activities just to pass their free time [...]; these people simply do not have much free time. What is more, gained experience and not possessed goods are the source of the status and identity of creative class.

(Florida 2010: 178)

This comment is probably the major difference between these two proposals. However, similarities could be searched for much deeper, i.e. just in demonstrating. Following the style of Steve Jobs Ostentatious, wearing casual jeans and a black sweatshirt is, after all, nothing but focusing attention on things that are the result of knowledge possessed by experts. Bill and Mellinda Gates's charity activity is consumption in substitution, e.g. through creating a circle of people and institutions, where their prosperity is demonstrated. There is a space for criticism of Florida's concept here. It does not take into consideration the whole diversity of reasons for demonstrating financial conditions of either having material goods or skills that can also bring material gain. Consequently, the skills of convincing crowds of people and win the public are the most

important. This is because the quality of our life depends on their opinion. Even the most creative individual needs certain conditions for development. Geniuses end their life in a miserable way if they do not find appropriate support. Carmine Gallo, the author of a book describing the secrets of innovation applied in Steve Jobs's company describes how much importance the creator of Apple attached to communication with the environment: "I often wonder how many really revolutionary ideas do not get a chance to exist, because the brilliant mind in which they arose, could not tell their story". (Gallo 2011: 222) Hence, this element should have been taken into consideration. Veblen suggests the idea in the form of "consumption in substitution". This role was performed by the whole group of people who were servants or indiscriminate surroundings of the master. Nowadays the same role is performed by service-providing companies and they are paid for professional services. Florida notices a qualitative change, which differentiates the creative class and the working class. The author states that

the members of traditional working class spent their day on physical effort. Therefore, in their free time they preferred passive forms of recreation. Meanwhile, creative work is primarily of intellectual nature and is performed in a sitting position. Therefore, members of creative class try to rest and relax through exercising, physical activities and other forms of spending free time in active way.

(Florida 2010: 180)

Referring to Veblen again, Florida makes an attempt to emphasise the difference between these two concepts:

it turns out that nowadays many members of the working class like to spend their free time in a similar way as Veblen's "leisure class", i.e. lying on a sunbed on a large, well-equipped boat, which — at their command — moves forward at full speed while making a lot of noise at the same time.

(Florida 2010: 181)

And it is all about that noise that represents the way we communicate everybody who we are. Florida did not notice this deeper association for these two classes, i.e. demonstrating their lifestyle and telling their history.

Summing up reflections on similarities and differences in the concept of "creative class" and the theory of "the leisure class" it is worth organising them in a table, that will emphasise certain phenomena, and at the same time it will provide inspiration for further in-depth research.

Table 1

Summary of selected elements of the concept of “creative class”
and the theory of “leisure class”

The theory of the leisure class by T. Veblen	The concept of the creative class by R. Florida
The analysis is based on the historical development of societies from the period of community through the period of barbarism, feudalism and the origins of capitalism.	Analysis based on selected modern examples of development of particular cities in the USA.
Taking into consideration the diversity of labour division in society, with particular emphasis on the role of women within the social structure.	Ignoring sexual differences in division of labour, while emphasizing mainly the role of preferences, expectations, tastes and ways of spending time.
Property possession as a key factor. Development of leisure class depends on increase of financial capital.	Creative class independent of property possession, although exposed to certain dangers associated with lack of financial capital.
Common element: showing power thanks to money or knowledge. Necessity to communicate the environment about the lifestyle to maintain prestige, personal development and development of the whole community.	

Instead of a summary — an example of a complex nature

Changes occurring in European industrial regions that are in the process of transformation towards regions that, at least in assumptions of decision-makers, are to become knowledge regions, learning regions and innovative zones, constitutes separate topic of discussions that will be intentionally only mentioned in conclusions. Optimistic visions of R. Florida have inspired many regional policy makers to take advantage of his suggestions of stimulating development through intentional creation of places favouring creativity; however it is not a general formula. It is necessary to take into consideration deeply sociological conditions of regional development, its cultural, historical background, as well as the diversity of the political situation (Suchacka 2009). Additionally, the issues of cultural identity and heritage of industrial tradition are very important elements that, while still being in the process of continuous transformation, can be either positive or negative changes. Nowadays, Śląskie voivodeship can be an example of this type of transformations. The studies conducted there between 2010 and 2012 showed an explicit phenomenon of the enclave character of transformations leading to emergence of the learning region at simultaneous embedment in regional values (Suchacka 2014). More and more frequent territorial distribution of regional actors that are increasingly more aware of principles and rules of

development of enclaves of innovativeness can be observed. If creative class is to be defined more broadly,

its slightly different dimension could be shown e.g. as a group that is being transformed from the one traditionally rooted in industry toward humanistic elites. Previous descriptions of creative class concern the final result that is the concentration of people of certain ethnicity, gender or custom identity. Description of creative class is somehow a description of some effect of development scale. This gradient of cultural diversity, sexual, moral and ethnic minorities accumulates in a specific area. However, it does not mean, that every individual belonging to these minorities, is a representative of the creative class.

(Suchacka 2014: 97)

Specific character of these changes consists in the fact that previously observed transformations have forced the most active individuals to search for new space and gain new knowledge, especially the humanistic one. There was not enough of it in earlier functioning in the region that was a traditional industrial region, deeply involved in ideology emphasizing the ethos of physical work. Today, new Silesian elite undertakes interesting initiatives that are based on the creation of identity discourse (Suchacka 2014). Local community is activated while referring to the achievements of industrial development of Śląsk during Prussian and German period. It also proves the importance of cultural and social dimensions of transformation processes. Social consciousness being continuously changed does not always cope with so many changes, because people do not see quite clearly the common content of these processes. For this reason, these changes do not occur with the same intensity throughout the voivodeship.

Aiming at final arrangement of conducted analysis concerning the concepts related to creative class, a careful observer will notice multitude of theoretical approaches and unapplied opportunities arising from this research. Florida's concept cannot be just explicitly and definitively rejected, as it showed some directions of research and the levels of qualitative changes, taking place in societies. Nowadays, dynamic development of science is the basis of extremely rapid growth, especially in the technological aspect. Even the most eminent intellectuals not always follow deeply humanistic explanations of changes, taking place in the world. In today's world new possibilities of taking the most of life and demonstrating knowledge or wealth is in conflict with humble attitude of readiness to deny past achievements. Taking into consideration the notions, suggestions and conclusions presented in the analysis will allow to integrate research efforts in order to construct possibly the most complete research program. Studies planned in this way should analyse conditions of emergence of a specific class of individuals that form a network of dynamic interactions favouring development of the whole region both spontaneously and intentionally.

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Klasa kreatywna — wokół odnośnych koncepcji
Próba krytycznej analizy socjologicznej

Streszczenie

Klasa kreatywna jest tematem analiz wielu współczesnych badaczy. Szczególnie koncepcja R. Floridy spotkała się z wieloma krytycznymi uwagami. W opracowaniu zaproponowano socjologiczne rozważania oraz teoretyczne refleksje krytyczne wokół pojęcia klasy kreatywnej w oparciu o kilka głównych wątków łączących się z procesem jej powstawania, uwarunkowaniami jej funkcjonowania. Celem opracowania było podjęcie próby krytycznej refleksji nad pojęciem klasy kreatywnej przy wykorzystaniu pojęć kapitału ludzkiego i społecznego. Podjęto także próbę oceny przydatności ponad stuletniej koncepcji klasy próżniaczej T. Veblena w analizie pojęcia klasy kreatywnej. Rozważania ukierunkowano na wskazanie podobieństw i różnic tych dwu ujęć teoretycznych. W podsumowaniu odwołano się do częściowych wyników badań prowadzonych w województwie śląskim nad przekształceniami w kierunku regionu wiedzy. Badania te wykazały, że warto uwzględnić głęboko socjologiczne uwarunkowania rozwoju regionu, jego kulturowe, historyczne tło, a także odmienności sytuacji politycznej. We wnioskach podkreślono, że warto analizować nowe socjologiczne koncepcje i wracać do tych klasycznych teorii, gdyż prowadzi to do pogłębienia intelektualnej dyskusji, wzbogacenia i poszerzenia refleksji uwzględniającej całą gamę specyficznych uwarunkowań.

Słowa klucze: kapitał ludzki, kapitał społeczny, klasa kreatywna, klasa próżniacza