

Creative universities and creative cities: exploring the geography of bohemian graduates in UK

Roberta Comunian, School of Arts, University of Kent, United Kingdom,
R.Comunian@kent.ac.uk

Alessandra Faggian, School of Geography, University of Southampton, United Kingdom
A.Faggian@soton.ac.uk

This is a **working paper**. Please do not quote without the author's authorisation. If you need to quote or reference this material, please e-mail the authors for more details. An extended version of this working paper will be included in the *Handbook of Creative Cities* published by Edward Elgar in the summer 2011.

Abstract

Increasing attention has been placed on the role of universities in the creative economy. In particular as more and more cities claim their creative and cultural value, it is important to consider what role can higher education (HE) play in shaping and fostering creative city. The work of Florida (2002) has put emphasis on the role of universities in regional economic development as providers of talent. Taking in consideration this broader literature about the HEIs contribution to local and national economies, the present paper focuses on the contribution of universities to a specific sector of the economy: the creative economy. Linking the emerging discourses on the creative economy with the one on urban development, we adopt the concept of the creative city as the manifestation of these creative and cultural activities at the urban level. In particular, we use the concept of 'bohemian graduates' to investigate the contribution of universities to the creative workforce of the city. Using student micro-data collected by the Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA) in the United Kingdom the paper highlights the role of universities in attracting bohemian graduates to study in specific cities and maps their ability to retain this talent and to offer them work opportunities in the creative sector.

1. Introduction

The influence of universities on their local areas has been explored from a variety of perspectives. Whilst there is a general acknowledgment of their contribution to the economic, social and cultural development of cities and regions, describing and quantifying this contribution is a challenging task. Various attempts have been made by researchers in different disciplines including economists (Preston and Hammond, 2006), social scientists (Chatterton, 1999) and regional development specialists (Charles, 2006, Cramphorn and Woodlhouse, 1999) and it is now clear that the picture is very complex because of the

overlapping synergies, benefits and opportunities created by the HEIs in their local areas. Chatterton and Goddard (2000, p.493) emphasise this by defining HEIs as “*repository of knowledge about future technological, economic and social trends and can be harnessed to help the region understand itself, its position in the world and identify possible future directions*”.

In this paper we investigate the relevance of the interconnection between universities and their local context with specific reference to the creative economy literature and the concept of ‘creative city’. Initial research in the UK shows that universities are key actors in developing sustainable creative economies (Arts Council of England, 2009, Noble and Barry, 2008). Examples of collaborations between creative industries, universities and local policy makers are becoming more common and, as a result, the ‘triple helix’ approach is now a reality also within the cultural and creative economy (Comunian et al., 2007).

Alongside this economic development perspective, further literature – mainly from the US – underlines the role of universities in promoting the arts, particularly in relation to engaging students, exploring the practice and boundaries of creativity (Stanford Arts Initiative, 2007) and involving other local communities in creative activities on campus (Cantor, 2005).

Examples of collaborations between universities and the creative sector are not restricted to the UK and the USA. Cunningham et al. (2004) studying the case of the “Creative Industries Precinct Project” within the Queensland Institute of Technology in Brisbane, Australia, shows how universities can provide support for R&D activities in the creative economy. The initiative presents itself as “*Australia’s first site dedicated to creative experimentation and commercial development in the creative industries*”¹ led by a university.

However, while all these contributions recognise the importance of universities knowledge spillovers and collaborations with private and public actors to foster the local creative economies, they seem to overlook the most important role of universities, i.e. as a conduit for bringing potential creative practitioners into a region, educate them and produce high quality ‘creative human capital’, i.e. young graduates educated in creative and artistic subjects.

In the present work we investigate the relationship between universities and the creative city analysing the ‘production’ and retention of ‘bohemian graduates’ (i.e. individuals, who obtained a degree in a ‘bohemian’ subject such as creative arts, performing arts, design and others). We explore in detail the location and migration choices of bohemian graduates and their connection with the creative city.

¹Details on the project and programmes offered are available on the QUT Creative Industries Precinct website: <http://www.ciprecinct.qut.edu.au/about>

2. Theoretical background: from the creativity city to creative class and the role of universities

The concept of the creative city has proved very appealing for academics and policy makers in the last fifteen years. However, there is still confusion on the definition and interpretation of this concept.

The first coherent formulation of the concept of 'creative city' is to be attributed to the work by Bianchini and Landry (1995), later extended by Landry (2000). In their contributions, the concept of 'creativity' was presented in its broadest sense, as 'thinking outside the box' and solve everyday problems in 'innovative ways'. It was argued that creativity could assist in regenerating cities.

However, as the word 'creative' gained popularity, it started being used in different contexts with slightly different meanings. Following the publication of the DCMS document on 'creative industries' in 1998 and the work by Florida on 'creative class' (2002), the focus shifted from cultural infrastructures and consumption of cultural goods to creative production and people. Thereafter, the key to success for cities is seen in attracting and retaining skilled labor as driver for the new "knowledge and creative economy".

A more recent and more powerful association is the one between the 'creative city' and the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002b). This has emerged from the success of Florida's book (2002) *'The Rise of the Creative Class'* and has added an extra connotation to the creative city term which, in many cases, has superseded the previous understanding. Florida (2002b, 2002a) suggests that the economic success of a city is determined by the presence of the 'creative class'. This 'creative class' encompasses a wide range of professionals, of which creative industries workers are only a small proportion². As such, the term 'creative city' is now often interpreted as a city with a high presence of - or potential to attract – the creative class. There is still a small link with infrastructures, as Florida suggests that, in order to appeal to the creative class, cities should foster a cultural climate, promote diversity, and offer cultural entertainment³.

The present paper acknowledges the complementary role of these different interpretations of 'creative cities' and argues for a better understanding of the interconnections between the infrastructure and image, "cultural consumption oriented" creative city and the human capital and creative communities, "creative production oriented" creative city (Chapain and Comunian, 2009).

It is clear that universities are important in building both the physical and human resources infrastructures for the creative city and that they do it in a variety of ways. Although it is impossible to provide a comprehensive list of the ways in which universities contribute to

² In Florida's own words at the core of the creative class there are 'people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and/or new creative content', but also 'the creative professionals in business and finance, law, healthcare and related fields. These people engage in complex problem solving that involves a great deal of independent judgment and requires high levels of education or human capital' (Florida 2002b, p.8).

³ This is articulated further in the three Ts indexes: technology, talent and tolerance are the proxy by which the ability of a city to attract creative class can be measured and implemented.

make a city more 'creative', we propose a classification which partially mirrors the definitions of creative city presented above.

If we take the view that a city is creative if it offers a wide array of cultural goods and opportunities (i.e. the **cultural consumption oriented** view), then one of the roles of HEIs is to actively engage in the provision of cultural goods either directly or via collaborations and partnerships with the local cultural infrastructures and communities. Chatterton (1999) underlines that universities have traditionally been well positioned in providing the city with cultural facilities, such as art galleries and theatres, but more recently they have taken this role further including a wider range of cultural facilities, such as media production facilities, recording studios or rehearsal spaces. The cultural opportunities offered by both the city and the universities are often interrelated and self-reinforcing.

If we take the view that a city is creative when its productive structure includes a strong creative sector (i.e. the **creative production oriented** view), then we have to consider the role of the HEIs both as **providers of knowledge and innovation** (mainly in the form of knowledge spillovers) and **providers of human capital** (in the form of skilled creative workers). In the field of culture and arts & humanities, this innovation and knowledge transfer perspective has been overlooked and only recently some contributions both on the academic (Crossick, 2006, Taylor, 2005, Cunningham, 2004) and policy side (NESTA, 2007) addressed it. As Cunningham et al. suggests (2004, p. 4) "*creative industries appear to be marginal within university-based research*". However, in the UK there are important example of new emerging partnerships in this area – for example CIBAS, the Creative Industries Business Advisory Service, supported by the University of Portsmouth or ICE, Institute for Creative Enterprise at Coventry University. Mould et al. (2009) also consider the example of Sheffield Hallam University involvement in the Sheffield Cultural Quarter.

A relatively under-explored area so far is the role of universities in producing highly skilled creative workers. As Faggian and McCann (2006, Faggian and McCann, 2009) argue the primary role of the university system is being a conduit for bringing potential high quality undergraduate human capital into a region. The benefits of having a highly skilled labor pool far outweigh the benefits generated by knowledge spillovers. Hence, attracting and retaining higher human capital and creative individuals can be seen as a more effective and long-term strategy for local economic development (Mathur, 1999). The argument put forward by Florida (2002) suggests that this higher human capital level has connections also with the kind of urban environment and cultural setting that highly educated individual look for when making a location choice.

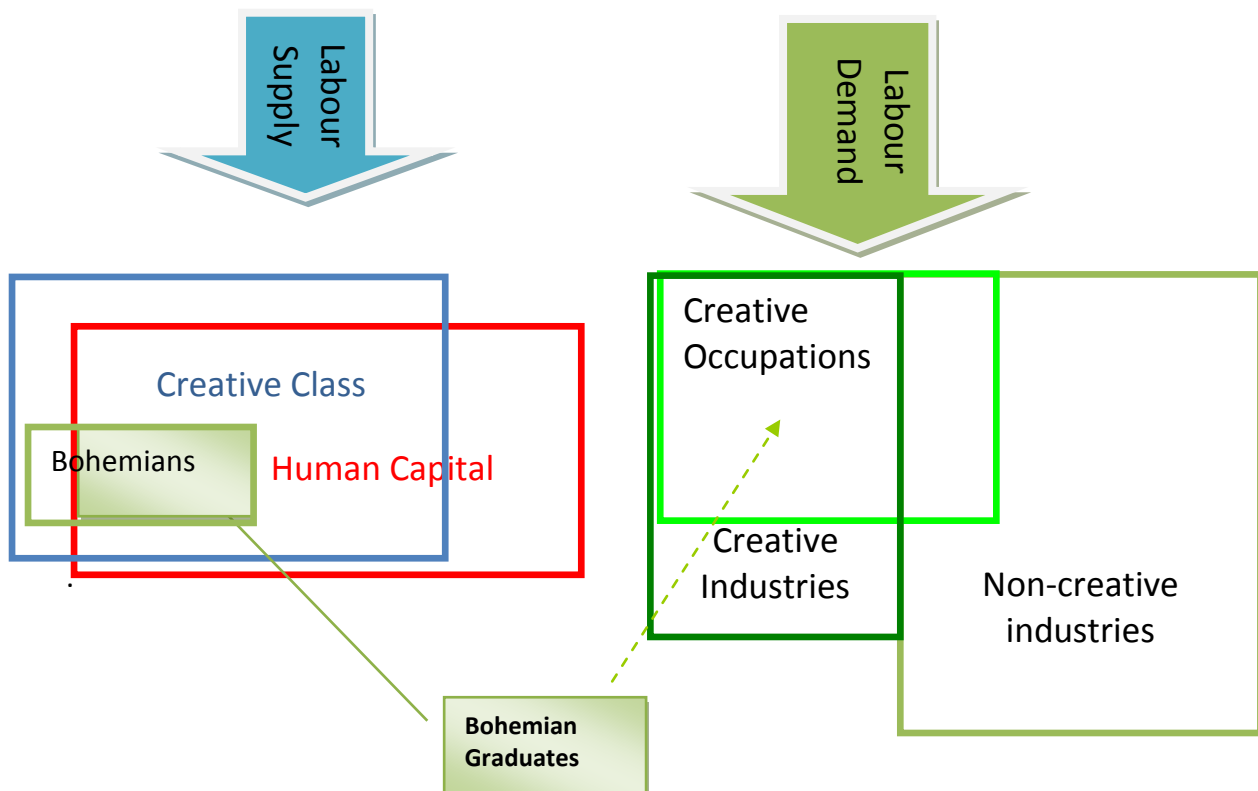
Overall, it is clear that the relationship between HEIs and the creative city – and their contribution to the creativity of various locations is a complex and multi-layered issue. In the present paper, we use the concept of 'bohemian graduate' as a key to better understand the connections between these dimensions. In particular, bohemian graduates are relevant to many of these theories and perspectives as they are the means via which universities knowledge and impact can be transferred to the local economies.

3. Research framework and data: the role of Bohemian graduates and their location choices

In light of the possible relations between HEIs and the creative city identified in the previous paragraph, the paper explores the geography of creativity in UK using the concept of 'Bohemian graduates' (Comunian et al., 2010).

Bohemian graduates, i.e. graduates who obtained a degree in a 'bohemian' subject (creative arts, performing arts, design, mass communications, multi-media, software design and engineering, music recording and technology, architecture and landscape design) can be considered as the intersection between creative class, creative industries and human capital (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: The 'Bohemian' graduate



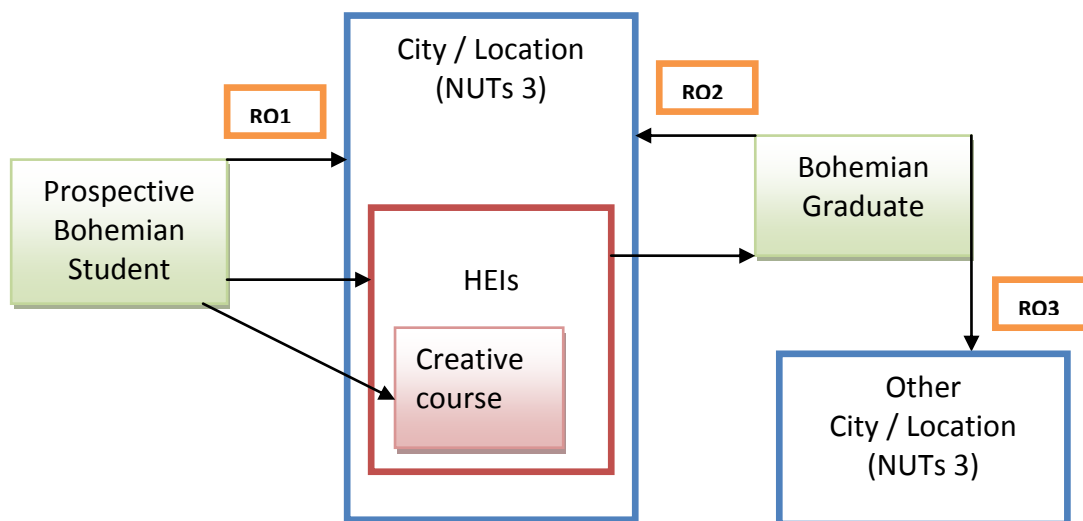
Their location choices are important when studying the impact of HEIs on the creativity of cities, because of the embodied knowledge and skills they possess. Not only they studied a 'creative' subject to a high level (investing consciously in their human capital), they often combine this with a passion and a natural innate ability in the creative disciplines (what some authors might call 'talent', while others simply include it in the human capital concept). As Bohemian graduates combine creativity and human capital, their role in contributing to the local economy should be almost unanimously accepted by both the advocates of the creative class theory and the human capital theory.

The UK offers an array of opportunities for students who want to graduate in a ‘Bohemian’ subject. Although the role of London as a creative city appears to be dominant, there are other creative cities in the UK whose ‘pull effect’ on students should not be disregarded.

As Figure 2 shows, students are faced with two fundamental migration decisions, one upon ‘entering’ higher education, the second upon ‘leaving’ it. When a prospective student decides they want to enrol in a creative course, their first decision is whether to stay in the local area or migrate to study in another city. This is obviously dependant on a series of considerations including the provision of creative courses in their local area.

Upon graduation bohemian graduates are faced with a further location decision: staying in the city where they studied or move elsewhere. One of the main determinants of this decision is the availability of creative jobs both locally and in other locations. The location choice for jobs should therefore reflect the geography of the creative economy, i.e. graduates should be attracted to cities and places able to offer them jobs in creative occupations. In this sense, ‘creative cities’ should have an advantage in attracting them and might benefit from a self-reinforcing virtuous cycle.

Figure 2: ‘Bohemian’ graduates and their location choices



The aim of the present paper is to study the role that the ‘creative city’ plays in these location and migration dynamics. In particular we want to consider:

- Are ‘Bohemian’ courses mainly offered by HEIs located in ‘creative cities’, so that the likelihood of a student choosing to study a creative subject is influenced by living in a creative city to start with?
- How successful are the areas with the best provision of creative courses in retaining creative graduates?

- What places offer the best opportunities to enter a creative occupation? Are these creative occupations just restricted to few creative cities?

In linking the location choices of students and graduates to the creativity of an area, we use the indexes proposed by Clifton (2008) as measures of the ‘creative city’ phenomenon. Clifton (2008) critically applies a methodology *à la* Florida to provide insights into the creative class in UK. He proposes three different indexes. It is easy to see that these indexes correspond to diverse interpretations of the creative city and hence allow us to test the relationship between the bohemian graduates’ location choices and these interpretations. These are:

- **The creative city as city of ‘cultural consumption’:** Clifton (2008) ‘*cultural opportunity index*’ (i.e. the proportion of employees in the cultural and recreational industries within an area) is used to measure the level of employment in recreational, cultural and entertainment sectors, which is linked to the interpretation of the creative city as a place of cultural consumption (Bell and Jayne, 2004) and the flourishing of tourism and entertainment economies around cultural investments (García, 2005);
- **The creative city as city of ‘cultural production’:** Clifton (2008) calculates the ‘*bohemian index*’ (based on the bohemian index by Florida, 2002) as the level of employment in artistic and creative occupations using the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 and the DCMS guidelines (DCMS, 2009). The view that a creative city is a place where production activities in the creative economy concentrates is supported by many in the literature (Montgomery, 2005), especially in relation to the study of creative industries and their production systems (Pratt, 2008, Markusen, 2006);
- **The creative city as the ‘knowledge economy city’:** Clifton (2008) ‘*creative professional index*’ is closely related to the concept of ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2002) and is linked to the interpretation of a creative city as a place able to attract creative workers and professionals. This interpretation is also shared by Hospers (2003) and Musterd and Ostendorf (2004) in their contribution about the creative cultural knowledge cities.

3.1 Data and Methodology

Our empirical analysis is based on data collected by the Higher Education Statistical Agency (from now on referred to as HESA). Two different datasets are used. Firstly, we employ the ‘Students in Higher Education’ data stream - which includes 1,723,260 student records for students enrolled in undergraduates courses in 2007 across the 166 British HEIs - to build a picture of the provision of ‘Bohemian courses’ in the UK. For each student, the survey includes information on personal characteristics (such as age, gender, ethnicity), course characteristics (including subject studied at 4-digit JACS code⁴, mode of studying, i.e. full-time or part-time, institution attended, final grade achieved for finalists) and location of parental domicile (at unit postcode level). According to the JACS codes, 10.72% (184,750) of the students in 2007 were registered for a ‘creative’ course either in ‘media’ (JACS code P) or ‘arts and design’ (JACS code W). To present the geography of ‘creative’ higher education provision in the UK, we analyse the student data at NUTS 1 level, as here the focus is on the critical mass and concentration of institutions and provision at the regional level. Considering that, as Charles (2003) suggests, the regional dimension is becoming more and

⁴ For more information on the Joint Academic Coding System (or JACS) see http://www.hesa.ac.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=158&Itemid=233

more important in recent years in defining universities' missions, this geographical level seems the most appropriate.

Secondly, we combine the 'Students in Higher Education' data stream with the 'Destination of Leavers from Higher Education Institutions' (also known as DHLE) for students who graduated in the year 2007. The DHLE provides us with information on graduate employment between six and eighteen months after graduation. For the academic year 2006/07 information on 332,110 graduates was collected and it included not only the salary and location of their job, but also a brief description of their tasks and the SOC4 and SIC4 codes of their occupation. In the final combined database we had 242,470 'valid' cases (i.e. with no missing information). The location and migration decisions of graduates are presented at NUTS3 regional level. This allows a more detailed view of the local/urban dynamics and helps identifying more clearly where graduates tend to cluster. The analysis of the relationship between the concentration of students/graduates and the indexes developed by Clifton (2008) is also carried out at the NUTS3 regional level, since the focus is here on creative 'cities' and not larger regions.

4.1 The geography of the creative Higher Education provision

The provision of Higher Education courses in the creative subjects is certainly not uniform across the UK, as shown in Table 1. In absolute terms, Greater London and the South East attracted 37% of the total UK number of students in these disciplines in 2007. Greater London on its own accounted for 24%. The North West and Yorkshire follow with about 10%, while last are the North East and Northern Ireland. However, it is clear that these percentages partially reflect the size of the population of each region.

Table 1: Bohemian graduates student numbers per UK regions (HESA, 2007)

| REGION | Population (Census, 2001) | TOTAL STUDENTS | BOHEMIAN STUDENTS | % BOHEMIANS IN THE REGION | % OVER TOTAL NO. BOHEMIAN STUDENTS IN UK |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Greater London | 7,172,036 | 281,905 | 44,420 | 15.76 | 24 |
| South East | 8,000,550 | 248,700 | 23,995 | 9.65 | 13 |
| North West | 6,729,800 | 189,375 | 19,605 | 10.35 | 10.6 |
| Yorkshire & the Humber | 4,964,838 | 163,555 | 16,845 | 10.29 | 9.1 |
| South West | 4,928,458 | 121,100 | 15,920 | 13.15 | 8.6 |
| East Midlands | 4,172,179 | 111,335 | 12,545 | 11.27 | 6.8 |
| Scotland | 5,062,011 | 164,130 | 11,235 | 6.85 | 6.1 |
| West Midlands | 5,267,337 | 128,270 | 10,980 | 8.56 | 5.9 |
| Wales | 2,903,085 | 93,265 | 10,365 | 11.12 | 5.6 |
| East of England | 5,388,154 | 105,925 | 10,440 | 9.85 | 5.7 |
| North East | 2,515,479 | 78,270 | 6,560 | 8.38 | 3.6 |
| Northern Ireland | 1,685,267 | 37,430 | 1,840 | 4.91 | 1 |
| UK Total | 58,789,194 | 1,723,260 | 184,750 | 10.72 | 100 |

A different geography emerges when looking at the concentration of Bohemian students as a percentage of the number of students in the region (Table 1, column 5). Though Greater London still shows the highest ‘specialisation’ in creative courses, the role of other regions emerges. The South West, maybe unexpectedly, has over 13% of students enrolled in Bohemian courses and both the East Midlands and Wales have a percentage of Bohemian students above the national average. Northern Ireland still has the lowest percentage.

It is important to notice that, in certain regions, some ‘specialised’ institutions dominate the scene. If we look at the geography of the most important HEIs in terms of absolute number of bohemian students (Table 2), it is clear that the University of the Arts in London has a dominant role with over 12,000 students enrolled (almost 7% of the national total). Former known as the London Institute, this recently established university (it gained university status in 2004) comprises six separate colleges: the Camberwell College of Arts, Central St Martin's College of Art & Design, Chelsea College of Art & Design, London College of Fashion and the London College of Printing. It claims to be the largest HEIs in the field not only in UK but in Europe. While the size might not be comparable with the University of the Arts, the other institutions in the top 10 still educate a considerable number of Bohemian students (more than 3,000 each, which represents about 2% of the total number educated in the UK). The geographical spread is also interesting. Although the top four HEIs are located either in Greater London or in the South East, the North West and the Midlands are also well-represented (with three HEIs each and a total number of enrolled students around 10,000).

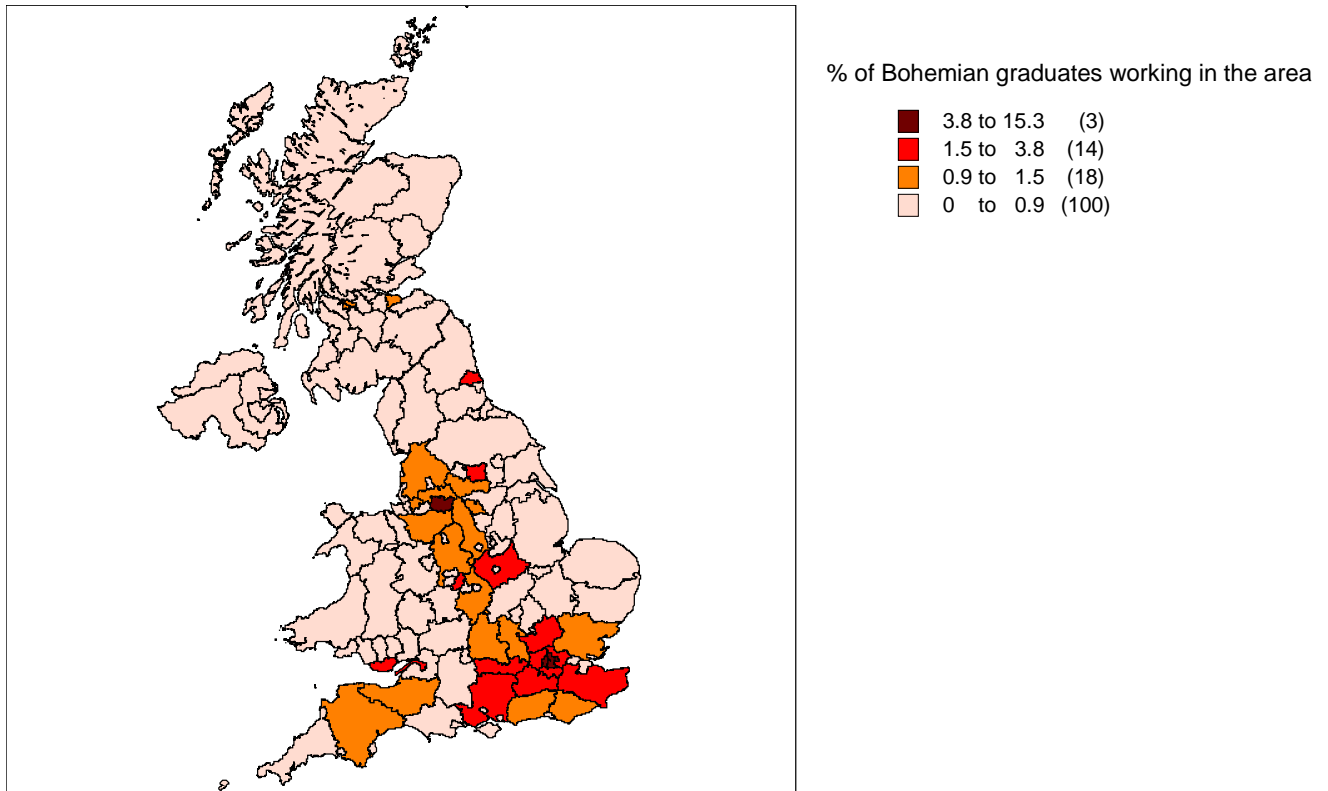
Table 2: Top ten ‘creative’ HEIs (absolute number of bohemian students and % over total national number)

| INSTITUTION | REGION | TOTAL NUMBER OF BOHEMIAN GRADUATES | % NATIONAL BOHEMIAN STUDENTS |
|---|----------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. University of the Arts, London | Greater London | 12470 | 6.8 |
| 2. University for the Creative Arts | South East | 4795 | 2.6 |
| 3. Middlesex University | Greater London | 3800 | 2.1 |
| 4. Southampton Solent University | South East | 3610 | 2.0 |
| 5. The Nottingham Trent University | East Midlands | 3475 | 1.9 |
| 6. De Montfort University | East Midlands | 3395 | 1.8 |
| 7. The Manchester Metropolitan University | North West | 3350 | 1.8 |
| 8. The University of Central Lancashire | North West | 3320 | 1.8 |
| 9. Birmingham City University | West Midlands | 3120 | 1.7 |
| 10. The University of Salford | North West | 3075 | 1.7 |

Bohemian students' and graduates' location choices for studying and working purposes

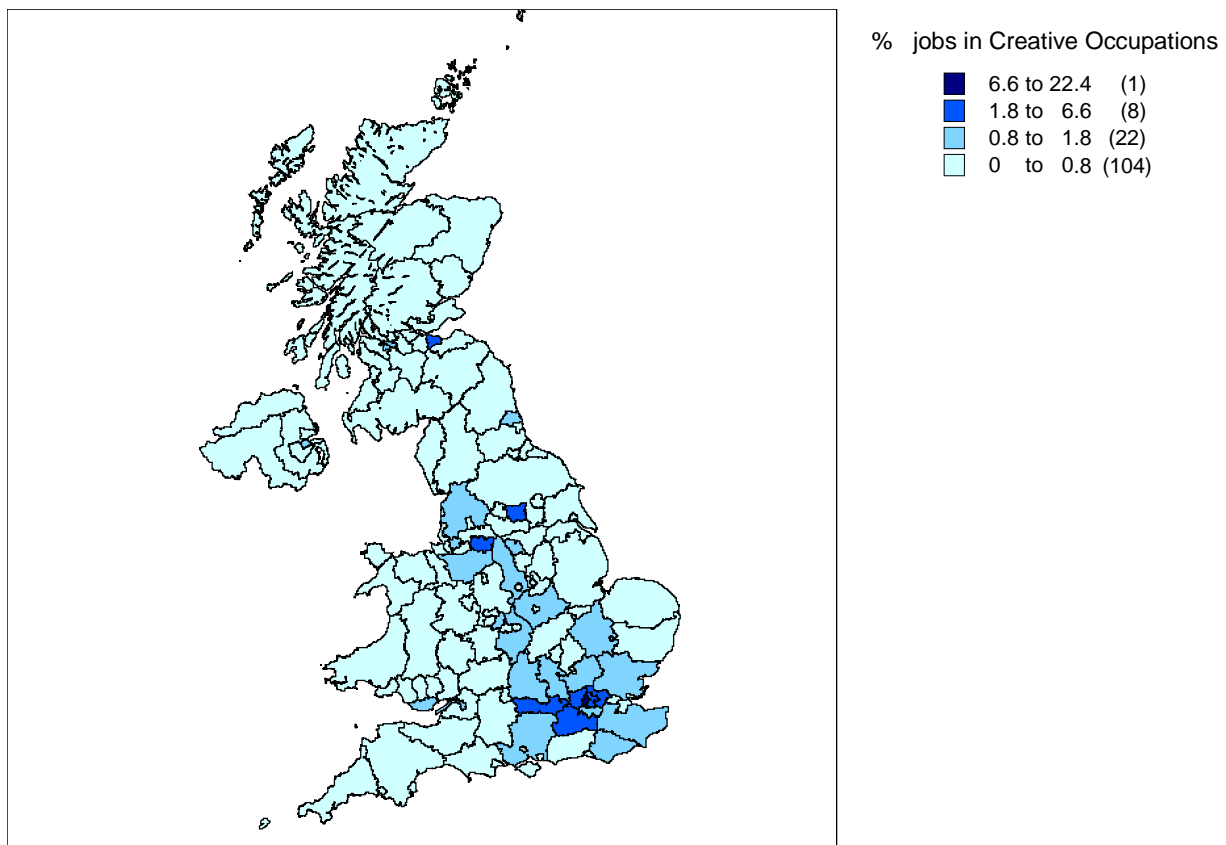
Now that we have provided a brief description of the provision of 'Bohemian' courses in the UK, it is interesting to turn our attention to the location choices of Bohemian graduates. The DHLE HESA data provide us with information on graduates' job location between 6 and 18 months after graduation. Although we recognise that this is a relatively short period, it still gives us insights on the ability of regions to retain their Bohemian graduates in the short term. As Map 1 shows, and as expected, a high percentage of Bohemian graduates choose to work in the London area, followed by Greater Manchester and the South East. The urban environment with its 'buzz' is vital for artists. The city environment offers a wider cultural infrastructure as well as creative networks and informal learning environment for artists and creative practitioners (Comunian, 2010). It also provides a wider range of job opportunities and contracts that is essential for Bohemian graduates to develop their portfolios and make a living. What is interesting, however, is the role of other 'regional' hubs such as Cardiff, Leeds and Newcastle. Newcastle – benefiting from the cultural investments taking place mainly in Gateshead - has been able to develop a strong profile as 'creative city' (Minton, 2003), which can be clearly seen in its ability to attract students in this field. However, the lower profile in reference to creative occupations, highlights the difficulty to create a stronger profile in the creative economy (Comunian, 2009) despite the policy rhetoric (ONE North East, 2007)

Map 1: Percentage of Bohemian graduates (over total) working in the area



What Map 1 does not show, however, is in what kind of professions these Bohemians are employed in. Map 2 shows the geographical distribution of graduates working in creative occupations (as defined by Comunian et al., 2010). When comparing the two maps, some similarities are clear. The role of London and the South East is confirmed, together with Manchester and Leeds. Two are the main differences emerging from the comparison of Maps 1 and 2. Firstly, Cardiff has less of a concentration of creative occupations than Bohemian graduates, while the opposite holds for the city of Edinburgh, which benefit from being a recognised centre for performing arts and literature. Both cities enjoy a position of cultural capital within their national boundaries and this emerges in the maps, as their surroundings do not present similar profiles. Secondly, creative occupations seem to be even more concentrated in the Greater London area than Bohemian graduates.

Map 2: Graduates (over total) working in creative professions



To check this, Table 5 presents the top 20 areas in terms of percentage of Bohemian students enrolled in local HEIs, percentage of Bohemian graduates in the local labour force and percentage of graduates working locally in creative occupations.

The West part of Inner London tops all three rankings, even though the percentage (and hence absolute number) of graduates working in creative occupations is more than double the percentage of Bohemian students. As such, this area of London appears to be the 'mecca' for the creative economy and the best location to get a Bohemian type/artistic job. The other half on Inner London fairs relatively well in terms of creative job market (both the percentage of Bohemian graduates working there and percentage of graduates working in

creative occupations are well above 5%) despite not having nearly as many ‘creative’ HEIs located there.

Greater Manchester, on the opposite, ranks second for percentage of Bohemian students trained, but third for percentage of Bohemian graduates working in the local area and only fourth for percentage of graduates working in creative occupations. This seems to suggest that the local labour market for creative jobs is not strong enough to retain all the Bohemian graduates educated by the local HEIs. This could also be linked to some potential occupational mismatch (Comunian et al, 2010) that might have further implication for the local creative economy. Previous studies have found that a very high percentage of bohemian graduates do enter a ‘creative’ occupation and that this is true not only in the short-term (Comunian et al. 2010) but also in the medium-long term (Abreu et al., 2011)

In general the picture coming out from Table 4 is that creative occupations are a lot more concentrated in fewer areas - with Greater London accounting for over 34% - while higher education provision of Bohemian subjects, despite still being skewed towards Greater London, displays a lower concentration level.

Table 4: Bohemian students, graduates and creative occupations: top 20 areas

| | BOHEMIAN STUDENTS | % | BOHEMIAN GRADUATES | % | CREATIVE OCCUPATIONS | % |
|-----|--|-------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| 1. | Inner London - West | 10.44 | Inner London - West | 15.27 | Inner London - West | 22.39 |
| 2. | Greater Manchester South | 4.35 | Inner London - East | 5.46 | Inner London - East | 6.56 |
| 3. | Leeds | 4.07 | Greater Manchester South | 3.81 | Outer London - West a | 3.88 |
| 4. | Outer London - West a | 3.63 | Outer London - West a | 3.59 | Greater Manchester South | 3.74 |
| 5. | Inner London - East | 3.62 | Leeds | 2.52 | Surrey | 2.04 |
| 6. | North and North East Somerset, South Gloucestershire | 3.09 | Outer London - East a | 2.02 | Leeds | 2.00 |
| 7. | Liverpool | 3.04 | Birmingham | 1.98 | Berkshire | 1.93 |
| 8. | Leicester | 2.88 | Hampshire CC | 1.93 | Edinburgh, City of | 1.88 |
| 9. | Sheffield | 2.81 | Surrey | 1.83 | Outer London - East | 1.85 |
| 10. | Southampton | 2.60 | Tyneside | 1.77 | Hampshire CC | 1.79 |
| 11. | Bournemouth and Poole | 2.43 | Kent CC | 1.68 | Oxfordshire | 1.76 |
| 12. | Nottingham | 2.41 | Bristol, City of | 1.61 | Tyneside | 1.65 |
| 13. | Birmingham | 2.36 | Outer London - South | 1.55 | Birmingham | 1.62 |
| 14. | Lancashire CC | 2.28 | Cardiff and Vale of G | 1.54 | Hertfordshire | 1.62 |
| 15. | Surrey | 2.17 | Hertfordshire | 1.53 | Glasgow City | 1.52 |
| 16. | Tyneside | 2.17 | Berkshire | 1.52 | Bristol, City of | 1.51 |
| 17. | Lincolnshire | 2.08 | Leicestershire CC and | 1.52 | Kent CC | 1.35 |
| 18. | Outer London - South | 2.03 | Glasgow City | 1.46 | Essex CC | 1.29 |
| 19. | Brighton and Hove | 1.96 | Edinburgh, City of | 1.41 | Cardiff and Vale of G | 1.26 |
| 20. | Cardiff and Vale of G | 1.92 | Essex CC | 1.38 | Leicestershire CC | 1.14 |

4.3 Bohemian graduates in the Creative city

The last part of this section explores the relationship between students' and graduates' locations and the three measures of 'city creativity' à la Clifton (2008) introduced in the previous section, i.e. the Bohemian Index, the Creative Professionals Index and the Cultural Opportunities Index.

As Table 5 shows, there is a general positive correlation between students' location choices (both to study and to work) and the proxies used to identify the 'creative city'.

Table 5: Correlations between Bohemian students' and graduates' locations and indexes of city creativity⁵

| | Graduates' Locations | | | Creative City | | |
|---|----------------------|---------|---------|---------------|---------|--------|
| | BS | BG | GCO | BI | CP | CO |
| Bohemian Students (BS) | 1.0000 | | | | | |
| Bohemian Graduates (BG) | 0.8208* | 1.0000 | | | | |
| Graduates in Creative Occupations (GCO) | 0.7909* | 0.9873* | 1.0000 | | | |
| Bohemian Index (BI) | 0.6913* | 0.8250* | 0.8225* | 1.0000 | | |
| Creative Professionals (CP) | 0.4209* | 0.6161* | 0.6050* | 0.7063* | 1.0000 | |
| Cultural Opportunities (CO) | 0.2251* | 0.3282* | 0.3471* | 0.4317* | 0.3766* | 1.0000 |

However, the size and significance of these correlations do differ. The creativity of a city is more highly correlated to the number of Bohemian graduates and graduates in creative occupations than the number of Bohemian students. This suggests two things. Firstly, city creativity is more likely to influence labour market conditions rather than higher education provision. Secondly, as seen before, the geographies of higher education provision of Bohemian courses and creative jobs are not completely overlapping (and in fact the correlations between BS and the other two measures, BG and GCO, are respectively 0.82 and 0.79, which are lower than the correlation between the two graduates labour market indexes, BG and GCO (equal to 0.98). In other words, cities which have HEIs specialised in Bohemian courses do not necessarily have a job market dominated by the creative sector.

Another interesting result is that the 'cultural opportunities' index does not exhibit a very high correlation with any of the other indexes and especially the measures of students' and graduates' location. The lowest correlation is between cultural opportunities and Bohemian

⁵ The data provided by Clifton (2008) are used as percentage over the national figures (using the % or the LQ does not change our correlations as the two measures are proportional to each other). The correlation was only possible for England and Wales, where complete data series were provided.

students with a value of around 0.22 and a significant of 0.02. This seems to suggest that when students choose which HEI to attend a Bohemian course other factors (such as University quality) are more important. The consumption of cultural activities is not one of the main determinants of students' location choices. This could be linked to the fact that the cities with a more predominant cultural and entertainment sector are also the ones which are more attractive to tourists or outside visitors, which probably influence the house prices and cost of living and become unattractive to students. Perhaps more surprisingly, the correlations between the index of cultural opportunities and the locations of graduates (either Bohemians or working in creative occupations) are also not very high, although more significant. Without inferring any directional causality, this seems to imply that the concept of creative city as a place for 'cultural consumption' (broadly speaking) is not what Bohemian students and graduates are attracted to. Rather, they think of a 'creative city' as a place of 'cultural production' with a strong knowledge and creative sector.

5. Conclusions

This chapter presents a first investigation of the link between the 'creative' higher education provision and 'creative cities'.

Results suggest a general high degree of concentration in the spatial distribution of both the provision of creative higher education and the creative job market. Especially for the latter, the role of London is dominant confirming recent research on creative industries clusters (NESTA, 2009, Pratt, 2004). Greater London and the South East of England have a leading role in the UK creative economy also thanks to a self-reinforcing mechanism stemming from the interaction between creative HEIs and the creative sector. Clearly these areas benefit from historical and infrastructural advantages in the creative higher education provision, and these advantages are well exploited by the local creative production system creating a long-lasting and embedded symbiosis.

The fact that creative activities are highly concentrated in few, normally urban, areas raise issues of the role of policy makers in sustaining more peripheral areas where the creative economy is more of an aspiration than a reality. To what degrees this aspiration should be questioned or supported has already emerged as a critical issue (Oakley, 2006). While creating new courses and infrastructures for creative subjects in old and new HEIs appears to be an easy solution, the issue of long-term sustainability and real job opportunities should be considered (Heartfield, 2005). Furthermore, 'creative city' policies might play a role in increasing local inequality when the need to attract the 'creative class' might clash with the needs of local residents and local artists (McCann, 2007). The literature also suggests that Bohemian graduates are likely to have more temporary, part-time and poorly paid jobs (Abreu et al., 2011) than other graduates and therefore the issue of sustainability and possible polarisations has never been more central (McRobbie and Forkert, 2009).

The fact that the number of Bohemian graduates and graduates working in creative occupations is more strongly correlated to the indexes of 'cultural and creative production' rather than 'cultural consumption' is yet another confirmation of the fact that creative HEIs and the local creative labour market work as an integrated system.

While this work was a first attempt to highlight the issues surrounding HEIs in the creative city, our focus was specifically on the role of 'bohemian graduates' in the defining the contribution of HEIs to local economies and creative cities. This is obviously a limited perspective that could be expanded and improved by considering the overall role of 'creative' HEIs in creative cities, including the role of research capacity and academic leadership and partnerships (Powell, 2007). Chatterton (1999) referring to research in more artistic subjects states that "*universities ...are one of the few remaining places where artistic experimentation and integrity is financially viable [...]; and their staff and student populations play a crucial role in sustaining the viability of many local cultural events and facilities*". If this is the case, more research needs to be done to fully understand the relationship between higher education and the creative economy.

Acknowledgements

We acknowledge the support of the "Impact of Higher Education Institutions on Regional Economies Initiative" (ESRC grant number RES-171-25-0032 co-funded by HEFCE, Scottish Funding Council, HEFCW and DELNI). The authors also wish to thank HEFCE and HESA for providing access to the data used in this study. Nevertheless, all views expressed are solely the responsibility of the authors.

Bibliography

- ABREU, M., FAGGIAN, A., COMUNIAN, R. & MCCANN, P. 2011. "Life is short, art is long": the persistent wage gap between Bohemian and non-Bohemian graduates. *The Annals of Regional Science*, 1-17, Online First DOI: 10.1007/s00168-010-0422-4.
- ARTS COUNCIL OF ENGLAND 2009. Capital case study: The Creative Foundation, Folkestone - Kent. London: Arts Council of England (UK).
- BELL, D. & JAYNE, M. 2004. *City of Quarters: Urban Villages in the Contemporary City* Aldershot, Ashgate
- BIANCHINI, F. & LANDRY, C. 1995. *The Creative City*. London: Demos.
- CANTOR, N. 2005. Collaborations on the Creative "Campus". *Conference on Campus-Community Art Connections and the Creative Economy of Upstate New York*. Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.
- CHAPAIN, C. A. & COMUNIAN, R. 2009. Creative Cities in England: Researching Realities and Images. *Built Environment*, 35, 212-229.
- CHARLES, D. 2003. Universities and territorial development: reshaping the regional role of English universities. *Local Economy*, 18, 7-20.
- CHARLES, D. 2006. Universities as key knowledge infrastructure in regional innovation systems. *Innovation*, 19, 117 - 130.
- CHATTERTON, P. 1999. The cultural role of universities in the community: revisiting the university - community debate. *Environment & Planning A*, 32, 165-181.
- CHATTERTON, P. & GODDARD, J. 2000. The Response of Higher Education Institutions to Regional Needs. *European Journal of Education*, 35.
- CLIFTON, N. 2008. The "creative class" in the UK: an initial analysis. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90, 63-82.

- COMUNIAN, R. 2009. Questioning creative work as driver of economic development: the case of Newcastle-Gateshead. *Creative Industries Journal*, 2.
- COMUNIAN, R. 2010. Rethinking the creative city: the role of complexity, networks and interactions in the urban creative economy. *Urban Studies* forthcoming.
- COMUNIAN, R., FAGGIAN, A. & LI, Q. C. 2010. Unrewarded careers in the creative class: The strange case of Bohemian graduates. *Papers in Regional Science*, 89 389 - 410
- COMUNIAN, R., SMITH, D. & TAYLOR, C. 2007. A new 'Triple Helix'? Universities, Creative Industries and Cultural Policy. *Triple Helix Conference VI*. National University of Singapore, Singapore.
- CRAMPORN, J. & WOODHOUSE, J. 1999. The role of education in economic development. *Industry & Higher Education*, 13, 169-175.
- CROSSICK, G. 2006. Knowledge transfer without widgets: The challenge of the creative economy. *Lecture, Royal Society of Arts*. Goldsmiths University of London: London.
- CUNNINGHAM, S. 2004. The humanities, creative arts, and international innovation agendas. In: KENNAWAY, J., BULLEN, E. & ROBB, S. (eds.) *Innovation & Tradition : The Arts, Humanities and the Knowledge Economy*. New York: Peter Lang.
- CUNNINGHAM, S., CUTLER, T., HEARN, G., RYAN, M. & KEANE, M. 2004. An innovation agenda for the Creative Industries: Where is the R&D? *Media International Australia: incorporating Culture & Policy*, 112, 174-185.
- DCMS 2009. Creative Industries Economic Estimates. London: DCMS.
- FAGGIAN, A. & MCCANN, P. 2006. Human capital flows and regional knowledge assets: a simultaneous equation approach. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 58, 475-500.
- FAGGIAN, A. & MCCANN, P. 2009. Human capital, graduate migration and innovation in British Regions. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 33, 317-333.
- FLORIDA, R. 2002a. Bohemia and economic geography. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 2, 55-71.
- FLORIDA, R. 2002b. *The Rise of the Creative Class*, New York, Basic Books.
- GARCÍA, B. 2005. De-constructing the City of Culture: The long term cultural legacies of Glasgow 1990. *Urban Studies* 42, 1-28.
- HEARTFIELD, J. 2005. The Creativity Gap. London: Blueprint, ETP Ltd.
- HOSPERS, G.-J. 2003. Creative Cities in Europe: Urban Competitiveness in the Knowledge Economy. *Intereconomics*, September / October 2003, 260 - 269.
- LANDRY, C. 2000. *The Creative City: A toolkit for Urban Innovators*, London, Earthscan Publications.
- MARKUSEN, A. 2006. Urban Development and the Politics of a Creative Class: Evidence from the case Study of Artists. *Environment and Planning A*, 38, 1921 - 1940
- MATHUR, V. K. 1999. Human Capital-Based Strategy for Regional Economic Development. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 13, 203-216.
- MCCANN, E. J. 2007. Inequality and Politics in the Creative City-Region: Questions of Livability and State Strategy. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31, 188-196.
- MCROBBIE, A. & FORKERT, K. 2009. Artists & Art Schools: for or against innovation? A reply to NESTA. *Variant*, Spring 2009, available <http://www.variant.randomstate.org/pdfs/issue34/nesta34.pdf> (last accessed 20th April 2009).
- MINTON, A. 2003. Northern Soul: Culture, Creativity and quality of place in Newcastle and Gateshead. Published by DEMOS & RICS.
- MONTGOMERY, J. 2005. Beware "the Creative Class". Creativity and Wealth Creation Revisited. *Local Economy*, 20, 337-343.

- MOULD, O., ROODHOUSE, S. & VORLEY, T. 2009. Realising capabilities - Academic creativity and the creative industries. *Creative Industries Journal*, 1, 137-150.
- MUSTERD, S. & OSTENDORF, W. 2004. Creative Cultural Knowledge Cities: Perspectives and Planning Strategies. *Built Environment*, 30, 189-193.
- NESTA 2007. How linked are the UK's creative industries to the wider economy? An input-output analysis. In: PAPER, W. (ed.). London: NESTA
- NESTA 2009. The geography of creativity. London: NESTA.
- NOBLE, M. & BARRY, T. 2008. Supporting Regional Regeneration and Workforce Development: Establishing a new University Centre in Folkestone *UVAC Annual Conference Higher Education - Skills in the Workplace: Delivering employer-led higher level work-based learning* Royal York Hotel, York
- OAKLEY, K. 2006. Include Us Out—Economic Development and Social Policy in the Creative Industries. *Cultural Trends*, 15, 255 - 273.
- ONE NORTH EAST 2007. Commercial Creative Industries Sector. Newcastle Upon Tyne: One North East and Culture North East.
- POWELL, J. 2007. Creative universities and their creative city-regions. *Industry and Higher Education*, 21, 323-335.
- PRATT, A. C. 2004. Mapping the cultural industries: Regionalization; the example of South East England. In: POWER, D. & SCOTT, A. J. (eds.) *Cultural industries and the production of culture*. London: Routledge.
- PRATT, A. C. 2008. Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90, 107-117.
- PRESTON, J. & HAMMOND, C. 2006. The Economic Impact of UK Higher Education Institutions. London: Universities UK.
- STANFORD ARTS INITIATIVE 2007. Engaging the Arts & Creativity. accessed 20th February 2010. http://arts.stanford.edu/assets/ArtsInitiative_L2.pdf.
- TAYLOR, J. 2005. Unweaving the Rainbow: Research, Innovation and Risk in a Creative Economy. *AHRC Discussion Paper*. London: AHRC.