

Tolerance, Talent, and Attraction of Creative Workers in Tourism Destinations (Insights from the Province of BuenosAires, Argentina)

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks to analyze the municipal distribution of creative workers in the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and specifically to explore how tourism destinations behave in relation to their ability to attract them. Thereby, it provides empirical evidence to demonstrate where the different subgroups of creative workers (professional, super-creative, and bohemian) are attracted to, and what factors of attraction (tolerance, talent, technology, and territory) influence their location in 110 municipalities of the province. The results highlight that human factors (talent and tolerance) are the fundamental ones and that the location of bohemians and super-creative has the greatest significant correlations with the conditions of place.

KEYWORDS: Creative workers; tourism destinations residential attractiveness; urban development; Buenos Aires

1. Introduction

According to Florida (2002) there is a “creative class” that comprises people who are engaged in creative and innovative jobs. Florida’s main hypothesis (2005) proposed that certain characteristics contribute to the selection of cities where creative workers choose to reside. Thus, Florida defined three components that must be present in a “creative” city and called them the 3Ts of economic development: tolerance, talent, and technology (Florida, 2005). They include social openness and diversity (tolerance), human capital (talent), and the empirical application of knowledge (technology). Subsequently, a fourth T, for territory (Florida, 2011), was added to refer to the availability of social and cultural and equipment services in cities.

According to these theses (Florida, 2002, 2005), the economic success of cities is directly related to their capacity to attract and retain creative people. Therefore, their growth is not connected only to standard conditions such as the availability of job opportunities.

In any case, it is important to highlight the self-criticism (Florida, 2017) and the criticism of various authors to the theory of creative class and to the very use of the concept of class to identify such workers (Andersen et al., 2010; Markusen, 2006; Peck, 2005; Tomić, 2013; Wilson & Keil, 2008; You & Bie, 2017). According to Andersen et al., 2010, the critique can be summarized into three main groups. One debate refers to the use of the concepts and indicators to measure the creative class, and in particular, its applicability. Another related debate concerns the causal relations proposed in the creative class thesis, in particular, that the creative class is attracted by specific qualities of place and jobs follow the creative class. The third debate concerns the main policy prescription following from the thesis, that is, cities should strive to attract creative people in order to trigger high-tech industrial development.

Despite this current discussions about this issue, as the presented by Haisch and Klöpper (2015), and along these lines of reasoning (Florida, 2002, 2005), scholars have attempted to test the attraction and retention factors of the creative workers in different locations around the world. Moreover, beyond criticism about the “creative class” concept itself, the significance of the debate on the creative people is the assumption that they spur regional and urban growth (Boschma & Fritsch, 2009; Florida, 2005).

What makes this debate particularly interesting from a geographical perspective is that creative people is unevenly distributed across cities and regions (Boschma & Fritsch, 2009) and, in Florida’s line of reasoning (2002), they are especially attracted to places characterized by an urban climate with particular social, economic, and environmental factors. So, this paper analyzes the role of creative workers in the development of cities (see also Tomić, 2013). It is important to notice, in this introductory statement that in this paper, creative people are referred to as creative workers instead of the creative class. In this sense, we follow some authors who point out that occupation alone cannot be a class determinant (Barbrook, 2006; Tremblay & Chicoine, 2011). Arvidsson (2007) considers that there is an important division between creatives who are professionals and those who are proletarians. The former are those who can live off their work, while the latter are those workers who, are also creative, but can only work temporarily, often payed below the minimum required for both, their qualification and average salary. This shows that not all creatives have the same relationship with the means of production (there

are entrepreneurs, employees, the self-employed and even informal and precarious ones). Therefore, it is difficult to consider the term "class" with such an amalgam.

Creative workers are people who generate economic value through their creativity. It consists of three subgroups: the super-creative, the creative professionals and the bohemians. The mission of the super-creative is to produce new shapes or designs that are easily transferable and widely used. This group consists of scientists, engineers, university professors, as well as intellectual leaders such as figures from the world of culture, think-tanks of researchers, analysts and opinion formers. The group of professionals, the most numerous among the creatives, are characterized by the fact that they "... engage in creative solving, drawing on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems" (Florida, 2002, p. 69). The paradigmatic example of creative professionals is found in legal or medical professionals who, based on exhaustive knowledge with a high degree of training, are able to seek and provide solutions to specific problems based on the synthetic application of the necessary knowledge. The bohemians, initially included as part of the super creative group, are treated since Boschma and Fritsch (2009) as a separate group. They are the workers who use symbolic knowledge. In this group professions such as writers, artists or musicians can be found. Bohemians are engaged in cultural and artistic occupations, and they have two roles: they are part of the creative class and a sign of urban culture tolerance; therefore, they play a key role in attracting the other two categories of creative workers.

Following with the role of creative workers in the development of cities, Clifton and Cooke (2009) conducted an analysis of the quality of place and the distribution of creative workers in seven European countries. Brown and Mczynski (2009) compared the relative importance of traditional and new factors proposed by Florida (2005) in London and Poland. Frenkel et al. (2013a, 2013b), based on the case study of the city of Tel Aviv, suggested that location choices of the creative workers are related to the conceptual assumptions of the importance of Florida's lifestyle and cultural services (2002).

Lawton et al. (2013) declared that Dublin's case confirmed that, even though residential preferences of creatives are similar to those of the population in general, tolerant areas are considered attractive to talent, which, in turn, attracts high-tech companies and spurs regional economic growth. By contrast, Kozina (2016) argued that the great demographic diversity of creative workers in Slovenia confirms that they are heterogeneous not only in terms of the structure of the occupation but also in terms of age, gender, education, and nationality. In this context, it is important to admit that the spatial distribution of the creative workers can lead to polarization of work and social and income inequality (Florida & Mellander, 2016; Florida, 2017).

From a different perspective, Brown and Mczynski (2009) and Lorenzen and Andersen (2007) demonstrated a link between city size and employment in science and technology. They concluded that larger cities offer a greater number of enterprises that require more specialized types of human capital, e.g. scientists and engineers. Moreover, those cities with a high proportion of creative people attract even more creative people.

Other relevant cases have been studied by Darchen and Tremblay (2010), who analyzed the choice of residence of university science and technology students in Ottawa and Montreal. They found that employment opportunities and social factors are the most relevant elements for explaining the mobility patterns of talented people. Furthermore, in the Netherlands, Marlet and van Woerkens (2013) claimed that it is not tolerance, cultural

openness, or ethnic diversity that attracts creatives, but, apart from job opportunities, it is cultural offerings such as historic buildings, museums, and cafés, among others.

In Latin America, several scholars have conducted research that can be related to the attraction of the creative workers, focusing on creative economies, creative cities, creative industries, and the relationship between residential and social mobility and innovation (Copaja-Alegre & Esponda-Alva, 2017; Fonseca Reis, 2008; González et al., 2015; Herrera Medina et al., 2017; Ketelhöhn & Ogliastrri, 2013; Otero & González, 2014; Pac Salas & Rodríguez de la Fuente, 2016; Paquette Vassalli & Delaunay, 2009; Pereira de Castro Pacheco et al., 2017; Valdivia López & Cuadrado Roura, 2017). Nevertheless, there is little evidence of empirical works that analyze the location and distribution of the creative workers.

A case study in Mexico (Sobrino, 2016) yielded results on the attraction of the creative workers to state capitals in contrast with smaller-population cities or those specialized in the industrial sector. Thus, Mexican cities with concentrations of the creatives in 2010 were capitals of federal entities. They were successful in competitive performance and productive structure without a significant presence of the manufacturing sector. In addition, they did not attract migrant populations in general; in fact, the association in this regard was negative, but they did attract migrants involved in creative activities. In other words, Mexico's urban areas that attracted the creative workers in 2010 were mainly capitals specialized in the service sector and successful in the competitive struggle to draw productive investments.

Another case analyzed by Pac Salas and Rodríguez de la Fuente (2016) observed the class structure in the city of Buenos Aires and highlighted that creative occupations play a key role in its configuration. Here, the super-creative core acquires slightly higher proportions of women who occupy such positions to a greater extent. The analysis also stated that the geographic location of creatives is usually, in relative terms, the northern area of the city, where the majority of the highest socioeconomic strata lives. The intra-urban residential location of creatives is a fundamental aspect to consider, and as Florida (2017) has recently claimed, it is also a source of socio-spatial segregation.

Although there is scant literature on this subject, the analysis of the attraction of the creative workers to tourist destinations such as Mediterranean Spain (González Reverté et al., 2016) and Catalonia (Olano et al., 2017) has revealed that tourist cities have not received attention in regard to this process. In this context, it has also been proved the existence of workers –and, among them, creatives workers that move to live in tourism destinations after having previously stayed in those places as tourists. However, generally tourists are not usually the only ones who decide to become residents of tourism destinations, instead, other creative workers migrate to these places simply because of their reputation (see Williams & Hall, 2000 to delve into specific situations resulting from the relationship between tourism and migration).

In this vein, in this paper we propose to analyze the regional distribution of the creative workers in the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and, specifically, understand how tourist municipalities behave in relation to their capacity to attract creative workers. To do so the paper formulates the following hypotheses:

- H1. The spatial distribution of the different commonly identified subgroups of creative workers (super-creative workers, bohemians, and creative professionals) follows particular patterns of location that differ from each other.

H2. In the Latin American case and, in particular, the province of Buenos Aires as a place with its own characteristics in regard to technology and territory assets (amenities), human factors, i.e. tolerance and talent, are fundamental for linking creative workers and their place of residence.

This article is structured in four sections. First, the bibliographic review of creative class and empirical work carried out in other countries are analyzed. In addition, the objectives and working hypotheses have been introduced. Second, the methodology is proposed and the province of Buenos Aires is defined as the study area. The variables used in other empirical studies are then adapted to define creative workers to the Argentinian statistic system and their classification is described. The same happens with creativity indicators that are adapted based on the official statistics available at INDEC. In the third section, the results obtained from simple and multiple regression analysis are analyzed and reflected on. Finally, a discussion about the relevance of the empirical evidence obtained is held and the conclusions reached in this article are highlighted.

2. Methodology

2.1. Area of study

Buenos Aires is the largest province in Argentina. It covers an area of 304,907 km² and has 15.6 million inhabitants, according to the 2010 Population, Household and Housing Census. Its importance lies in the fact that it has 39% of the country's total population, 33% of its exports, 37% of the products, and over 50% of the industry. It is divided into 135 municipalities with the same powers and duties. However, there is great diversity in geographic, social, and economic terms.

Buenos Aires has been chosen as the research setting given that being the most significant province in Argentina, it has the greatest human capital development and a high presence of innovative, creative, scientific and high tech professionals as well as a wide variety of tourism destinations.

Although, in the first phase of the analysis conducted for this article includes all the municipalities in the province, in a second phase, the capital together with 24 municipalities in its suburban area have been excluded of the analysis as they all have exceptional characteristics that could make difficult to observe the roles of different types of tourist and non-metropolitan municipalities in the attraction of creative workers.

2.2. Techniques and methodological tools

In order to obtain the residential locations of creative workers in the province of Buenos Aires, a classification of the creative workers and a definition of creativity indicators at the municipal level were provided. To do so, Florida (2002) and other scholars' definitions of creative groups were adapted (Boschma & Fritsch, 2009; Clifton, 2008; González Reverté et al., 2016; Romero Padilla et al., 2016). The background data are obtained from the National Census of Population, Households and Housing published by INDEC in 2010. The two-digit aggregated data for the classification of occupations are considered to delimit various creative groups (see [Appendix 1](#)).

Moreover, to define creativity indicators, we have worked with Florida's (2002) definition of the attraction factors known as the 4 Ts, i.e. tolerance, talent, technology, and territory assets (amenities) as well as the definitions of other authors who have developed empirical works on this subject (Andersen et al., 2010; Boschma & Fritsch, 2009; Clifton, 2008; González Reverté et al., 2016; Haisch & Klöpfer, 2015; Marlet & van Woerkens, 2013; Olano et al., 2017; Romero Padilla, 2016) (see Appendix 2).

Although it has been possible to adapt most of the variables adopted by the aforementioned authors, it is important to highlight that, in the case of the tolerance indicator, the variable related to the percentage of same-sex couples (TO.7) was difficult to be determined. Otherwise, in regard to talent and technology, it has not been possible to gather all the variables used in other studies due to the paucity of relevant statistics. However, the variables considering entrepreneurship, human capital, and patents have been validated (Florida, 2002; Glaeser, 2004; González Reverté et al., 2016; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2008; Romero Padilla et al., 2016) and data obtained by the Direction of Literary Promotion of the Province of Buenos Aires and the Provincial Directorate of Museums and Heritage Preservation were adapted to create the index of territory assets.

To estimate the creativity index, all the variables have been standardized in percentages and the ranking method, a technique proposed by the United Nations for the design of sustainable development indicators, has been used (Schuschny & Soto, 2009).

In this case, from the 16 explanatory variables collected, the information for each variable is organized by assigning hierarchical values from 1 to 110, according to the number of municipalities included in this particular analysis and the prevalence of the variable. In other words, the value 110 is assigned to the municipality where the variable is more important (as stated by the purpose of this study) and so forth, until the value 1 is assigned to the municipality where the same variable is less relevant.

Once the ranking has been completed, those variables belonging to the same category (T) are added to the 16 variables, which again undergo the ranking process (110 for the highest value and 1 for the lowest). Thus, four synthetic ranked indexes are obtained:

- Tolerance ranking indexes
- Talent ranking indexes
- Technology ranking indexes
- Territory assets ranking indexes

The total creativity index is obtained from the sum and its subsequent ranking of the four synthetic indexes. In summary, the creativity index assigns the value 110 to the municipality with the highest level of creativity according to the 4Ts criteria and the value 1 to the lowest creativity index.

Finally, in order to identify the residential location of the creative workers and establish how many workers live in tourist municipalities and which groups they belong to, it has been necessary to classify tourist and non-tourist municipalities. Therefore, two dimensions have been considered, i.e. urban and tourist (Olano et al., 2017).

For the urban dimension, the criterion of population size is used to define the nature of the municipality. Although there are several scholars who use different criteria for the classification of municipalities according to their population size (Arroyo, 2001; Iturburu,

2000), Llorens' criterion (2002) has been adopted since it relates to the size of the metropolitan system of the province of Buenos Aires.

Regarding the tourist dimension, the supply of tourist accommodation is measured in-hotel and extra-hotel accommodation¹ beds and places of potential tourist use (VPU-T).² According to the distribution of these places, criteria that establish a classification within the tourist municipalities are defined.

Combining both dimensions, the following classification of municipalities has been adopted. Thus, the specialized, vacational, and diversified ones are within the tourist classification, and small, medium, and large municipalities form part of the non-tourist ones (see Table 1). This table still includes the autonomous city of Buenos Aires (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, or "CABA"), the country's capital city, and the municipalities in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires (Área Metropolitana Buenos Aires, or AMBA), where a large percentage of the population of the province of Buenos Aires is concentrated.

Specialized tourist municipalities are those where tourism is the main economic activity and that have a large tourist infrastructure. They are mostly coastal municipalities. Vacational municipalities have a great role as secondary residences location places, e.g. Pilar. Finally, the diversified municipalities have tourist activity that is complemented by farming, commercial, and industrial activities. In addition, in this group, there are municipalities that do not have a single tourist activity but many such as farm, thermal, cultural, urban, nature, weekend tourism (as in the previous case).

After classifying the information, the correspondence between the rates of creative employment and the types of tourist municipalities was analyzed using parametric comparison (t-test for equality of means) and non-parametric techniques (Kruskal–Wallis test) for independent samples. Based on the results, evidence of differences in some rates of creative employment has been found, taking into consideration the tourist status of the municipalities. As a result, the most precise analysis of these differences was conducted by means of a regression analysis. Thus, with the information provided by the synthetic indexes, various linear regression analyses are performed to attempt to determine the contribution of the independent variables (creative employment rates). Two cohorts were identified, one for all the municipalities and one for tourists. The regression analysis used is based on the method of ordinary square minimums. The data were processed using IBM SPSS software version 20, while the cartographic representation of the results was conducted by means of QGIS software.

Finally, it is important to mention the limitations of this approach. First the scarcity of useful available statistical data when building the indicators. This is the case of the technology indicator as only one variable was available (patents) and it was not possible to obtain information on marks and utility models used in other empirical works. In addition, there is the problem of the year of reference of some data which are not updated regularly. Another limitation is related to the classification of tourist municipalities since there are no available and comparable statistics on house platforms. Thus, it has not been included when defining the tourist dimension of destinations. Nevertheless, a part of the accommodations commercialized through the platforms are referred to in the synopsis of VPUTs. However, we cannot know the proportion of the absence of data.

Table 1. Classification of municipalities according to size (2010) and tourist orientation (2016).

| Classification | Typology | Classification criteria | N° of Municipalities | % Municipalities | Permanent Population | % Population | |
|---|---|---|--|------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------|
| Tourist | Specialized (ST) | Municipalities with 15,000-plus VPUT beds and more than 15,000 hotel beds | 4 | 2,96% | 746.080 | 4,03% | |
| | | Between 15,000 and 150,000 inhabitants– Medium | 3 | 2,22% | 127.091 | 0,69% | |
| | | More than 150,000 inhabitants– Large | 1 | 0,74% | 618.989 | 3,34% | |
| | Vacational (VT) | More than 15,000 VPUT beds and fewer than 15,000 hotel beds | 5 | 3,70% | 459.382 | 2,48% | |
| | | Fewer than 15,000 inhabitants – Small | 1 | 0,74% | 6.499 | 0,04% | |
| | | 15,000 - 150,000 inhabitants– Medium | 3 | 2,22% | 153.806 | 0,83% | |
| | Non-Tourist (NT) | Diversified (DI) | More than 150,000 inhabitants– Large | 1 | 0,74% | 299.077 | 1,62% |
| | | | Fewer than 15,000 VPUT beds and more than 1,000 hotel beds | 19 | 14,07% | 2.475.295 | 10,95% |
| | | Municipalities with fewer than 1,000 hotel beds | Fewer than 15,000 inhabitants | 1 | 0,74% | 12.723 | 0,07% |
| | | | 15,000 –150,000 inhabitants | 16 | 11,85% | 1.058.993 | 5,72% |
| 150,000 -plus inhabitants | | | 2 | 1,48% | 955.896 | 5,16% | |
| Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area (AMBA) Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA) | Municipalities belonging to Greater Buenos Aires Autonomous City of Buenos Aires | Municipalities with fewer than 1,000 hotel beds | 82 | 60,74% | 2.475.295 | 13,37% | |
| | | Fewer than 15,000 inhabitants | 29 | 21,48% | 281.718 | 1,52% | |
| | | 15,000 - 150,000 | 52 | 38,52% | 1.979.958 | 10,69% | |
| | | 150,000-plus inhabitants | 1 | 0,74% | 213.619 | 1,15% | |
| | | Total of Municipalities in the Province of Buenos Aires and Autonomous City of Buenos Aires | 135 | 100,00% | 18.515.235 | 100,00% | |

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Olano et al., 2017.

3. Results

3.1. Distribution of creative workers according to the classification of municipalities

Analyzing Tables 2 and 3, it can be highlighted that tourist municipalities tend to attract the more representative creative workers. Thus, in the super-creative core, the specialized municipality of Pueyrredón (Mar del Plata) and the diversified tourist municipalities of La Plata and Tandil stand out. Likewise, it is also observed that the majority of tourist municipalities attract a greater proportion of specialized (General Pueyrredón– MDQ – Villa Gesell), diversified (La Plata and Luján), and vacational (Necochea) bohemians.

More specifically, it can be said that, according to Table 2, based on the creative total jobs, despite the smaller proportion of population, specialized tourist municipalities have a higher average even than AMBA. It must be taken into consideration that CABA, the capital of the country, has not only a large percentage of the population of the province but also distinctive characteristics regarding the culture and creative industry.

On the other hand, it is shown that, although the distribution of creative employment does not differ much among the different types of municipalities, specialized tourist destinations are the ones that contribute the most and are more homogeneously distributed. Contrarily, non-tourist municipalities have a wide disparity, with a deviation of 0.04.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the distribution of the creative workers according to the typology of municipalities in the province of Buenos Aires.

| Employment | Municipality | Small | Medium | Minimum | Maximum | St deviation |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|--------|---------|---------|--------------|
| Total creative employment rate | Specialized tourist (ST) | 0.2391 | 0.2368 | 0.2265 | 0.2564 | 0.013 |
| | Vacational tourist (VT) | 0.2185 | 0.2109 | 0.1884 | 0.2462 | 0.0235 |
| | Diversified tourist (DT) | 0.2279 | 0.226 | 0.1675 | 0.3203 | 0.034 |
| | Small non-tourist (SNT) | 0.2168 | 0.213 | 0.1549 | 0.3648 | 0.0466 |
| | Medium and Large non-tourist (MLNT) | 0.2212 | 0.2221 | 0.1215 | 0.3928 | 0.0415 |
| | Metropolitan Area (AMBA) | 0.2244 | 0.2113 | 0.1161 | 0.3917 | 0.0744 |
| Professional jobs rate | Autonomous City (CABA) | 0.3624 | 0.3624 | 0.3624 | 0.3624 | . |
| | ST | 0.2205 | 0.2238 | 0.2053 | 0.2289 | 0.0111 |
| | VT | 0.2062 | 0.2 | 0.1755 | 0.2347 | 0.0229 |
| | DT | 0.2129 | 0.2159 | 0.157 | 0.2862 | 0.0294 |
| | SNT | 0.2074 | 0.2024 | 0.1486 | 0.3589 | 0.0472 |
| | MLMT | 0.211 | 0.2098 | 0.1095 | 0.3802 | 0.042 |
| | AMBA | 0.2034 | 0.1881 | 0.1012 | 0.3542 | 0.0672 |
| Super-creative jobs rate | CABA | 0.3041 | 0.3041 | 0.3041 | 0.3041 | . |
| | ST | 0.0133 | 0.0116 | 0.0085 | 0.0217 | 0.006 |
| | VT | 0.0076 | 0.0081 | 0.0057 | 0.0095 | 0.0016 |
| | DT | 0.0109 | 0.0088 | 0.0039 | 0.0257 | 0.0057 |
| | SNT | 0.007 | 0.0066 | 0.0018 | 0.0202 | 0.0038 |
| | MLNT | 0.0077 | 0.0065 | 0.0032 | 0.0229 | 0.004 |
| | AMBA | 0.016 | 0.0151 | 0.0079 | 0.0297 | 0.0063 |
| Bohemian jobs rate | CABA | 0.046 | 0.046 | 0.046 | 0.046 | . |
| | ST | 0.0054 | 0.0056 | 0.0027 | 0.0076 | 0.002 |
| | VT | 0.0047 | 0.0052 | 0.0019 | 0.0066 | 0.0017 |
| | DT | 0.0041 | 0.0041 | 0.0002 | 0.0096 | 0.0024 |
| | SNT | 0.0024 | 0.0018 | 0 | 0.0072 | 0.0019 |
| | MLNT | 0.0024 | 0.0024 | 0.0004 | 0.0069 | 0.0013 |
| | AMBA | 0.005 | 0.003 | 0.001 | 0.0311 | 0.0067 |
| CABA | 0.0123 | 0.0123 | 0.0123 | 0.0123 | . | |

Source: Own elaboration

Table 3. Distribution of the creative workers according to the typology of municipalities and population.

| Municipality Tourist Typology | Total Population | | People employed in creative jobs | | People employed in professional jobs | | People employed insuper-creative jobs | | People employed in bohemian jobs | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|
| | N° | % | N° | % | N° | % | N° | % | N° | % |
| Specialized Tourist | 746,080 | 13.1% | 91,218 | 14.3% | 81,987 | 13.9% | 7,156 | 19.7% | 2,075 | 18.0% |
| Vacational Tourist | 459,382 | 8.0% | 43,963 | 6.9% | 41,090 | 7.0% | 1,864 | 5.1% | 1,009 | 8.7% |
| Diversified Tourist | 2,027,612 | 35.5% | 254,163 | 39.9% | 231,795 | 39.4% | 16,770 | 46.2% | 5,598 | 48.4% |
| Non-Tourist (small) | 281,718 | 4.9% | 29,563 | 4.6% | 28,328 | 4.8% | 899 | 2.5% | 336 | 2.9% |
| Non-Tourist (medium) | 2,193,577 | 38.4% | 217,403 | 34.2% | 205,245 | 34.9% | 9,620 | 26.5% | 2,538 | 22.0% |
| Total | 5,708,369 | 100.0% | 636,310 | 100.0% | 588,445 | 100.0% | 36,309 | 100.0% | 11,556 | 100.0% |

Note: AMBA municipalities and CABA are not included in the analysis. Source:
Own elaboration

Analyzing the type of creative workers specifically by municipality, it follows that professional jobs are those having the greatest influence on all creative jobs, although the distribution among the category of municipalities stands out most among the super-creative and bohemians where specialized tourist groups present 0.013 (super-creative) and 0.054 (bohemian).

Table 3 shows patterns of creative employment according to the type of municipality excluding AMBA and CABA. It is observed that, considering a similar proportion of population employed by type of municipality, such as the cases of diversified tourist ones (35.5%) and medium and large non-tourist type (38.4%), the former contribute almost twice as many super-creative and bohemian employment positions in comparison to the latter. Likewise, specialized tourist places, despite representing 13% of the population, have a significant contribution of total creative employment (14.3%). However, it is observed that the specialized tourist municipalities show a greater proportion of super-creative workers while diversified municipalities attract bohemians, and the non-tourist municipalities tend to draw professionals.

In order to determine whether the differences observed are statistically significant, a chi-square test is applied³ dividing the population according to their creative condition (professionals, super-creative workers, bohemians) and taking into consideration the typology or tourist condition of the municipalities. Based on the distribution of the types of creative jobs by type of municipality, the theoretical or expected distribution that would demonstrate independence between the analyzed variables is obtained.

The statistical analysis of the differences between the observed values and the expected values enables an evaluation of the relationship between both variables for which a quadratic distance index or chi-square test is used. This analysis provides the following parameters:

| <i>Statistics</i> | Value | df | <i>p-value</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------|----|----------------|
| Chi square of Pearson | 6,344,680 | 8 | 0.000 |

In accordance with the results, it can be observed that the probability of the null hypothesis is close to zero (p -value = 0.000), and taking into consideration that the null hypothesis implies an independence in the variables, it can be affirmed that there is a degree of significant association between the typologies of a municipality and the creative condition of its employees.

From this perspective, it is demonstrated that, as a whole, in the province of Buenos Aires the tourist municipalities have a role equivalent to other demographically more significant municipalities in the location of creative jobs in the Buenos Aires urban system.

Figure 1 shows the spatial distribution of the participation of each creative workers in the municipalities of the province of Buenos Aires. From the analysis of the cartography, it is observed that, there is a high presence of bohemians in coastal municipalities that corresponds with a moderate participation of the super-creative core. Such are the cases of Tres Arroyos, San Cayetano, Necochea, and La Plata. In addition, there is a correlation of coastal tourist municipalities with moderate participation of professionals and those with moderate participation of the super-creative core, e.g. Tres Arroyos, San Cayetano, Necochea, and General Pueyrredón (Mar del Plata).

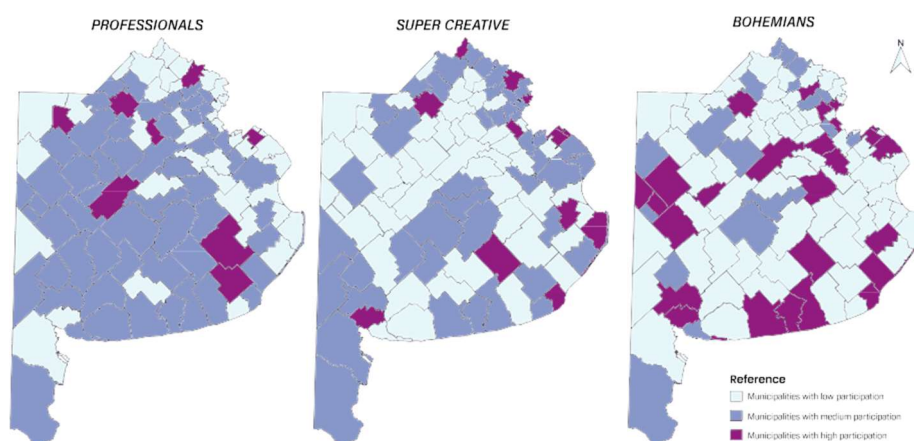


Figure 1. Creative workers in municipalities of the province of Buenos Aires (except CABA and AMBA), 2010. Source: Own elaboration.

Likewise, the municipalities of Bahía Blanca, General Pueyrredon, and Villa Gesell have a high participation of super-creative and bohemian workers. Monte Hermoso, Pinamar, and Villa Gesell have a high participation of bohemians rather than super-creative workers. By contrast, Tres Arroyos, San Cayetano, and Necochea have high participations of bohemians, professionals and super-creative workers. The super-creative core coincides at a significant percentage with the bohemians and differs substantially from the professionals.⁴ The highest participation values of professionals are in the non tourist municipalities, with the exception of Junín and La Plata, which, being DT, contribute 25.17% and 28.62% respectively. The rest of the tourist municipalities are concentrated between 19% and 24% of professional jobs. Within the super-creative core, the ST of Pueyrredón (Mar del Plata) stands out with 2.17% and the DT of La Plata (2.57%) and Tandil (2.30%). Finally, it is observed that the majority of tourist municipalities attract a greater proportion of specialized (General Pueyrredón– MDQ – Villa Gesell), diversified (La Plata and Luján), and vacational (Necochea) bohemians.

3.2. Analysis of the variables that influence the residential location of creative workers according to types of municipalities

A first analysis of the results has to do with the attraction of the creative workers according to the type of municipality within the Buenos Aires urban system (except for AMBA and CABA). Thus, for the average-to-average comparison for independent samples of two groups, i.e. tourist and non-tourist municipalities, based on Irene Moral Peláez (2006), inequalities in the attraction of creative workers can be identified according to the type of municipality.

Data in Table 4 enable an analysis of whether the tourist municipalities (diversified, vacational, and specialized) have a creative employment rate different from the non-tourist ones, and the significance of the T test for average-to-average comparison is checked. Results suggest that tourist municipalities tend to attract a greater proportion of the most creative workers: the super-creative and bohemian, which

Table 4. Rate (%) of workers according to the type of employment and municipality.

| Creative workers type | Munic. Type | N | Media | Standard Deviation | Standard error |
|-----------------------|-------------|----|--------|--------------------|----------------|
| Total Creative *1 | Tourist | 28 | 0,2278 | 0,0301 | 0,0057 |
| | Non-tourist | 82 | 0,2196 | 0,0432 | 0,0048 |
| Professional *2 | Tourist | 28 | 0,2127 | 0,0261 | 0,0049 |
| | Non-tourist | 82 | 0,2097 | 0,0437 | 0,0048 |
| Super-Creative *3 | Tourist | 28 | 0,0106 | 0,0054 | 0,0010 |
| | Non-tourist | 82 | 0,0074 | 0,0039 | 0,0004 |
| Bohemians *4 | Tourist | 28 | 0,0043 | 0,0021 | 0,0004 |
| | Non-tourist | 82 | 0,0024 | 0,00155 | 0,0001 |

Note: Significance of the T test for average-to-average comparison.

*1: 0,353

*2: 0,728

*3: 0,001

*4: 0

Note: AMBA municipalities and CABA are not included in the analysis. Source:

Own elaboration

shows that the presence of creative workers in certain territories is influenced by the tourist typology of the municipality within the Buenos Aires region. More specifically, specialized tourist municipalities are the ones that attract a greater proportion of creative workers.

From the analysis of the correlation coefficient (see [Appendix 3](#)), the strong influence that professionals have on the total number of creative workers (0.991**) is demonstrated. However, the behavior of each individual variable with respect to the different types of creative workers can be observed. Thus, it is noted that, for all creative workers, talent variables behave as expected (more–better); in the tolerance variables, what is expected is demonstrated in the case of super-creative workers and bohemians, and the inverse relationship in professionals and the total creative workers. In the case of the technology variable, it is positive only for professionals and total creative workers, and for territory amenities, an unexpected result is shown most cases. However, it is important to clarify that when, performing the regressions, aggregate rates from these standard variables will be considered.

Based on the construction of creativity rates, in a second analysis, we seek to determine what factors influence the attraction of the creative workers in Buenos Aires's municipalities considering the 4Ts of Florida (2002).

The values of [Table 5](#), where the average of the index is generated for each of the types of municipalities, suggest that the tourist municipalities have the highest creativity index, the human factors, tolerance and talent, present a better preponderance of the variables, more specifically in ETM and DTM. On the other hand, DTM presents a greater proportion of territorial amenities and technology, although these values are not as significant as the first ones.

Likewise, it is analyzed whether there are statistical differences in the synthetic indexes according to the type of municipality ([Table 5](#)) where, following the statistic of average-to-average, non-parametric, for independent samples of more than two groups, it is shown that there is no evidence to affirm that the technology and territory indexes show a difference according to the type of municipality in question. Moreover, it can be assumed with a low degree of error that, according to the tourist categories of the municipalities, there is a different level of tolerance, talent, and total creativity.⁵

Table 5. 4Ts average indexes and total creativity index according to type of municipality.

| Typology | tolerance index*1 | talent index*2 | technology index*3 | territorial assets index*4 | total creativity index*5 |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Specialized Tourist | 91 | 106 | 22 | 26 | 82 |
| Vacational Tourist | 82 | 90 | 18 | 53 | 81 |
| Diversified Tourist | 73 | 73 | 48 | 59 | 79 |
| Non-tourist (small) | 35 | 35 | 16 | 57 | 34 |
| Non-tourist (average) | 55 | 53 | 26 | 56 | 54 |

Note: Kruskal–Wallis test statistics

*1:0,000

*2:0,000

*3:0,207

*4:0,423

*5:0,000

Note: AMBA municipalities and CABA are not included in the analysis.Source:

Own elaboration

Since synthetic indicators have been structured for each of the 4Ts and for total creativity, they can be plotted on a map of the province of Buenos Aires (Figures 2). These maps show each of the synthetic variables discriminating municipalities according to equal intervals of 33% each, that is, municipalities with a low index (0–33%), municipalities with a moderate index (33–66%), and municipalities with a high index (66–99%). Thus, the more intense the color, the better the situation of the municipality is in terms of the selected variable.

A third level of analysis shows that the spatial distribution of the three subgroups of creative workers (super-creative workers, bohemian, and creative professionals) follows particular patterns of location that differ from each other, and also that such inequalities respond to differences among them.

Thus, the first model that attempts to explain these differences is structured by applying a multiple regression analysis from standardized variables with the ranking method, making the distinction of the model applied for all municipalities and only with tourist municipalities (Table 6).

The results obtained allow us to observe significant differences according to the type of municipality considered. Thus, it can be seen that the values that best fit the multiple linear regression are in the model that considers only the tourist municipalities, with bohemians obtaining an R of 0.775. However, the relationship among the variables is uneven, being significant for talent and territory amenities in regard to bohemians, tolerance in the super-creative workers, and talent in professionals and total creative workers.

Taking into consideration the analysis of all the municipalities, although the values of R do not adjust to the linear regression (the major R being that of the super-creative 0.603), there is a relationship of greater significance between the variables. Tolerance, technology, and territory amenities are positive in bohemians and professionals, tolerance and talent in the super-creative workers, and talent and territorial amenities in total creative workers.

The values obtained in each of the four sub-indexes of tolerance, technology, talent, and territory amenities have been added again with the same method to obtain the synthetic index of 4Ts and, thus, perform a simple regression analysis (Table 7).

In the case of the synthetic index model, the results obtained are significant for the case of analysis of all the municipalities or the tourist municipalities only. There is a significant relationship in the super-creative workers and bohemians (p -value 0.000).

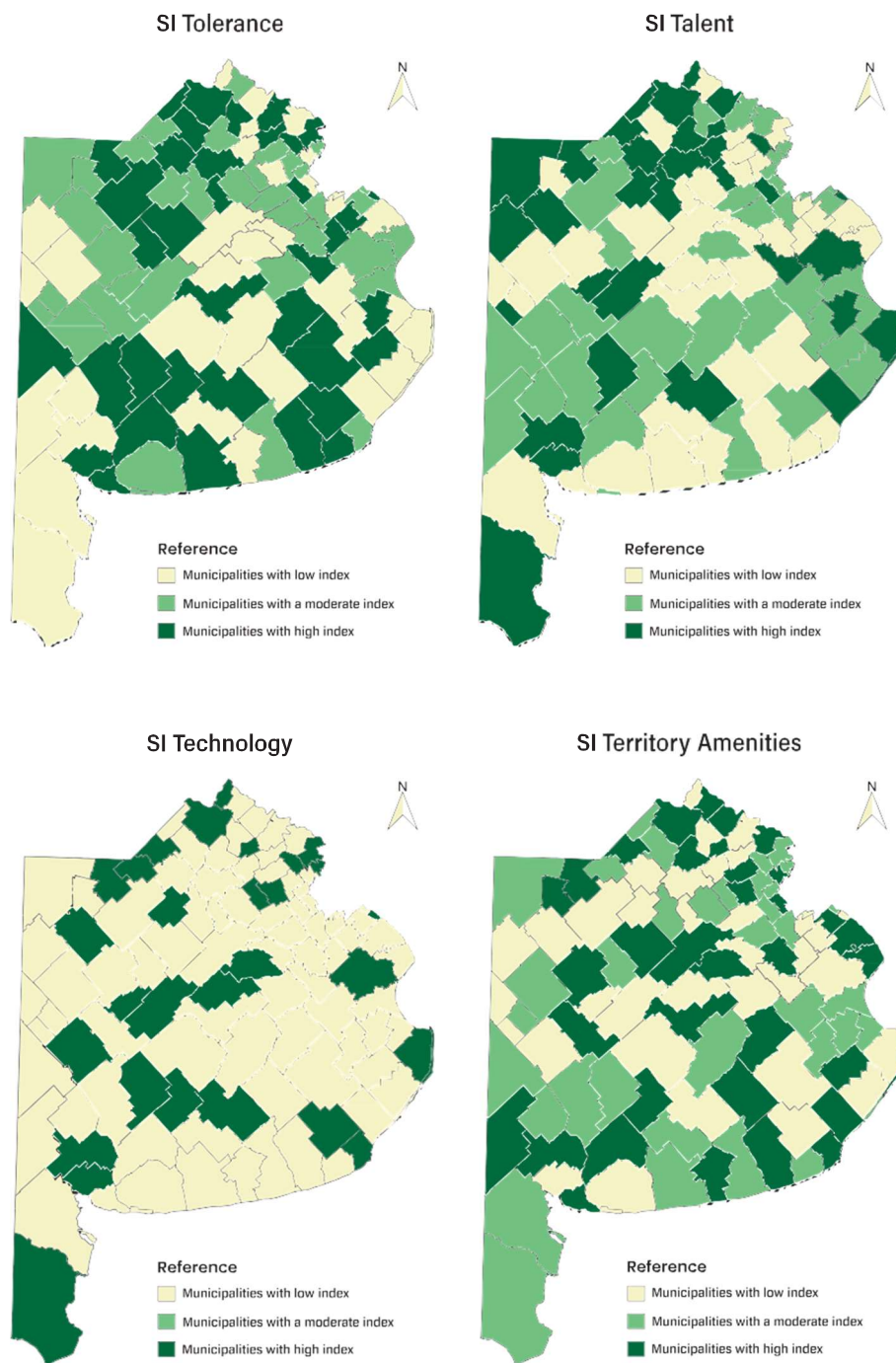


Figure 2. Synthetic indexes (SI) of creativity factors in the municipalities of the province of Buenos Aires (except CABA and AMBA). Source: Own elaboration.

Table 6. Multiple regression of normalized indexes with ranking method. Applied to all municipalities and only tourist municipalities.

| | Total Municipalities | | | | Tourist Municipalities | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------|
| | Total Creative Workers | Professionals | Super-creative Workers | Bohemians | Total Creative Workers | Professionals | Super-creative Workers | Bohemians |
| R | 0,421 | 0,419 | 0,603 | 0,598 | 0,601 | 0,553 | 0,628 | 0,775 |
| R-squared | 0,178 | 0,175 | 0,364 | 0,357 | 0,361 | 0,306 | 0,394 | 0,601 |
| Adjusted R-squared | 0,146 | 0,144 | 0,340 | 0,333 | 0,250 | 0,185 | 0,289 | 0,532 |
| Durbin-Watson (1,2 - 1,9) | 1,638 | 1,610 | 1,267 | 1,603 | 1,678 | 1,548 | 1,303 | 2,330 |
| F | 5,670 | 5,581 | 15,034 | 14,598 | 3,255 | 2,536 | 3,741 | 8,661 |
| Significance | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,030 | 0,068 | 0,017 | 0,000 |

| | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value |
|---------------------|-------|---------|--------|---------|-------|---------|--------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| Constant | 0,195 | 0,000 | 0,193 | 0,000 | 0,002 | 0,179 | 0,000 | 0,043 | 0,177 | 0,000 | 0,184 | 0,000 | 0,004 | 0,344 | 0,002 | 0,142 |
| TOLERANCE | 0,000 | 0,091 | 0,000 | 0,013 | 0,001 | 0,000 | 0,001 | 0,003 | 0,001 | 0,778 | 0,000 | 0,399 | 0,000 | 0,022 | 0,001 | 0,283 |
| TALENT | 0,000 | 0,001 | 0,000 | 0,002 | 0,001 | 0,029 | 0,001 | 0,000 | 0,001 | 0,004 | 0,000 | 0,008 | 0,001 | 0,125 | 0,001 | 0,000 |
| TECHNOLOGY | 0,001 | 0,895 | -0,001 | 0,995 | 0,001 | 0,163 | -0,001 | 0,988 | 0,000 | 0,246 | 0,001 | 0,434 | 0,001 | 0,053 | 0,001 | 0,071 |
| TERRITORY AMENITIES | 0,000 | 0,001 | 0,000 | 0,048 | 0,001 | 0,418 | 0,001 | 0,005 | 0,000 | 0,544 | 0,001 | 0,750 | 0,001 | 0,302 | 0,001 | 0,041 |

Note: AMBA municipalities and CABA are not included in the analysis. Source:

Own elaboration

Table 7. Simple regression with synthetic index 4Ts ranking method – applied to all municipalities and tourist municipalities.

| | Total Municipalities | | | | Tourist Municipalities | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------|
| | Total creative workers | Professionals | Super-creative workers | Bohemians | Total creative workers | Professionals | Super-creative workers | Bohemians |
| R | 0,227 | 0,164 | 0,378 | 0,466 | 0,445 | 0,351 | 0,504 | 0,689 |
| R-squared | 0,052 | 0,027 | 0,143 | 0,217 | 0,198 | 0,123 | 0,254 | 0,475 |
| Adjusted R-squared | 0,043 | 0,018 | 0,135 | 0,209 | 0,167 | 0,090 | 0,225 | 0,455 |
| Durbin-Watson (1,2 - 1,9) | 1,767 | 1,747 | 1,244 | 1,558 | 1,693 | 1,601 | 1,629 | 1,947 |
| F | 0,588 | 2,977 | 17,915 | 29,882 | 6,426 | 3,655 | 8,838 | 23,538 |
| Significance | 0,017 | 2,087 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,018 | 0,067 | 0,006 | 0 |

| | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value | Betas | p.value |
|--------------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|--------|---------|
| Constant | 0,206 | 0,000 | 0,199 | 0,000 | 0,005 | 0,000 | 0,001 | 0,000 | 0,018 | 0,000 | 0,182 | 0,000 | 0,002 | 0,612 | -0,001 | 0,561 |
| 4T SYNTHETIC INDEX | 0,000 | 0,017 | 0,000 | 0,087 | -0,005 | 0,000 | -0,005 | 0,000 | 0,001 | 0,018 | 0,000 | 0,067 | 0,000 | 0,006 | -0,005 | 0,000 |

Note: AMBA municipalities and CABA are not included in the analysis. Source: Own elaboration

In conclusion, it is clear that the influence of the 4 Ts is differential according to the type of municipality and creative workers, where a significant positive correlation of the talent and tolerance factors in the attraction of the creative workers in the Buenos Aires territory has been found, mainly to the most distinctive creative workers such as the super-creative and bohemians.

4. Discussion and conclusions

This work represents a new approach to the study of the location of creative workers since it has been widely analyzed in North America (Darchen & Tremblay, 2010; Florida, 2002), in Europe (Boschma & Fritsch, 2009; Brown & Meczyński, 2009; Clifton & Cooke, 2009; González-Reverté et al., 2016; Kozina, 2016; Lawton et al., 2013; Olano et al., 2017) and in China (You & Bie, 2017) but not in Latin America. Results enable the inclusion of new elements related to the specificity of the geographic area and also to the validity of the established notion of the creative workers as an engine of urban development and the role of tourism in attracting the creative workers.

The first aspect for discussion arises from the fact that human factors such as tolerance and talent mark the differences in the attraction of the creative workers in the case of Buenos Aires province. Technology and territory amenities are factors with no clear difference between tourist and non-tourist places. Therefore, there is a relationship between places with people with more talent and tolerance and the presence of more super-creative workers and bohemians.

These results differ from those obtained in the US and Europe, where technology and territory perform substantial roles. This is the case of empirical data in Tel Aviv (Frenkelet et al., 2013b), the US (Florida, 2002; Markusen, 2006), and European countries (Andersen et al., 2010; Haisch & Klöpper, 2015). A particular example is provided by Clifton and Cooke (2009), who compared the US with seven European countries and revealed that the presence of a rich cultural scene and a high concentration of people working in cultural occupations are undoubtedly the most important factors attracting the creative workers. Regarding technology, it is well known that in the general model of regional development according to Florida and Mellander (2016), it is regarded as an attraction factor when it is noted that the concentration of talent affects both technology and regional development.

In other vein, a study conducted in Germany (Marlet & van Woerkens, 2013) stated that it is not tolerance or openness to cultural or ethnic diversity that make cities attractive to the creative workers but rather job opportunities, aesthetic features such as natural settings and historical buildings, and traditional services. Other studies have, likewise, shown that the classic factors of attraction such as commuting time, the price of housing, and the availability of employment play an important role in the residential choices of creative workers (Frenkel et al., 2013a; Lawton et al., 2013).

It is precisely this distinctive difference in the attraction factors that is interesting to discuss, not only taking into consideration what has been observed in Argentina but also thinking about the whole of Latin America. It can be stated that in Latin America, territory assets are not very distinctive given that there are few everywhere. This is a significant aspect since what is relevant is the human factor, the more talented and tolerant people.

A second element for discussion has to do with the debate about the size of cities and the attraction of the creative workers. Florida and Mellander (2016) demonstrated that large metropolitan areas have different advantages when it comes to attracting highly qualified people, high-tech jobs, and other economic assets in more global, knowledge-based economies. Lorenzen and Andersen (2009) showed how the effects of the population size of cities can be more detrimental to attracting creatives than to attracting the general population and suggested that creatives may respond adversely to urban congestion in large cities. In the same vein, Markusen (2006) stated that artists are distributed differentially among the largest cities and that this distribution is a function of artists' preferences for places to live and local efforts to promote artistic development.

In any case, results of this paper show that the size factor can influence the attraction of the creative workers, mainly in tourist municipalities and outside AMBA and CABA. Moreover, medium and large municipalities do not attract super-creative workers and bohemians, while the tourist municipalities do attract them.

Finally, the discussion turns to the relationship between tourist municipalities and the attraction of the creative workers. In an empirical analysis of the location of creative workers in the tourist destinations of the Spanish Mediterranean (González Reverté et al., 2016), it was observed that the tourist municipalities have very good global results in regard to creativity due to their contribution as spaces of tolerance. The fact that creativity in tourist cities is channeled through tolerance suggests a process of tourist urbanization that has generated living spaces around its environment or urban atmosphere (Olano et al., 2017).

In conclusion, the empirical research conducted in the tourist destinations across the province of Buenos Aires allows us to show, first, that specialized and diversified tourist destinations have the highest creativity index, as human factors, ie, tolerance and talent, have the best preponderance of the variables. This is because the tourist phenomenon itself is an element of openness and a generator of a more-tolerant climate. Second, a definite highlight is that the coastal tourist municipalities have a high participation of bohemians.

However, it would be necessary to verify when the presence of creative conditions in tourist cities can be associated with the urban maturity of the destinations and their capacity to extend the residential attraction in a complementary way to their tourist function, according to the hypothetical approach stated by Équipe MIT (2011).

Finally, it can be argued that non-tourist municipalities have a tendency to value the conditions of the place, that is, territory amenities, beyond talent and tolerance, which, although statistically significant, do not reach the level of tourist destinations. However, further studies will be necessary to understand patterns in tourist municipalities in contrast to other types of cities.

Consequently, to conclude, it is important to highlight that the results show the uniqueness of this Latin American case with respect to other regions of the world. It is observed that the human factor is fundamental both from the point of view of what factors influence the attraction of the creative workers and the fact that it is in the location of the purest creative workers (bohemians and super-creative workers) where the most significant correlations with the conditions of place are found. Moreover, it can be said that the analysis conducted confirms the hypotheses formulated, i.e. that:

H1. The spatial distribution of the three subgroups of creative workers (super-creative, bohemian, and creative professionals) follows particular patterns of location that differ from each other.

H2. In the Latin American case and, in particular, the province of Buenos Aires, as a place with its own characteristics in technology and territory assets (amenities), human factors, i.e. tolerance and talent, are fundamental when linking creative workers and their place of residence.

Lastly, it is important to mention that the residential location of creative workers has practical implications for managers of tourist destinations. Based on observing the creative workers' residential location, target strategies aimed at attracting creative workers as people with human capital potential with high levels of skills and training can be planned as a useful tool for updating, diversifying and repositioning destinations. This implies the need to design specific policies and strategies taking into account the characteristics of each destination and the particular preferences and lifestyles of the different subgroups of creative workers. Their integration into the design of destination policies and actions is based on their status as agents that can help to generate development.

Notes

1. Number of hotels, lodgings, and other places licensed by the Ministry of Tourism for the year 2016. The establishments included by the Ministry are classified as apart hotel, one-star hotel, two-star hotel, three-star hotel, four-star hotel, boutique hotel, uncategorized hotel, union/mutual hotel, motel, hostel/B&B, hostel, cabins/bungalows, tourist complex, rural establishment, lodging, inn, residential, camping site and tourist units set. We include classified establishments as a university residence as well as unclassified ones.
2. Number of homes that could be used for tourists. According to the 2010 census, houses that are uninhabited because they are used temporarily for vacations or weekends are listed as VPUT. To determine the number of beds, multiply by 4 people, which is the housing occupancy average.
3. Obtaining the expected values or frequency (f^e) under the hypothesis of independence is calculated as: $f_{ij}^e = (total\ row_i * total\ column_j) / total\ cases$.
4. The ranges considered are established by means of the method of grouping data from natural ruptures that minimizes the distance between the values and the average of each group, and maximizes, in relation to other groups, obtaining the following hierarchy in: Professionals: 11–20% low, 20–25% medium, over 25% high Super-creative: up to 0,7% low, 0,7–1,2% medium, over 1,2% high Bohemians: up to 0,3% low, 0,3–0,4% medium, over 0,4% high.
5. That is, sorted according to level of total creativity: Specialized T.> Vacational T.> Diversified T.> Non-tourist (med.)> Non-tourist (small).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Types of creative workers

| Creative types | Occupations according to INDEC 2010 |
|----------------|---|
| Professionals | <p>Managerial occupations in state institutions and social organizations</p> <p>Occupations in the industrial and craft production in the sectors of professional, scientific, and technical activities</p> <p>Technological development occupations</p> <p>Management and managerial occupations of large private companies, management and managerial occupations of small- and medium-sized private companies that are in the sectors manufacturing industry, electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply; water supply; sewage, waste management, and sanitation activities; building; wholesale and retail; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles; transport and storage; accommodation and catering services; information and communication; financial and insurance activities; real estate activities; professional scientific and technical activities; public administration and defense; mandatory social security plans; teaching; human health and social services; arts, entertainment, and recreation.</p> <p>Occupations of administrative, legal, accounting and finance management that are in the sector of financial and insurance activities, professional, scientific and technical activities, education, and human health and social services</p> <p>Occupations of other basic social services found in the human health and social services sector</p> |
| Super-creative | <p>Health occupations</p> <p>Education occupations</p> <p>Construction and infrastructure occupations found in the professional, scientific, and technical activity sector</p> <p>Telecommunication Occupations</p> <p>Occupations of software production</p> <p>Occupations of scientific research</p> <p>Management occupations in the powers of the state</p> |
| Bohemians | Occupations in other services in arts, entertainment, and leisure |

Source: Own elaboration

Appendix 2: creativity indexes

| Index | Id | Indicator | Description | Source | Criteria |
|--------------------|-----|--|---|---|-----------------|
| Tolerance | T01 | Gender equality for managerial positions | Percentage of managerial positions held by women with respect to total managerial positions | INDEC 2010 Census | More– Better |
| | T02 | Gender equality due to unemployment | Proportion of female unemployment, with respect to the total unemployment | INDEC 2010 Census | Less– Better |
| | T03 | Cultural diversity | Proportion of the population born abroad | INDEC 2010 Census | More– Better |
| | T04 | Factual Pairing | Proportion factual pairing with respect to the total population aged 14 or over | INDEC 2010 Census | More– Better |
| | T05 | Single-Parent | Proportion of single-parent households with respect to total households | INDEC 2010 Census | More– Better |
| | T06 | Young population | Proportion of young people (20–35 years) with respect to total population | Censo INDEC 2010 | More– Better |
| | T07 | Homosexuality | Number of same-sex civil marriages per 10,000 inhabitants | Dirección Provincial de las Personas | More– Better |
| Talent | TA1 | Entrepreneurship | Proportion of entrepreneurs (businessmen and professionals with or without employees), with respect to the total employed | INDEC 2010 Census | More– Better |
| | TA2 | Human Capital | Proportion of university and post-university population with respect to the total population of 4 years or more | Censo INDEC 2010 | More– Better |
| Technology | TE1 | Patents | Quantity of patents per 1000 inhabitants | INPI | More– Better |
| Territorial assets | AT1 | Libraries | Quantity of libraries per 1000 inhabitants | Direction of Literary Promotion of the Prov. Bs. As. | More– Better |
| | AT2 | Museums | Quantity of museums per 1000 inhabitants | Provincial Directorate of Museums and Heritage Preservation (PDMHP) | More– Better |
| | AT3 | Popular celebrations | Quantity of popular celebrations per 1000 inhabitants | PDMHP | More– Better |
| | AT4 | Monuments and Historic sites | Quantity of M and HS per 1000 inhabitants | PDMHP | More– Better |
| | AT5 | Theaters and cultural spaces | Quantity of T and CS per 1000 inhabitants | PDMHP | More– Better |
| | AT6 | INCAA spaces | Quantity of INCAA Spaces per 1000 inhabitants | PDMHP | More– Better |
| Creativity | | Creativity global index | Combination of tolerance, talent, technology, and territory assets indexes | | More– Better |

Source: Own elaboration

Appendix 3: correlation coefficient

| | T_creative | T_profesionales | T_super | T_bohemian | Tol_Equality_T | Tol_Iquality_D | Tol_Diversity | Tol_Pairing | Tol_Single-parent | Tol_Youths | Tol_Homosexuality | Tal_Entrepreneurship | Tal_H Capital | Tec_Patents | Terr_Libraries | Terr_Museums | Terr_Celebrations | Terr_Monuments | TerE_Theaters | Terr_Incaa |
|----------------------|------------|-----------------|---------|------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|------------|
| T_creative | 1 | ,991** | 0,1 | 0,156 | ,228* | ,233* | -0,154 | -0,158 | -,191* | -,250** | 0,176 | 0,141 | ,308** | 0,03 | -0,068 | -0,092 | -0,092 | ,287** | -0,116 | -0,009 |
| T_profesionales | ,991** | 1 | -0,029 | 0,073 | ,269** | ,202* | -,209* | -,189* | -,226* | -,312** | 0,094 | 0,135 | ,214* | 0,04 | -0,052 | -0,076 | -0,076 | ,299** | -0,098 | -0,007 |
| T_super | 0,1 | -0,029 | 1 | ,325** | -,345** | ,273** | ,346** | ,219* | ,246** | ,405** | ,577** | -0,089 | ,646** | -0,071 | -0,152 | -0,122 | -0,122 | -0,092 | -0,127 | -0,055 |
| T_bohemians | 0,156 | 0,073 | ,325** | 1 | -0,002 | 0,043 | ,297** | 0,074 | 0,096 | ,275** | ,385** | ,354** | ,482** | -0,039 | 0,016 | -0,058 | -0,058 | 0,019 | -0,1 | 0,091 |
| Tol_Iquality_T | ,228* | ,269** | -,345** | -0,002 | 1 | -0,031 | -,217* | -0,073 | -,217* | -0,096 | -0,129 | 0,093 | -0,071 | 0,121 | -0,069 | 0,175 | 0,175 | 0,054 | 0,106 | -0,116 |
| Tol_Iquality_D | ,233* | ,202* | ,273** | 0,043 | -0,031 | 1 | ,245** | 0,053 | ,204* | ,234* | ,199* | -,211* | ,302** | -0,132 | -,194* | -0,153 | -0,153 | 0,062 | -0,028 | -0,145 |
| Tol_Diversity | -0,154 | -,209* | ,346** | ,297** | -,217* | ,245** | 1 | ,422** | ,192* | ,502** | ,327** | -0,02 | ,396** | -0,174 | -0,161 | -,192* | -,192* | -0,159 | -0,119 | -0,17 |
| Tol_Pairing | -0,158 | -,189* | ,219* | 0,074 | -0,073 | 0,053 | ,422** | 1 | ,301** | ,325** | 0,085 | -0,159 | 0,031 | -0,087 | -0,132 | -0,153 | -0,153 | -0,138 | 0,009 | -0,088 |
| Tol_Singl-parent | -,191* | -,226* | ,246** | 0,096 | -,217* | ,204* | ,192* | ,301** | 1 | ,387** | 0,124 | -0,168 | 0,069 | -0,013 | | -0,033 | -0,033 | -0,166 | -0,129 | 0,108 |
| Tol_Youths | -,250** | -,312** | ,405** | ,275** | -0,096 | ,234* | ,502** | ,325** | ,387** | 1 | ,352** | -,303** | ,397** | -0,121 | -,251** | -0,182 | -0,182 | -,317** | -0,173 | -,264* |
| Tol_Homosexuality | 0,176 | 0,094 | ,577** | ,385** | -0,129 | ,199* | ,327** | 0,085 | 0,124 | ,352** | 1 | 0,059 | ,746** | -0,016 | -0,163 | -0,124 | -0,124 | -0,115 | -0,15 | -0,09 |
| Tal_Entrepreneurship | 0,141 | 0,135 | -0,089 | ,354** | 0,093 | -,211* | -0,02 | -0,159 | -0,168 | -,303** | 0,059 | 1 | 0,068 | ,256** | 0,063 | -0,042 | -0,042 | 0,064 | -0,142 | 0,011 |
| Tal_CapitalH | ,308** | ,214* | ,646** | ,482** | -0,071 | ,302** | ,396** | 0,031 | 0,069 | ,397** | ,746** | 0,068 | 1 | -0,011 | -,234* | -,207* | -,207* | -0,086 | -,214* | -0,135 |
| Tec_Patents | 0,03 | 0,04 | -0,071 | -0,039 | 0,121 | -0,132 | -0,174 | -0,087 | -0,013 | -0,121 | -0,016 | ,256** | -0,011 | 1 | -0,063 | -0,042 | -0,042 | 0,128 | -0,032 | 0,151 |
| Terr_Libraries | -0,068 | -0,052 | -0,152 | 0,016 | -0,069 | -,194* | -0,161 | -0,132 | -,349** | -,251** | -0,163 | 0,063 | -,234* | -0,063 | 1 | 0,095 | 0,095 | ,351** | ,432** | 0,009 |
| Terr_Museums | -0,092 | -0,076 | -0,122 | -0,058 | 0,175 | -0,153 | -,192* | -0,153 | -0,033 | -0,182 | -0,124 | -0,042 | -,207* | -0,042 | 0,095 | 1 | 1,000** | 0,144 | -0,016 | 0,061 |
| Terr_Parties | -0,092 | -0,076 | -0,122 | -0,058 | 0,175 | -0,153 | -,192* | -0,153 | -0,033 | -0,182 | -0,124 | -0,042 | -,207* | -0,042 | 0,095 | 1,000** | 1 | 0,144 | -0,016 | 0,061 |
| Terr_Monuments | ,287** | ,299** | -0,092 | 0,019 | 0,054 | 0,062 | -0,159 | -0,138 | -0,166 | -,317** | -0,115 | 0,064 | -0,086 | 0,128 | ,351** | 0,144 | 0,144 | 1 | 0,041 | 0,185 |
| TerE_Theaters | -0,116 | -0,098 | -0,127 | -0,1 | 0,106 | -0,028 | -0,119 | 0,009 | -0,129 | -0,173 | -0,15 | -0,142 | -,214* | -0,032 | ,432** | -0,016 | -0,016 | 0,041 | 1 | 0,144 |
| Terr_Incaa | -0,009 | -0,007 | -0,055 | 0,091 | -0,116 | -0,145 | -0,17 | -0,088 | 0,108 | -,264** | -0,09 | 0,011 | -0,135 | 0,151 | 0,009 | 0,061 | 0,061 | 0,185 | 0,144 | 1 |

Note: The main diagonal is 1 (the degree of association between the same variable is perfect).The asterisks show the significance of the association (Ho > Coefficient = 0), for which:** There is no independence at 1%. * There is no independence at 5%. Source: Own elaboration