

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: ROLE OF THE ARTS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
 IN HAMPDEN, BALTMORE, MARYLAND

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The role of the arts within economic development is increasing as many cities attempt to replicate the success of the SoHo district in New York City. The SoHo paradigm is based on utilization of artists as sanitizing agents of former industrial districts in preparation for gentrification. This study examines SoHo and other case studies in which the arts are key components in redevelopment initiatives. The case studies are compared to the economic revitalization of the Hampden community in Baltimore City.

The hypothesis states that an influx of artists and art-related businesses into Hampden was a catalyst for the current economic revitalization and that this clustering of artists and arts-related businesses indicates an economy of agglomeration. Data was collected through surveys, interviews, and secondary resources. The surveys were designed to collect data that would indicate why artists and business people settled in Hampden; whether a trend was occurring; whether the location was beneficial to art careers or businesses; and if they perceived the arts as having a significant impact on

Hampden. Results of the research indicate that a significant link exists between artists and the economic activity in Hampden; an agglomeration economy is implied, but not confirmed; and that the arts and economic development models employed by the Hampden community may represent a new combination of the models previously employed.

Dedicated to
the memory of my brother Michael

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past thirty years, views toward the relationship between the arts and the economy have shifted from patronage to partnership. Business journals throughout the country are reporting on the arts as an effective strategy in converting urban blight into prosperity. This study examines the impact of artists and arts-related businesses on the economic revitalization of the community of Hampden in the north-central section of Baltimore City.

Unlike other studies which evaluate the economic impact of the arts in relation to large arts institutions (theaters, museums, operas, etc.), this study focuses on individual artists and small businesses as members of a community. The two-part hypothesis is (1) an influx of artists and arts-related businesses is a catalyst for economic revitalization, and (2) clusters of artists represent a possible economy of agglomeration.

Chapter II locates Hampden geographically, provides historical and cultural background, and describes the current situation. Questions raised by the situation and implications of the hypothesized linkage between artists and Hampden's booming economy are discussed. Chapter III provides a theoretical overview of the arts and economics with regard to location theory and agglomeration economies. Chapter IV presents case studies of economic revitalization in which the arts were an integral strategy and clarifies the models that emerge. Chapter V explains the methodology of surveys and interviews employed in the data collection and the findings.

Chapter VI provides an analysis of the findings and how they relate to the issues of arts and economics, agglomeration, and the models described in Chapter IV. Finally, Chapter VII concludes with a discussion of the findings of this study with respect to potential policy implications.

HAMPDEN

The village of Hampden is located in the heart of the Jones Falls River Valley which crosses through the center of Baltimore City. A 260 foot drop in the Jones Falls provided the water power necessary to operate grist mills, iron foundaries, and later, textile mills along its banks, making the Falls integral to early Baltimore development.

As early as 1788, Falls Road (originally an Indian trail along the Falls) had a 40 foot right-of-way established along the entire length of the river valley to serve the mill settlements that lined the Jones Falls. The combination of a natural energy resource (the Falls), transportation infrastructure (Falls Road), and human vision, initiative, and investment (mills) created an early industrial cluster along the Jones Falls in the heart of Baltimore.

In the 1830s, David Carroll and Horatio Gambrill purchased the Whitehall flour mill and converted it into the Whitehall Cotton factory. By the mid-1800s, Hampden and the neighboring community of Woodberry were identified with the developing textile industry along the Jones Falls. Growth of mills spurred residential development and stone mill workers homes were built adjacent to the mills, most of which still exist. The Whitehall Cotton factory had 5 looms in operation when Carroll and Gambrill began the manufacture of cotton duck (canvas) for sails. With the purchase of other properties in Hampden and Woodberry, the textile industry expanded and by 1900, the area along the Jones falls was *the* predominant duck (canvas) production area in the United States.

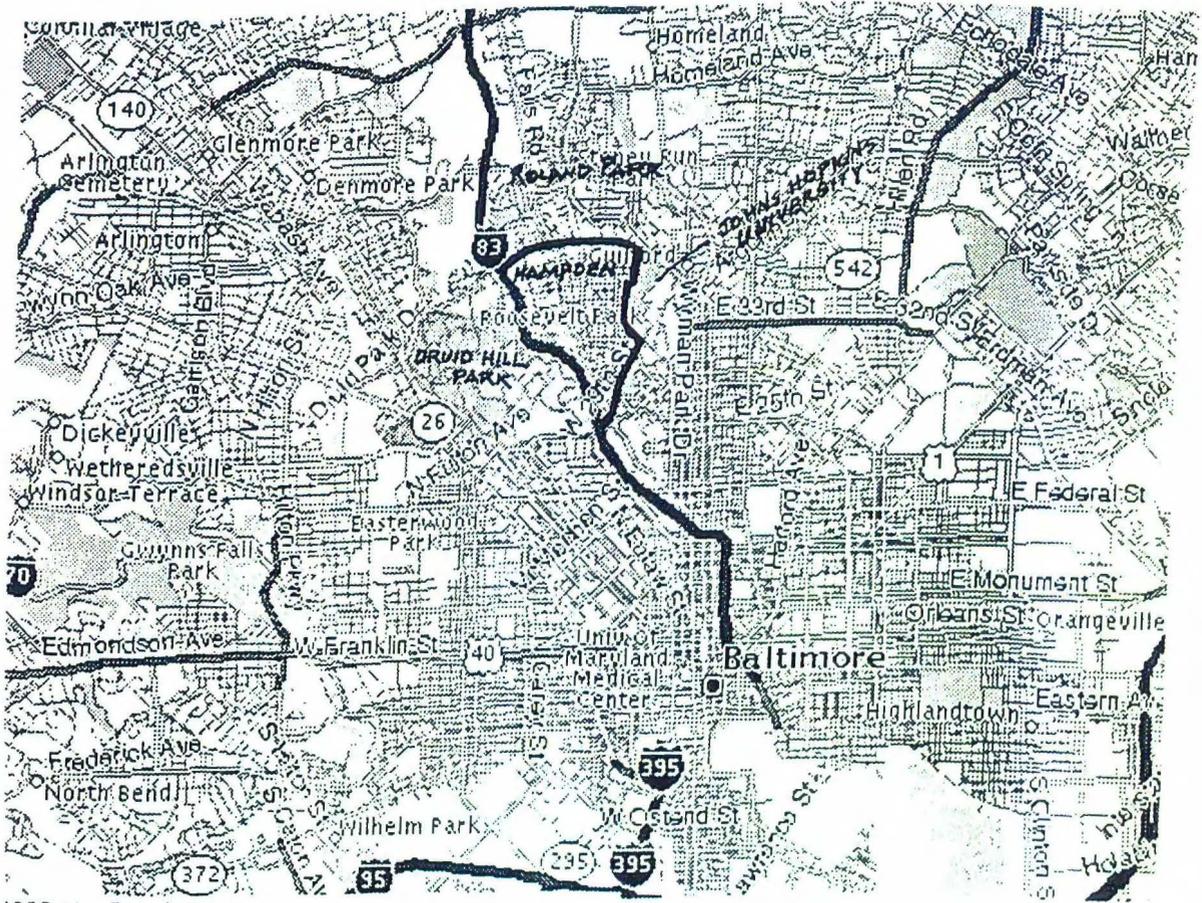


Figure 1. Map locating Hampden in north-central section of Baltimore City.

Low labor costs were the key to this industrial dominance. Baltimore's proximity to the rural south attracted laborers willing to work for low wages in the mills. Early Hampden and Woodberry residents came from rural Maryland, Virginia or North Carolina bringing a rural Anglo-Saxon culture and creating the atmosphere of a rural town within the larger urban environment of Baltimore City.

Hampden was inhabited primarily by Anglo-Saxon Methodists until a wave of immigration in 1900 brought immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Many of the new immigrants were entrepreneurs who set up small shops (by 1929, two-thirds were Jewish and one-fifth was Greek). The community enjoyed full employment and prosperity during World War I, however, the 1929 crash was particularly hard on the area and at the end of the Great Depression in 1940, 12 percent of the local work force was unemployed or on relief. Although full employment was restored during World War II, Hampden never recovered its former level of prosperity, and the loss of labor-intensive employment compelled residents to seek work elsewhere in the city. In 1971, having survived two World Wars, the Great Depression, and the Korean War, the last textile mill on the Jones Falls closed (Lewand, 1989).

Hampden Today

Geographically, Hampden resembles a cul-de-sac formed by natural and man-made borders. It is nestled between Druid Hill Park on the west and Johns Hopkins University on the east. Hampden's northern border is affluent Roland Park, representing a socio-economic divide deeper than any physical barrier, while to the south, Hampden is bordered by Wyman Park and the

winding Jones Falls. The physical configuration reinforced the community's cultural isolation well into the late 20th century.

Hampden has an appealing "village" character that is the result of the insularity created by this conflux of geographic, socio-economic, and cultural boundaries. The ambiance applauded by current visitors and new residents, was nurtured and preserved by this provincial insularity and the lack of economic resources to re-develop. In some respects, Hampden reflects greater Baltimore---where the lack of money to demolish and re-develop preserved what is now viewed as architectural heritage or sound housing investments.

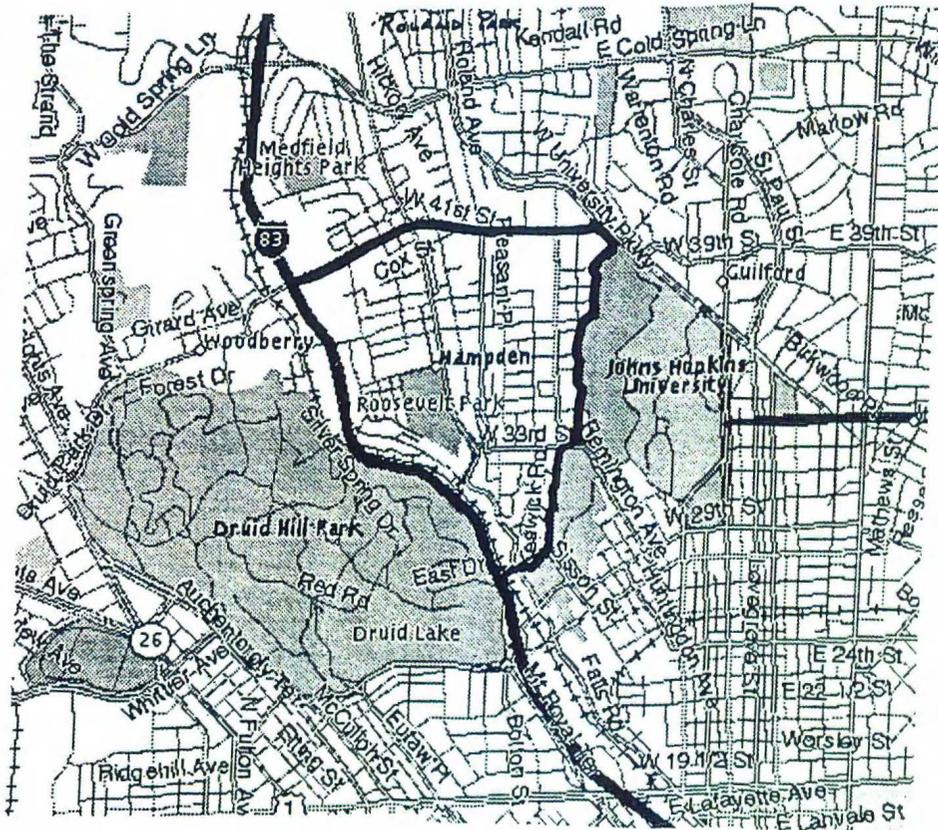


Figure 2: Hampden is a "cul-de-sac" formed by its boundaries.

1975-2000

In 1975, Tom Thompson opened the Coffee Mill on Chestnut Avenue just off 36th Street. As Thompson put it in a 1998 interview, "It was just us, it was culturally intimidating, especially for my partner back then, who was black. To people in the neighborhood, we were the weirdest thing to happen. People would stop by and say in amazement, 'I hear you got cheese in there for \$6 a pound!'" (Anft, 1998). The Coffee Mill was followed by The Village Flower Market (Chestnut and 36th Street) and the Turnover Shop (Roland Avenue and later on Chestnut). Throughout the 1980s, commercial ventures came and went on The Avenue as merchants tried to match their dreams to the reality of the Hampden location and markets.

During the 1980s, the homogeneity of Hampden's demographics (white, protestant, old stock American) began to change. Middle and upper class young professionals, families, artists, and people of other ethnicities were drawn to Hampden, became homeowners and opened businesses.

However, despite the increased activity, by the early 1990s, approximately a quarter of the storefronts on 36th Street continued to be vacant or underutilized. Then in 1992, the Cafe Hon opened with its humorous play on the Baltimore colloquialism, "Hon," the hometown greeting to young and old, friend or stranger. As customers came to experience "authentic" Baltimore culture, other prospective entrepreneurs with "...more vision than cents..." came and "the small buildings provided excellent incubator spaces for our fledgling businesses" (Main Street Application, 2000).

"While no one was watching, this isolated, working-class Baltimore community of some 6,780 homes, long-reviled as an enclave of white

intolerance, has become a cheap, convenient, and safe destination for gays, artists, new merchants, young families, among them even a few Afro-Americans." And as one long-time resident remarked, "One reason it's so successful, (is that) no one's tried to analyze it or change it, it's just a natural progression" (Shapiro, 1995). In many respects, this is true. The revitalization occurring in Hampden *is* a 'natural progression.' A natural incremental progression, in which the sweat equity and determination of early risk-takers paid off.

Economic vitality is evident throughout the Hampden commercial corridor. An unusual synergy has developed on the Avenue in the mix of old and new businesses and a few owner-occupied homes. The small town ambiance has a seductive, nostalgic appeal and attracts upscale customers from the neighboring communities to the eclectic mix of new shops, cafes, and restaurants alongside the traditional businesses that have serviced neighborhood residents for decades. The ambiance is a premium "quality-of-life" feature to those invested in the real estate and continues to draw new merchants and homebuyers.

The Real Estate

Hampden's physical layout and combination of commercial and residential reflects its origins as a "mill village." Its reputation as a safe neighborhood is reinforced by the steady pedestrian presence throughout the day and well into the late evening. Single family residences are interspersed among the commercial establishments along the entirety of 36th Street with a clustering on the 800 block.

Since forty percent of the buildings on 36th Street were built before 1900, the architecture is modest in scale, a pedestrian-friendly streetscape with front porches, gardens, and display windows that invite window-shopping. Forty-four percent of the buildings were built between 1900 and 1925, and only two percent built since 1951. Although some of the building facades have been covered with contemporary styled aluminum facades, the lack of redevelopment monies over the decades has insured that the buildings remain relatively intact (Hampden Main Street Committee, 2000).

An estimated sixty-six percent of the commercial buildings are owned by business owners or residents from the neighborhood with approximately thirty-one percent owned by other Baltimore City residents. The commercial mix is sufficiently diverse to draw customers from a wide geographic area while still supporting the basic neighborhood needs commonly found in traditional neighborhood retail centers, i.e., supermarket, drug store, beauty/hair salon, cleaner, bank, sit-down restaurant, fast-food restaurant, video store, jewelry store, card/gift shops, and florist.

Economic Evaluations

The current economic revival of Hampden is remarkable on two counts: (1) it is a grassroots effort initiated and financed by Hampden business owners and residents, and (2) the principal organizers and facilitators are women. Private financing enabled the community to take control, solve problems collectively, and pursue their own vision for the future of their community. This grassroots coalition has achieved noteworthy results within the past few years. Strengthened ties between Hampden and smaller

neighborhood affiliates (Stone Hill, Brick Hill, Wyman Park) have created partnerships to solve problems for the welfare of the entire community.

When asked if the Hampden revitalization had received support from the Baltimore City or the State of Maryland governments, the President of the Hampden Merchants Association replied that except for removal of dying trees and planting of replacements by the City Department of Forestry, sidewalk repairs, and some small grants, there has not been any public assistance. This research revealed a 1977 urban renewal plan for Hampden and a 1995 retail market analysis of Hampden's commercial district.

The 1977 Urban Renewal Plan for the Hampden Business Area was approved by the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore to pursue "... the revitalization of the Hampden Business Area in order *to create a unique neighborhood retail business district with enhanced viability, attractiveness, and convenience for residents of the surrounding area and of the City as a whole*"(Baltimore Dept. of Housing, 1977). Two of the seven objectives were, "...the establishment of *a positive and identifiable image for the Hampden Business Area*, (my italics) and promotion of new retail business activity in the area." According to the plan, these objectives would best be met through property acquisition, demolition, redevelopment, and property rehabilitation. Except for tree plantings and sidewalk improvements, the City's plan was never administered. Perhaps the Hampden community is fortunate that the urban renewal plan was never fully implemented. The goals outlined in the plan have been achieved and exceeded by merchants and residents who built upon the community's strengths rather than tearing down and re-developing.

The 1995 Retail Market Analysis of Hampden was conducted by the Baltimore City Department of Planning. The purpose of the study was "...to address and investigate community concerns regarding the commercial vacancies along the West 36th Street Corridor in Hampden... this study looks at unmet demand as well as the potential for *clustering business types, such as antique and used merchandise stores*, (my italics) which appear to have experienced some success in Hampden" (Baltimore Dept. of Planning, 1995).

Among the findings summarized in the report, "...a vacancy rate of eleven percent with nine significant vacant or underutilized properties...accounting for approximately 24,625 square feet of first floor commercial. [see Table 1.]

Table 1.

Hampden Commercial Vacancies in 1995

<u>Address</u>	<u>1st Floor square feet</u>	<u>Year 2000 merchant</u>
1115 W. 36th St.	1800	Hair & Tan Salon
1021 W. 36th St.	1500	David Gans, Inc.
1011 W. 36th St.	1500	Pinebrook Restaurant
914-18 W. 36th St.	6825	Liberty Dollars & offices
917 W. 36th St.	3125	Fraziers' Restaurant
911 W. 36th St.	7475 (w / 913)	For Rent
913 W. 36th St.	see above	Mamie's Cafe
829 W. 36th St.	1600 (w / 827)	New View Video
827 W. 36th St.	see above	New View Video
3601-11 Elm Ave.	12,100	David Gans, Inc.
3531-33 Chestnut Ave.	4800	Photo Works LLC

At the time of the 1995 analysis, *"retail...is primarily neighborhood oriented, although a number of establishments located in this area, such as antiques and consignment shops, as well as apparel and accessories, cater to a more regional market."* (my italics) The 1995 assessment concluded that 36th Street was "...a relatively healthy and stable commercial area which provides convenience retail as well as shoppers goods, personal services, business services, and financial institution services to area residents..."

Since that time, as Table 1 illustrates, the orientation of the retail market has changed. Merchants currently occupying sites that were vacant in 1995, cater to a mix of non-neighborhood and neighborhood clientele. Second-hand furniture and antiques dealer, David Gans, Inc., attracts both, while Photo Works LLC primarily services an arts market. New View Video attracts a mix, while Mamie's Cafe draws in old residents. The changed customer base is confirmed in the Hampden Main Street Application (2000) which includes estimates that only 20 percent of the commercial district's customers come from Hampden, while 40 percent come from the adjacent Baltimore neighborhoods, and 30 percent from suburban communities.

Property Sales

To establish a measure of the change generated by the economic revitalization, forty years of property sales records for West 36th Street were examined. Forty years provided a long-term view of real estate trends that could be placed in context. For example, if one decade had low real estate activity, was it solely a local phenomenon or reflecting regional or national economies? Likewise, trends in location of real estate activity on 36th Street, could reflect shifts in types of commercial activity.

This research concentrates on real estate transactions for 36th Street rather than all of Hampden (or zip code 21211) to control for variables such as, diverse function, style, and age of buildings. 36th Street property sales are useful in evaluating the Hampden revitalization for the following: (1) 36th Street is one of four sites in Hampden in which a clustering of artists and arts-related businesses has occurred, (2) over 80% of the buildings on 36th Street were constructed prior to 1925, establishing base values, and (3) the same buildings appear in real estate transactions throughout the four decades, creating a measure of increased valuation.

The findings reveal increased property sales and selling prices during the 1980s. As indicated in Table 2., the 800 block of 36th Street had the most consistent real estate activity, and the majority involved conversion of residences into commercial retail space. In terms of the revitalized economy, assessed values rise with the change from residential to commercial use.

Table 2.

Property sales volume per month by block

<u>BLOCK</u>	<u>1960s</u>	<u>1970s</u>	<u>1980s</u>	<u>1990s</u>	<u>Total</u>
600	1.400	0.778	1.500	2.125	5.803
700	1.400	2.600	0.889	2.000	6.889
800	3.200	3.333	2.556	4.625	13.714
900	0.400	0.778	1.444	0.375	2.997
1000	0	0.222	1.000	1.000	2.222
1100	0.800	1.000	0.444	0.625	2.869
Total	7.2	8.711	7.833	10.750	34.494

Median property sales price increased by 159 percent in the 800 block of 36th Street from \$13,150 in the 1970s to \$39,000 during the 1980s. This may reflect the conversion of residential buildings into specialty retail shops.

Table 3.

Average sales price per block

BLOCK	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
600	\$9,557	\$27,200	\$45,732	\$53,794
700	\$7,054	\$13,374	\$36,250	\$42,666
800	\$9,538	\$16,217	\$41,978	\$57,643
900	\$20,250	\$21,429	\$100,617*	\$216,667*
1000	\$2,500	\$9,900	\$38,409	\$137,857*
1100	\$11,375	\$14,000	\$59,112	\$29,507
Total:	\$60,274	\$102,120	\$322,098	\$538,134
Mean:	\$10,046	\$17,020	\$53,683	\$89,689
Median:	\$9,000	\$13,150	\$39,000	\$57,000

*Skewed from sale of large commercial property

Sources:

Real Property Data Search [Online Database]. (2000). Baltimore, MD: State of Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation [State of Maryland]

Baltimore City Real Estate Directory (1960-1999). Towson, MD: Rufus S. Lusk & Sons.

Table 4.

Percent change in sales price: per block / per decade

BLOCK	1960s -1970s	1970s -1980s	1980s -1990s
600	+185%	+68%	+18%
700	+90%	+171%	+18%
800	+70%	+159%	+37%
900	+6%	+370%*	+115%*
1000	+296%	+288%	+259%*
1100	+23%	+322%	-50%

*Skewed from sale of large commercial property

Sources:
Real Property Data Search [Online Database]. (2000). Baltimore, MD: State of Maryland
 Department of Assessments and Taxation [State of Maryland]

Baltimore City Real Estate Directory (1960-1999). Towson, MD: Rufus S. Lusk & Sons.

Current Development Initiatives

The economic surge on 36th Street is reinforced by several development initiatives that promise to stabilize, anchor, and sustain the revitalization.

Re-development of the Northern District Police Station is planned for the 101 year-old police station at the corner of Keswick Road and 34th Street. The Northern District Precinct will vacate the premises upon completion of new headquarters on Cold Spring Lane in Spring 2001. The site is a key anchor for the eastern edge of Hampden and redevelopment proposals are being considered which would incorporate residential, small-scale retail, restaurant, professional offices, and artist live-work spaces.

The building is a designated Baltimore City landmark with historic and architectural significance and is located in a mixed residential and small business area. These factors necessitate adaptive re-use that is sensitive to historic preservation, parking, and environmental concerns.

Development of the project is being overseen by the Baltimore Development Corporation with additional guidance, planning, and facilitation provided by the Northern District Planning Task Force of the Greater Homewood Community Corporation (GHCC). The GHCC is an umbrella community association that provides technical and logistical assistance to forty different neighborhoods. The project is subject to review not only by the GHCC and BDC, but also by the Wyman Park Community Association, the Hampden Community Council, and the Hampden Village Merchants Association (Raymond, 2000).

The Baltimore Main Street Program is being co-sponsored by the City of Baltimore, the State of Maryland, and the Abell Foundation. The initiative will apply the revitalization approach of the Main Street Program of the National Trust to five Baltimore neighborhood commercial districts. Main Street focuses on four key areas: economic restructuring (commercial districts must change to meet consumer demand and incorporate new uses); promotion (events, promotion, image development to encourage increased patronage of commercial district); design (maintenance, rehabilitation, preservation, and enhancement of existing features); and organization (neighborhood leaders collaborate and cooperate to achieve community goals).

The Hampden Main Street Committee, comprised of community residents and business people, applied to participate in this program and in the course

of this study, Hampden was confirmed as one of the five communities. Designation as a participant in the Main Street initiative indicates that a certain critical mass is being achieved in Hampden. The infusion of new businesses has brought an increasingly higher level of commitment as represented by the following:

Photo Works is a photo, film, and computer resource center that opened in Spring 2000 on Chestnut Avenue near 36th Street. Adaptive re-use of an old post office building converted the space into photo and film processing labs, studios, computer labs, and an exhibition gallery. The facility fills a technical resource need for photographers and time-based artists, as well as an educational resource for students and non-artists exploring new media.

The Kirk Stieff Silver Building is located at Wyman Park Drive and Keswick Road and will be developed as a complex for professional offices and businesses by Streuver Bros., Eccles and Rouse.

The Grace Methodist Church is a Romanesque stone building built at the turn of the last century that was ravaged by fire in 1998. Designated a Baltimore City Historic Landmark, the building is currently undergoing extensive renovation by Gilden Advertising for their corporate headquarters.

The surge of activity on 36th Street is complemented by these redevelopment projects which promise to anchor key locations in Hampden. The Northern District Police Station will anchor the area between east Hampden and Johns Hopkins University; the Stieff Silver Building is located at the point of entry between Hampden and Baltimore's center city; and the Main Street program will stabilize 36th Street and its immediate environs.

The Mills of Hampden

The hypothesis is that there is a positive correlation between an influx of artists and arts-related businesses clusters and the Hampden revitalization. Distinct clustering of studios and arts-related businesses is evident on 36th Street and in three former mill complexes.

The Mill Centre (3000 Chestnut Avenue) at the intersection of Falls Road and Chestnut Avenue is home to Goya Girl Press, an artist print atelier, a mix of commercial enterprises, professional offices, and artist studios. According to a long-time resident who lives near the complex, prior to gentrification, The Mill Centre provided artists with cheap studio space. Extensive renovation resulted in increased rents and now only artists and art businesses that are established or have secure income can afford space in The Mill Centre.

Meadow Mill (3600 Clipper Mill Road) is adjacent to the light rail station and has a distinctive bell tower visible from the Jones Falls Expressway. Once housing a London Fog clothing manufacturing plant, Meadow Mill also attracted artists seeking cheap studio space prior to gentrification. Today, Meadow Mill is a thriving business complex with the Meadow Mill Athletic Club anchoring the north end and a mix of 40 other tenants that include: Stonemill Bakery, Axis Theater, Gomez Gallery, the Maryland Institute Jewelry Center, The Potters Guild of Baltimore, commercial photographers, several non-profit organizations, and the Sylvan Learning Center.

Clipper Mill Industrial Park (3500 Clipper Road) is located across the light rail tracks from Meadow Mill. Clipper Mill was the former site of the Poole and Hunt Foundry that manufactured steel beams for the dome of the Capitol in Washington, DC. During the early 1980s, the Park became a

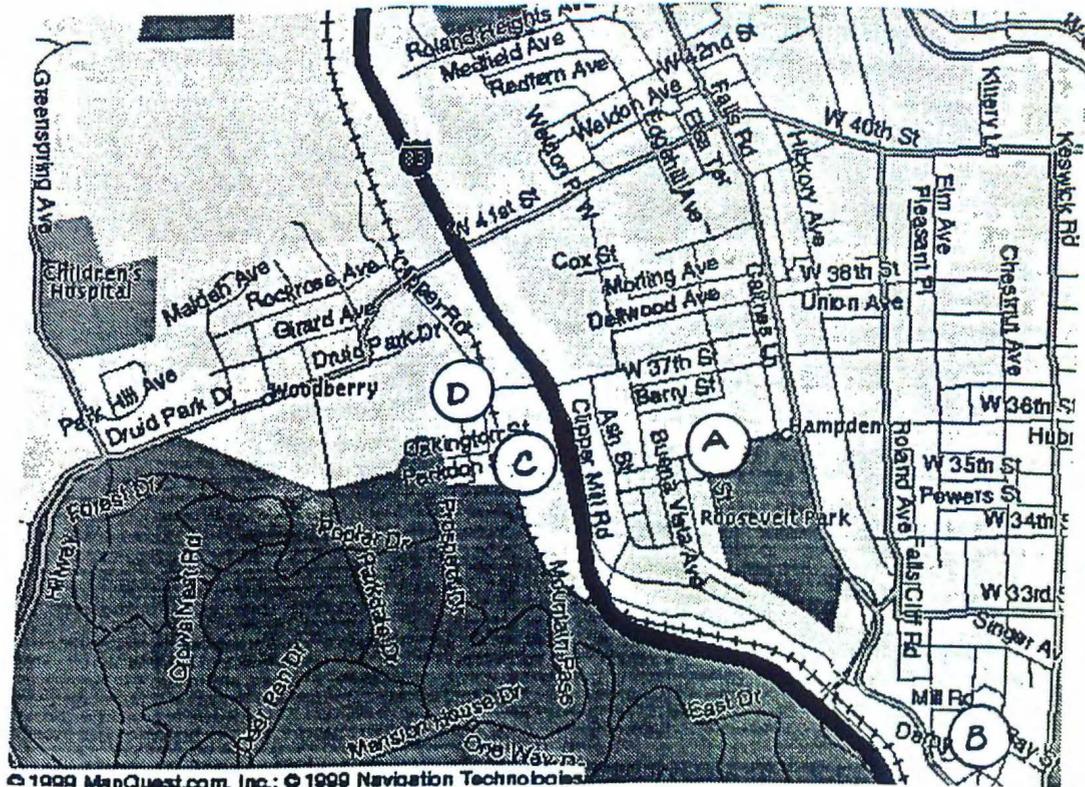


Figure 3. Target sites of arts clustering in Hampden:

- A. 36th Street, "The Avenue," designated for Main Street Program.
- B. The Mill Centre, 3000 Chestnut Avenue, gentrified site with mx of businesses, professional offices, and artists print atelier.
- C. Meadow Mill, 3600 Clipper Mill Road, gentrified site with currently 40 businesses including: theatre, gallery, non-profit organizations, potters guild, photo studios.
- D. Clipper Mill Industrial Park, 3500 Clipper Road, 1995 fire destroyed half of the park, continues to house artist and design studios.

veritable rabbit's warren of artist studios. The 1995 tenant roster included: 12 artists, 3 sculptors, a blacksmith, filmmaker, metal fabricator, a furniture design and fabrication studio, and a cabinetmaking shop. Many of these legal tenants sub-let to other artists, making an accurate count difficult.

In September 1995, fire destroyed half of the Clipper Mill complex. The surviving half continues to house artist, design, and fabrication studios. The owner-manager hopes to create a mixed-use arts center on the site incorporating a sound stage, cafe, and sculpture garden into the existing mix.

Clipper Mill's funky industrial ambiance is a dramatic contrast to The Mill Centre and Meadow Mill, both of which preserved brick and stone exteriors and interior proportions, but renovated the interiors in a corporate aesthetic. The different development priorities and strategies of the three property owners are reflected in their tenant demographics. The Mill Centre and Meadow Mill lease at market rates that are affordable to profit and non-profit organizations and businesses, but not for working artists. In contrast to the other mills, Clipper Mill's owner-manager expressed a bias for artist-tenants that is reflected in his plans to develop an arts center.

Artists and their Role in Hampden's economy

The presence of artist clusters in the Hampden raises questions regarding their role and the impact of that role on the community's economy. Location decisions made by artists are similar to those made by non-artists. A primary motivation for working artists is the sustainability of art production, which requires space and income. Therefore, artists tend to seek locations that provide at least some of the following: large affordable space, access to

resources for art production (materials and skilled labor), access to transportation systems, and proximity to income opportunities. Artists also have domestic needs such as housing, food, health, and safety. Depending on the stage of their professional careers, artists may place more importance on fulfilling art production needs or on their domestic needs, especially if they have a family. Hampden's primary asset is location and that is illustrated with the following descriptive outline of *art production needs and domestic needs* and how they are met in Hampden.

Art production needs met by a Hampden location

Space: large, cheap, unfinished industrial sites for studios
Resources: industrial materials and sub-contractors convert to art materials and art fabricators.
Income: proximity to art, cultural, and educational institutions for employment, i.e., Baltimore Museum of Art
Transportation: easy access to expressway, light rail, airport, etc.
Other: "village" ambiance and sense of community
(artist and non-artist)

Domestic needs provided by a Hampden location

Housing: affordable modestly scaled former working class homes
Groceries: markets of various sizes in walking distance or brief drive
Health: medical services on 36th Street, Rotunda Mall on 41st Street
Safety: Hampden has a reputation for safety
Transportation: easy access to expressway, light rail, airport, etc.
Other: "village" ambiance and sense of community
(artist and non-artist)

In many respects, Hampden represents an ideal community for artists. Artists can have an industrial studio setting and integrate themselves into the small town life. It depends on the artist and the stage of their career.

Economic impact of artists in Hampden

Artists settled into Hampden's mills and factory buildings for convenience, affordability, and access to resources. By word of mouth, others followed, clusters of artists sprang up and a trend developed. Artists cluster in part because the mammoth industrial spaces make it possible, but also for the cross-fertilization of ideas and sourcing of materials and skills.

Individual artists impact the economy through real estate (rental or purchase) and consumer spending. If an artist has house, studio, business or some combination of these in Hampden, impact increases and multiplies further when a cluster of artists are similarly invested. The physical clustering of artist studios (same industry firms) may create an agglomeration economy in which production becomes more cost effective through access of a common pool of resources

Summary

To quote the bumper sticker produced by the Village Merchant's Association, "It's Happenin' in Hampden !" Hampden is experiencing a multi-tiered economic revitalization that is noteworthy for three reasons: (1) it is an organic, grass-roots, privately-funded initiative without outside intervention by government or professional developers, (2) the influx of artists are an integral component, and (3) several of the key business and community leaders involved are women.

ECONOMIC THEORIES

The previous chapter describes the current situation in Hampden and introduces three economic theories: location, clustering, and agglomeration. This section will clarify these theories as they relate to the phenomenon of the artists in Hampden.

Location Theory

The decision of artists to locate studios and businesses in Hampden demonstrates "location theory." Location theory addresses the physical attributes of a place such as transportation systems, resources (materials), production (labor), and market to explain where economic activity takes place. Traditional location theory consists of three schools of thought: *least-cost* where the emphasis is on minimizing costs of production and transportation, *demand maximization* in which site selection is based on control of as large a market as possible, and *profit maximization* where choice of location is based on the number of consumers necessary for maximum sales to be delivered at least possible total cost (Shaffer, 1989).

Although each version of location theory can be applied, the *least-cost* concept is most applicable to the Hampden studios and arts businesses as they represent the art production industry. The decision to locate in Hampden is based on the intent to minimize costs of real estate, production materials, and transportation for deliveries of input materials and shipments of output art production.

Clusters

Within this study, the term clusters refers to groups of businesses located in a particular geographic area. Viable clusters vary in size and configuration---they may occur when multiple businesses use the same building as The Mill Centre in Hampden and the Meadow Mill complex in Woodberry. They may also develop as groupings along the neighborhood commercial corridors such as 36th Street in Hampden or disperse more broadly throughout greater Hampden. Locational decisions leading to cluster formation tend to have common needs such as type of real estate or access to transport systems.

"...Clusters provide synergy, and that leads to competitive advantage. In clusters, the available pools of experienced workers are large and more diverse; suppliers tend to congregate for increased efficiency; a competitive spirit builds, stimulating rapid growth; and innovative, energetic strategic alliances form which will move the companies profitably ahead..." (Waits and Howard, 1996). The geographic proximity of the constituent businesses within clusters can stimulate opportunities for cross-fertilization of knowledge, talent, and resources, which often leads to an economy of agglomeration. Batten (1995) provides a view into this synergistic process with his description of creative urban agglomeration , "...close links have been forged between places of complementary function, rather than simply on the basis of distance or demand thresholds. Relational linkages tend to be horizontal rather than hierarchical.

Arts clusters, may occur organically (artists converting industrial buildings into live-work spaces, attracting more artists and related businesses) as in the SoHo district of New York City, and in Hampden or they may be a

seeding mechanism as part of revitalization strategies. Major revitalization efforts usually include an art museum or a performing arts center as an anchor by which to entice further investment. In the first scenario, artists are key players, drawn by the incentive of affordable real estate. In the second, the artists are almost incidental, a trigger device for strategies forged through public-private investments which evolve into community gentrification.

Economies of Agglomeration

"Abetting the concentration of arts activity in large cities is the force of what students of urban development have identified as economies of agglomeration" (Heilbrun and Gray, 1993). The second part of this research hypothesis states that "clusters of artists represent a possible economy of agglomeration." Economies of agglomeration refer to savings in production costs of a product or service which accumulate when sufficient numbers of similar production firms locate in the same city. The savings occur because the firms are able to share a common pool of highly specialized inputs (resources necessary for production, such as: raw materials, skilled and/or cheap labor, infrastructure supporting communication and transportation). The existence of these input resources depends on a concentration of local consumers.

The arts and culture industry exhibits three perspectives on economies of agglomeration: *Cross- or inter-industry economies of agglomeration* occur when an industry is drawn to a location because it can utilize input resources already developed by another industry. New York City became a center of radio and television programming because of the pool of acting, writing, and

directing talent centered on the Broadway theatre; *Intra-industry economies of agglomeration* occur within a single industry as in Hollywood where the presence of film production firms attracted others using the same specialized inputs (actors, writers, directors, technicians); *Individual economies of agglomeration* occur as performers and artists are drawn toward areas with a concentration of industry activity to access education and job opportunities.

The concentration of artists and arts-related businesses on 36th Street and in the three mill centers suggests an economy of agglomeration may be developing. If artists are professionals within the art production industry, they are the equivalent of a small production firm or professional service. This occurred in SoHo where zoning variances enabled artists to occupy live-work spaces in lofts by placing them in the same category as small manufacturing concerns.

Technically, each artist produces a different output, however, they are all employed within the industry of producing art and share common pools of resources. In Hampden this includes: affordable real estate, specialized labor trained in art production techniques, institutional resources, raw production materials, and transportation systems.

Summary

The clusters of artists and arts-related businesses in Hampden indicates that decisions to locate there are based on location theory. The arts clustering also implies that benefits are being derived from an economy of agglomeration that is either in effect or developing.

EVALUATION OF THE ARTS AS CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

Within western culture, the view of the arts is contradictory; the arts are either frills or indicators of civilization and wealth. During the 1970s, efforts to determine the significance of the arts in actual dollar terms were initiated to validate state and local government support of the arts. The difficulty in quantifying the value of any cultural production is exacerbated by the concept of art as a "social good." If the arts are different from other commodities and services, how do they differ, and how do they fit within the context of the economic system ? (Troub, 1979).

Economic Impact of the Arts Through Production

Economic evaluation of the arts within this study focuses on the arts as cultural industries and their impact on community economic development. The definition of *cultural industries* (Lewis, 1990; Heilbrun and Gray, 1993; Hall, 2000) includes workforce and product. Pratt's definition (as cited in Hall, 2000) incorporates high culture, pop culture, and media sectors. His inclusive definition consists of six categories of products: *performance* as in fine art and literature; *reproduction* as books, magazines, film, radio, television, recordings on disc and tape; *activities that link art forms* such as advertising; *production, distribution and display processes* of printing and broadcasting; and *exhibition and archival venues* such as museums, galleries, libraries, theatres, nightclubs. Although not all workers who participate in art production are artists, they are integral to the process. Pratt's categorization clarifies employment in cultural industries by function.

- I. Original production (artist, designer, writer)
- II. Infrastructure (fabrication, manufacture of product)
- III. Reproduction (print, film, etc.)
- IV. Exchange (distribution venues of demonstration, archives, sales)

The *cultural industries* may also be viewed as a three-tiered pyramid with the peak of the pyramid representing large *institutions* such as museums, theaters, and orchestras. The middle section includes *suppliers* of raw materials, as well as fabricators, designers, and printers who provide the services necessary for major arts institutions to produce their "products." *Suppliers* also furnish raw materials and services to *individual artists*, artisans, and designers who comprise the base of the pyramid.

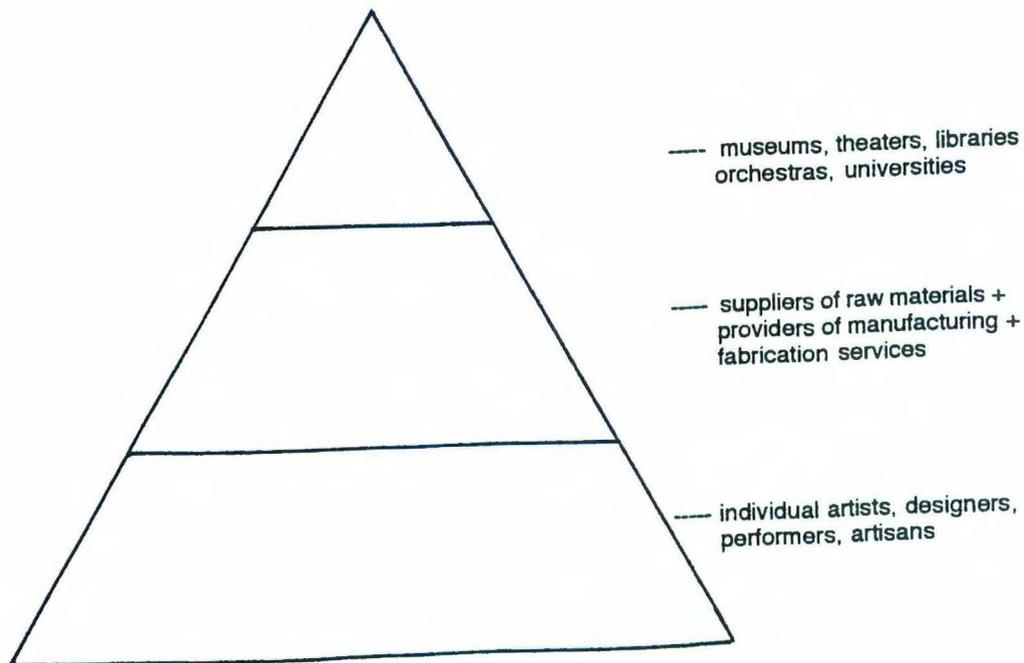


Figure 4. Pyramid of cultural industries.

Variables of scale and concentration

Scale and concentration of cultural industries are important in understanding the economics of art and culture or *cultural economics* (Hendon, Shahanhan, and MacDonald, 1979). Large scale institutions (museums, galleries, theatres, symphonies) and small scale arts-based (often artist-run) businesses gravitate toward urban locations with existing and/or potential markets for their products and services. Institutions depend upon the cultivation of a particular audience as a market for their product or service whereas the artist and arts-based business can transfer and market art-making skills to clients other than art patrons.

Economies of scope

When an artist or art-based business sets up a facility to produce a primary product or process, *economies of scope* may result whereby other products are produced using the same production facilities or inputs (materials). For example, a sculptor who works in metal has a studio with metalworking equipment, tools, and materials in which it is possible to manufacture display mounts for exhibitions in museums and galleries. The production facility enables the sculptor to earn income by utilizing the same tools, equipment, materials, processes, and knowledge employed in creating sculpture. The cost of production for both sculpture and display mounts is reduced when produced in the same facility (studio).

In addition to shared means of production, *economies of scope* may also occur when saleable by-products result from the primary production. In the case of the sculptor-mountmaker, forms created or techniques employed in mount-making could be applied to sculpture (Mansfield, 1997)

Industrial classification

The diversity of goods, services, and production processes that make up the cultural industries, complicates economic evaluation of the cultural industries. Definition of *cultural industries* by workforce and product, enables industrial analysis of impact that is otherwise obscured within analyzation of other industries.

The North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) indexes economic activity based on division of industry into goods and services (Schaffer, 1989). NAICS (formerly SIC) codes are utilized by the US Census Bureau for the Economic Census which is compiled every five years to determine trends of growth in the economy on a per industry basis. The Economic Census is divided into seventeen major industry groups and these are then subdivided into more specific categories. For example, to meet varied cultural, entertainment, and recreational interests of patrons, the Arts Entertainment, and Recreation sector (#71) includes: establishments that (1) produce, promote, or participate in live performances, events, or exhibits intended for public viewing; (2) preserve and exhibit objects and sites of historical, cultural or educational interest; and (3) operate facilities or provide services that enable patrons to participate in recreational activities or pursue amusement, hobby, and leisure time interests. Code numbers assigned to businesses within this industry sector increase exponentially as the sectors become more specific within the industrial family. [See Appendix A]

According to the economies of scope, in the example of the sculptor; if the artist's resources are efficiently utilized, the artist would be classified under the NAICS industry code for manufacturing sector (#31-33) or the Arts

Entertainment, and Recreation sector (#71) (US Economic Census, 2000). The industries of sculptor-artist and that of mount-maker link and distinctions merge, yet, a system does not exist that can classify the various cross-industry ways in which artists produce income. Until the current revision of industrial codes from the SIC to the NAICS, the arts were classified under the amalgamation of "Services." The cross-industry classification raises the question; if it were possible to track the various modes of income production by working artists, how widespread and significant would be their economic impact ?

Economic Impact of the Arts through Expenditures

Economic impact studies attempt to measure the proportion of economic activity directly attributable to the arts within a local economy. Employing general principles used to gauge any local industry, estimates of three flows of spending originating in the arts sector are tracked and the combination of the three provides a measure of the impact (Shanahan, 1980, Lewis, 1990).

Categories of spending

Direct spending is the simplest category to measure and consists of all expenditures for goods and services by all institutions defined as belonging to the local art industry (museums, galleries, performing arts companies). Data are usually determined by conducting a questionnaire survey of the relevant institutions. In theory, these calculations would also include spending by local individual artists and arts-based businesses, however, the practical difficulties of compiling such a comprehensive database have, to date, been overwhelming.

Economic impact through expenditures does not end with *direct* spending. If goods purchased directly by a local arts institution or business are produced locally, the exchange stimulates further local spending. For example; when a local theater has programs printed locally, that is a *direct* expenditure. When the printer purchases paper, ink, electricity, and rent, a secondary *indirect* cycle of spending begins. If materials such as ink or paper are purchased outside of the local economy, *leakage* (of money) occurs. Expenditures on local products (electricity and rent) stimulate a third tier of local spending by the landlord and electric company. The cycle of *indirect* spending continues until *leakages* exhaust the initial *direct* spending.

Indirect spending is the sum of all rounds of business spending subsequent to the first *direct* round, the theatre's initial spending activity for programs. The sum of the diminishing rounds of expenditures, *induced* local spending refers to those expenditures made with the money that has filtered down from the primary and secondary cycles of spending that is still attributable to the initial round of spending. The total economic impact attributable to the arts sector on the local economy is the sum of direct, indirect, and induced spending.

Although expenditures on wages and salaries within the arts sector are considered separately from expenditures on goods and services, the same principle is applied. A large percentage of employees tend to reside near their place of employment and spend their income in the area, stimulating a round of *indirect* spending. Concentrations of event-driven expenditures from local metropolitan area and out-of-region audiences on admission, meals, local transportation and parking provide another level of economic impact (Cwi & Lyall, 1977). Figure 5. illustrates the three tiers of spending.

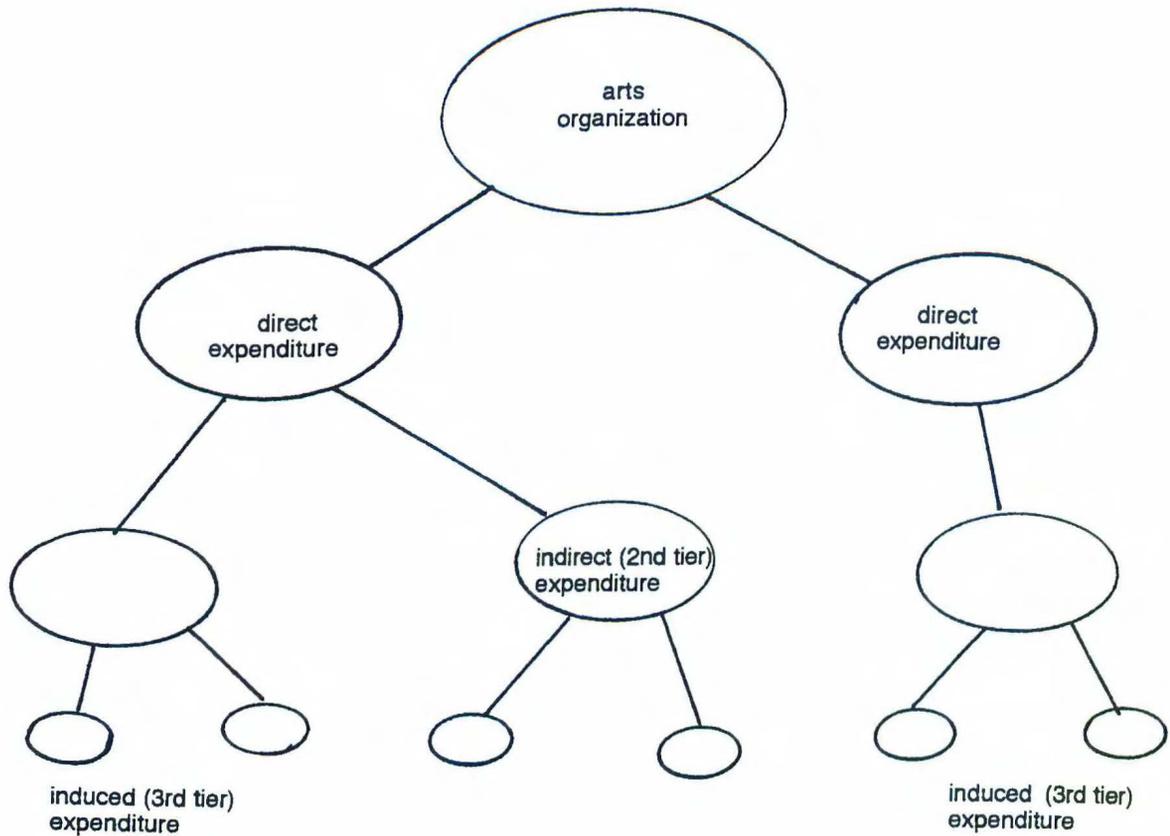


Figure 5. Three tiers of expenditure activity: direct, indirect, and induced.

Summary

Classification of the arts as cultural industries per workforce and product provides a method whereby the economic impact of the arts can be measured through production and expenditure. Economies of scale that develop as artists or arts-based businesses use their production facility to produce a secondary product, complicate the industry classification

THE ROLE OF THE ARTS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Over the past thirty years, economists and arts advocates have shifted their views toward the relationship between the arts and the economy. Patronage has become partnership as the arts play increasingly significant roles in revitalization and urban development:

...industry [has] dried up locally, leaving the city high and dry. The solution has been to fill the void with culture: a museum, a concert hall, a sports arena.... This pattern has been repeated in Paris, Barcelona, Helsinki, San Francisco, Cleveland and countless smaller cities... these cities have ceased to be centers for industry and have become domains of culture.

No longer merely the ornament of power, culture is a power in its own right..... museums are not the only engines of this transformation--- theaters, commercial galleries, jazz clubs, and other varieties of night life, book fairs, music festivals, loft conversions, architectural walking tours and, not least, computer software firms are also driving the industrialization of culture." (Muschamp, 1999)

The effectiveness of art and culture as an economic catalyst is recognized by planners, developers, business people, and government. Some view the cultural production industry as the next cycle in the evolution of industrialization---from manufacturing to information technology and now, cultural production (Hall, 1999).

More than 90 cities across the United States have positioned the arts at the center of urban renewal initiatives. Each effort responds to local culture,

resources, politics and needs, yet common to all is the role played by the arts and culture in development plans. "During the past three decades, urban planners and developers have enlisted the arts as a central element in revitalizing urban centers....the primary motivation behind the establishment of a cultural district is urban revitalization" (Gilmore, 1999).

Three significant roles

Within urban development, the arts play three significant roles:

(1) *economic development* (arts promoting qualitative development, as integral to a service economy, and as amenities that attract people and jobs); (2) *physical development* (aesthetic design as a quality of life amenity); and (3) *social development* (potential through art in education). It is difficult to address one component without referencing the others, they need to be integrated to successfully achieve development objectives (Hendon, Shanahan and MacDonald, 1980). Shanahan (1980) asks, "Can the arts, as an industry like any other industry, be part of the growth sector capable of producing net additional spendable income and jobs at a local level? If so, what part of the metropolitan region is most affected?"

The economic impact of the arts has been scrutinized both as a tool for urban renewal and as an industry. According to Neiman (1994), total economic impact of the arts on a community is a combination of direct and indirect impacts of local spending. Nieman cites the 1994 landmark study, "Arts in Local Economy," conducted by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies. The three-year study (1990 through 1992) provided data based on an analysis of the impact of spending by 789 non-profit arts organizations in 33 communities and 22 states. The report presented a cross-section of the

nation, stratified into population groups, and excluded large cities like New York and Chicago whose high cultural activity level would skew results. The study showed an average annual total (direct and indirect) arts expenditure of \$75.3 million for each of the 33 communities surveyed. Local economic impact was based only on local expenditures which came to \$63.5 million. The findings "justif(ied) the claim that the non-profit arts are an industry of some substance, larger than such fields as legal services and mining and just a little smaller than building construction" (Reiss, 1994).

Arts + Urban Development: Since the 1960s

In her essay, "Fragments of a Metropolitan Viewpoint," Martha Rosler describes the center city of the late 20th century as "the latest contemporary version of the myth of the (American) frontier...the new urban frontier and those who inhabit it are 'natives' waiting to be displaced by 'urban pioneers.'" Rosler cites urban geographer Neil Smith, "Where the 19th century frontier represented the consummation of *absolute geographical expansion* as the primary spatial expression of capital accumulation, gentrification and urban redevelopment represent the most advanced example of the *redifferentiation* of geographical space toward precisely the same end" (Rosler, 1991).

Gentrification is the conversion of decaying industrial or working-class neighborhoods into residential zones for the professional-managerial class. Gentrification requires disinvestment of private capital and city services before reinvestment can take place.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, many inner cities, especially former industrial cities experienced economic decline and disinvestment. The abandonment of these centers of production was followed in the mid-1970s by a cycle of rebirth and by the late 1970s, the trend toward population loss in U.S. cities was reversed. An "urban renaissance" catering to the professional-managerial class was heralded as saving the center city. "Middle-class consumers move into formerly proletarian enclaves of industry and particular forms of private-public partnership create the conditions for exclusion"(Newman and Smith, 2000).

As artists share peripheral areas of the city with other underhoused and underempowered segments of the population, they are placed in dual roles of "perpetrators and victims in the processes of displacement and urban planning" (Rosler, 1991) or as Bianchini notes (cited in Newman and Smith, 2000), they are 'stormtroopers of gentrification.' Utilized as a sanitizing mechanism to ease the return of the middle class to center cities, artists are then displaced by those very people---people who are also clients of artists.

Art in urban beautification

During the period from the late 1960s through the early 1980s urban beautification programs were promoted as means of improving quality of life in cities. Art was injected through "percent-for-art" projects wherein a small percent of building costs for new construction would be set aside for the inclusion of *art in public spaces* ---sculpture and installations in parks and plazas. These non-functional art objects were not created for a specific site but were intended to enhance (decorate) the public space. *Public art* is site-

specific, created with a specific location in mind and integrated into the community plan from the onset, intended to complement urban renewal.

Marriages of convenience between art and development provided a veneer of social altruism to incentives offered by cities to powerful corporate investors in the form of tax relief and the sanitizing of urban sites. Zukin (cited in Newman and Smith, 2000) discusses the symbiotic relationship between 'high culture' and 'wild commerce' whereby cultural institutions depend upon the investment (patronage) of corporate sponsors, whose philanthropic sponsorship is viewed in turn, as a strategy of legitimatization.

This "top-down" form of development planning was demonstrated in Battery City Park, a large renewal project on New York's Lower West Side. Battery City Park represents a merger of government and corporate interests (in this case, international capital). The community adjacent to the Park was not involved in the planning and in fact, was probably seen as not having a vested interest. The integration of sophisticated world-class art under the guise of "public art" serves as a symbolic indicator of the power and privilege of the corporate elite. Art is a currency of prestige for corporations and wealthy corporate leaders who affect the role of arts patron.

New York and the SoHo Paradigm

If New York is the center of the U.S. art world and perhaps, the world, SoHo, the arts district in lower Manhattan, is the geographic and symbolic heart of New York's contemporary art world with the *largest concentration of art-world institutions in the world*. SoHo is known as "the first municipally mandated artist district." The mythologized "SoHo landscape came to

represent a new relationship between space and self that could be recreated in other cities..." (Podmore, 1998).

In the early 1970s, creative interpretations of New York's manufacturing zone rules (artists are considered manufacturers in New York) led to the phenomenon known as the "SoHo Syndrome" (Johnson, 1996). Vacant buildings in the South of Houston (SoHo) industrial district of New York were colonized by artists in search of large, cheap unfinished spaces. The SoHo model proved a successful framework for the gentrification process in North American industrial cities. The informal emergence of a vital artist community typically became attractive to outside investment, was transformed into a high rent residential neighborhood, ultimately forcing out the original artist pioneers (Partners for Livable Places, 1983).

The popular myth of the artist as an urban pioneer saving the derelict industrial frontier veils the grim reality that existed as manufacturing jobs disappeared from New York. In 1974, the city attempted to lock in its blue-collar manufacturing heritage by limiting to manufacturing uses nearly 14 percent of the city's land area (more than 20,000 acres). The question of whether the city could have provided relief before manufacturers were forced out by high costs, remains debatable. Although the restrictions did not halt the exodus of manufacturing jobs, the zone had a significant impact on the city's celebrated renewal (Johnson, 1996).

The SoHo renewal resulted from the timely convergence of several factors. The decreed manufacturing zone created conflict between the New York Building Department and the Planning Commission as they attempted to balance the need to enforce laws with the need to grow property tax and job bases. The debate was resolved by default through a combination of

legal reinterpretation of zoning rules, loopholes in zoning specifications, budget cuts which reduced the number of building inspectors, and market forces---where positive results encouraged benign neglect. The city's default response worked concurrently with developments on the state level. SoHo was cultivated, despite popular misconceptions, by specific state interventions:

1971 Zoning resolution legitimizing residential use of loft buildings

1973 SoHo designated historic landmark district

1975 J-51 tax subsidy amendment supported large building conversion

"Artists in Residence" (AIR) programs protected artists' access to lofts, entitling them to compete for lofts with small manufacturers

The loft subsidy eventually changed from a housing subsidy to a direct subsidy for arts production. The mutation illuminates the contradictions inherent in art's gentrifying activities:

This was consistent with the reasoning behind the city government's switch to support zoning for artists in SoHo. But it was also consistent with a general support for real estate development. Subsidies for arts production gave artists no claim to a particular place in the city. So they did not interfere with market forces. After the arts presence helped revalorize a section of the city like SoHo, then the artists could take their subsidies and move to another declining area. Regarded in the short run as a bonanza for creative and performing artists, production subsidies for the arts infrastructure proved, in the long run, to be a cornucopia for housing developers (Zukin, 1982).

The processes of displacement by which buildings and land are devalored, lead to profitable reinvestment and cause another cycle of displacement, whether to the original working class inhabitants or artists. The early incarnation of the SoHo art district was a direct product of redevelopment which utilized the ameliorating effects of the arts population to prepare the way for the professional class.

Post-SoHo: The Arts in Economic Development

Sponsored by Cornell University's School of Business and Public Administration, the 1981 conference "The Economic Impact of the Arts," addressed the concept of the arts and business as partners in economic development. The focus was on the arts as strategic development tools and how they were incorporated into economic policies and planning for development. Redevelopment initiatives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania demonstrate an arts strategy.

Case Study: Winston-Salem, NC

The Cornell report cites Winston-Salem as the first U.S. city to employ the arts as the *primary vehicle* for center city revitalization. From 1956 street beautification, to urban renewal in the 1960s, and a downtown pedestrian mall in 1970, Winston-Salem's efforts to halt the business exodus had failed.

In 1974, the Winston-Salem Center City Task Force used New York's Greenwich Village and SoHo as models for their downtown revitalization. The Task Force saw that as artists moved into Greenwich Village, they stimulated a re-generation that attracted shops and businesses. As property tax values increased, the artists could no longer afford to live there, they

moved on to another district, SoHo, where they proceeded to trigger the same socio-economic chain reaction. In each case, artists were the economic catalyst with minimal state or city aid (Deutsche, 1991).

Winston-Salem had an established tradition of support for the arts and was well positioned to initiate and implement an arts-based strategy for economic revitalization. Since its founding in 1766 as a planned town for a protestant sect of Moravians, the arts have been important to the Winston-Salem community. The Moravian legacy includes: buildings in the "German character," (which influenced the regional architecture), development of a pottery crafts industry that stimulated prosperous trading, and musical traditions (integral to the Moravian religion).

When the Task Force introduced the Center City Plan in 1974, the mix of historical, cultural, and institutional resources provided a context and an infrastructure upon which an effective arts-oriented strategy could be built. The social, economic, and political environment of Winston-Salem had already fostered a climate for innovative cultural organizations and policies, many for the first time within the United States. For example:

1949 Winston-Salem Arts Council (WSAC), first U.S. arts council

1956 Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art (SECCA), first U.S. non-profit arts organization to support living artists

1965 North Carolina School of the Arts, first U.S. residential school for performing arts established by state legislature and funds

The Winston-Salem redevelopment worked because the plan built upon the community's strengths and characteristics through three strategic goals: (1) development of downtown performance space, (2) development of downtown housing, restaurants, shops, and services, and (3) broadened

demographics of cultural audiences. These goals were achieved incrementally through: a public-private partnership, historic designation, protective re-zoning, renovation, preservation, and adaptive reuse rather than demolition; low-interest mortgages, and community development funds. Essential to the initiative's success was retention of original inhabitants to preserve demographic diversity and utilization of existing arts organizations to build a critical mass of downtown attractions. Using development tools in conjunction with existing resources to realize target strategies enabled the task force to leverage a modest investment of \$13 million into \$487 million in downtown business investments (Violette and Taqqu, 1982).

Case Study: Philadelphia, PA

South Broad Street in Philadelphia, popularly known as the "Avenue of the Arts," is home to a very ambitious revitalization initiative with the arts as an economic strategy. Three decades of a downward economic spiral culminated in the withdrawal of several corporate headquarters from the center city, leaving more than a million square feet of empty office space. Since the early 1980s, the transformation of South Broad Street into a cultural district became the civic goal for a diverse community group of foundations, cultural institutions, residents, developers, and civic leaders.

Broad Street below City Hall was a logical focus for arts-based redevelopment since it was already home to several art organizations (Academy of Music, Merriam Theater, Pennsylvania Ballet, and University of the Arts). These cultural and educational institutions provided a foundation from which the concept of a performing arts district could grow. As in

Winston-Salem, a tradition of support for the arts and culture existed on which to structure a revitalization.

When Mayor Edward Rendell, took office in 1991, he said "...we were desperate to get out of economic crisis. One way to do that was to build up Philadelphia's status as a destination. We need to make Philadelphia attractive for companies." Mayor Rendell's view was supported by "...the changing definition of a city in today's world: no longer a necessary hub for commerce and industry, in an age of telecommunications, which have effectively decentralized business activity, but a 'destination,' a place for tourism and conventions" (Midgette, 1999).

The City of Philadelphia capitalized on an initiative that was planned by the Academy of Music, the oldest continuously running music hall in the U.S. and home to the Philadelphia Orchestra. The Orchestra had outgrown the Academy and purchased another site on Broad Street with plans to build a new hall. Fundraising had stalled so the City proposed a comprehensive redevelopment strategy to jumpstart the "Avenue of the Arts," the popular name for Broad Street., and solve the need for performance space faced by the Orchestra and other performing arts organizations.

Philadelphia's \$255 million performing arts center (due to be completed in 2001) is the centerpiece of the "Avenue." A \$15 million renovation of the "Avenue's" streetscape has stimulated fresh investment in hotels and restaurants as have tax-abatements aimed at promoting conversions of office space into apartments. Questions about the area's long-term viability are balanced by cautious optimism that although lost business can't be replaced, the re-invigorated infrastructure has created an environment receptive to development possibilities (Craft, 1998).

Lessons from case studies

Hampden, SoHo, Winston-Salem, and Philadelphia present four scenarios in which the arts have played a key role in economic revitalization. SoHo is the paradigm on which the others were modelled or measured, therefore, key points in the history of the SoHo phenomenon are outlined to provide a gauge of comparison to the other revitalization efforts.

Interventions in SoHo

1960s-early 1970s, manufacturing left SoHo district

Consequence: vacancies in industrial buildings; economic crisis,
artists discover and colonize cheap industrial lofts

1971, NYC zoning resolution legalized residential use of loft buildings

Consequence: artists created live-work spaces in industrial spaces,
vacant industrial spaces are occupied and rents are collected,
temporary stabilization of crisis

(AIR), Artists in Residence program protected artists' access to loft spaces.

Consequence: artists entitled to compete with "regular" small manufacturers for loft spaces, artists less demanding than "regular" manufacturers, live in neighborhood, streets are occupied 7 days a week, 24 hours per day, stabilizing & sanitizing

1973, SoHo designated historic landmark district

(artists aided effort to acquire designation)

Consequence: the architecture is protected and value is established, preservation, real estate developers invest & renovate

1974, NYC zoning restricted SoHo as manufacturing district

Consequence: little if any impact on ostensible target (small manufacturers), yet provides further protection for district in conjunction with historic designation, whereby buildings cannot be demolished and new buildings must concur with zoning restrictions regarding building configuration and use, large residential or office developments cannot be installed

1975, J-51 tax subsidy amendment supported large bulding conversion

Consequence: opened the door to re-configurative renovation of industrial spaces into large-scale residential units (condos) with minimal size restrictions based on zoning guidelines set for small manufacturers, classified as manufacturers, artists initially benefit, eventually out-priced

The SoHo phenomenon is of interest in that a seemingly spontaneous revitalization was in hindsight, effectively manipulated. Initially, artists settled in SoHo informally, with strategic interventions by government agencies following closely. Two questions emerge: What is the formula to SoHo's economic success? Can the formula work in other communities?

Winston-Salem

The revitalization of Winston-Salem was inspired by a perception of SoHo yet the development differs from SoHo significantly. Winston-Salem is a small city with a tradition of support for the arts, and the arts, in the form of existing arts organizations, were a focal point in the revitalization. Unlike the planned obsolescence of artists in SoHo, Winston-Salem arts organizations were expected to develop an even greater role in the community. The SoHo

syndrome was essentially a seeding process where artists were provided incentives to move in and clean up the neighborhood. In SoHo, zoning regulations, historic landmark designation, and subsidies were established to reinforce and further the overall development scheme. In Winston-Salem, the protective re-zoning, preservation, adaptive re-use, and low-interest mortgages, supported the people within the community and the revitalization.

Philadelphia

Although Philadelphia also builds upon existing arts organizations, the orientation is "monumental" and "blockbuster" in scope and intent. Like the Mall in Washington, DC, The "Avenue of the Arts" is a destination to visit. Whereas the Winston-Salem plan addresses quality-of-life concerns for existing residents and organizations as well as economic revitalization, Philadelphia's focus is market-driven to attract new business investment and tourism. Like SoHo, Philadelphia appears more attuned to the needs of developers than small businesses, residents, or artists.

Models

Model I: SoHo is the principal model and gauge for comparison in this study. Two key characteristics of the SoHo revitalization are; (1) intervention by government and development, and (2) artists prepare SoHo for gentrification.

Model II. Winston-Salem, (1) integrates existing organizations and residents and (2) builds upon the community's tradition of support for the arts.

Hampden

How does Hampden compare to the SoHo model or the Winston Salem model ? Hampden exhibits characteristics of both models. The mill centers reflect the SoHo pattern of artists being used to clean-up and stabilize an area. Artists moved in to the Mill Centre and Meadow Mill until the owners gentrified the mills and the rents increased.

The 36th Street revitalization is similar to the Winston-Salem model in its building upon existing resources and the retention and integration of original residents and artists. Some artists prefer a more fluid artist's lifestyle while others prefer and need stability for their art production and life, for them, Hampden provides the opportunity to buy a home and be part of settled community.

Summary

The SoHo syndrome did not occur spontaneously. Strategic government intervention was instrumental in the success of the revitalization and artists were utilized to prepare for gentrification. Winston-Salem integrated existing resources and built upon the community's tradition of support for the arts.

Hampden demonstrates aspects of both models and may be evolving a new model of arts and economic development that adapts and incorporates the SoHo and Winston-Salem approaches. Hampden's grassroots revitalization has been implemented by Hampden residents and merchants. It is not a community being formed around a major arts center. Arts and artists in Hampden are not viewed as part of an "economic strategy" but as part of the makeup of the community.

METHODOLOGY

The hypothesis for this study states that a positive correlation exists between an influx of artists and art-related businesses in Hampden and the improved economy of the community. This correlation is believed to be linked to the clustering of artists and arts-related businesses within Hampden and that economic benefits are generated because of the clustering. It is also believed that the economic benefits reflect economies of agglomeration derived from the clustering of the art and culture producing industries.

While guided by the general orientation stated above, this study is also in large part exploratory. The development being studied is ongoing and evolving. This state of flux prevents definitive conclusions from being reached *at this time*. As originally envisioned, this research was to include examination of (1) relevant literature, (2) interviews with stakeholders, and (3) review of property sale data of 36th Street.

Literature was searched to provide secondary data and context with an emphasis on recent studies. The dialogue concerning industrial clusters and economies of agglomeration with regard to cultural industries is growing internationally within academic disciplines of the arts and economics. Although the amount of literature is limited, it is important in its view of culture production as an industry within the global market (Hall, 2000).

Target Sites

Four areas within Hampden demonstrate pronounced clustering of businesses: West 36th Street, "The Avenue" from Falls Road to Chestnut Avenue, a 5 block stretch, including a 1-2 block radius at each respective

cross intersection; The Mill Centre at the intersection of Falls Road and Chestnut Avenue; Meadow Mill, in Woodberry next to the light rail station; and Clipper Mill Industrial Park located across the light rail tracks from Meadow Mill on Clipper Road. [Figure 4] Although the Meadow Mill complex and the Clipper Mill Industrial Park are technically in Woodberry, their adaptive re-use of mill centers as business clusters serve as economic anchors within greater Hampden.

"The Avenue" (West 36th Street) is the central business district for Hampden and Woodberry. Although businesses line both sides of Falls Road northward from Roosevelt Park, 36th Street remains the commercial heart with offshoots clustering and expanding around the intersections that cross 36th Street at Falls Road and Hickory, Roland, Elm, and Chestnut Avenues.

The other three sites are former mills which have been recycled into centers housing a diverse mix of arts-related and non-arts businesses. The Mill Centre at 3500 Chestnut Avenue is home to an artist print atelier, a mix of commercial enterprises, professional offices, and artist studios.

The Meadow Mill complex in Woodberry, is anchored by the Meadow Mill Athletic Club and forty other tenants which include a commercial gallery, professional offices, non-profit agencies, and studios.

During the early 1980s, the Clipper Mill Industrial Park owner began renting space to artists and the former mill and foundry became a rabbit's warren of artist and artisan studios. In September 1995, fire destroyed half of the Park. The surviving half continues to house artist and design studios, fabrication, and artisan shops. Lack of adequate funding has delayed plans to re-develop the burnt out portion and Clipper Mill continues to be a very rough, unfinished industrial space. In contrast to Clipper Mill, the Mill Centre

and the Meadow Mill complex have been reconfigured and gentrified. Both former mills retain their stone exteriors and interior proportions, but have been renovated for corporate clients.

Procedure+ Participants

Surveys

Artist-resident surveys were designed to provide insight into motivations that compelled artists to become homeowners in Hampden, whether they maintained studios in Hampden, and whether their Hampden location was beneficial to their art career. The business surveys intend to track why entrepreneurs are willing to establish their business in Hampden, if they are succeeding, and what they foresee as the future of their business, as well as if they viewed artists as having been an important element in the Hampden revitalization. The surveys do not employ random sampling and are not intended for inferential statistical analysis. The surveys provide descriptive information regarding the context in which revitalization is occurring.

Interviews

Although four of the personal interviews with key informants were generally guided by a set of prepared questions they evolved informally, giving the informant the leeway to share relevant personal and community anecdotes. A fifth non-structured interview took place without any preparation while the informant was responding to the survey. The interviews contributed significantly to forming a historical and socio-political context for the current state of affairs in Hampden.

Participants

Participants are artist-residents and business owners in Hampden who were invited to respond to interpretative questionnaires and/or participate in personal face-to-face interviews.

The names of 22 artist-residents were drawn from a list of 21211 zip code addresses extracted from mailing and membership lists of selected Baltimore arts organizations. It is assumed that the majority of addresses gleaned from the arts organizations will consist of artists or those affiliated with or supportive of the arts. The artist-residents were contacted in person, by telephone, or by email. Almost 70% of the persons contacted (15/22) agreed to participate and only a few approached by email did not respond. A second email was sent to follow-up since many people were on summer vacation and also in realization that email may not be regularly utilized.

The selection of business owners was biased toward those representing the "new" type of business----cafes, restaurants, shops catering to specialty niche markets rather than basic necessities such as groceries, pharmacies, and hardware. With the exception of one emailed contact, all of the businesses were approached individually and face-to-face with the questionnaire being administered at that time or being left with a pre-arranged time for pick-up. 17 out of 18 business people contacted responded to the surveys. The business people were cooperative and the questionnaires often led to informal non-structured interviews.

Key informants

In addition to the survey respondents, specific people were targeted for focussed interviews because of the lead roles they have undertaken in

organizing the Hampden revitalization. I initially became aware of these people through repeated mention in local newspaper accounts of the changes in Hampden and also through recommendations made by the Baltimore City planner for the northern district and the community organizer for the Greater Homewood Community Corporation. The interviewees were selected on the basis of either the duration of their tenure in Hampden as businesspeople or their roles in facilitating remedies for community problems and in initiating actions to further the community's vision for the future.

Four of the five key informants were among the early "pioneers" who opened businesses in Hampden during the 1970s when 36th Street was experiencing serious economic decline. Those four pioneering businesses are currently in operation and prospering. Although the fifth informant has been only been in business in Hampden for six years, he is a Hampden resident and has become an influential and outspoken advocate and activist.

Among the issues which these people have been instrumental in facilitating or resolving are: establishment of the Hampden Village Merchants Association (1992), creation of the Hampden Family Center (1995), the banning of billboards in the Jones Falls Valley (1997-98), and application to the (Baltimore) Main Street Program (2000).

Procedure: Property Sales

The intention of this research was to create a comprehensive view which would include the three mill centers and 36th Street. A review of all Hampden property sales was planned for the past ten years, however, it became apparent that Hampden was too large an area and the timeframe of the ten year study parameter was too short in which to detect a significant

pattern of sales activity. Therefore, the study area was confined to West 36th Street and the time frame in which to study property sales was increased to forty years. Property sales and assessment records for the most recent five years were accessed through the webpage maintained by the Maryland State Department of Assessments and Taxation. The previous thirty-six years were reviewed in hard-copy format. Each decade was indexed per street blocks from the 600 block (Keswick) through the 1100 block (Falls Road) to determine if any patterns emerged in the number of sales.

Literature resources: Criteria for selection:

Selection of research materials for this study met the following criteria:

- the research utilized sound qualitative, quantitative, or combination of methodologies and appeared in a recognized publication or originated from a recognized, authoritative source;
- related to issues of cultural economics, the culture industries, and the economic impact of the arts;
- reported and discussed cluster and agglomeration economies, especially as they relate to the culture industry;
- were relevant to policy makers, the public, urban planners, developers, arts organizations, and artists;
- added to the body of knowledge about the arts, cultural economics, and community development; and
- materials were published within the past thirty years but preference was given to those produced within the last decade.

Difficulty in data collection

The hypothesis proposes that artists were a key catalyst in the economic rejuvenation of Hampden. The fact that the revitalization phenomenon being studied is current and ongoing exacerbates efforts to evaluate and analyze. The process occurring *now*, in *real* time, making it difficult (or impossible) to isolate specific cause and effect.

The Hampden revitalization is the consequence of an organic series of grassroots initiatives without benefit of the checks, balances, and measures that would be built into a renewal plan developed by a government agency. Since the Hampden renewal is being generated by the community itself, the social and political factors greatly influence and impact the economic events.

The effectiveness of the research was curtailed by the broad scope of the research design. In light of the initial survey responses, The survey data collection, would benefit from a revised, more specific body of questions would potentially demonstrate the validity of the hypothesis.

ANALYSIS OF ARTS LINKAGE IN HAMPDEN

The hypothesis for this paper proposes that significant economic revitalization is taking place in Hampden and that artists and arts-related businesses are integral to the process. Revitalization is clearly occurring--- substantial economic activity is evident throughout Hampden and has been discussed at length in this paper.

Whether the influx of artists was a catalyst in this economic revitalization of Hampden is less clear-cut. As stated previously in the Methodology section, the phenomenon is a work-in-progress and has developed organically without a pre-determined plan by which to gauge progress. The settling of artists in Hampden occurred without the benefit of state interventions such as the zoning resolutions that legitimized the residential use of loft buildings or subsidies for art production in SoHo and the strategic plan in Winston-Salem. Artists in search of affordable studio space and housing found the raw spaces in the vacant and underutilized mills and industrial buildings of Hampden. The hypothesis cannot be proved conclusively, but, responses to the surveys indicate that it is likely.

Artist-Resident Responses

A small number of artists (22) were approached to participate in the survey. Their names were culled from the directory of the Maryland Institute, College of Art and mailing lists from the Fells Point Creative Alliance, Sculptors Incorporated, and the Fine Arts Gallery at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. The goal of the survey was to compile a descriptive profile of artists who chose to reside in Hampden, their motivation

in doing so, and the level of their commitment. Although it would have been possible to contact more artists and create an in-depth study with statistical validity, I decided that it would be more instructive to compile a companion summary of the business community. [See Appendix B & C] The artist-residents who responded to the questionnaire were a homogeneous group:

Education & income data:

Graduate degree	(71% or 11/15)
Bachelors degree	(29% or 4/15)
Employed as art faculty	(47% or 7/15)
Employed as arts professionals (registrar, curator, administrator)	(33% or 5/15)
Self-employed in arts-related business	(13% or 2/15)
Median income	\$35,000
Aggregate income	\$475,000

Annual artmaking expenditures:

% income spent on artmaking	25% of \$475,000 or \$118,750
% of annual artmaking expenditures spent in Baltimore	79% of \$118,750 or \$93,813

The median income for the artist respondents was \$35,000. When asked to estimate the percent of their income spent on their artmaking, the average came to 25 percent of which 79 percent is estimated to be spent in Baltimore. If the aggregate income of this group of respondents is \$475,000 and 25 percent of the aggregate is \$118,750, then the 79 percent spent annually in Baltimore on artmaking by these artists is roughly \$93,813. This is a conservative estimate of the economic impact made by the artmaking of these artists.

Impact of Hampden location on art career

To determine whether living in Hampden had a positive impact on being an artist, the survey included questions which asked why the Hampden

community was selected, why the residents continued to stay, and whether living in Hampden had contributed to the professional development of the resident as an artist. The residents were also asked to express their opinion as artists or arts affiliates whether they felt that there were advantages to being located within the (Hampden) community, and if so, to explain.

Residential data:

Hampden = affordable housing	(86 % or 13/15)
Own home	(66 % or 10/15)
Lived in Hampden 10-25 yrs.	(33% or 5/15)

Of the 86 percent (13/15) respondents who stated that they selected Hampden for the affordable housing, 66 percent (10/15) owned their homes and almost thirty percent have lived in their residence for 10 to 25 years. The stability of this group of artists counters conventional wisdom regarding the character and lifestyle of artists. A factor that is rarely considered when opining on the eccentricities of artists, is their connection to community. Artists are (professionally) dependent upon the network of peers, institutions, and resources within a community. These networks are built upon personal inter-relationships that take time to develop and are not inter-changeable. It is difficult for a traditional professional artist (non-time-based) to move to another community without significant disruption and loss of continuity in artmaking and the network exchange.

The majority of the respondents cited housing and safety as primary reasons for staying in Hampden, although several mentioned convenience of location and accessibility to other art professionals. Among those who replied "yes" to whether living in Hampden contributed to development as an artist, over two-thirds referred to meeting and connecting with the network of artists, curators as an important contribution. The responses to the inquiry

concerning advantages to an artist or arts affiliate in locating within Hampden, illuminated the artist's and arts professional's point-of-view toward location, access to conveniences, and professional networks. The survey asked: As an artist or an arts affiliate, do you feel there are advantages to being located within this community? Among the opinions shared and advantages cited, are the following:

- proximity to downtown (central location within Baltimore)
- good convenient transportation (I-83), train, plane, light rail and the ease of travel due to Baltimore's central location on the East Coast
- cheap housing, cheap studio space, cheap materials
(ex-industrial town---lots of industrial products)
- proximity to Baltimore museums
- proximity to supportive and encouraging artist peers in community
- identification with a place and a group of people
- neighborhood feeling, mix of restaurants, galleries, and shops
- "Hampden is unusual in that there exists a large number of artists with studios in the area as well as a large number of services directly related to the visual arts (fabrication, reproduction, presentation). Also, a small community is beneficial to the psyche and the creative process."

The advantages cited are not dissimilar from those of professionals within any other industry in selecting location; convenience of transportation, infrastructure, housing, and proximity to a network of other professionals and professional organizations. The motivation of cheap housing and studio space supports my hypothesis that artists gravitated toward Hampden in

search of affordable live and work spaces. The opinions regarding peer support and access to resources further support my theory regarding the evolution of agglomeration economies within the arts production industry.

Business Owner Responses

As stated in the Methodology, the selection of the businesses reflects a distinct bias on my part toward the new merchant rather than more traditional neighborhood-serving merchant. The goal of the survey was to create a profile of these non-traditional entrepreneurs who chose to commit their business investment in Hampden.

Business data:

In business over 15 yrs	(35 % or 6/17)
10-15 yrs	(18 % or 3/17)
5-9 yrs	(24 % or 4/17)
1-4 yrs	(18 % or 3/17)
-1 yr	(6% or 1/17)

The "new" designation does not refer to the length of time these businesses have been operating in Hampden. Over a third (35 percent) of the business respondents have been operating in Hampden for over 15 years, 18 percent for 10 to 15 years, 24 percent for 5 to 9 years, and another 18 percent have been in business for 1 to 4 years. This breakdown of the duration of time these businesses have been operating indicates the gradual organic pace at which the development is occurring. The overall revitalization effort is an incremental, unorchestrated process. If developers had come in and planned a synthetic revitalization, it may have been realized within a shorter time-frame. However, the fact that this revitalization

has been carefully established and is growing steadily, suggests that it may be stable and sustaining.

Contributing to the stability is the number of merchants who are also Hampden residents (47 percent) or live in an adjacent city neighborhood. These resident merchants are double stakeholders with a vested interest in the success of the economic development of Hampden. Dual commitment and investment is realized particularly by those businesspeople for whom the place of business is also the residence. All of the business people reported that their business had increased and all were optimistic about continued expansion and development of their businesses.

In response to questions regarding the advantages of a Hampden business location, the merchants emphasized the historic atmosphere, the "country / industrial" feeling within the heart of the city, convenient central location, demographics, affordability, and safety. Parking led the brief list of disadvantages, with a few mentioning that it was often difficult to find their business because of the configuration of winding streets or confusing access to an industrial site.

When asked whether in their opinion, there had been a perceptible growth in the arts community within Hampden, all of the merchants agreed that there had been growth, but their responses varied when asked to assign the growth within a specific time-frame. Those who have been in the area for 10 or more years cited perceptible growth within the past 10 to 15 years while those who have been established in Hampden for less than a year to 5 years, believed the growth had occurred within the past 2 to 5 years.

Several merchants believed that artists were drawn to Hampden because of the cheap rent and large spaces available in the former industrial

buildings. Others said that the gentrification of 36th Street and the arrival of the Maryland Institute's Jewelry Center at the Meadow Mill complex, attracted more artists and arts organizations and that the scene has become more sophisticated and "arty."

The majority of the business owners (94 percent) canvassed believed that their businesses were linked to arts production either as suppliers of material goods or services. 53 percent of the businesses employed artists and several of the entrepreneurs consider themselves artists and were unanimous in the opinion that the arts have had a positive impact on the Hampden community. When asked which aspect of the community was impacted, atmosphere and attractiveness (28 percent) was followed by economy (24 percent), community identity (22 percent), and social activities (19 percent).

All of the respondents want to stay in the Hampden community and from the business perspective see parking and cleanliness as the primary issues to be addressed. When invited to make "other comments," the responses split between optimistic goals for business and community development and a wish list for preservation of the historic built and natural environment. Several business people (particularly those who've been in Hampden for more than 10 years), expressed concern for historic preservation, prevention of careless development, and protection of the Jones Falls Valley Watershed.

Summary

Although neither resident or business survey established conclusively that the influx of artists was the catalyst for the economic revitalization of Hampden, the responses to each strongly indicate a correlation.

traditional neighbor-hood serving businesses. Different sets of questions would target and reflect the varying perspectives of these stakeholders. A body of revised questions and longer time-frame, would have enhanced the evaluation of the relationship between artists and the revitalization.

Further, the limitations of qualitative interviews cannot be ignored. because only qualitative methods of data collection were employed, there was no opportunity to quantify and check the consistency of the information conveyed by key informants. In addition, interviewer bias regarding the subject was not considered prior to beginning the interview process.

Economies of Agglomeration

The proposition that the arts production industry generates an agglomeration economy is of significant interest. Given adequate time and access to business records, such an economy could be detected, tracked, and clarified. This would be significant in terms of the varied interweaving of economic impact generated by artists and other arts producers.

Property Sales and Assessments

Further evaluation of the commercial and housing sales and assessments would be recommended to provide quantitative measures of the economic revitalization. One key informant revealed that her combination commercial and residential property had increased in assessed valuation between 1989 and 1998 from \$103,000 to \$320,000. It would be helpful to develop a composite index of other properties with similar changes in valuation and then determine the overall impact of increased property taxes.

Social Factors

Further investigations into the social dimensions within the Hampden community are strongly encouraged. The history of the isolated working class community in Hampden is poignant as the original residents confront the future being cultivated by the non-working class, educated entrepreneurs. Revitalization is a social and an economic process.

Other issues deserving further study is the predominance of women leading the revitalization initiatives; the vulnerability of Hampden senior citizens when faced with increasing property taxes; and the demographics of the majority of the new merchants on The Avenue---educated, childless, the majority aged 40 to 60 (based on observation).

Summary

Although neither resident or business survey established conclusively that the influx of artists was the catalyst for the economic revitalization of Hampden, the responses to each strongly indicate a correlation. Despite limitations, this study addressed issues concerning the utilization of an arts strategy in economic development which should be beneficial to anyone engaged with issues of community development.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In concluding this research on the arts link to the Hampden revitalization, it is clear that Hampden's status as intact community is essential to its current success. Its physical configuration and long history of socio-economic isolation reinforces the quality that is at the heart of this economic renaissance.

A convergence of social, political, and economic situations seems to be in effect, as in SoHo during the 1970s. Unlike SoHo, Hampden's revitalization has not been manipulated by government or developers from behind the scenes. The revitalization appears to have been legitimately achieved by Hampden merchants and residents---artist and non-artist.

The intent of the hypothesis was to prove or draw reasonable links between artists and the community revitalization. It is difficult to extract artists from the community. Artists are not simply "artists." They are also neighbors, homeowners, and business people. Although this research cannot conclusively prove that the arts were *the* catalyst for the economic rejuvenation of Hampden, there are strong indications that without the artists, the current momentum would not have been achieved. Artists and community are interlocked.

As in SoHo, artists were drawn to Hampden for cheap studio space, the convenience of Hampden's central location, and safety. Hampden reflects the Soho and Winston-Salem models of art-linked economic development.

Hampden demonstrates a balance of both tendencies. The corporate gentrifiers are developing the mill centers and other industrial sites while

artists, artisans, and entrepreneurs are creating an integrated community oriented development on 36th Street. What does this mean ?
Should there be only one approach in effect ? Is this synergy sustainable?
Is Hampden cultivating a combination model for arts and economic development ?

Policy Recommendations

The implication is that one model cannot fit all communities. Although all of the case studies were influenced by the SoHo model, Philadelphia and Winston-Salem adapted and customized the SoHo concept to the community. Hampden did not intentionally seek artists to jump-start the economy, but the strategy evolved and has become a component of Hampden's successful grassroots approach to revitalization.

Hampden's strength appears to be in the diversity of its people and businesses. The revitalization has been accomplished through an incremental, wholistic approach. Recommendations would include preservation, protection, and incentives to safeguard the diverse socio-economic mix that is integral to the revitalization. Establishing rent controls, sales tax exemptions, and art production subsidies could protect and maintain the presence of all levels of artists in the community, as well as seniors and other original low-income residents.

Appendix A

1997 Economic Census
North American Industrial Classification System Industry Groups

- 21. Mining
- 22. Utilities
- 23. Construction
- 31-33. Manufacturing
- 42. Wholesale trade
- 44-45. Retail trade
- 48-49. Transportation & warehousing
- 51. Information
- 52. Finance & insurance
- 53. Real estate, rentals & leasing
- 54. Professional, scientific, & technical services
- 56. Administrative, & support & waste mgmt. & remediation services
- 61. Educational services
- 62. Health care & social assistance
- 71. Arts, entertainment, & recreation
- 72. Accommodation & food services
- 81. Other services (except public admin.)

* Census for government and agricultural industries are compiled separately

NAICS Index: The Genealogy of Industry Sector 71

- 71 Arts, entertainment, and recreation
 - 711 Performing arts, spectator sports, & related industries
 - 7111 Performing arts companies
 - 71111 Theater companies & dinner theaters
 - 7111101 Opera companies
 - 7111102 Theater companies
 - 7111103 Dinner theaters
 - 71112 Dance companies
 - 71113 Musical groups & artists
 - 7111301 Symphony orchestras & chamber music organizations
 - 7111309 Other music groups & artists
 - 71119 Other performing arts companies
 - 7111901 Circuses
 - 7111909 Other performing arts companies (except circuses)
 - 7112 Spectator sports
 - 7113 Promoters of performing arts, sports, & similar events
 - 71131 Promoters of performing arts, sports, & similar events (w/ facility)
 - 71132 Promoters of performing arts, sports, & similar events (w/o facility)
 - 7114 Agents/managers for artists, athletes, & other public figures
 - 7115 Independent artists, writers, & performers
-

RESIDENT / ARTIST SURVEY OF HAMPDEN / WOODBERRY

University of Maryland, College Park, Urban Studies & Planning Program

Respondent: _____**Address:** _____**Tel / Fax/Email:** _____**DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE:**

1. Gender: Female Male
 2. Age: 18-24 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-64 60+
 3. Education: K-8 9-12 H.S. College
 Assoc. BA Graduate / professional
 Do you consider yourself an artist? Yes No
 Are you an exhibiting artist? Yes No
 If so, what medium do you work in ?

RESIDENCE:

1. Where do you live?
 Hampden Woodberry Other: _____ Zipcode: _____
 2. Own Rent Plan to Buy? Yes No
 3. Maintain a studio? No Yes Separate At Residence
 4. Years in current residence:
 0-1 1-5 5-10 10-25 25+
 5. Total years in community:
 0-1 1-5 5-10 10-25 25+
 6.a. How did you select this community ?
 Family Friends Cheap Housing Cheap Studio
 Job Safety Public Transit Schools
 Amenities/Services:
 6.b. Why do you choose to stay ?
 7. Has living here contributed to your professional development as an artist?
 No Yes If so, how? _____

ECONOMIC:

1. Employer: _____
 2. Job Description: _____
 3. Self-employed? No Yes Part-time
 4. Do you earn at least 25-50% of your annual income from any of the following:
 Visual Arts Theatre Dance Music
 Graphic Design Industrial Design Fabrication Gallery
 Arts Admin. Curating Writing about art
 Filmmaking Frame Shop
 Teaching art? If so, where? _____
 Tech. processing: Photo Film Video Imaging digital
 Govt.(art / culture): Neighborhood City County
 State Regional Federal

5. a. Estimate what you spend annually on your artmaking, incld. studio rent & vehicle expense. (% of your annual income)
- b. Estimate the % of your "art" expenses that are spent locally (Balto.).
- c. Estimate the % of your "art" expenses that are spent outside Balto. metro area.
6. Have you developed income resources that are outgrowths of your art-making ? Yes No
7. Is it important for you to work in an arts-related / linked occupation ?
 Yes No
 If so, explain:
8. Annual income of respondent (ave. last 3 yrs.):
 0-\$14,999 \$15-24,999 \$25-34,999 \$35-49,999
 \$50-74,999 \$75,000 +
9. Do you have health insurance ? If you do, is it: Self-paid or
 Employer paid
10. Do you have studio insurance ? Yes No

OPINION:

As an artist or an arts affiliate, do you feel there are advantages to being located within this community ? Yes No

If so, please explain:

OTHER COMMENTS:

BUSINESS SURVEY OF HAMPDEN / WOODBERRY

University of Maryland, College Park, Urban Studies & Planning Program

Organization: _____**Address:** _____**Respondent** _____**Phone/Fax/Email:** _____**BUSINESS OPERATIONS**

1. Type of business: Independent Service Other: _____
 Manufacturer Restaurant
 Retail Wholesale
2. Products / Services provided: _____
3. Duration in business in Hampden/Woodberry community:
 Under 1yr. 1-4 yrs. 5-9 yrs. 10-15 yrs. Over 15
4. How has your business developed while in the community?
 Increased Decreased Same Within what time frame? ____

LABOR

1. How many people does your business employ? _____ (#)
a. Full-time Employees: _____ (#) b. Part-time Employees: _____ (#)
c. Managerial Employees: _____ (#) d. Production Employees: _____ (#)
2. Where do your employees reside?
a. H/W area b. Balto City c. Balto County

SITE SELECTION:

1. Why did you locate your business here? Please explain.
 Location Near residence
 Suitable infrastructure Near labor force
 Resources Near artist studios
 Transportation Near arts organizations
 Market Other _____
2. How satisfied is your company with its present location?
 Very Somewhat Somewhat dissatisfied Very dissatisfied
3. Building: Own Rent
4. Major advantages of location?
5. Major disadvantages of location?
6. Do you live in the Hampden-Woodberry area? a. Yes b. No
If so, Where?
How long have you lived there?
7. What do you see as the future prospects for your business?

ART LINKAGE:

1. In your opinion, has there been a perceptible growth in the arts community within the Hampden-Woodberry area? If so, within which time frame ?
 2-5 yrs 5-10 yrs 10-15 yrs 15-20 yrs
Please explain:
2. Is your business related to or linked to arts / cultural production ?
 Yes No
3. What does your business provide / produce ?
 Product (clarify)
 Service (clarify)
4. Are you an artist ? Yes No
5. Do you employ artists? Yes No
6. Do you sell (product / service) to artists / arts organizations? Yes No
7. Do you believe that the arts community has had a positive impact on the Hampden-Woodberry area ? Yes Generally No No opinion
- 8.a. If yes, on which aspect of the community?
 Economics Social Activities Atmosphere / attractiveness
 Community Identity Safety Other : _____
9. Do you want to stay in this community ?
10. How would you,like to see it improved ?

OTHER COMMENTS:

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