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Place Vibrancy and its Measurement: Construct Development, Scale Development, and Field Study of its Relationship to Planning Interventions for Three Villages in the Town of Montague, Massachusetts

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**PLACE VIBRANCY AND ITS MEASUREMENT: CONSTRUCT DEVELOPMENT, SCALE
DEVELOPMENT, AND FIELD STUDY OF ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PLANNING INTERVENTIONS FOR
THREE VILLAGES IN THE TOWN OF MONTAGUE, MASSACHUSETTS**

A Dissertation Presented

by

JOHN D. DELCONTE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2020

Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family and friends who have supported me many ways during this long journey.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first would like to thank my committee, Mark Hamin, Rod Warnick, and Elizabeth Brabec, who have spent many hours teaching, advising, and otherwise guiding me through the process of producing this work. But long before I met them, the Hospitality and Tourism Management (HTM) Department at the Isenberg School was my first home at UMass. I am especially grateful to Linda Lowry, who provided my entrée into the school and department, was my first advisor, and connected me with so many other people along the way, such as Dick and Jane Wilkie. Dick and Jane served not only as informal academic advisors but were good friends to whom I also happened to pay rent at their bucolic home. I received tremendous guidance at HTM not only from Linda but also from Muzzo Uysal and Albert Assaf from HTM. My second home at UMass, the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, was all that I could hope for. I benefitted much from working with Henry Renski, John Mullin, and Flavia Montenegro-Menezes. I also received great support from my fellow Ph.D. students. On the practitioner side, I received much help designing and conducting the pilot study from Suzanne LoMonto, Walter Ramsey, and Steven Ellis of the Town of Montague, and from numerous other study participants, who unfortunately need to remain anonymous.

ABSTRACT

PLACE VIBRANCY AND ITS MEASUREMENT: CONSTRUCT DEVELOPMENT, SCALE DEVELOPMENT,
AND FIELD STUDY OF ITS RELATIONSHIP TO PLANNING INTERVENTIONS FOR THREE VILLAGES IN
THE TOWN OF MONTAGUE, MASSACHUSETTS

September 2020

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The process of using arts and culture to change the physical and social character of places has been defined as ‘creative placemaking’. Creative placemaking granting agencies originally considered constructing ‘livability’ and ‘vibrancy’ indicators to characterize the outcomes of their programs. However, the research community critiqued these indicators, which were considered too nebulous, and efforts to develop them were halted. Other researchers have sought to measure place vibrancy in other contexts. This study revives the initial line of inquiry for using ‘vibrancy’ as a measure of creative placemaking effectiveness and of revitalization efforts more generally. Here, place vibrancy is proposed as a construct that can be measured through creation, review, and testing of scales regarding resident and visitor attitudes toward vibrancy. Literature searches, expert reviews, focus groups, and interviews have been conducted to define the construct of place vibrancy, and results were coded in relation to seventeen themes: forward-looking governance, local ownership of media, education, infrastructure, natural beauty, social capital, well-being, arts and culture, gathering

places, pedestrians, unique and historic architecture, cleanliness, strong economy, safety, diversity, buzz, and moderate tourism. Scales were constructed for each theme. With the scales, baseline place vibrancy was measured in three villages in the town of Montague, Massachusetts, which are undergoing varying degrees of cultural intervention: Turners Falls (TF), Millers Falls (MF), and Montague Center (MC). Turners Falls has received cultural funding over the last 10 years, MF is about to receive planning attention, including cultural interventions, and MC will not receive any new planning or funding in the near future. The hypotheses were that baseline place vibrancy levels would be higher for TF than MF or MC, and that MF will show the greatest increase over time. The scales were administered as a hand-delivered paper survey to a census-based sample of households in each village. Baseline place vibrancy was found to be statistically significantly higher in TF than in MF but not in MC, thus problematizing the first hypothesis. Later assessments will be made yearly for the next three years to test changes in place vibrancy for MF relative to TF and MC.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

Arts and culture serve multiple roles in cities and regions. While its expression reflects various aesthetics, norms, values, traditions, customs, and leisure habits, it has also been used instrumentally in regional and urban planning contexts to promote economic development and community development (Ashley, 2015). Over the last 10 to 15 years, the broad process of using arts and culture to achieve community asset development goals has been labelled 'creative placemaking' (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b). In general, creative placemaking is the process of changing the physical and social fabric of places with the cooperation of various stakeholders, including policymakers, planners, citizens, and civic groups, with art and creativity serving as the nexus of various local interests and values.

Creative placemaking programs initiated by the United States National Endowment of the Arts (NEA) *Our Town* program, and other funders, such as ArtPlace America, which were originally intended to make places more vibrant or livable, later began the task of developing indicators to measure these outcomes (Stern, 2014). However, there was a backlash in both the practitioner and academic communities about the ontology of the outcomes, particularly the concept of 'place vibrancy', whether it can serve as a reliably measurable outcome for creative placemaking efforts. Thought leaders in the field, including the originators of the term 'creative placemaking', Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa Nicodemus, considered vibrancy to be too 'fuzzy' or nebulous to serve as an endpoint (Markusen, 2012; Nicodemus, 2013). Other criticisms of the indicators emerged. The ArtPlace indicators, which included criteria such as economic activity, were thought to measure the presence of the 'creative class' and would therefore contribute to gentrification or inequitable development (Moss, 2012; Stern, 2014). The NEA *Our Town*

indicators were also not found to be valid measurements of creative placemaking in a follow-up validation study (Morley, Winkler, Zhang, Brash, & Collazos, 2014). The grantors responded to these criticisms and thereafter stopped seeking overall relative indicators in a place's vibrancy or livability as measurable outcomes of arts and culture interventions (Markusen & Nicodemus, 2014).

This dissertation aims to revisit this original line of inquiry, using vibrancy as an indicator of creative placemaking, going even further to consider vibrancy as an indicator for revitalization in general. This basic regional planning research explores what 'place vibrancy' is, how it can be measured, and whether it can be a useful indicator for practical revitalization projects. Planners commonly speak of revitalizing places with the hope of making them more 'vibrant,' although they do so without necessarily defining what vibrancy is. Writers and academics note how the level of 'vibrancy' or in places is a desirable quality to identify in urban and small-town planning, but few sufficiently create operational definitions grounded in human perception or practical documentation (Braun & Malizia, 2015; Dougal, Parsons, & Titman, 2015; Forsythe, 2014; Gross & Campbell, 2015; Hernandez & Larsen, 2010; Raco & Tunney, 2010; Recio & Gomez, 2013; Stapleton & Garrod, 2008; C. Wu, Ye, Ren, & Du, 2018; J. Wu, Ta, Song, Lin, & Chai, 2017; Y. Yue et al., 2017). Although the development of a vibrancy index or scale (or multiple such scales) has been abandoned for the time being by the major grant funders of creative placemaking, this study will try to demonstrate that there is such a phenomenon as 'place vibrancy,' that it can be measured, and that it can be a useful tool for regional planners—not just for creative placemakers but also for economic developers, regional/urban planners, and tourism development officers.

This dissertation addresses the aforementioned problems by defining ‘place vibrancy’ as a psychological construct that can be measured through a series of scales. Established research methods for construct and scale development will be used to define what place vibrancy is and give researchers and planners a reliable and valid way to measure it in the field (Churchill, 1979; Dolnicar, 2013; Rossiter, 2011). These scales can then be used to measure the vibrancy of a community and to determine whether it is becoming more or less vibrant over time. Therefore, this study aims to demonstrate that the scales could be used as indicators of a broad range of revitalization efforts, from creative placemaking to economic redevelopment initiatives. For the final part of this dissertation, constructed scales were tested to benchmark the vibrancy in three Massachusetts villages, one of which has received a significant amount of cultural interventions over the last 10 years, one of which will receive planning attention in the near future, and one of which will serve as a control.

1.2. Research Gaps

The large creative placemaking grantmakers in the US, such as the NEA *Our Town* program and ArtPlace have attempted to measure whether the community arts and cultural projects they sponsored contributed to community vitality, vibrancy, livability, and quality of life. They experimented with indicators built from secondary data that were easily and readily obtained, focusing on economic (e.g., jobs and tourist dollars spent) and social (e.g., crime statistics and housing quality) outcomes. However, many agencies have discarded these indicators because they were considered ‘fuzzy’ and imprecise, and even if they were valid, they were an attempt at measuring a single outcome (vibrancy) that was perhaps too generic a measure to assess the multifaceted creative placemaking projects aimed at myriad different community development outcomes. A study of the validity of ArtPlace’s tentative vibrancy

indicators concluded that the indicators were a good assessment of 'livability' (another contested term) but not of creative placemaking (Morley et al., 2014).

Ann Markusen, a leading economist who has explored the relationship of arts and creativity to place transformation, described the overall problems associated with establishing causation between arts and cultural interventions and the outcomes of creative placemaking.

They were:

- The dimensions to be measured are hard to define precisely.
- Most good secondary data series are not available relative to spatial scales.
- They are unlikely to be statistically significant at the desired scales.
- Charting causes of change over time successfully is a major challenge.
- There are very few arts and cultural indicators included among the measures under consideration. (Markusen, 2012; Stern, 2014)

As a result of these and other criticisms, instead of using indicators, grantors now require grantees to envision more local and defined outcomes. For example, ArtPlace, adopted goal categories such as agriculture & food, economic development, education & youth, etc., to guide expectations of arts-led community development projects ("Introduction | ArtPlace," 2016). For these agencies, the quest for measuring whether an arts or cultural intervention influences the overall vibrancy of a place has been stalled if not abandoned.

Other measures of vibrancy appear to be chosen with limited theoretical underpinning or merely at the bias of the authors, such as the share of downtown residents who are college graduates, the crime rate, the number of cultural establishments, the density of block sizes, and

the share of MSA's jobs, and population growth downtown (Braun & Malizia, 2015; Dougal et al., 2015; Ewing & Cervero, 2010; Forsythe, 2014; Gross & Campbell, 2015; Holian & Kahn, 2012; Jacobs, 1961; Merlino, 2014; Montgomery, 1998; Y. Yue et al., 2017).

The difficulties in the creative placemaking field to develop clear constructs related to measurements of the physical and social character of places, and the various attempts to assess vibrancy through other criteria, have triggered conceptual and methodological questions from a basic research standpoint. The main research shortcoming appears to be that place vibrancy as a psychological construct has not been adequately defined and grounded either in the literature or in empirical research. Moreover, once defined, place vibrancy has not been developed into scales that can be used to measure its presence and to document it when it exists. Lastly, place vibrancy can potentially be tested as a reliable indicator for on-the-ground revitalization efforts, including those defined as creative placemaking.

1.3. Justification of Approach

There have been numerous studies on how emotions are related to place, such as feelings of place attachment, empowerment, and well-being (Campelo, Aitken, Thyne, & Gnoth, 2014; Douglas & Marc, 1995; Giampiccoli & Kalis, 2012; Knight Foundation, 2010b; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Pesonen & Komppula, 2010; Saville-Smith & James, 2003; Strzelecka, Boley, & Woosnam, 2017; Theodori, 2004). However, there appears to be little research on the degree to which people perceive the vibrancy of a place. Therefore, in the context of regional planning, this dissertation proposes that a set of attitudinal scales be used to measure the constructs associated with the vibrancy of places. Using an accepted methodology for scale development and validation should provide grounding for the use of the term. Once developed, the scales can

be used to test the effectiveness of a range of interventions. This dissertation research will test the construct and scale developed through practical application with a village-based field study.

It will still be difficult to prove causation between any planning intervention and place vibrancy, given the complexity of variables on a city- or region-wide level, the difficulties in delimiting the geographical scope, and the amount of time needed to assess a change. Even so, this study may bridge the gap of what constitutes place vibrancy by framing it as a psychological construct and proposing a way to measure it.

1.4. Research Contribution

Deindustrialized cities seeking transformation often seek 'vibrancy'. The term is an abstract concept used to describe a quality of places. Without necessarily describing what is meant by vibrancy, revitalization plans seek to increase it. The use of 'vibrancy' as a revitalization goal can be illustrated with New York State's Downtown Revitalization Initiative (DRI). Each year for the last four years (2016 to 2019) the DRI has invested 10 million dollars in each of 10 communities across the state (<https://www.ny.gov/programs/downtown-revitalization-initiative>). At the time this report was written, four rounds of the grant have been given to 40 communities, totaling \$400 million dollars. The aim of the program, according to Governor Andrew Cuomo, is to improve downtowns by turning them into vibrant places:

"A thriving downtown can provide a tremendous boost to the local economy. The Downtown Revitalization Initiative will transform selected downtown neighborhoods into vibrant places for people to live, work and raise a family, which will also help attract new investments and business for years to come" (Hudson Local Planning Committee, 2018).

A total of 34 of the 40 city DRI applications used ‘vibrancy’ as an aspirational goal (<https://www.ny.gov/programs/downtown-revitalization-initiative>), with phrases such as “...contribute to the vibrancy and revitalization of downtown” (Geneva), “Strengthen the vibrancy of Glens Falls’ mixed-use and walkable neighborhoods (Glens Falls), and “...DRI investments should work together to enhance Downtown’s vibrancy,...” (Plattsburgh). With vibrancy playing such a central role in the focused drive to revitalize downtowns, not only in New York, but across the US, clarity around the term can sharpen objectives and implementation.

In the late 2000s, the NEA asked economist Ann Markusen to produce a white paper defining creative placemaking for a new granting initiative called *Our Town* (Markusen & Nicodemus, 2014). Together with her research associate, Anne Gadwa Nicodemus, she responded with a seminal report for the Mayors Institute on City Design that outlined the aims and scope of existing creative placemaking projects taking place in the United States (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b; Markusen & Nicodemus, 2014). According to the original definition crafted by Markusen and Gadwa (2010b),

“In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired” (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 218).

Soon afterward, government policymakers, foundations, and non-profits at various levels followed the NEA’s lead and initiated grant programs to fund creative placemaking projects. The general goal for these programs has been to revitalize communities. The most prominent placemaking initiatives in the US have been the aforementioned NEA *Our Town*

(<https://www.arts.gov/grants-organizations/our-town/introduction>) Program and ArtPlace America (ArtPlace, <https://www.artplaceamerica.org/>), a consortium of foundations, banks, and government agencies that is closely affiliated with the NEA. ArtPlace, which was launched in 2010 was designed to sunset after 10 years.

Creative placemaking programs have struggled with the reliability of operationalizing what the interventions hope to achieve and how to measure them. Soon after the programs were launched in the early 2010s, the *Our Town* and ArtPlace program leaders began to develop indicators to measure livability and vibrancy that were proposed as the early outcomes. For example, the NEA, at one point, defined livability as “a variety of factors that contribute to the quality of life in a community such as ample opportunities for social, civic, and cultural participation; education, employment, and safety; sustainability; affordable housing, ease of transportation, access to public buildings and facilities; and aesthetically pleasing environment,” as cited by Esarey (2014, p. 15). The dimensions were distilled to “residents’ attachment to communities; quality of life; local economic conditions; and arts and cultural activity (specifically the infrastructure supporting artists and arts organizations)” (Morley et al., 2014, p. 2). Nicodemus cited ArtPlace’s definition of vibrancy as “the synergy among people, activity, and value in a place that increases community vitality and spurs economic opportunity” (2013, p. 218). The indicators for both livability and vibrancy were constructed from a broad mixture of easily accessible public data on topics like housing values, crime, walkability scores, etc. However, the definitions of the constructs were considered ‘fuzzy’ (Markusen, 2012; Nicodemus, 2013), and rationales for constructing the indices were not extensively supported in the working papers and websites of the agencies, nor were they rigorously tested and documented as legitimate measurement constructs. In particular, none of these studies took an

in-depth, conceptual approach toward the development and measurement of the concept of vibrancy of a place.

The program directors faced additional problems with using indices to measure the effectiveness of creative placemaking. The Urban Institute was commissioned by the NEA to conduct a study to measure the validity of the set of indicators for creative placemaking that was suggested for the *Our Town* Project (Morley et al., 2014). The study concluded that the proposed index did measure livability; however, it was not found to be a valid measure of creative placemaking. Also, leaders of the creative placemaking programs began to realize that, even if a universal measure such as vibrancy was adequately defined with a validated index, they were not confident that any arts and cultural intervention would have the power to change the vibrancy across the potentially large geography of a place. They also were skeptical that there would be enough time to measure such an effect (J. Schupbach, personal communication, February 5, 2015). Additionally, there was a vast variety of arts and cultural projects that made it equally difficult to apply these measures and to view measurable outcomes. For example, how could each creative placemaking project be expected to have a similar outcome on the physical and social character of a place? Would an art installation in a park have a comparable type of revitalizing effect on a community as a monthly music concert?

This dissertation will extend some of these earlier explorations of what place vibrancy is, how it can be measured and validated, and how it can be potentially used as a practical tool to measure local economic and community development efforts, such as tourism or community revitalization. The point of departure from previous academic work is that an attitudinal scale will be proposed to measure place vibrancy instead of indicators that have been used without providing a full rationale for why they were chosen or whether they truly measure a verifiable

outcome. These assessments will contribute to general research questions about what it means for a place to be revitalized and may provide a practical tool for not only tracking the effects of revitalization efforts, but for testing cultural interventions as a means of achieving revitalization and defining a 'vibrant place.'

1.5. Theoretical Frame

Although a significant amount of government and foundation money is currently being spent on creative placemaking interventions, the ways of measuring their outcomes have been controversial. Creative placemaking efforts have also been described to have 'fuzzy' or nebulous outcomes (Nicodemus, 2013), with limited empirical research showing effectiveness regarding on specific outcomes (Markusen, 2014). Furthermore, arts-led development has been criticized as mostly benefitting affluent and educated white people, often pushed by the private sector as a way to raise property values, with little regard to its effects on gentrification and social equity (Chapple & Jackson, 2010; Zukin, 1982). There has been a call for more longitudinal studies to study the effects of arts and culture on economic regeneration (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010a; Markusen, Nicodemus, & Barbour, 2013) and to disentangle the specific roles played by various arts and cultural activities (Woronkowicz, 2015).

Nevertheless, there is evidence of a causal link between arts and cultural activity and economic growth (Pedroni & Sheppard, 2013). The creation of cultural districts has a positive effect on neighborhood revitalization (Grodach, 2011; Grodach, Foster, & James, 2012; Noonan, 2013; Silver & Miller, 2013; Stern & Seifert, 1998, 2007; Woronkowicz, 2015). Cultural districts are specified zones in urban or semi-urban areas that have collected a constellation of resident cultural activities that are designed, situated, and promoted for bringing tourists and other commercial activity into an area. Neighborhoods in cultural districts that have increased

participation in the arts have higher incomes (Noonan, 2013; Stern & Seifert, 1998), property values (Noonan, 2013; Stern & Seifert, 2010), and decreased poverty (Noonan, 2013; Silver & Miller, 2013; Stern & Seifert, 2010).

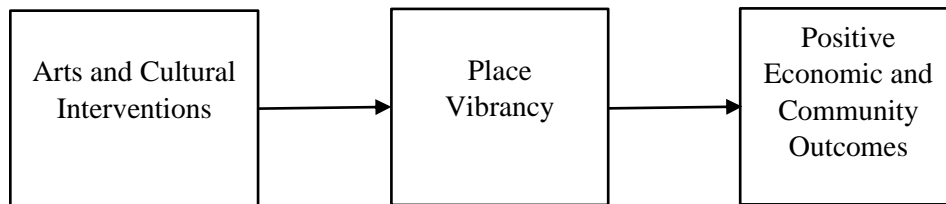
Amanda Johnson Ashley's historical review of arts-based local economic development summarizes several scenarios in which art and culture has been used instrumentally to revitalize communities (Ashley, 2015). To briefly summarize, starting with the City Beautiful movement at the turn of the 20th century, flagship cultural institutions such as performance spaces, galleries, libraries, and museums were developed, located, and promoted partly to draw tourists and their dollars into cities. Several decades later, the NEA was created in the 1960s to promote cultural expression internationally during the cold war, but this impetus gave way to the neoliberalism of the 1980s, when public investment in the arts was more likely to be supported if it translated into positive economic gains. Shortly afterward, the value of smaller neighborhood-scale art and culture was recognized as a neighborhood revitalization tool, with hope of addressing economic inequity through local art and culture in both rural and urban settings.

There has been extensive research regarding the 'artistic dividend' (Grodach et al., 2012; Markusen & Schrock, 2006; Silver & Miller, 2013). In addition to being a draw for tourists, arts-based products and services are usually bought and sold locally, keeping dollars within the community (Hager & Sung, 2012; Winkler, Oikarinen, Simpson, Michaelson, & Gonzalez, 2016) while creating sustainable jobs (Markusen et al., 2013). Artists are able to make a living in postindustrial places, often rehabilitating old factories and warehouses, which, in turn, make the places more desirable, cool, and interesting for newcomers who are attracted to the vibrancy, eclecticism, and beauty of these places (Forman & Creighton, 2012). The increased demand

often leads to indications of economic revitalization, such as increased property values (Grodach et al., 2012; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010a; Stern & Seifert, 2010).

This dissertation has been conducted to develop and measure ‘place vibrancy,’ one of the originally proposed indicators of creative placemaking efforts, as a psychological construct. Previous studies have not considered the perception of a place’s vibrancy as a psychological or social phenomenon. Regional planning and tourism studies are largely social and behavioral sciences. The ‘true nature’ of thoughts and feeling associated with the vibrancy of a place can be uncovered through the systematic methods of scale development more often used in disciplines that are tasked with measured abstract concepts, such as psychology or marketing. Once a means of measuring place vibrancy is validated, future studies might test, for example, whether it is associated with subsequent positive changes in economic and community outcomes, such as tourism visitation. One hypothesis is that place vibrancy draws cultural tourists, who are attracted to a place’s authenticity, novelty, and social opportunities, among other factors, and that arts and cultural activity activates the place vibrancy through the creation of a cultural place, or “scene”. The theoretical frame of the study is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Theoretical Frame



1.6. Research Questions

The story of the US grantmakers’ struggle to measure the effects of arts and culture as a revitalization tool has brought several basic planning research questions to the fore. First, *is*

there a construct that defines place vibrancy? The term is commonly used in planning literature when discussing revitalization efforts. It is often assumed that planning efforts should be used to make places more vibrant, or, somewhat interchangeably, vital, however, there is no commonly accepted definition for either word in the context of redevelopment efforts.

Second, after a definition for vibrancy is developed, can reliable and valid scales be built to measure the construct? The attempts to build indices of creative placemaking effects, or general attempts to measure place vibrancy in and of itself, were mostly built from secondary data sources such as job creation, taxes collected, housing values, and crime, and have had minimal grounding in literature, expert review, and methodology to show that they were valid measures.

Third, can this research method be used to measure the effects of arts and cultural interventions or, revitalization interventions in general? At the present time, major grantmakers have abandoned the use of an overall vibrancy index or scale as a measure for success for their creative placemaking programs. Instead, they expect their programs to influence specific community development outcomes, such as health, housing, and employment. The follow-up questions for future studies are, *even after creating a valid means of measuring place vibrancy, can we reasonably expect an arts or cultural project, with its limited scope, to have widespread, measurable effects across a whole community? Also, even if the intervention could be expected to have community-wide effects, how much time would be needed to pass before we can expect to effectively measure a change that can be attributed to the place vibrancy?*

1.7. Data Sources

The mixed-method sources of data used to construct the place vibrancy scale include a literature search, focus groups, one-on-one interviews, expert reviews, and completed surveys. Samples of planning literature and professional white paper texts where the terms of vibrancy, vitality, and creative placemaking have been used were comparatively analyzed to develop the domains for the construct of place vibrancy and serve as the basis for the initial scale items. Interviews and focus groups were conducted with experts in the planning and tourism research fields, with artists, with arts administration experts, with residents, and with tourists. After pre-tests and a pilot survey, a field study was initiated with the finalized scales in three villages in the Town of Montague, MA: Turners Falls, Millers Falls, and Montague Center. The surveys containing the scales were hand-delivered to residents, who mailed them back after completion. These mixed data sources were compared and correlated to develop then test the assessment criteria for this study.

1.8. Research Method

The study will follow Rossiter's (2011) suggested method for scale development. To generate an initial pool of items, a literature review was conducted. The next step was to conduct several focus groups and interviews. Three focus groups were conducted, one of planning researchers at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, one of residents in the Pioneer Valley Region of Massachusetts, and one of artists, also in the Pioneer Valley. Paired interviews were conducted with tourism researchers, also at the University of Massachusetts, and with arts administration officials, also from the Pioneer Valley. Individual interviews were conducted as well, one with an artist in the Capital Region of New York, and two with random visitors to the Albany County Visitors Center.

All of the focus groups and paired interviews took place within the Pioneer Valley of Massachusetts, where several small towns are located near the Connecticut River. The area is *prima facie* vibrant, with significant arts and cultural participation. A pre-test was administered to students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The pre-test was used to refine the list of scale items derived from the literature search and to ensure they were understandable. A pilot survey of the scale items was distributed online to a panel of 154 highly defined and paid subjects collected by Qualtrics. Chronbach's alpha calculations were conducted to explore internal consistency of the items, which is a method recommended by Churchill (1979) to measure reliability in multi-item scales. The completed survey was then distributed to 91 residents in three Massachusetts towns in a pilot field study. Research method details are provided in Chapter 3; findings are presented and reviewed in Chapter 4; and summaries, conclusions, and need for future research discussed in Chapter 5.

1.9. Definitions

Authentic places: Wang (1999) conceptualized three types of authenticity: objective, constructive, and existential. Objective authenticity is derived from the real physical and built characteristics of a place. Constructive authenticity recognizes that there is no single representation of realness and that it is understood through the social discourse of human beings. Existential authenticity relates to being 'true to oneself' in relation to a place.

Creative placemaking: The broad process of using arts and culture to achieve community asset development goals. The commonly used working definition is: "In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and

streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired” (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 218).

Culture: “...the social production and transmission of identities, meanings, knowledge, beliefs, values, aspirations, memories, purposes, attitudes and understanding; and the ‘way of life’ of a particular set of humans: customs, faiths and conventions; codes of manners, dress, cuisine, language, arts, science, technology, religion and rituals; norms and regulations of behaviour, traditions and institutions” (Hawkes, 2001, p. 3).

Livability: The NEA had defined livability as “a variety of factors that contribute to the quality of life in a community such as ample opportunities for social, civic, and cultural participation; education, employment, and safety; sustainability; affordable housing, ease of transportation, access to public buildings and facilities; and aesthetically pleasing environment,” as cited by Esarey (2014, p. 15).

Place attachment: Strzelecka, Boley, and Woosman (2017, p. 1) define place attachment as “the positive emotional bonds that develop between individuals and their socio-physical environment.” A less formal definition used by Gallup and the Knight Foundation is provided in Section 2.3.

Sharing economy: Hamari, Sjöklint, & Ukkonen define the sharing economy as “peer- to-peer-based activity of obtaining, giving, or sharing the access to goods and services, coordinated through community-based online services” (2016, p. 2047).

Vibrancy: ArtPlace had defined vibrancy as “The synergy among people, activity, and value in a place that increases community vitality and spurs economic opportunity,” as cited by

Nicodemus (2013, p. 218). For this study, vitality is considered to be broadly synonymous with vibrancy.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The process of changing basic physical spaces into living social spaces is often described as placemaking. Theorists and practitioners have used various models and methods to explore how to make places healthy and vibrant. One way to do so is through art and cultural interventions, i.e., creative placemaking, which is the focus of this study. The following literature review will provide 1) a broad historical background of placemaking in literature related to planning, including a range of contemporary research on placemaking and in-depth examination of creative placemaking; 2) a review of the relationship between placemaking and tourism; 3) an inventory of other vibrancy measures; 4) a content analysis of various uses of terms ‘vibrancy’, ‘vitality’, and ‘creative placemaking’ in the planning literature; 5) a critique of attempts to use indicators to measure community well-being; and 6) an overview of assessments regarding the impact of arts and culture on community development. This combined background information helped to establish the theoretical frame for using art and culture as a placemaking tool and the study research questions, as described in Chapter 1 above and in the following chapters, where the analysis and constructs are more formally and fully developed.

2.1. Background Literature

Place is an important part of human existence. Places are spaces that engender an emotional tie and a sense of belonging (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Sime, 1986). Architecture and planning’s ongoing aim is to create good places rather than bad places (Sime, 1986). However, the characteristics that cause the emotional tie between people and spaces to turn them into places are still being refined. The architect Christopher Alexander described the character of places as the ‘timeless way’, a nonspecific quality without a name that makes

people feel at home and alive (Alexander, 1979). This ineffable quality can also be described as the spirit of the place, or 'genius loci', a term architects and landscape designers use, which is derived from the spirit entities that protected Roman cities and regions (Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Sime, 1986).

The process of placemaking is about designing, modifying, and caring for places in a way that can be synonymous with community building, often through restoring community networks (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1993). Academics and practitioners in English-speaking countries began using the term placemaking in the 1970s (Huang & Roberts, 2019). The process of placemaking ensures that 1) there are opportunities for people bump into one another, 2) types of people and activities are diverse, 3) public spaces play an important role in creating a civic culture, such as through café society, and 4) spaces play a role in collaboration and contestation (Huang & Roberts, 2019).

Placemaking therefore creates a public space designed for an actively engaged citizenry, allowing citizens to shape their own environments and to produce and to maintain meaningful lived experiences that are specific to a locale's culture. However, when practiced superficially, it could reinforce socio-spatial segregation or shallow commercialism. This literature review examines the planning theorists who informed the process of placemaking. It then describes placemaking as it emerges as a theory. Finally, contemporary placemaking frameworks are described, including creative placemaking.

2.1.1. Planning Theorists Informing Placemaking

Hall (2001) wrote about the theory and epistemology of planning. Following the initial phase of planning, which was dominated by modernist designers, and the subsequent systems

phase, led by social scientists, the subsequent paradigm appeared to be a combination of the disjointed incrementalist and planner-advocate. Hall also noted the divide between practice and theory and called for an improved reciprocal relationship between the two. His writing is important for this dissertation because it provides further historical context for my approach of developing place vibrancy scales, which attempts to marry the theory of place vibrancy with the practical needs of the planning community. Hall's phases will be described more fully below.

Early 20th Century Critiques of Urban-Industrial Environments

Placemaking as a concept has several theoretical precursors. In the late 19th century, Austrian author Camilo Sitte observed changes of urban form in European cities. He praised the enclosed human scale and artistic aspects of medieval and early modern public squares, while condemning the inhuman monumental scale of 19th-century city center renovations (such as the Beaux Arts and City Beautiful). Patrick Geddes (1915), Scottish biologist and a sociologist, and later the father of town and country (city and regional) planning, suggested at the height of industrialization in Western cities that cities were dirty and congested. Adding green space, arts, and culture into cities was a way to help improve society. Geddes was a proponent of empirical observation—through survey and interpretation, the town planner can better decide what is best for his community. Geddes also understood that civic life was inextricable from geographical considerations in the city. However, Geddes work offered a complement to Ebenezer Howard's utopian thinking regarding the value of garden cities and was one of the forerunners to planning schemes that led to the peri-urbanization of the US. Therefore, although he was working to improve the quality of life for city dwellers, the idea of poly-nuclear regional populations is partially at odds with the notion of a vibrant high-density urban center (but also more in alignment with current views of small town- and village-based placemaking).

Clarence Perry (1929) was a proponent of developing human-scale neighborhoods that are built around schools, parks, and other civic spaces. According to Perry, the half-mile radius around the school should contain enough children to populate a school, and shopping should be on the edge of the neighborhoods. Perry also had a somewhat anti-urban bias. His types of medium-density neighborhoods would presumably have reduced urban core place vibrancy, though not more locally based forms of art and culture placemaking.

Lewis Mumford (1937) proposed that physical city design should relate to the natural environment as well as to the social/cultural values of the human community. He championed the environmental theories of Patrick Geddes and the Garden City ideals of Ebenezer Howard. In his view, the city is the backdrop for human drama. He considered the city to be a social entity, a collection of purposive groups, including families, neighborhoods, and communities. The role of culture and social capital in well-functioning places will be shown to be key components of place vibrancy in this dissertation. However, Mumford also maintained there should be limits on density, which might partially conflict with those theorists who say that high density is needed for increased place vibrancy. Geddes, Howard, Perry, and Mumford, however, argued that too much density and congestion (Le Corbusier) would undermine vitality just as too much dispersal (Frank Lloyd Wright) would. They called for a balanced network of medium-density city centers that would create more vitality compared to congested urban centers and dispersed rural areas.

Postwar Critiques of Modernist Planning and Design

Jane Jacobs (1961) criticized the Garden City, New Town, Broadacre, and Radiant City utopian visions. She was opposed to separating city residents from one another in single-use neighborhoods with too much park space. Her seminal book, *The Life and Death of American Cities*, might be the most important theoretical cornerstone for developing the place vibrancy

construct. Jacobs wrote that city vitality (a synonym of vibrancy) is achieved through diversity. The generators of diversity are mixed uses of buildings, small city blocks, aged buildings, and concentration of people and buildings. Other important points raised by this work include sidewalk use relating to safety and contact with people, the uses of parks, and the functions of neighborhoods. She was moreover an opponent of modernist rational planning methods, and thus her perspective will be part of the framework for this dissertation.

Sherry Arnstein (Arnstein, 1969) presented a typology of citizen participation. In her model, she conceptualized rungs on a ladder for levels of participation. Her work is relevant to this study because it shows the importance of bringing the public into the planning process. A potential research question for a future study is whether greater citizenship participation in the planning process would contribute to greater place vibrancy. One could argue that Arnstein was arguing for higher-level forms of citizen participation as a kind of ‘creative process-making’ that can likewise contribute to increasing the vitality of a community.

In the 1960s and 1970s, William H. Whyte (1988) used empirical research methods to research and overturn generally regarded planning principles, such as that people should prefer wider parks—they, in fact tend to prefer narrower spaces. He discovered that the amount of sitting space in a park is more important than its size or shape, and that food vendors, an open relationship to the street, water, movable chairs, and sunlight are important for urban design. Whyte’s work suggested that urban design is a crucial factor in place vibrancy. Around the same time, Kevin Lynch developed similar criteria for measuring the image of the city and the ways in which people orient to and navigate places (Lynch, 1960). These authors influenced subsequent designers through their techniques of urban spatial observation, recording, and documentation.

Donald Appleyard and Allan Jacobs (1982) deplored anonymous, fortress-like buildings with windowless facades. They did not consider this type of architecture conducive to a livable urban environment. They were also critical of the utopians and urban renewal, bringing negative attention to highways and high-rises surrounded by vast open spaces. Instead, they praised European cities and San Francisco, with their sustainable street life and urban vitality. Jacobs and Appleyard (Appleyard, Jacobs, & Appleyard, 1987) went so far as to counterbalance the Charter of Athens produced by Le Corbusier's International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) with an Urban Design Manifesto that attempted to address the physical and social shortcomings of the CIAM model. Their manifesto was a forerunner of the ideas proposed by the Congress for New Urbanism (CNU) in the late 1980s and 1990s. They further advanced basic principles of place vibrancy.

Like Geddes and Mumford, Mike Davis (1990) wrote that a city's evolution is tied to its history and culture; therefore planning should be based on history and culture. Davis showed how downtown Los Angeles (LA) was a dysfunctional place in the late 1980s, with fortified areas to protect the wealthy, and other areas where police battled the poor. This surveillance/security consciousness is in direct contrast to Jacobs's vision of sidewalk safety, where people in a local neighborhood take responsibility for the safety of one another by being in close contact. Davis compared LA to a fortress, where public areas were restricted and where different races and classes were unable to freely mix in one of the largest spaces of urban renewal in the country. According to Davis, art and culture became privatized, exclusionary sterile. Places with higher place vibrancy are likely to be more inclusionary and diverse, less segregated and fortress-like.

Jan Gehl (2011) also opposed the modernist vision that people needed to be separated from the streets to make them more livable. He was interested in designs that enticed people to

spend time outdoors interacting with people, arguing that it is very important for city dwellers' quality of life. He follows in the footsteps of Camilo Sitte, Jane Jacobs, William H. Whyte, and Kevin Lynch, noting that suburbs as well as modernist renewal have reduced outdoor communal activities. Gehl's thoughts support the characteristics proposed for a vibrant place in this study.

Late 20th Century Post-Industrial Capital Development Theorists

Porter (1995) proposed that a market-based model should be used to solve inner-city problems rather than government-based because government programs are inefficient. He favored private, for-profit initiatives based on economic interests for downtown revitalization. In this way, entrepreneurs take advantage of their true competitive advantages. Porter's four competitive advantages for business (strategic location, local market demand, integration with regional job clusters, and industrious labor force) are worth considering when developing the place vibrancy construct. Porter's is more a business-capitalist critique of modernist planning.

Robert Putnam (1995), in contrast, is known for recognizing the value of social capital. He wrote how America has become increasingly spatially separated and privatized, noting how measures of social engagement have diminished from year to year, such as voting, participation in social organizations, active church memberships, friendships, and family ties. He suggested that some of the design changes proposed by Jane Jacobs and the new urbanists can lead to a heightened sense of community. Measures of place vibrancy should potentially account for the values Putnam found important, such as networks, attendance of public meetings, and service in committees.

Fainstein (2005) proposed that planning theory should address factors that relate to making the city more just, which should be the true purpose of planning. In the recent past, the

focus of planning was on equitable process, with less attention to equitable outcomes.

According to Fainstein, planning was more than a social science that aimed to choose goals through a rational, statistical method, but also more than simply a communicative process. Her thinking follows from Karl Mannheim in the 1930s, who challenged universalism and objective analysis. This line of theory is important because researchers should consider the equity aspects of vibrancy toward the creation of a just city. They should consider whether increased place vibrancy helps to increase or decrease social exclusion. The methods used for this dissertation are quasi-rationalist, aiming to formulate a universalized notion of place vibrancy, which is partially a departure from Fainstein's approach. Affordable, accessible built environment is a substantive equity outcome beyond process equity.

Richard Florida (2012) is an urban studies theorist who wrote about the transformation of the American economy from being industrial-based to information-based. For Florida, a new socio-economic class of people who create knowledge is the new driving force in the economy, and that the existence of this class shapes the social and cultural character of places. Locales attempt to attract the creative class through arts districts and festivals, light transit, cultural venues, and live-work spaces. Even though much of this development has been steered through public-private-civic partnerships, sometimes creating gentrification, the types of neighborhoods that embody these practices may have at least the potential for more equitable place vibrancy. In some ways, Florida represents a hybrid middle ground between Porter's and Putnam's views.

The theorists' ideas outlined here relate to 'the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play and learn in,' which is only a slightly more detailed definition of placemaking that was provided at the beginning of this section ('the process of changing basic

physical spaces into living social spaces’). Stated another way, places are geographic spaces with meaning (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014) and are spaces that people care about.

2.1.2. Placemaking as a Theory

Placemaking as a practice rose to prominence in the 1970s (Huang & Roberts, 2019). Following WWII, cities grappled with the aftermath of the modernist and city scientific designs. Major cities were now designed for cars. Parks and parkways might have offered an experience of greenery, repose, and cleanliness, but were not designed for to maximize human interaction and experience-making. Architects designed modernist buildings without any ornaments, and empty spaces between buildings were desolate and repetitive (Fleming, 2007). Urban social scientists and writers responded to the crisis with a recognition that architects and planners should do more to design enjoyable places for people instead of creating mere spaces (Sime, 1986). The practice of placemaking represents an attempt to move beyond creating building and landscapes that were designed solely for efficiency and functionality and more toward keeping in mind perceptual/aesthetic aspects of people’s relationship to the environment (Sime, 1986).

According to Scheenkloth (1993), placemaking is about creating beloved and sustaining places by making and renewing relationships not just between people but also between people and their environment. These are ethical and moral acts that often challenge the dominant economic powers (Shibley, 1998). One of the ways to do this was to use an inclusive planning process more centered around community development and creating a sense of place than through a top-down planning or commercial initiative. Critics argue that participatory action planning is not a new paradigm, and placemaking therefore not really a new discipline or theory,

it is just a 'flavor-of-the day' that promotes platitudes and ideals rather than any new innovation (Palermo, 2015).

Even so, placemaking overlays well with the principles of new urbanism, which are, in detail: 1) walkability, 2) plentiful shops and services, 3) ability to transit or bike to work and entertainment, 4) presence of green spaces, 5), creation of compact residential settings (e.g., little frontage, townhouses, row homes, condos, garden apartments), 6) promotion of values such as diversity, frugality, and community, and 7) human scale applications (Shibley, 1998). Both placemaking and new urbanism address what is wrong with car-centered spaces because their principles create material opportunities in public spaces to build meaningful memories and relationships among a diversity of people and places.

It is possible to build brand-new developments that follow the main principles of new urbanism in the suburbs because land is cheaper and available. However, critics ask, how does the 'back to the village' ethos work into a mature metropolis? Another criticism is that the general feel of these types of communities is artificial and perhaps too perfect. It might be an opinion to say that the model new urbanist communities of Seaside and Celebration in Florida lack depth. However, according to Wilson (1995), one person who expressed that opinion was Jane Jacobs, who said places like Celebration 'are a theme park of a town' and that these places can't fake it, try as they may (Shibley, 1998, p. 88). You might say the *genius loci* of this type of place is different, or even absent, compared with a city that has grown up over the course of time. Even the historian and architectural critic Vincent Scully, a vocal supporter of new urbanism, said that places like Seaside were 'beautiful, but rather sad' (Shibley, 1998, p. 89).

Another criticism of these well-ordered but sanitized new urban places are that they are not inclusive. More mature, diverse cities like Massachusetts's Gateway Cities serve a role to lift

people up by providing a socio-economic ladder for immigrants and entry-level workers (Forman & Creighton, 2012). The design of places clearly needs to incorporate vulnerability to allow for alternative presentations of social realities and for local meaning to be constructed (Shibley, 1998). New urbanism has therefore not fully incorporated the principle of empowering and enabling community life, even though the philosophical underpinnings of new urbanism are ostensibly aligned with placemaking. They are drawn from American pragmatism philosophy of 'the greatest good for the greatest number,' attributed to William James (Shibley, 1998). These places are explicitly designed to maintain relationships and to be open to all perspectives, yet they are still defined by boundaries of exclusion.

The practice of placemaking is meant to reduce exclusivity by working to reveal the sites of privilege and power (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1993). It can therefore be considered a process for implementing new urbanism without the uniformity and inequity. This process ethic must be grounded in building relationships between people and place. Sheenkloth & Shibley (1993) used a three-step placemaking process: 1) confirming: using an appreciative attitude to find out what has historically taken place in a community, 2) interrogation: critically analyzing what has gone on before, and 3) framing: creating an action plan. The process for getting the greatest good for the greatest number of people is tied to criticism of existing structure and power imbalances. This fresh start and openness to discussion allows for more pluralism, complexity, and ambiguity than modernism and new urbanism have provided. By including the community in the creation of knowledge (Arnstein), subjective lived experience was appreciated as much as the purported objective technical knowledge of designers, planners, and social scientists. Power imbalances are levelled, and community members take more ownership of the process, especially because the planners are often consultants who will leave after the project is completed.

Fleming (2007) writes that placemaking's ability to develop a sense of place is through the creation of mental associations and that this can be achieved through the creation of public art (Fleming, 2007). His group, The Townscape Institute, aimed to improve the legibility and livability of cities, towns and neighborhoods by recognizing that a place is more than just the sum of its parts. Craftsmanship in individual public art projects 'enriches the narrative of place and meaning' by recalling the culture and heritage of a place (Fleming, 2007, p. 13). However, he points out that placemaking as a term has been overused for marketing purposes. The practice itself has been exploited, as well, where neighborhoods may be named after cultural landmarks and events yet are spiritually hollow. Placemaking when not done well can represent inauthenticity and sterility rather than vitality and vibrancy (Fleming, 2007).

It can be difficult to use history to create meaning because a place has more than one history. The placemaker might start with the questions: 'What is there?', 'What interacts there?', and 'What happened there?' and receive different answers depending on who they speak with. The physical geography also plays a central role in defining settlement patterns. Rivers served as transportation routes. The presence of arable land within favorable climates has enabled settlements to thrive. Other macro-scale forces shaped the settlement of the area by indigenous peoples and invaders from elsewhere, moving through medieval, early modern, and industrial ages, through WWII and the modern age, and into the post-industrial age. How is it possible to encompass all of that human and natural activity? Which mental associations do we keep, and which do we discard? Do we only hold positive memories and ignore painful ones? Dolores Hayden (1995) critically examines such historical-cultural issues in her book *The Power of Place*.

Fleming (2007) notes that the International Committee for Monuments recognizes intangible landscapes. A place might therefore be aesthetically insignificant but culturally significant. There could be latent feelings of ownership that require a concrete strategy to trigger them. The assumption is that every place has a story to tell. Placemakers are more effective when they seek input from historians, folklorists, artisans, poets, and verbal storytellers. The artist then develops the symbolism and metaphors to evoke the researched memories of a place. Fleming suggests installing 'memory pegs' on buildings to release the 'stored humanity of a place' (Fleming, 2007, p. 28). Similarly, memory pegs could be installed on cultural landscapes, transportation corridors, bus shelters, community gateways, and other significant spaces that could be transformed into places. Artists are in a better position to conjure emotions, more so than any technocratic planner, elected official, or even architect can. The artistic means can include visual art, sculpture, and even poetry. In contrast, modernist buildings are 'dead spaces that tell no tales' (Fleming, 2007, p. 19).

The placemaking processes described here have in common a reliance on values derived from the public instead of being derived from a manifesto, whether it be from CIAM or the new urbanists (Fleming, 2007; Hawkes, 2001). The cultural resources need to be treated with a sense of responsibility, similar to the ethic of care afforded to the natural environment. Aldo Leopold wrote in *A Sand County Almanac* that if there is a sense of belonging to the land, it is treated with love and respect (Fleming, 2007; Leopold & Sewell, 2001, p. viii). To create placemaking art, arts agencies are linked to the process of participatory planning. The agencies' goals are therefore to: 1) foster the community's investment in art as a fixture of the community, 2) help people take ownership of their surroundings, 3) make a claim in the narrative that brought them to this place, and 4) claim their community's memory from homogenous corporate forces and

banal local development (Fleming, 2007). In other words, use the artists to conjure the *genius loci*, or spirit of the place.

Creating a sense of place is an attempt to psychologically connect people to a space (Sime, 1986). It is not a technological fix. Previously, architects and planners focused more on geometries rather than how people used places. Disciplines such as architecture and geography, have studied space differently than psychologists. According to Sime (1986) placelessness happens when architects do not pay enough attention to experiences and behaviorists do not pay enough attention to design. Architects and planners need to create places that are not just about semiotics, but about meaning. Norberg-Schulz (1980) relates place to 'being in the world' which means place is more of an existential space than a mathematical space (Sime, 1986).

Relph (1976) writes that a place is made up of 1) physical features, 2) observable activities and functions, and 3) meanings or symbols. He proposes that architects should adhere to a sense of place and attacks the scientific approach. However, he does not offer guidelines on what constitutes a sense of place. Canter (1977) takes a more psychometric (scientific) approach, considering place to be a combination of the physical parameters of an environment, behaviors associated with that environment, and conceptions of that environment. Psychological research is less likely to look into the physical environment than in the perception of the environment locked in the head of the observer (Canter, 1977; Sime, 1986).

Phenomenology is closely related to the existential theory of place, which is derived from the philosophy developed by Heidegger (Norberg-Schulz, 1971; Sime, 1986). It is about the first-person experience of the observer. The phenomenologist studies things as they appear. The information obtained is subjective and relates to the meaning or significance of objects.

Phenomenology involves intentionality, perception, thought, memory, imagination, emotion,

and desire. However, in the case of architecture, this is all usually the perspective of the designer, not the user. The scientific, or, positivist approach, uses empirical, or scientific methods to either prove an existing theory (deduction), to develop a new theory (induction), or to use both (abduction). Sime (1986) argues that a further step is needed to apply the conclusions of the empirical psychology toward the design of places by applying some meaning into the 'life-world' of the place.

Places play a role in people's development (Proshansky et al., 1983; Sime, 1986). A person's self-identity is tied to their place attachment. It is strongest in a person's home. Jung considered the house as the symbol of the self. Architecture students tend to design homes that are similar to their childhood homes. Place is therefore not just determined by the physical environment. People want to decorate their environment to make it their own. They want to have control over it. It is not just about idiosyncrasy. They might love their childhood row home even though it looks identical to many others. Similarly, in the public sphere, they might have built up an emotional attachment to the most banal strip mall. Given these attachments, Relph (1985) writes that the planner needs to be a 'mid-wife rather than the landscape equivalent of a genetic engineer' (Sime, 1986, p. 51). Designers and developers must take these affective aspects into account when they propose a creative preservation, restoration, or renovation of familiar places.

Another strategy to economically revitalize declining downtowns related to creative placemaking was the festival marketplace, which was pioneered by James Rouse with The Rouse Company. Three of his more well-known projects in the late 70s and early 80s included Faneuil Hall in Boston, the Harborplace in Baltimore, and New York City's South Street Seaport complex (Sawicki, 1989). Festival marketplaces are European-styled themed specialty retail centers. They

are built under a public/private partnership because cities need to build out the infrastructure within the urban fabric to support it. They were envisioned to counter downtown deterioration and retail decline, while still being profitable for the developer.

The overall idea for the festival marketplace is to plan and program a people-oriented complex of diverse buildings that are intended to attract nearby residents, downtown workers, conventioners, and tourists. (Sawicki, 1989). The festival marketplace is intended to provide 1) a mix of local tenants, 2) few international or national chain stores, 3) common areas designed to energize the place, and 4) uncomplicated architecture. In some cases, such as Faneuil Hall, there was also historic preservation. The idea is to not just attract people, but to entertain them, through a mix of historic preservation, adaptive reuse, and new development.

Rouse was considered the savior of downtowns in the 1970s and 1980s. However, not all of Rouse's projects were successes, which is noteworthy because many had received significant public subsidies (Sawicki, 1989). His critics complained that this was a type of fake urbanism, which echoed the criticism toward new urbanism. Goss (1996) found it exclusionary, subject to ideological manipulations and formulaic aesthetics. The process was intended to reintegrate the city with the market but was it just a corporate spectacle? Nevertheless, perhaps some critics were judging high culture versus low culture and were being somewhat elitist in their biases.

There has also been criticism for the trend to regard creative placemaking as a new field of research and practice. Palmero (2015) makes the argument that this term is overused and oversimplified, much like 'sustainable development,' 'sustainable communities,' and 'urban renaissance,' which are principles that most practitioners would already agree to. He argues that placemaking, which is concerned with the production of livable and sustainable places, should be built into the mission statements of all of the disciplines concerned with producing the built

environment, without institutionalizing another academic domain. Planning and design should already have incorporated these principles into their practice. Palmero argues that there is no need “to invent new visions or practices but to seek more appropriate responses to long-term and still-unresolved problems” (Palermo, 2015, p. 5). He goes further to say that placemaking needs more mature and conceptual thought. What is being done to solve the problems of placelessness? To release the *genius loci*? It is not enough to change the physical environment—the planner has to improve the quality of life by increasing well-being and empowerment. The public space should generate common meaning and accommodate social action between the plurality of citizens.

Placemakers have been attempting to synthesize multiple visions to manifest the identity of a place. its deliberative democracy approach is usual pragmatic. Palermo (2015) suggests placemaking is an artistic practice and that the planner needs to react to a specific form and place that is a socially rooted strategic vision rather than the general themes promoted by management culture. This agrees with the notion that the people themselves are experts with their life experiences (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1993). Even so, Palermo asks why should the current framework of ‘placemaking’ succeed today over so many past failures?

2.1.3. Contemporary Placemaking

The development and widespread use of the term ‘placemaking’ has been furthered by The Project for Public Spaces, which is an organization founded by Fred Kent, who worked with William H Whyte’s Street Life Project (<https://www.pps.org/about>). Placemaking is intended to be a collaborative process, where stakeholders and planning experts work together to shape the

physical, social, and cultural character of places (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014). The product of placemaking is a vibrant, living, social, human, and cohesive place.

Wyckoff (2013) describes four different types of placemaking: 1) standard, 2) strategic, 3) creative, and 4) tactical. 'Standard placemaking' is the process of creating quality places, or, places where people want to live, work, and play. Quality places have mixed uses, good public spaces within them, broadband, multiple transportation and housing options, preserved historic structures, community heritage, arts, culture, and creativity, recreation, and green spaces. They have the following form characteristics: appropriate mass, density, and scale; well designed for people; and are walkable, safe, connected, welcoming, authentic, accessible, comfortable, quiet, sociable, and suitable for civic engagement. These elements contribute to the following formula:

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{proper physical form} + \text{proper land use} + \text{proper mix of social opportunity} \\ &= \text{quality places with a strong sense of place} \end{aligned}$$

'Strategic placemaking' is the process of creating places with the specific purpose of attracting workers to move to an area. The goal here is the Creative City as described by Richard Florida (2014). Creative Cities attract workers and businesses to relocate to them because of culture that is already there, which is shorthand by Florida as the three Ts: technology, talent, and tolerance. Strategic placemaking attempts to inject creative nodes in downtown areas that will attract knowledge workers. Under the new paradigm, cities generate culture instead of cars and steel. This process sometimes leads to criticism when the city cores produce gentrification and add to inequalities and exploitation of culture, or capitalistic appropriation, and when cultural workers and artists are left out of creating city cultural policy (D'Ovidio & Morato, 2017). Placemaking efforts can result in universal cultural products that are "socially

regressive,” with benefits that are not distributed to the city as a whole (Pratt, 2011). Often, residents are left out of the placemaking process simply because they do not know about the project (Zimmermann, 2016). Commodification of cultural events and sites may also lead to a more generic banality and homogenization.

‘Tactical placemaking,’ also known as tactical urbanism, is placemaking done at a very small scale, such as at the block, street, or building level (Lydon, Garcia, & Duany, 2015). Here, local actors play a significant role, with the smaller scale serving as a testing ground for ideas before they are scaled up. The organization Project for Public Spaces uses the term “lighter, quicker, and cheaper” to describe a similar concept. Such temporary, low cost, experimental interventions can help catalyze community engagement in support of strategic goals.

The final type of placemaking, ‘creative placemaking,’ specifically includes artists and arts organizations as equal partners with other civic and private organizations to create “quality places,” to use Wycoff’s term. The efforts can be either socially and/or economically motivated. In general, creative placemaking uses arts and cultural interventions as the means for creating vital places. This relatively new way of revitalizing puts artists and arts organizations at the planning table for a wide variety of initiatives. The two largest creative placemaking funders in the US have attempted to build indicators to measure the effects of creative placemaking. The indicators for the NEA’s *Our Town* program were centered around ‘livability,’ and those for ArtPlace were related to ‘vibrancy’ (Esarey, 2014). The livability indicators originally proposed for the *Our Town* program measured “public safety, health, blight and vacancy, environment, job creation, equity, local business development, civic participation, and/or community cohesion” (www.arts.gov). Projects were tailored to the specific community goals and need. A

more in-depth discussion of creative placemaking will be provided in the following section below.

2.1.4. Creative Placemaking

The notion of investing in culture to benefit overall society in the United States began in the early twentieth century with the City Beautiful movement (Ashley, 2015; Markusen, 2014). This idea received a boost with Richard Florida's publication of *The Rise of the Creative Class* in the early 2000s, which argued that having cultural things to do in a city was a way of attracting what Florida famously called the 'creative class,' which in turn, was attractive to technological and cutting-edge businesses (Florida, 2012). Researchers and policy makers became convinced that the cultural sector stimulates the economic sector. One consequence of this was that funding from arts agencies became contingent on how the investment was going to increase jobs, improve tourism, or otherwise help the bottom line of community revitalization. At one time, these efforts focused on large, flagship cultural institutions like museums, opera houses, and performance venues as a means of increasing economic development. Under the new paradigm, artists, cultural organizations, and even average community members are being recognized in as "urban change agents" for community improvements, both economically and otherwise at a variety of scales (Markusen, 2014, p. 567).

There is considerable evidence that the arts and culture are catalysts for place improvements that are broader than sheer economics, such as community development and livability (Carrington, 2010; Grodach, 2009; Kay, 2000; Markusen, 2006; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b; Matarasso, 1997). The NEA's *Our Town* program has defined livability as having an improved quality of life (a subjective concept), greater creative activity (arts and cultural

activity), stronger community identity and a sense of place (residents' attachment to communities), and economic development (Markusen & Nicodemus, 2014; Morley et al., 2014). Using Flora and Flora's Community Capitals Framework (CCF), local arts agencies have been shown to impact all seven types of capital identified by the CCF (financial, social, cultural, human, natural, built, and political) primarily by improving financial, social, cultural, and human capitals (Delconte, Kline, & Scavo, 2016).

As arts and cultural projects have gained increased attention in the United States as a means of revitalizing communities, much more grant funding has emerged. Since 2010, the NEA and numerous foundations and local governments have been providing millions of dollars to local agencies, artists, and communities to spark arts-led community development, or creative placemaking. (See Section 1.4 for the full definition of creative placemaking as defined by Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus.) For ArtPlace America (ArtPlace), a collaboration of foundations, banks, and government agencies, creative placemaking has at times meant "art and culture at the heart of a portfolio of integrated strategies that can drive vibrancy and diversity so powerful that it transforms communities" (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 218). Soon after, however, researchers, policymakers, and practitioners began grappling with what constitutes a successful creative placemaking program and how this success can be assessed. In other words, why invest so much money in the arts as community change agents if you have no idea what you will get for it?

The NEA's *Our Town* program and ArtPlace have, over the course of their existence, attempted to measure whether the community projects they sponsored contributed to community vitality, vibrancy, livability, and quality of life. These quantitative measures of secondary data are easily and cheaply obtained, such as economic (jobs and tourist dollars

spent), and social (crime statistics and housing prices) measures. However, the agencies discarded these indicators early in their development phase because they did not fully tell the story of whether the arts and culture were transforming the communities. One study of the validity of ArtPlace's tentative vibrancy indicators concluded that the indicators were more of an assessment of livability than creative placemaking (Morley et al., 2014).

Markusen (2014) and Nicodemus (2013) argued that vitality, vibrancy, and livability are all 'fuzzy' concepts that mean different things to different people. They suggested that the term vibrancy should be discounted as something many places described as having or were intending to foster without fully knowing what it was. There was a preconception that having 'vibrancy,' whatever it was, would attract the creative class, industries, and outside dollars (Frank, 2012). This has led to widespread frustration, because so much funding has been committed to this effort before the concepts have been fully defined. Changing course, the grantors now expect grantees to envision more local and defined community development outcomes. For example, ArtPlace shifted toward targeting community development goal categories as agriculture & food, economic development, education & youth, etc., to guide the expectations of arts-led community development projects ("Introduction | ArtPlace," 2016). For these agencies, the quest for measuring whether an arts or cultural intervention influences the overall vibrancy of a place has ended for the time being. They are more focused on tracking more immediate and discrete community development objectives. However, the NEA research team has developed a new logic model that may yet lead to a new, more grounded set of indicators for outcomes of arts interventions (Iyengar, 2019).

2.1.5. Placemaking and Tourism

The tourism 'sharing economy' is linked to placemaking. The sharing economy is the "peer- to-peer-based activity of obtaining, giving, or sharing the access to goods and services, coordinated through community-based online services" (Hamari et al., 2016, p. 2047). Tourists participate in the sharing economy at least partly because of the perceived 'authenticity' of tourist experience (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015). Wang (1999) conceptualized three types of authenticity: objective, constructive, and existential. Objective authenticity is derived from the real physical and built characteristics of a place, such as the presence of homes that date back to the colonial era. Constructive authenticity recognizes that there is no single representation of realness and that it is understood through the social discourse of human beings, especially because culture is always in process. The third variant, existential authenticity, relates to being 'true to oneself' and might not have anything to do with whether the tourist objects are real (Wang, 1999, p. 358). Authenticity in the sharing economy comes from creating relationships and meanings with locals during their short-term stay in high-quality, non-homogenized places. These tourists are often trying to get further off the beaten path to experience their own version of authenticity, which includes areas in the suburbs (Maitland, 2017), an area not usually associated with tourist consumption. This a departure from the cultural tourism *modus operandi* of attracting tourists to grand physical cultural and merchant sites and events in the city center.

Air Bnb is a relatively new short-term rental company whose market share in the hotel industry has increased significantly in recent years (Guttentag, 2015). The phenomenon of such sharing enterprises has arisen from what are known as information and (tele)communications technologies (ICTs) that facilitate collaborative consumption (CC), or, a peer-to-peer sharing of

goods and services online (Hamari et al., 2016). On the face of it, the company is thriving by offering cheap rooms with household amenities and the potential for authentic experiences.

Recent studies have attempted the gauge motivations for Air BnB consumers. Their motivations are sometimes characterized as intrinsic, such as the social interactions between guests and hosts, and extrinsic, which are more practical considerations, such as the economic value (Lampinen & Cheshire, 2016). Hamari, Sjöklint, and Ukkonen (2016) analyzed survey data from people registering onto a CC site (Sharetribe) and determined that sustainability, enjoyment of the activity, and economic benefit were the primary motivating factors for participants. Concerns about personal and financial security also appear to be factors, which are mitigated by peer-to-peer reviews (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015; Yang & Ahn, 2016). Guttentag, Smith, Potwarka, and Havitz (2017) analyzed survey results to arrive at five factors motivating Air BnB visitors: 1) interaction, 2) home benefits, 3) novelty, 4) sharing economy ethos, and 5) local authenticity. A cluster analysis split the consumers into five segments: 1) money savers, 2) home seekers, 3) collaborative consumers, 4) pragmatic novelty seekers, and 5) interactive novelty seekers. They concluded that tourists were attracted to the service mostly for practical considerations rather than experiential. Lin, Wang, and Wu (2017) found that behavioral intention is influenced by hedonics, price value, and habit. The social and economic appeals of peer-to-peer accommodation were found to affect travel frequency, length of stay, and the type of activities formed at the destination (Tussyadiah & Pesonen, 2015). Lampinen & Cheshire (2016) used a grounded study of interview transcripts to observe that financial transaction at the start of the stay is thought to facilitate the social interaction that occurs during the stay by establishing a shared notion of value and serving as an ice breaker at the start of the exchange.

Richards (2016) describes how tourism is penetrating the fabric of the cities through globalization and online platforms like Air BnB through a case study of Barcelona. Here, the tourist experience is being produced by the citizens of the city. Richards has written extensively how “creative tourism” is an act of co-creation between tourists and the place and hosts (Richards, 2014; Richards & Russo, 2014).

With Air BnB, the hosts are themselves part of the tourist experience. Their interaction can go beyond merely interacting within the dwelling. In fact, the company has expanded its product offerings to include an “Experiences” product in selected cities worldwide, where the hosts provide an itinerary for the guests (<https://www.airbnb.com/experiences>). Experiences are themed around sports, nature, social impact, entertainment, food, and the arts. Air BnB also has a feature called “Places,” where guests can access an easy-to-read map of local places that hosts recommend in the neighborhood, many of which incorporate social interaction at local, authentic places.

Air BnB has further recognized the value of placemaking by investing 5 million Euros in to a Community Tourism program to help foster local customs and traditions through sustainable tourism initiatives in Europe (Lunden, 2017). The program is intended to strengthen communities through placemaking (which it describes as “imagining and reinventing public spaces to build community for locals and visitors alike”), innovation (“reinventing the tourism and travel space by sparking entrepreneurship and strengthening local economies”), and festivals and events (“preserving or celebrating local festivals and events while introducing them to a broader, appreciative audience”) (airbnbcitizen.com). The existence of this program shows that Air BnB wants to encourage experiences are tied to community, authenticity, local culture and customs. The program has not yet been extended to the United States.

While the argument has been made that the Air BnB product, produced by the residents themselves, reduces the negative effects of tourism (Richards, 2016), the rise in Air BnB rentals has raised concerns for planners, with increased noise, congestion, and parking (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017). As more spaces are converted to short-term rentals, the availability of affordable housing can decrease. Also, residential areas that become more like tourist destinations can fall outside of land use regulations, and deviations are not detected until neighbors complain (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015; Gurran & Phibbs, 2017). The challenges to Air BnB implementation are being addressed at the local level.

The rise in Air BnB is at least partly due to connecting tourists to real people in places that are embedded in neighborhoods, which increased opportunities for friendly encounters, novelty, and authenticity. This is further supported by the company's push toward designing Experiences and Places associated with their lodging offerings. Place vibrancy is a newly proposed measure of placemaking. This dissertation will present the case that local arts-led interventions can potentially increase place vibrancy. Future studies could examine whether place vibrancy of neighborhoods is associated with Air BnB visitation and whether arts vibrancy is related to place vibrancy, and whether arts vibrancy influences the effect of place vibrancy on Air BnB visitation. This can also be extended to address other sectors of the sharing economy (e.g., rideshare, bike [or other micromobility] share, custom-curated tours, pop-up venues, etc.)

2.1.6. Other Measures of Vibrancy

Vibrancy has been conceptualized and measured in many ways. Forsythe (2014) proposed using new technology, such as building information modeling (BIM), Geographic Information System (GIS), and Global Positioning System (GPS) to track human usage in large

built environment projects to track outcomes such as urban vibrancy, but did not define what urban vibrancy is. Yue et al. (Y. Yue et al., 2017) used the point of interest (POI) activity of cell phone usage as a proxy for vibrancy, relying on Jacobs's (1961) and Montgomery's (1998) contention that vibrancy is related to the number of people on the street. Dougal, Parsons, and Titman (2015) used fluctuations in the dominant industry of an area as an indicator for local vibrancy in their study of urban vibrancy and corporate growth. Braun and Malizia (2015) created a vibrancy index based on urban form and spatial features that was based on the built environment factors influencing travel determined by Ewing and Cervero (2010), including compactness/density, destination accessibility, local connectivity, and mixed land use. Merlino (2014) used an architectural approach to track vibrancy, concluding that finer grain blocks, which are smaller and have a variety of buildings, lead to more pedestrian activity, a characteristic the authors proposed is equivalent to urban vibrancy. Their study confirmed Jane Jacobs's theory that texture and age of buildings in our cities is a predictor for urban vitality, albeit not grounded in other theories beyond hers. None of these approaches considered vibrancy as a psychological construct or attempted to measure it through the use of scales, as this dissertation aims to do.

Methods to measure place vibrancy have been only loosely connected to planning, architectural, and geography literatures. Construct development is a widely used method to apply numbers to attributes of concepts, and to create valid, reliable, and sensitive measures (Churchill, 1979; Dolnicar, 2013; Rossiter, 2011). Several studies have used Churchill's (1979) method of scale development in the field of tourism (Boley & Gard, 2014; Boley, McGehee, Perdue, & Long, 2014; Boley, Nickerson, & Bosak, 2011; Boley & Strzelecka, 2016). Boley and McGehee (Boley & Gard, 2014) developed the Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale

(RETS) to measure how much residents perceived themselves as being politically empowered through tourism. Boley Nickerson, and Bosak (Boley et al., 2011) developed a scale to measure geotourism through the Geotraveler Tendency Scale (GTS). Stokes, Cook, and Drew (2003) defined geotourism as “tourism that sustains or enhances the geographical character of a place including its environment, heritage, aesthetics, culture, and well-being of its residents” (as cited in Boley Nickerson, & Bosak, 2011), which happens to have much in common with place vibrancy. Boley and Strzelecka (Boley & Strzelecka, 2016) created a Support for Tourism (STS), consolidating previous measures and proposing it as a universal measure.

Although most studies use some version of Churchill’s method for developing multi-item scales, the method has its critics. Rossiter (2011) argues for replacing Churchill’s (1979) psychometric method with an approach that relies only on expert-assessed content validity and rejects the use of factor analysis to reduce total factors, and, subsequently, items, in scale construction, relying more on the literature and expert review to guide their inclusion. For the purposes of this study, we note the controversy and defer to Rossiter’s method because the scales used for this study were developed through an extensive literature review and expert panels and have a strong reliance on content validity. However, Chronbach’s alpha was calculated for internal item consistency, a form of reliability, as suggested by Churchill (1979).

2.2. Content Analysis of Associated Terms

Two literature searches were conducted in the spring of 2015 to understand how the specific terms ‘vibrancy’ and ‘vitality’ were used by academics and practitioners. For the first, a purposive sample of articles relating to the topic of creative placemaking and cultural indicators were reviewed. The articles included scholarly-reviewed journal articles, professional papers

from private foundations and nonprofits, and government white papers (including local, national, and international regions). The sample of professional papers was obtained through a Google search for “cultural indicators and PDF.” From a total of 110 papers, 43 were selected to be most relevant to the topic at hand (i.e., related to cultural planning, vibrancy, placemaking, etc). Definitions for the terms ‘vitality’ and ‘vibrancy’ were then searched for within the set of articles with content analysis software (NVivo 10).

A second search of scholarly-reviewed journal articles was conducted using the Urban Studies and Planning database. Articles were chosen from January 1990 to April 2015. The starting date was selected based on Markusen’s (2014) observation that arts/culture economic impact studies began to appear with greater frequency in the early 1990s. The end date was the date of the search. A search for ‘vibrancy’ yielded 279 articles. ‘Vitality’ yielded 1040 articles and was therefore limited by adding the search term ‘definition,’ which yielded 477 articles. Articles from each term were reviewed until saturation for consistency in definitions for vitality and vibrancy was reached—saturation is the point at which no new information is emerging from new sources.

2.2.1. Vitality as a Term

Montgomery (1998, p. 97) uses the general term of ‘vitality’ to describe the number of people on the street, the uptake of facilities, the number of cultural events and celebrations over the year, and “generally the extent to which a place feels alive or lively. ” It is characterized by a “pulse or rhythm, a life force...” (Montgomery, 1998, p. 97). Ravenscroft (2000, p. 2534) considers vitality a locale’s ‘busyness’ at different times and locations. Baker and Wood (2010, p. 66) refer to it as a ‘buzz’ in the street. For the Canadian Index of Wellbeing Network vital

communities have “strong, active, and inclusive relationships among people, private, public, and non-governmental organizations that foster individual and collective well-being” (2016, p. 30). The Boston Indicators Project defines ‘civic vitality’ as “a community’s connectedness and bonds of trust, or social capital, created through inclusive civil discourse and collaboration and strengthened by places to gather, open access to information, equitable opportunities for participation, representative leadership and a strong ‘third sector’ [voluntary organizations separate from government]” (Martin, Vance, & Hindley, 2015, p. 24).

Arts and culture are generally regarded as key components of a vital place (Florida, 2012). It is well accepted that arts and culture strengthen economic development (Wali, Severson, & Longoni, 2002) and community identity, while improving people’s mental health, physical health, and quality of life (Jackson, 2008). Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, & Herranz (2006, p. 4) define cultural vitality as “evidence of creating, disseminating, validating, and supporting arts and culture as a dimension of everyday life in communities” through the Urban Institute’s Arts and Culture Indicators Project. Smith (2010, p. 31) describes “cultural vitality” as the “atmosphere and environment that so many cities are striving for.”

However, there is no shortage of other variations for the term. Yue, Khan, and Brook (2011, p. 135), while developing a local cultural indicator framework in Australia, define cultural vitality as the “‘wellbeing’, ‘creativity,’ ‘diversity,’ and ‘innovation’ that are the product of everyday forms of community interaction and involvement.” According to Jon Hawkes (2001, p. 23), these attributes are evident in a range of citizenly attributes: “robust diversity, tolerant cohesiveness, multi-dimensional egalitarianism, compassionate inclusivity, energetic creativity, open minded curiosity.” The Ministry for Culture and Heritage in New Zealand (2002, p. 1) refers to “the vitality that communities and individuals enjoy through: participation in recreation,

creative and cultural activities; and the freedom to retain, interpret and express their arts, history, heritage and traditions” as cultural well-being. Mercer (2005, p. 2) groups cultural vitality with diversity and conviviality in a cluster representing “both the health and sustainability of the cultural economy and the ways in which the circulation and diversity of cultural resources and experiences can contribute to quality of life.” Per the Mayor of London’s World Cities Culture Report initiative (Massey, 2013, p. 36), cultural vitality is “informal cultural production and consumption, together with other factors that add to the vibrancy or ‘buzz’ of a city as experienced at street level.” New South Wales, in their guidelines for cultural planning for local governments defines it as “community wellbeing as expressed through creativity, diversity of cultural expression and innovation” (2012, p. 24). The Knight Foundation’s Community Indicators Project (2001, p. 135) supported research in the vitality of cultural life, which relates to providing “...all residents access to a wide variety of artistic and cultural pursuits.” For Talen (2006), difference, diversity, and equality are the critical factors for a vital place. Interacting with strangers is needed for urban vitality (Berman, 1982) as cited in Bannister, Fyfe & Kearns (2006). City vitality was a central theme in Jane Jacobs’s seminal work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961), which she said was linked to four generators of diversity: 1) the need for primary mixed uses, 2) small blocks, 3) aged buildings, and 4) density. According to Desimini (2015, p. 281), “Unregulated and informal uses enhance the equality and vitality of urban space.”

A community’s vitality can be examined through the prism of economics as well as its strengths of relationships. Currid-Halkett and Stolarick (2011, p. 143) note that “economic development is seen as the basic underpinning of growth, capital accumulation, and vitality of a region.” Economic vitality is described as the “total value of goods and services produced, the

income generated, and the number of workers employed in this process” (Sheppard, 2014, p. 44). Hardi and Pinter (2006, p. 138) define economic vitality as the “public and private institutions and activities that promote economic movement in the community and create new industry, business growth, and development.”

Montgomery (1998, p. 97) described vitality as a ‘life force,’ or a pulse and rhythm in a community, which is fueled by the values and expressions that people have infused into the space, and which relate to the meaning of a place. Vital communities foster a hive of diverse activity at the street level. People make social as well as commercial connections in vital places. This ‘buzz’ is described as cultural vitality, which is most visibly expressed through the display of artistic activity. Vitality does not merely describe the mechanics of a space.

2.2.2. Vibrancy as a Term

The descriptors that foundations, government agencies, and academicians use to describe a community’s vibrancy are similar to those used for vitality; they include economic activity, quality of life, the diversity of the built environment, density of activity and movement on the street. ArtPlace has defined vibrancy as “the synergy among people, activity, and value in a place that increases community vitality and spurs economic opportunity” (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 218) and stated that “vibrancy is a proxy for quality of place, which helps develop, attract, and retain talent” (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 217). Recio and Gomez (2013, p. 186) note the “...the 24-hour quality of incessant pedestrian and vehicular activity that add to the per-square-meter vibrancy of place.” Sung (Sung, Lee, & Cheon, 2015) refers to Jane Jacobs’s theory relating to the density of the built environment as being the driving force behind the movement toward increased urban vibrancy in a study to operationalize it. However, Jacobs (1961) never uses the

word 'vibrancy' or 'vibrant' in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (as determined through a Google Books search.) She does, however, use 'vitality' 43 times. Schwarzer (2015, p. 104) describes Oakland, CA, after a slum was cleared with "... far less retail activity (and pedestrian vibrancy) ...". Weterings (2014) relates the vibrancy of a neighborhood to economic activity by tallying the number of shops, cafes and restaurants and their relative activity.

Vibrancy has also been used to describe the degree of culture associated with a place. Wynne and O'Connor (1998, p. 856) interviewed subjects in Manchester, UK's city center and found that "the ethnography and our interviews constantly underscore the attraction of the centre as a place 'where it's at' and linked directly to the vibrancy of this scene. As such, the centrality of the centre as a (possible) source of cultural capital appears linked to its 'vibrancy'." Similarly, Munro and Livingston (2012, p. 1683) describe the students in Sunderland, UK, as bringing "...an extra layer— they make Sunderland more interesting; they add to the vibrancy of the city (SU advisor). A lot of the overseas students bring their cultures with them. It's got a massive impact and it's all positive...". Hae (2011) notes how New York markets its night life as a symbol of its vibrancy. Butler and Robinson (2001, p. 2149) note the need for an intermingling of diverse peoples and activities when describing the Telegraph Hill neighborhood in London: "a sense of urban 'vibrancy', in which individuals of many types and dispositions are thrown together in a volatile public space, is all-but-absent from daily life in the interior of Telegraph Hill."

Florida (2014, p. 203) suggests that the vibrancy of street life is a vital component of his definition of quality of place.

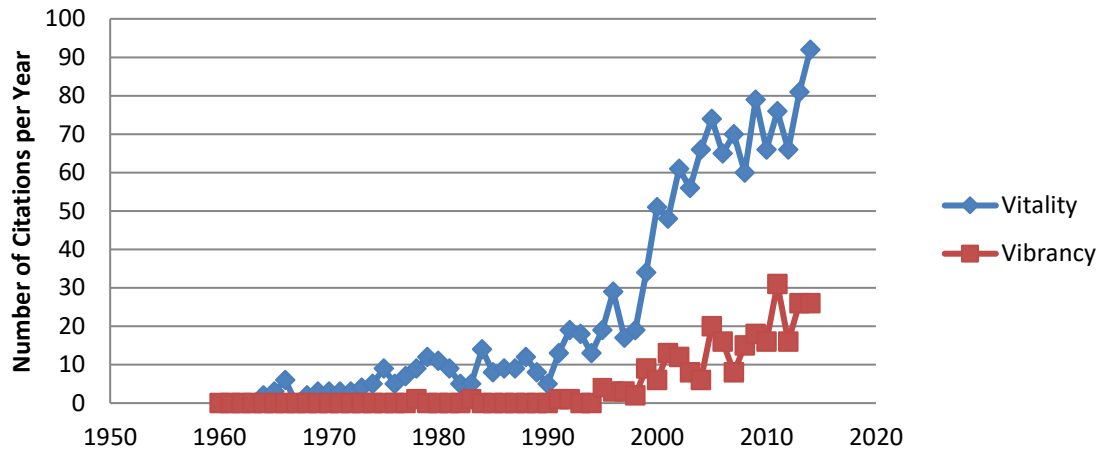
“By quality of place, I refer to the unique set of characteristics that define a place and make it attractive... Quality of place cuts across three key dimensions: what’s there or the combination of the built environment and the natural environment, the setting it provides for the pursuit of creative lives; who’s there or the diverse kinds of people that can be found, signaling that anyone can make a life in a community; and what’s going on, the vibrancy of street life, café culture, arts, music, and outdoor activities” (Florida, 2014, p. 203)

Through these excerpts, vibrancy appears to be synonymous with vitality. Vibrancy, like vitality, is associated with the density of human activity on the street and the level of economic activity in a community, and the level of cultural activity of a place. Both have been used to describe quality of life or quality of place, uniqueness, character, and cachet.

2.2.3. Usage of Vitality and Vibrancy

A content analysis of the appearance of vitality and vibrancy in the Urban Studies and Planning academic database each year from 1960 to 2015 shows the relative use of each term in a sample of writings. The use of vitality appeared soon after 1960, which steadily increased until about the year 2000, when the rate of use sharply increased. The use of vibrancy was not used more than once a year until 1995. Its use also increased sharply at around 2000. Figure 2 shows that the use of both terms continues to climb by 2015.

Figure 2. The Use of "Vitality" and Vibrancy" in Planning Literature Sample



Note. Derived from a literature search of the occurrence of vitality and vibrancy in the Urban Studies and Planning academic database each year from 1960 to 2015.

2.3. Indicators of Community Well-being

For decades, social scientists have been using proxy data to measure underlying constructs. Both hard and soft data have been used as indicators to track community progress. Jacksonville, FL, initiated the first community indicator project in 1985, and there have been hundreds of indicator projects since then (Knight Foundation, 2001). According to Kate Besleme, as cited by the Knight Foundation (2001, p. 13), "Indicators are simply quantitative information, or data, tracked over time. In the context of community indicators projects, they are quantitative information about what has often been considered a qualitative subject: the well-being of communities."

The Knight Foundation has been tracking community well-being in their 26 member communities with indicators since the late 1990s (Knight Foundation, 2001). In their 2001 study, *Listening and Learning*, they provided key findings on the factors that they found most relevant to community health and vitality: civic engagement, education, well-being of children and families, housing and community development, and the vitality of cultural life. They later

partnered with Gallup to conduct the *Soul of the Community (SOC)* between 2008 and 2010 to explore the relationship of community attachment to economic growth and well-being (<https://knightfoundation.org/sotc/>). Gallup defined community attachment as:

“an emotional connection to a place that transcends satisfaction, loyalty, and even passion. A community’s most attached residents have strong pride in it, a positive outlook on the community’s future, and a sense that it is the perfect place for them. They are less likely to want to leave than residents without this emotional connection. They feel a bond to their community that is stronger than just being happy about where they live” (Knight Foundation, 2010b, p. 5).

This definition is comparable with Strzelecka, Boley, and Woosman’s (2017, p. 66) more succinct definition as “the positive emotional bonds that develop between individuals and their socio-physical environment.” The *SOC* study examined correlations between various aspects of the community and place attachment. The community domains of the study were basic services (community infrastructure), local economy, safety, leadership and elected officials, aesthetics (physical beauty and green spaces, education systems, social offerings (opportunities for social interaction and citizen caring), openness/welcomeness (how welcoming the community is to different people), civic involvement (residents’ commitment to their community through voting or volunteerism, and social capital (social networks between residents).

After interviewing approximately 14,000 people each year, the key findings were that social offerings, openness, and aesthetics were the domains most closely correlated with community attachment. The findings were consistent across the 26 communities. They also found that resident perception of the strength of the local economy was not very highly correlated to attachment. This study was an extension of work that Richard Florida had done with Gallup, where he found that the qualities of a place that lead to happiness and satisfaction

were not basic services or the economy, but were “social and cultural amenities, friendliness, and natural and physical beauty” (Florida, 2012, p. 301). Florida recognized that, although the basic needs of the community were necessary, the more social and culturally engaging attributes were what connected people to communities. Table 1 shows the SOC attributes and their correlations to community attachment, from highest to lowest 2010 correlation.

Table 1: Soul of the Community Knight Foundation Study Correlations of Community Attributes with Place Attachment

Community Attribute	Correlation to Attachment (r)		
	2008	2009	2010
Social offerings	0.49	0.52	0.54
Openness	0.53	0.52	0.50
Aesthetics	0.51	0.50	0.49
Education	0.47	0.44	0.47
Basic services	0.41	0.34	0.42
Leadership	0.41	0.40	0.39
Economy	0.41	0.39	0.36
Safety	0.22	0.19	0.23
Social capital	0.14	0.16	0.15
Civic involvement	0.06	0.04	0.04

Source: (Knight Foundation, 2010b).

2.4. Indicators of Cultural Vitality and Creative Placemaking

Grant funding institutions such as NEA and ArtPlace have been offering significant incentive for communities to develop creative placemaking projects over the last 10 to 15 years. With any grant program, funders need to assess whether the project has met the intended objectives. Some projects have outcomes that are readily measurable, such as the number of jobs directly produced by the project itself. However, the funders have also attempted to design indicators that can measure the indirect, broader impact of their projects that might affect the whole community. Examples of the broader indicators include the amount of single-unit housing

structures, median commute time, crime rates, household income, and unemployment rates. ArtPlace has also attempted to develop indicators around the areas of livability using similar secondary data.

However, the administrators of both programs have not been satisfied with the use of global indicator sets as a means of measuring direct causal effects on the social, physical, and/or economic character of a place. One difficulty is that the types of arts projects range from building cultural centers to having one-time festivals; how is it then possible to apply the same indicator for projects that have divergent goals? For example, decreased crime might be one of the global indicators, which might work well as an outcome for building a cultural center but not for having a one-time arts festival. Both agencies acknowledge that measuring direct causation is a high bar to achieve with all the intervening factors at the community level and the inability to run a controlled experiment to analyze the relationship between the arts and community improvement. Also, because there are a multitude of independent variables at play in a place's 'ecosystem,' is it reasonable to believe that a statistical model could be built to control for these many factors?

Ann Markusen (2014) asks why arts and culture programming should be put under such scrutiny to perform when government agencies give millions of dollars to a range of science and engineering projects that do not immediately offer indicators of practical applications. Why not just fund the arts projects and see what comes out of it? Some projects may fail to meet their immediate objectives but might and provide ancillary benefits to the community, the chief among them being the expression of culture. If the knowledge gained from pure scientific research is reason enough for doing it, why is it not thought to be worthwhile to fund the arts

just for their sheer enjoyment? There is always an implicit assumption of 'downstream' public interest or benefit for such projects, albeit with different standards of justificatory evaluation.

Nevertheless, creative placemaking programs are intended to change the physical and social character of places. Planners need to have a clear objective for what they hope to achieve and how they are going to measure it. Is it possible to use indicators to prove that they have met their objectives? Will the indicators measure indirect project impacts as well as direct impacts? If so, can those indirect impacts be reasonably considered a result of the intervention?

Regarding the use of indicators, two practices seem to be used when trying to measure community-wide impacts of art and culture projects: those that try to measure the presence of culture as an indicator of vibrancy, often in conjunction with other variables associated with urban planning, such as crime rates and job growth (as in the case of the NEA's attempt to create creative placemaking indicators), and those that want to separate the cultural "inputs" from the "outputs" by leaving out cultural indicators (the approach that ArtPlace had been pursuing for a time).

There is considerable disagreement as to whether to include cultural indices. Mark Stern and Susan Seifert have been working since the late 1990s on non-economic impacts of the arts and culture in Philadelphia through the University of Pennsylvania's Social Impact of the Arts Project. Their signature finding is that "high levels of cultural engagement are a leading indicator of a neighborhood's revitalization" (Stern & Seifert, 2008, p. 1) . Yet, Markusen (2012, p. 1) states that "indicators designed to rely on data external to the funded projects are bound to disappoint."

The NEA and ArtPlace have shifted their emphasis away from using secondary data as a universal measure of a project's success in shaping a place. Instead, the NEA and ArtPlace have moved toward primary measures that are specifically project-related and place-specific outcomes. Even so, ArtPlace has initiated research projects to explore what their grantees are using in practice to measure outcomes with the persistent hope to gain some knowledge of global impacts arts and culture have on places. This decision supports Holden's (2004) position that the methods used to measure causation are often just those outcomes that are easily measured. Cultural interventions have complex, personal, and individual, interactions with people that are difficult to measure quantitatively.

The following sections below summarize of some of the efforts to develop indicators to measure the vibrancy, vitality, livability, and cultural participation of places (potential measures of cultural vitality) and to assess the effects of creative placemaking. These indicators were reviewed against the notions of vibrancy and vitality that were discussed in the planning literature sample.

2.4.1. Indicators of Cultural Vitality

What is culture? John Hawkes offers a two-part definition in his paper, *The fourth pillar of sustainability: Culture's essential role in public planning*:

“...the social production and transmission of identities, meanings, knowledge, beliefs, values, aspirations, memories, purposes, attitudes and understanding; and

the ‘way of life’ of a particular set of humans: customs, faiths and conventions; codes of manners, dress, cuisine, language, arts, science, technology, religion and rituals; norms and regulations of behaviour, traditions and institutions” (Hawkes, 2001, p. 3).

In this way, Hawkes defines culture as being both the medium and the message. In other words, culture is both the way to express societal values and the results of social expression as well (2001). Art in and of itself is just one expression of culture.

In addition to seeing how the arts and culture can add vitality to a place (as an input), their emergence can also be an indication of a place's vitality (as an output). A considerable amount of research has been done to develop cultural indicators for a place's vitality. According to The International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA), a cultural indicator is "a statistic that can be used to make sense of, monitor, or evaluate some aspect of culture, such as the arts, or cultural policies, programs and activities (although... indicators usually also influence behaviour and have strategic effects beyond mere measurement)" (International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies, 2005, p. 17).

Previously, the cultural activity of a place was generally assessed through the presence of large cultural institutions, such as symphonies, operas, and museums (Jackson, 2008). Viewing cultural activity through the lens of cultural vitality differs from the previous way of looking at the arts and culture in that it is more process oriented and more community based. The Urban Institute's (UI's) Arts and Culture Indicators Project (ACIP) examined how arts and culture are measured and their impact in communities over time (Jackson et al., 2006). The ACIP views cultural vitality through three domains: 1) presence of opportunities for cultural participation; 2) cultural participation itself; and 3) support for cultural participation. They operationalize these concepts into indicators.

The UI has studied arts and cultural activities in low-income and communities of color, as well as immigrant communities and found that studying arts and culture is a good way of assessing how well communities are doing. In other words, it is a way of looking at a place's

overall vitality. The UI developed six to eight indicators for each of the three domains. The indicators were chosen because they were readily available, reliable, recurrent annually, attributable to at least the metropolitan statistical level, and free or inexpensive. The three domains are summarized below.

- Indicators for the presence of opportunities for cultural participation include the number of nonprofit and commercial arts-related organizations, non-arts venues with cultural programming, such as parks and libraries, festivals, parades, formal and informal cultural districts, where artists congregate, and web-based opportunities for cultural engagement.
- Indicators for participation in arts and cultural activities include amateur art-making, community art-making, K-12 arts education, after-school arts, audience participation, purchase of fine arts goods, discourse about the arts in the media, and membership in professional arts organizations.
- Indicators for support for arts and cultural activity include public expenditures in support of the arts and culture, explicit supportive policies, foundation expenditures, volunteering and personal support, integration into other policy areas, and working artists.

Badham (Badham, 2010) developed a draft arts indicator framework that combined the strengths of three cultural indicator approaches: the AICP (presence, participation and support), Mercer's Cultural Industries Indicator Floorplan (creation, production and reproduction, promotion and knowledge, dissemination and circulation and consumption and usage), and public value research interests from Throsby (public perception).

The National Center for Arts Research (NCAR) at Southern Methodist University developed an arts vibrancy index in 2014 (Voss, Voss, Briesch, & Teyolia, 2014). The index provides a composite score of the amount of arts dollars spent, the level of government support, and the number of arts providers for US communities. The index accounts for three of Badham’s four indicator categories including presence, participation, and support for the arts, but not public perception of the arts. The NCAR ranks cities and counties across the nation yearly based on their arts index score.

On the international level, many organizations are working on developing cultural indicators. The International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA) prepared a report in 2005 that listed 26 agencies and individuals working on cultural indicators from 16 countries, as well as continental and international agencies (International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies, 2005). It would be beyond the scope of this paper to provide an exhaustive list of cultural vitality indicators. Therefore, a sample is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Examples of Indicators of Cultural Vitality

Source	Framework	Indicators
(Ministry for Culture and Heritage (New Zealand), 2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engagement • Cultural identity • Diversity • Social cohesion • Economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engagement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Cultural employment ○ Employment in creative occupations ○ Median incomes from creative occupations ○ Cultural experiences ○ Barriers to cultural experiences ○ Household spending on cultural items ○ Heritage protection ○ Access to arts, culture, and heritage activities and events • Cultural identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Speakers of te reo Māori ○ Local Content on television ○ Māori TV ratings ○ The importance of culture to national identity

Source	Framework	Indicators
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ New Zealand events • Diversity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Grants to minority ethnic cultural groups ○ Attendance/participation at/in ethnic cultural activities ○ Minority culture activities • Social cohesion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Non-Māori attendance at Māori cultural events ○ Other-ethnicities attendance ○ Community cultural experiences • Economic development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Income of the cultural industries ○ Value-added contributed by the creative industries ○ The creative industries' proportion of total industry value-added
(Ministry of Education and Culture (Finland), 2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural foundation • Creative workers • Culture and citizens • Culture and the economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural foundation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Volume of cultural offering, degree of domestic origin of cultural offering, share of new productions of cultural offering ○ Cultural education: Art, cultural heritage, and media education in general education; basic education in the arts; provision and use of children's cultural services; audience development by art institutions ○ Cultural heritage and environment: Identification and maintenance of archaeological remains; restoration of buildings of cultural value; museum collections; digitization of materials in the National Digital Library ○ Guarantees for art exhibitions

Source	Framework	Indicators
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Government support for art and culture: size of the culture budget and its share of the total expenditure of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Government; internal allocation of the culture budget ● Creative workers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ International mobility and exchanges in the culture sector: Finnish art and culture performances abroad; the number of performances by and audience figures for international art institutions and groups in Finland; participation in international culture, media and mobility programs; residency activities; state ○ Art and culture labor force: labor force in culture sectors; art professionals, their economic and social position; Students of art and culture; placement of graduates in the culture sector; labor force with qualifications in the culture sector ○ State support for artists and jobs in cultural institutions funded by the State: support for artistic work; subsidies for artists and authors; artist professorships; life pensions for artists; coverage of support for artists in the profession; artists' jobs in art and cultural institutions receiving government support ● Culture and citizens <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Cultural hobbies and participation: time spent on culture and art; art and culture hobbies; participation in art and cultural events ○ Cultural participation in information networks: Use of cultural network services; Acquisition of cultural products or services in online stores ○ Visits to cultural events and institutions, and government support in relation to the number of visits and tickets sold: visits to cultural events and institutions; government support per visit; government support per ticket sold

Source	Framework	Indicators
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Regional availability of culture: physical cultural infrastructure in different regions; subsidies for the renovation and establishment of cultural facilities by province; provision of publicly supported and market-based cultural services by region; government art and culture expenditure per resident in different provinces ● Culture and the economy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Share of GDP accounted for by the cultural industries: share of GDP accounted for by the cultural industries ○ Household consumption expenditure on culture ○ Enterprises in the cultural industries ○ Trade balance of the cultural economy: total exports and imports of cultural commodities and services; economic significance of cultural tourism ○ Share of GDP accounted for by copyright sectors
<p>University of Pennsylvania's SIAP's Capabilities Approach (Stern, 2014)</p>	<p>Links cultural data to social outcomes, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Economic well-being ● Economic and ethnic diversity ● School effectiveness ● Housing burden ● Social connection ● Insecurity ● Health ● Environment ● Political voice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Economic well-being <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Material standard of living: income, educational attainment, labor force participation ● Economic and ethnic diversity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Gini coefficient (measure of inequality), household income diversity, ethnic diversity (percent of residents not members of largest ethnic group) ● School effectiveness <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Current school proficiency scores, dropout rate, private school attendance ● Housing burden <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Overcrowding, housing financial stress, distance from work ● Social connection <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Institutional: Nonprofit organizations, geographic mobility ○ Face-to-face connection: Trust, belonging, participation ○ Cultural asset index: Nonprofit and for-profit cultural providers, artists, cultural participants ● Insecurity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ High personal and property crime rates, Human Relations Commission complaints

Source	Framework	Indicators
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Morbidity: Diabetes, hypertension, overall health condition, obesity ○ Insurance access: Low insurance rates, delayed care due to cost, use of hospital emergency rooms ○ Social stress: High teen pregnancy, lack of prenatal care, high homicide, reports of child abuse & neglect • Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Environmental assets: Parks, trees, grass, underground streams (inverse), heat vulnerability • Political voice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Percent of eligible population casting ballots in 2010 and 2012

2.4.2. Indicators of Creative Placemaking

Ashley (2015) reviewed the history of using the arts as economic and community development tools in the US. Although the roots of what she terms arts economic development go back to the 19th century, momentum has grown in the last two decades. Starting in 2000, several states began championing local arts and entertainment districts. In 2001, Boston, Seattle, and Philadelphia institutionalized arts economic development within their economic development and planning departments, and the term ‘creative economy’ had begun to gain traction. By 2011, the NEA had developed the *Our Town* Program, which was intended to fund projects that could demonstrate artistic merit and creative placemaking. The ArtPlace grants program soon followed.

The NEA’s *Our Town* has provided funding to nonprofit and government partnerships for projects that had the following overall purposes: Asset Mapping, Community Arts Engagement, Community Design, Creative Economy, Cultural District Planning, Cultural Facilities and Spaces,

Festivals and Performances, Public Art, Public Spaces (NEA website, 2015). The NEA hypothesized that these projects would impact communities through the constructs of attachment to community, quality of life, arts and cultural activity, and economic conditions. Therefore, as a means of assessing the effectiveness of their programs, the NEA first drew up a list of secondary data sources that would measure impacts of creative placemaking projects. The indicators were selected partly because they were all in the public domain, and each community could readily access them with little to no cost or effort. The indicators could be measuring indirect impacts of the projects. Various versions of the list of indicators were published. The NEA then commissioned the Urban Institute (UI) to validate their indicators (Stern, 2014). The UI, using focus groups of mostly *Our Town* grant recipients, reported that the *Our Town* indicators were valid for measuring livability but that several were questionable for measuring creative placemaking.

ArtPlace also planned to use several indicators to try to measure the changes that take place in a community after creative placemaking projects. Their list of 10 “vibrancy indicators,” developed by Joe Cortright’s consulting group, were later abandoned for reasons discussed previously. The indicators were differentiated by data associated with people and types of activities. However, both the NEA and ArtPlace determined that indicators they were using were not a satisfactory way to measure the effects of creative placemaking. Their grant communities were supporting such a wide variety of projects that the universal indicators they were developing were not applicable across projects and communities.

Thereafter, per Jason Schupbach, the former Director of Design Programs at NEA, both agencies dropped the idea of using universal indicators to measure the impact of creative placemaking (personal communication, February 5, 2015). Instead the funders began asking

each individual project to develop their project-specific outcomes and reflect on how they accomplished their goals through narratives. Schupbach also felt that their projects were unlikely to have overall citywide impacts in the brief period that they were active. Lastly, most researchers appear to agree that the definition of creative placemaking is evolving and has not been firmly defined. Searching for effects has been obscured by the various constructs used to measure creative placemaking. Therefore, it is not surprising that the types of indicators are so varied. The abandoned indicators used by the NEA and ArtPlace are provided in Table 3.

Table 3. Attempts at Creating Indicators of Creative Placemaking

Source/Country	Framework	Indicators
The NEA's Candidate Indicators for the Arts & Livability for <i>Our Town</i> Project (not implemented) (Stern, 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resident attachment to community • Quality of life • Arts and cultural activity • Economic conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resident attachment to community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Capacity for homeownership (proportion of single-unit structures) ○ Length of residence (median length) ○ Proportion of housing units owner-occupied ○ Proportion of housing units occupied ○ Election turnout rate ○ Household outflow (tax returns leaving) ○ Civic engagement establishments per 1,000 population • Quality of Life <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Median commute time ○ Retail and service establishments per 1,000 population ○ Violent crime rate ○ Property crime rate ○ Percent of residential addresses not collecting mail ○ Net migration

Source/Country	Framework	Indicators
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts and Cultural Activity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Median earnings of residents employed in arts-and-entertainment-related establishments ○ Proportion of employees working in arts- and-entertainment-related establishments ○ Relative payroll of arts-and-entertainment-related establishments ○ Arts, culture, and humanities nonprofits per 1,000 population ○ Arts-and-entertainment-related establishments per 1,000 population • Economic Conditions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Median home purchase loan amounts ○ Median household income ○ Active business addresses ○ Unemployment rate ○ Income diversity
ArtPlace America Vibrancy Indicators (not implemented) (Stern, 2014)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People indicators • Activity indicators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People Indicators <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Population ○ Workers in creative occupations ○ Employment rate • Activity Indicators <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Indicator businesses ○ Jobs ○ Walkscore ○ Mixed use ○ Cell activity ○ Independent businesses ○ Creative industry jobs

2.5. Summary of Literature Review

Topics relating to placemaking and community well-being have been explored in academic literature and practitioner white papers for almost a century, whereas creative

placemaking has been introduced as a modality within the last two decades. The desire to make spaces more human-scale, sociable, sustainable, or, 'vibrant,' the term that had been used as a tentative indicator for creative placemaking initiatives, concerns not just planners and urban theorists, but also community and economic developers and tourism managers. The methods used to measure vibrancy span from exploring spatial features, such as the fine-grainedness of blocks, or, the fluctuation of dominant industries (Dougal et al., 2015; Merlino, 2014).

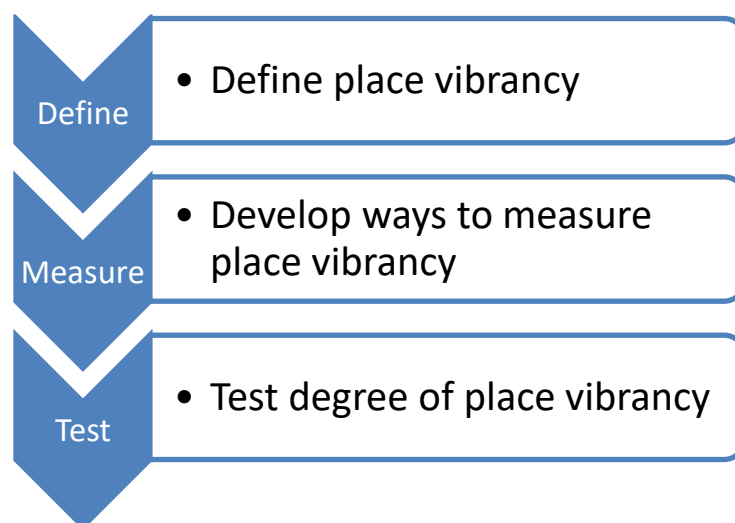
To get a preliminary understanding of what the term 'vibrancy' and 'vitality' mean to those who write about places, a content analysis of a literature sample was conducted. A comparison of the themes appearing in the literature surrounding the terms of vibrancy and vitality are generally in agreement with the indicators used to measure cultural vitality and the effects of creative placemaking, as shown in Table 4. The main themes of vital and vibrant places derived from these readings are activity, atmosphere, social capital, creativity, diversity, economic activity, and well-being. Individual creative placemaking indicator efforts touched on most of these themes on the whole, whereas cultural vitality indicators do not include the activity level on the street, the general atmosphere of the place, and the general well-being of the population.

Table 4. Comparison of Themes among Literature Use of Vitality and Vibrancy and Indicators of Cultural Vitality and Creative Placemaking

	Literature Themes of Potential Goals of Creative Placemaking: Vitality and Vibrancy		Themes of Indicators: Cultural Vitality and Creative Placemaking	
	Vitality	Vibrancy	Cultural Vitality	Creative Placemaking
Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People on the street • Place feeling of liveliness • Busyness • Buzz 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People on the street • Night life 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walkscore • Cell activity • Population
Atmosphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atmosphere cities are striving for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Where it’s at” 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attachment to community • Independent businesses
Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong relationships • Trust/collaboration • Cohesiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Synergy between people activity and value 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social cohesion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social connection
Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence of disseminating, validating, and supporting arts and culture • Participation in recreation, creative and cultural activities • Innovation • Curiosity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source of cultural capital • Setting for creativity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of opportunities for cultural participation • Participation in arts and cultural activities • Support for cultural activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts and cultural activity
Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolerance • Egalitarianism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volatility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic and ethnic
Economic activity	Economic activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of shops, cafes, and restaurants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Property values
Well-being	Well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proxy or component of quality of place 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of life • Health • Environment • Poverty level • Public health • Child welfare • School effectiveness • Security • Political voice

If vibrancy is something that is desirable for city building and revitalization, it should be more precisely defined and measured, at least, from the behavioral, or empirical standpoint. The literature review provided a partial perspective on the components of the definition of place vibrancy. Rather than relying solely on what the literature deems to be vibrant, expert focus groups and interviews were conducted to further develop the meaning of place vibrancy by seeing which of these themes were supported and which new ones might arise, thereby providing further grounding for a definition of place vibrancy. The subsequent step for this study was to develop scales based on each place vibrancy theme in order to have a quantitative means of measuring it, and the final step was to test the scales in a real-world example. This study therefore not only proposes to provide a robust definition of place vibrancy, which had been lacking in the literature, but offers a way to measure this abstract yet essential quality of revitalization. The research method described in the next chapter balances an objective 'rational' framework with the perceptual and affective assessment of place vibrancy by community residents and visitors. The overall study goals are illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Overall Study Goals

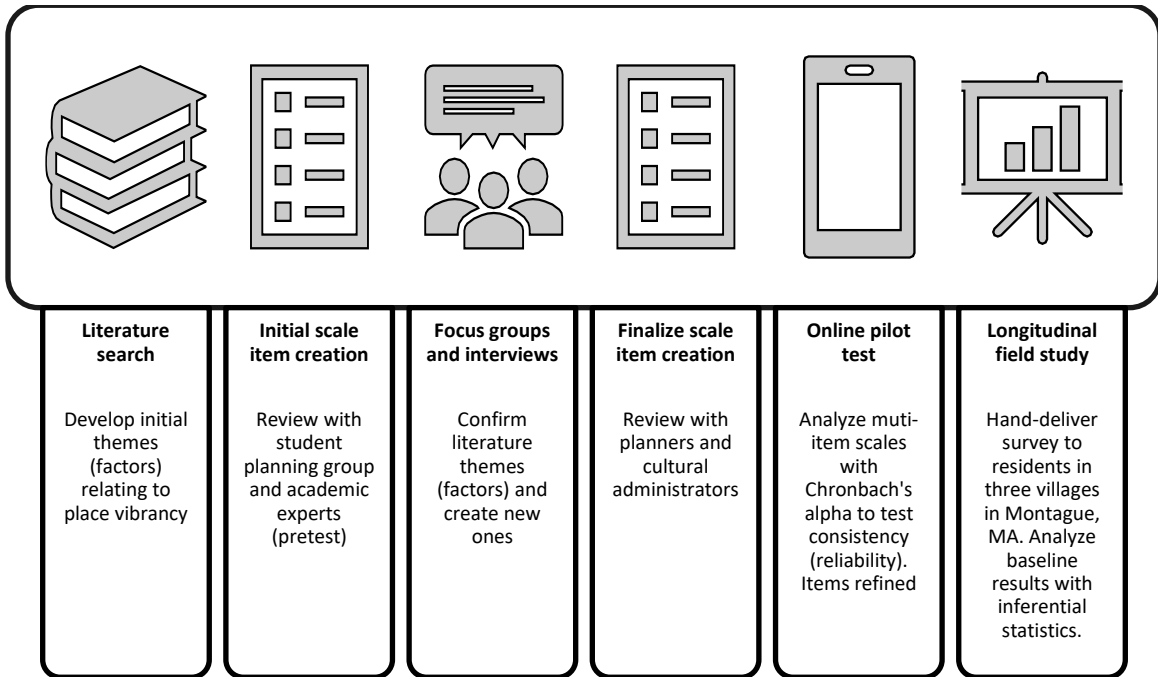


CHAPTER 3: Research Method

This study will take a mixed-methods approach to defining the construct of place vibrancy, creating a set of attitudinal scales to measure it and concluding with a pilot field study of them. The construct of place vibrancy is proposed as a potential indicator of the effectiveness of revitalization interventions, one of which is creative placemaking. Place vibrancy is an abstract entity that exists in the rater's imagination and whose presence can be assessed through survey items measured through Likert scales. The scale development procedure, consisted of developing a definition of the construct by performing an extensive literature search to develop a preliminary understanding of the use of the term vibrancy in the context of places (Chapter 2) and by conducting a set of focus groups and interviews with experts in planning, tourism, art and with residents and tourists. The method of scale development primarily relied on survey methods described by Rossiter (2011), although one part of Churchill's (1979) method of scale development was retained (regarding Chronbach's alpha). Overall, these procedures provide a basis for determining what we are measuring and how to measure it.

The completed scales were used for a small pilot field study to benchmark levels of place vibrancy in three villages in Montague, Massachusetts, once of which has received significant cultural interventions in the past 10 years, one of which is about to receive planning interventions, and one of which will serve as a control. The scales will therefore be used to help assess whether the cultural interventions influence vibrancy. The planned extension of this study will be to continue the assessment over three years to see if additional planning interventions influenced vibrancy for a village that heretofore had not received planning attention. The study plan for the core study is summarized in Figure 4 below and is described in detail in the next section.

Figure 4: Study Plan



3.1. Scale Development Procedure

The research method for developing the scales for this study is largely based on Rossiter's (2011) article: *Marketing measurement revolution: The C-OAR-SE method and why it must replace psychometrics*. At the time of the proposal for this dissertation, Churchill's (1979) psychometric approach was intended to be used. However, Rossiter provides an improved rationale for his approach and argues that Churchill's method did not focus enough on construct development and had included dubious measures of validity in scale development.

Rossiter's (2011) method is based on a modified true-score model, where Observed score = True score + Measure-induced distortion + Rater error. Measure-induced distortion, which is equivalent to how valid a scale is, and Rater error is the random error made the rater when taking the test. Both types of error should be low if there is sufficient care to make sure

the scales have content validity (Rossiter, 2011). Rossiter's (2011) steps include specifying the domain of the construct and generating sample items based on the rational judgment of the researcher and a team of experts. For this study, the initial factors relating to place vibrancy were developed after an extensive literature search. A pre-test was developed that was shared with a planning student class to check item wording. After minimal item modifications, several expert focus groups and interviews were conducted. Additional items were written and modifications were made to existing items. Content validity was thoroughly checked through the expert review of a planning professor, two professionals in arts administration, a team of economic development planners, and a town manager.

Researchers who follow Churchill's method (1979) often include steps such as exploratory factor analysis for factor and item reduction. Rossiter (2011) argues against this approach, saying that it should not play a role in item and scale development. However, Chronbach's alpha was used to determine internal consistency of multi-item scales, which was consistent with Churchill's (1979) method. A fuller description of the scale construction steps used in this study follow.

3.1.1. Literature Review

An extensive literature review of local placemaking, creative placemaking, potential outcomes of creative placemaking (vibrancy and vitality), and other indicators of community well-being and creative placemaking is presented in Chapter 2 above.

3.1.2. First Pre-test

After the literature search and a review of planner and methods experts, an initial pool of items was created (Table 6). Items were scored on a five-point Likert scale, which provided a mid-point for neutral responses and sufficient sensitivity for social science studies (Croasmun & Ostrom, 2011). For this study, each scale item was associated with five check boxes where 1 was strongly disagree, and 5 was strongly agree. The derived themes were intended to be refined after further interviews and focus groups. The draft items were shown as a pre-test to a sample of persons who might have insight for the meaning of place vibrancy, a classroom of regional planning students at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. The class was asked to imagine a vibrant place before responding to the questionnaire. They were aware that this was part of a research study about place vibrancy conducted by a fellow regional planning student. No formal analysis of the pre-test was done. Items were revised based on participant feedback and further literature review.

3.1.3. Focus Groups and Interviews

The next step was to conduct several focus groups and one-on-one interviews. Institutional Review Board approval from the University of Massachusetts for human subject research was received on May 25, 2018. The focus group interviews followed procedures suggested by Krueger and Casey (2015). The purpose of conducting a focus group is to get a deep understanding of a human experience. They are usually non-directive, with participants responding to what other group members say. Often, hearing others talk about something sparks a remembrance in the other participants. In this way, focus group sessions are different than interviews. Both the focus groups and interviews were semi-structured, with the

interviewer/moderator guiding the respondent with open-ended questions. In both settings, participants were made to feel welcome and could respond comfortably and free of judgement. The moderator made sure everyone understood the purpose of the meeting, followed a time schedule, and set ground rules so that everyone could participate comfortably.

Two areas were chosen to conduct the interviews and focus groups because they had varying degrees of place vibrancy, based on the literature search and expert opinion, and were also easily accessible by the investigator. The single-person interviews took place in the Capital District of New York. The Capital District is made up of Albany, Schenectady, and Troy, three small-to-mid-size cities in upstate New York. The area also has a significant university presence, hosting 15 colleges and universities, and a large concentration of workers affiliated with state government, but is also a rust-belt metropolitan area that has not fully recovered from its successful industrial period of the early part of the 20th century.

Paired (two-person) interviews and focus groups took place in the Pioneer Valley of Massachusetts. The Pioneer Valley is defined by what are known as the 'five colleges' and the knowledge corridor of the three counties of Hampshire, Hampden and Franklin along the Connecticut River and Interstate 91. The area, with its high concentration of students and professors, is highlighted by a college-town feel, which includes the affluent and progressive epicenter of Amherst, home of the flagship campus of the University of Massachusetts and Hampshire colleges, and is within 10 miles of Smith and Mt. Holyoke colleges. The Pioneer Valley is the colloquial and promotional name given to a portion of the Connecticut River Valley that is located in Western Massachusetts (The Greater Springfield Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2005). The upper part of the valley is where Montague and its villages are located. Montague is in one of the less affluent counties of the state, Franklin County. The population, median

household income, and percentage of college-educated residents for participating cities is presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Study Area Population Statistics

	Population ^a	Median Household Income ^b	Percentage College-Educated ^b
Capital District of New York			
Albany	97,856	\$43,790	38%
Schenectady	66,135	\$43,174	22%
Troy	50,129	\$40,911	23%
Selected towns and villages in the Pioneer Valley of Massachusetts (field study focus)			
Amherst	37,819	\$50,203	67%
Turners Falls (village of Montague)	4,470	\$33,665	24%
Millers Falls (village of Montague)	1,298	\$63,342	18%
Montague Town (proxy for Montague Center)	8,437	\$50,933	28%
United States	308,745,538	\$57,652	31%

a Census, 2010

b American Community Survey, 2013 to 2017 estimate

Focus groups are designed such that the participants have something in common. For this study, the focus groups consisted of planning experts, artists, and residents. Two paired interviews, with tourism experts and cultural administrators, were conducted, which were intended to be focus groups but there were not enough participants. Three individual interviews were also conducted: one with a professional artist/academic, and two with random tourists encountered at the Albany Visitor’s Center. Having various groups with different perspectives enables the researcher to examine research questions from different angles and perspectives. Krueger and Casey recommend five to ten participants for each group. For the three focus groups for this study, there were four to seven participants. Group sizes under ten enable better

conversations. For each focus group session, the moderator used a paper flip chart and wrote down themes as they came up. All sessions were audio recorded. The time for each session was in line with Krueger and Casey's (2015) suggested length of 60 to 90 minutes. The suggested number of focus groups would be three to four per each area of expertise, however, only one group was conducted for each area of expertise, due to time and funding constraints (Krueger & Casey, 2015).

During these sessions, participants were asked a series of open-ended questions about place vibrancy and community revitalization. At the start of the session, the participants signed a consent form and answered demographic questions about age, gender, town, type of role (planner or tourism researcher, arts administrator, artist, resident, or tourist), and years lived in the community or time visiting the community. The semi-structured interview questions were derived from previous research conducted by the principle investigator (see Appendix A for interview questions). The questions related to:

1. the subject's general interests,
2. the city in question's challenges,
3. whether they consider the city in question to be a vibrant city,
4. what makes a place vibrant,
5. ways in which the city in question is vibrant,
6. whether the vibrancy of a city influences whether they would like to visit it,
7. whether the subject has ever used Air BnB,

8. whether what they consider a vibrant city would have the domains of the current place vibrancy scale,
9. any other characteristics of a vibrant city that they would like to add.

At the end of each session, the themes were reviewed with the group and consolidated or modified as necessary. The focus groups and interviews provided a preliminary, qualitative validation of the previously selected scale themes and items and were the basis for creating new ones.

3.1.4. Final Scale Item Creation

Following the focus groups and interviews, factors based on new themes were added and further refinements were made to the existing items. Rossiter (2011) supports the use of single item scales for perceptions of attributes, referring to them as ‘doubly concrete,’ or, unambiguous, whereas the Churchill (1979) does not. Dolnicar (Dolnicar, 2013) also supports the use of single-item scales in this cases because “additional items would blur what exactly is being asked” (Dolnicar, 2013, p. 557). Therefore, multiple items were written for themes that were more multifaceted, and single items were used when the theme was straightforward. For example, a single item was chosen for local ownership of the media (“Local news is well covered”) pedestrians (“There are usually a lot of people on the streets”), cleanliness (“It is clean”), and safety (“People can safely walk alone at night”). In contrast, the forward-looking governance scale was constructed with three items (“Many people believe in this place”; “There is a sense of orderliness”; and “The local government addresses challenges creatively”). The revised questionnaire was shared with cultural planners, a town planner, a town manager, and a

group of economic development planners to see if the items met the proposed themes. The items were largely kept as they were, with light editing.

3.1.5. Online Pilot Test

A pilot survey of the scale items was then distributed to an online panel of 154 adults, 18 and older, provided by Qualtrics XM. The sample was collected with representation from the four regions of the United States. The original purpose of conducting the pilot survey was to conduct an exploratory factor analysis of the items to reduce the number of factors (another word for the themes), and to reduce the number of items. However, this method of designing a survey, derived from Churchill (1979), is contested. The main reason for disagreement is that, if the definition for the construct is rigorously developed, with the help of expert reviews, and the factors are derived from the themes of the definition, then the items should have construct validity and should remain. In the case of this study, the themes were developed through an extensive literature search, focus groups, interviews, and item review by additional experts. By doing a factor analysis, the multiple factors (ultimately, 17) would be reduced to two to four new factors. After undergoing the mathematical procedure for the factor analysis, items would be reduced that did not meet an arbitrary threshold of 'loading' onto the factors. Information, or, in statistical terms, variance would be lost. The 'black box' nature of computer modelling, gives the illusion of an objective interpretation of how the items might be grouped, and gives a rationale for limiting the number of the items. Dolnicar goes so far as to refer to this process as a 'mindless drill' (Dolnicar, 2013, p. 555).

Therefore, exploratory factor analysis did not fit the purposes of this study, where the ultimate number of factors and survey size (45 items, not including demographic questions), was

not thought to be too large, and a different grouping of the items into new factors apart from what was determined *a priori* was not desired, and where the task of assigning items to factors was thought to be conceptual and not mathematical. This alternative scale development paradigm is relatively new. In Dolnicar's (2013) review of tourism literature, she only found one instance where the C-OAR-SE perspective was used (where the researchers used tourism researchers to check content validity).

The online pilot survey was ultimately used to examine the reliability within themes that had more than one item through Chronbach's alpha tests. This was consistent with most studies based on Churchill's (1979) method to test for reliability. Chronbach's alpha (also known as coefficient alpha) is a measure used to assess the strength of the internal consistency within a factor (Cronbach, 1951). The assumption is that if the average correlation is high, the items are measuring the same latent dimension. However, a large number of items can artificially inflate the measure. Rossiter (2011) argues against the Chronbach's alpha test as a test for reliability and suggests doing a test-retest to check the stability of the measurement tool over time. This step was not done due to the cost of paying for an additional Qualtrics panel. Further details about the Chronbach's alpha statistical test are provided in Section 3.4.1.

3.2. Longitudinal Field Study

The final scales were administered for a longitudinal field study in three villages in Montague, MA: Turners Falls, Millers Falls, and Montague Center. The field survey served as a way to gain further understanding about the relative importance of the factors, to further test the reliability of the multi-item scales, to check the internal validity of the factors against a single item relating to vibrancy, to benchmark the place vibrancy of a town that has received

varying support for arts and culture in three of its villages, and to (ultimately) measure changes in vibrancy over time with different levels of planning intervention after measurements are retaken in the upcoming three years.

3.2.1. Selection of Study Areas

The town of Montague, MA, was chosen for the field study because the planning office was interested in having a benchmark measurement of the vibrancy of the village of Millers Falls. At the time of the study, the town was just about to initiate a planning intervention in Millers Falls after receiving a \$15,000 grant from the Massachusetts Department of Housing and Economic Development and they were looking for a metric to use to track progress. A third-party planning consulting group was brought in to conduct its own study to determine which planning interventions to implement. However, Montague city officials have indicated that there will likely be an arts and cultural component to the plan.

The neighboring village of Turners Falls had been receiving accolades in the popular press that it was undergoing a renaissance, largely due to the interventions of the town's cultural planning arm, RiverCulture (Goudreau, 2018). Other factors are making the town attractive to newcomers and investors, including its relatively low housing prices in a downtown that has an organic art and culture scene, as well as a rising number of shops and restaurants. The town was, therefore, also looking for a way to assess the current state of place vibrancy in Turners Falls and a presumed increase over the last three years.

Montague's web page describes how the built environment of the three villages is largely a product of their economic history. Turners Falls was designed as a planned industrial community by Alvah Crocker in 1868 (<https://www.montague-ma.gov/p/14/Turners-Falls>). As

with other New England towns, the falls provided cheap hydropower after the construction of a dam and canal. With the promise of power, Crocker sold lots to industrial enterprises along the canal. He also sold lots to the families who would work in those mills. Crocker designed a horizontal grid pattern for the rest of the village, with Avenue A serving as the main commercial corridor. Three- and four-story buildings situated storefronts at grade, with professional offices and tradesmen occupying the upper stories. At the turn of the century, an electric trolley ran down Avenue A, connecting it with nearby Greenfield and Millers Falls. The village hosted many different industries over the years, including several paper and cotton mills. Irish, French Canadian, Polish, and German immigrants came to work in the factories. Several hotels, taverns, and entertainment venues sprung up, including an opera house seating 1,000 people. After a downturn following deindustrialization, in recent years, Turner Falls has experienced a cultural renaissance.

Millers Falls also had an industrial background with its proximity to the Millers River, another hydropower resource (<https://www.montague-ma.gov/p/16/Millers-Falls>). A fire destroyed nearly all of the village in 1895, so all of its current commercial corridor was built during the Victorian era. The architecture is supported by narrow streets surrounded by the nearby hills, which make the village human-scale and picturesque. Millers Falls has also experienced a significant economic decline after post industrialization. However, there have been recent efforts at beautification through façade improvement, and there are indications of at least limited community spirit through block parties and special events.

Montague Center was the original site of the town (<https://www.montague-ma.gov/p/17/Montague-Center>). It also relied on the river to power mills. Although it had a mix of small manufacturers and factory housing, it was founded as an agricultural town. The village

was laid out with narrow frontages and long lots with agricultural functions in the back. It also served as a commercial center at a transportation nexus for the region. However, with the decline of industrialization, Montague Center has reverted to its agricultural roots and resembles a quintessential New England crossroads village, complete with a traditional town commons. Several classic built structures face Main Street, including the Town Hall, the Congregational Church, and the Montague Grange Building. The village hosts several special events throughout the year, including a May Day Celebration, and Montague Old Home Days.

The three villages will be followed up annually for the next three years to see whether they have experienced any changes in place vibrancy over time. Place vibrancy is expected to increase in Millers Falls because of the planning intervention begun in 2019. Meanwhile, neighboring Turners Falls and Montague Center are not expected to experience as much of an increase as they will not be receiving any additional planning support over that period. Because Montague Center had not received any previous arts and cultural intervention and was not about to receive any formal planning assistance within the next three years, it serves as a control. For this report, only the initial year results are presented as a baseline. It is expected that Turners Falls would have the highest level of place vibrancy at baseline compared to the other two villages.

3.2.2. Survey Method

The number of surveys distributed was limited by the time the principal investigator had available to distribute them. Three weeks were budgeted for survey distribution. The principal investigator handed out the surveys in Turners Falls from 10 am to 5 pm on three weekends from mid-February to early March of 2019. An employee of the Town of Montague

assisted by distributing the surveys to Millers Falls during one week in early March of 2019. Four surveys were estimated to be able to be accepted per hour. Therefore, with approximately 50 total man-hours available, 200 surveys were targeted to be delivered, 100 to Turners Falls, and 50 each to Millers Falls and Montague Center. The surveys were proportionally distributed to each census block within each village in an attempt to represent all socio-economic groups. The census block within each census tract was recorded, and respondents were asked to include their address if they would not mind being re-contacted each year for the following three years. Due to the pilot nature of the study, no formal sample size estimates were calculated. However, studies using a similar method experienced a 60% to 70% yield in completed surveys (Boley & Gard, 2014; Boley et al., 2011; Woosnam & Norman, 2010), and so, for this study, at least 120 surveys were expected to be completed. The final survey is included in Appendix B.

3.3. Data Coding and Qualitative Analysis

Flip charts were used during the focus groups, and discussion themes were listed for all participants to see. The author enlisted the help of the participants to refine the categories, which served as the initial basis for the scale themes. The recorded interviews were later transcribed, the transcriptions underwent a content analysis, and were coded by place vibrancy themes with highlighted colors (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). The highlighted text was then transferred to a Word document and was analyzed for patterns.

3.4. Statistical Analyses

For this mixed-methods study, Chronbach's alpha was calculated with Stata 15.1 to analyze the internal consistency of items of the pilot questionnaire as well as for the final questionnaire used for the field study. Differences in baseline place vibrancy and enjoyment and

correlations among factors across the three Montague villages in the pilot field test were analyzed with ordinary least squares (OLS) regression using Stata 15.1. Selected results were mapped using ArcGIS (10.7). Further details regarding the statistical analyses are presented below.

3.4.1. Online Pilot Test

Chronbach's alpha was calculated to determine how well the items in the multi-item factors correlated with one another for the pilot test (analyzed from the online Qualtrics panel). In general, the Chronbach's alpha measure was included as a way to detect gross inconsistencies between items. Most of the multi-item factors had three or fewer items in this survey, and more items would have raised the alpha so that more of them were in 'acceptable' range (greater than 0.7). Even so, several factors used single-item scales, which did not undergo any measure of reliability testing in this study. The scale development, therefore, only partially relied on the traditional psychometric method for testing reliability. A box-and-whisker plot was used to determine outliers.

3.4.2. Longitudinal Field Study

For the longitudinal field study, descriptive statistics were calculated for all items within each Likert scale (mean, standard deviation, n, etc.). A total of 17 scales were derived from the 17 themes that arose from the literature search, focus groups, and interviews. (See Table 11 for the scales that were derived from the 17 themes.) For themes that had multiple scale items, the average of the item results was used to create a single scale. The results for each vibrancy scale from the field study were tested with two OLS regression models. For the first model, the only

independent variable was village (which had three levels corresponding to each of the three villages) and the dependent variable was the mean of the Likert score for the vibrancy factor.

For example, the first model for the scale representing forward-looking governance, was:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{village}$$

Y is the Likert scale mean for the 1 to 5 scale for forward-looking governance and village is a categorical variable of the three Montague villages (Turners Falls, Millers Falls, and Montague Center). Because forward-looking governance was a multi-item scale, y was the mean of three questionnaire items. (See Table 11 for the items making up that scale.)

The second model controlled for demographic variables of gender, income, age, and how often the respondent travels (a measure of leisure time). Keeping the same example for forward-looking governance, the second model was:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{village} + \beta_2 \text{gender} + \beta_3 \text{income} + \beta_4 \text{age} + \beta_4 \text{interest in traveling}$$

Gender was male or female ('other' was dropped because there was only one 'other' subject), income was one of five categories (\$0 to \$24,000, \$24,001 to \$48,000, \$48,001 to \$72,000, \$72,001 to \$96,000, and \$96,000 or over), age was one of four categories (18 to 35, 36 to 52, 53 to 70, and 71 or over), and interest in traveling was one of three categories (hardly ever, once a year, more than once a year)

The two models were run for each of the 17 place vibrancy scales (forward-looking governance, local ownership of media, education, infrastructure, natural beauty, social capital, well-being, arts and culture, gathering places, pedestrians, unique and historic architecture, cleanliness, strong economy, safety, diversity, buzz, and moderate tourism [Table 11]). Both models were also run for additional items about the overall perceived vibrancy, how much the vibrancy was perceived to increase over the last five years, how much the respondent enjoyed

living in the place in question, and for the mean of all 17 scales, which was considered to be a potential overall measure of a place's vibrancy. Each model provided a t-test comparison between each village. The mean five-point Likert score of all 17 scales were provided and displayed graphically, and the Pearson's correlations of each the 17 scales with single-item place vibrancy and place enjoyment questions were calculated. A Chronbach's alpha test was run on the final results of the pilot field study. Statistical differences were considered significant at $p \leq 0.05$.

Each of the 17 place vibrancy factors was analyzed separately. Both regression models were run for each, and the t-tests provided a statistical comparison of the mean Likert scores for each scale among the three villages (Turners Falls versus Millers Falls, Turners Falls versus Montague Center, and Montague Center versus Millers Falls). The second model, which contained the demographic variables, was more rigorous, and statistical significance for that model was less likely due to chance. However, because the sample sizes were low for this pilot field study, the first model was included in the analysis in order to be more sensitive to statistical trends. Lower Chronbach's alpha scores for multi-item themes might give pause over the findings and suggest that the theme in question might be re-analyzed in a future study with other survey items or broken into separate themes at the analysis stage. Lastly, the correlations between each theme and single items vibrancy scale and enjoyment provided a way to rank the relative importance of each vibrancy scale toward overall perceptions of vibrancy and enjoyment.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

The first step in scale construction was a literature search of concepts associated with place vibrancy. Part of the literature search entailed a content analysis of the terms ‘creative placemaking,’ and ‘vibrancy,’ and ‘vitality’ in scholarly and professional documents, presented in Chapter 2. These findings provided a general understanding of the themes, or factors, underlying the construct of place vibrancy. An initial pool of items was written based on the findings from the literature search and expert advice is presented in Section 4.1. The initial items were reviewed by a class of planning students. The next step in scale construction was to conduct focus groups and interviews to further round out the domains of the construct. Once the themes were decided upon, scale items were tested with an online sample of subjects and finalized. The completed questionnaire was then submitted to residents in three villages in the town of Montague, MA. The findings presented here are the qualitative results from the focus groups and interviews, arranged by themes, and the quantitative results from the field study.

4.1. First Pre-test

After the literature search and consultation with academic planning and methods experts, an initial pool of items was created (Table 6). Each final item was created to be a single statement, avoiding ‘double-barreled’ statements. Items that were socially acceptable were also carefully worded. Items were created that had slightly different meanings, and existing items were refined. Twenty-nine initial items were generated based on eleven themes: 1) pedestrian activity, 2) atmosphere, 3) social capital, 4) creativity, 5) economic activity, 6) presence of gathering places, 7) built environment characteristics, 8) sense of well-being, 9) unique and historic architecture, 10) safety, and 11) diversity. At least three items were created per

multidimensional factor, and each of these had one reverse-worded item (which was worded negatively). There was also a question to test the internal validity of the scale (“This neighborhood is vibrant?”). The questions were randomly ordered. The scale was intended to be presented on the neighborhood level to both residents and visitors. The sample was shared with a class of planning students to get general feedback on the item wording.

Table 6: Draft of Vibrancy Scales and Items Following Literature Search

	Scales	Scale items
1.	Pedestrian activity	1. There are usually a lot of people walking around here.
2.	Atmosphere	2. There is a buzz (sense of excitement) on the street here. 3. This neighborhood is interesting. 4. This neighborhood can often be surprising. 5. This neighborhood has a negative reputation.
3.	Social capital	6. The community is not tight knit here. 7. I trust my neighbors. 8. I rarely run into people I know here. 9. I have a lot of strong relationships in this community.
4.	Creativity	10. There are a lot of creative people here. 11. This neighborhood is a place of innovation.
5.	Economic activity	12. Many people are unemployed or underemployed here. 13. Property values are increasing here. 14. There are a number of locally owned shops here.
6.	Presence of gathering places	15. There are a lot of opportunities to participate in local activities here. 16. There are local hangouts here. 17. I often socialize with people in public places here.

	Scales	Scale items
7.	Built environment characteristics	18. It is difficult for me to get to where I need to go here. 19. I can run most of my errands quickly here. 20. This neighborhood is walkable. 21. There is no specific center to this neighborhood. 22. There are enough parks here.
8.	Sense of Well-being	23. This neighborhood enhances my sense of well-being.
9.	Unique and historic architecture	24. This neighborhood is unique.
10.	Safety	25. This neighborhood is safe.
11.	Diversity	26. Different types of people are welcome here. 27. The poor are not respected here. 28. People from outside the neighborhood are welcome here.
	(validity check)	29. This neighborhood is vibrant.

Following the pre-test, items were shortened to increase conciseness and clarity. The inclusion of the reverse-items was intended to prevent agreement bias, which is when respondents blindly rate items in a certain magnitude and direction when they find that they agree with each other. (An example was item 27, “The poor are *not* respected here.”) However DeVellis (2017) cautioned against using reversed-worded items that could be confusing to respondents for long surveys, so, it was decided to word all items positively. The next step was to conduct focus groups and interviews to expand and refine the themes.

4.2. Focus Groups and Interviews

4.2.1. Informants

There were 22 informants, ranging in age from 22 to 80. Nine were male and 13 were female. Three interviews were conducted to collect initial data and to refine questions before

the paired (two-person) interviews and the focus groups. The first two interviews were with passersby at the Albany, NY, Visitors Center, and the third was with an expert in the use of art as a placemaking tool. Two paired interviews were conducted; one was with tourism researchers and one was with past and present directors of an arts and cultural organization in Massachusetts. Three focus groups were conducted, one with residents who lived in various towns in the Connecticut Valley Region of Massachusetts, also known as the Pioneer Valley, one with regional planning professors and students, and one with artists from the same location. The sample was highly educated and well-informed about issues surrounding arts and culture, community planning, and tourism. A summary of informants and their affiliations is provided in Table 7.

Table 7: Informants and Affiliations

Type of Informant	Single-person Interviews (N = 3)	Two-person Interviews (N = 4)	Focus Groups (N = 15)
Random visitors to Albany	n = 2		
Artists	n = 1		1; n = 6
Tourism academics		1; n = 2	
Cultural officers		1; n = 2	
Residents			1; n = 4
Regional planning academics			1; n = 5

4.2.2. Results of Focus Groups and Interviews

In a semi-structured format, informants described various characteristics of a vibrant place. Several of the themes mentioned during the discussions were already captured in the literature search. However, the informants offered several new themes in their rich anecdotes

of why they considered the places they had lived in or visited were vibrant. Some of the informants' initial descriptions of vibrant places are presented below.

"During the weekend, I go to Yale University or to West Hartford, and then there is like small towns, so I can walk around, but there are many peoples around there, and dogs are walking. There are more restaurants and there is a park nearby there. Compared with them, I don't feel like it's very vibrant in here, especially Amherst downtown" (Informant 10).

Both in when I'm looking for somewhere to travel and when I'm looking for somewhere to live, I'm looking for natural beauty and cultural beauty. I'm happy here because this is the view out my back window. I can go to downtown Amherst. Go to the Amherst Cinema and see national theater live productions. Find a place to shoot pool, then retreat back to this lovely refuge where it is just beautiful and safe" (Informant 13).

"There are just a variety of options that make this place very special. I love the outdoors. There are just such great options up for being outdoors in this area, as well as all the cultural options that are attached to the colleges" (Informant 12).

"[In San Antonio] there are fountains that come through the walkway as you walk along this Riverwalk. You have boat tours through there. You have restaurants that sit on the river. There are basically water taxis that ferry you around. You can tour the bottom of the city, it's underneath the city. You have live music there. You have shops..." (Informant 11).

"Human activity and wildlife activity, too, so birds flying, people talking, music, walking" (Informant 18).

"I would say I'm thinking about active streetscapes. A vibrant place probably would have an economy that's doing pretty well" (Informant 17).

"Definitely activity, but also a certain sense of wanting to be in an area or a sense of safety and comfortability" (Informant 16).

Informants' statements about vibrant places contained several interwoven themes. The themes included 1) forward-looking governance, 2) local ownership of media, 3) education, 4) infrastructure, 5) natural beauty, 6) social capital, 7) well-being, 8) arts and culture, 9) gathering places, 10) pedestrians, 11) unique and historic architecture, 12) cleanliness, 13) strong economy, 14) safety, 15) diversity, 16) buzz, and 17) moderate tourism. The following section presents texts of informant responses presented by major vibrancy theme.

4.2.2.1. Forward-looking Governance

Creative governance and problem solving when confronted with challenges plays a significant role in making places more vibrant. This category encompasses community leadership, policymaking, and entrepreneurship. Informants discussed the positive role that state and local government played in keeping vibrant places managed and orderly, while still being responsive to the public. Informant 20 described his experience of places that were managed well compared to those that he considered more chaotic. He suggested a place like Delhi in India and others in the developing world might have thousands of people within eyesight, which is an unplanned vibrancy, whereas, many Western cities are extremely managed and user-friendly, down to what sights and smells are present (Appendix C, Quote #1).

Informants 1 and 2 explained how the town of Montague had innovative staff that developed novel plans to fund cultural activity and to increase the supply of affordable housing. RiverCulture, which is a partnership of business and arts leaders, now staffed by the town of Montague, was instrumental in helping to save a Turners Falls supermarket, which was suffering due to a 4-year bridge closure, through innovative cultural programming. In another case, a laundromat owner in Turners Falls thought of a new way to make use of leftover clothing to

found a landmark cultural event. The problem solving is enhanced in a more tight-knit community. “When people feel connected to each other and then there are challenges, challenges tend to be unique to whatever community is having the challenge, and when you can address them creatively, it creates vibrancy” (Informant 2).

Informants 1 and 2 discussed how the town of Montague uses an innovative meals tax to fund the RiverCulture staff, which is responsible for creating and managing various cultural events in town. The tax receives widespread support and solves the problem of funding projects that could not otherwise be undertaken in a town that is less prosperous and progressive than some of the neighboring town in the Pioneer Valley. The informants said that because a large portion of the tax was paid by patrons of the restaurants who were travelling in from outside of town, this was a novel way to get funding while circumventing the local political opposition who thought that “government should do as little as possible, and especially toward cultural activities” (Informant 1; Appendix C, Quotes #2 and #3).

Informants 1 and 2 described how their former town administrator, Frank Abbondanzio, protected their historic property from inappropriate downtown uses. The town had been spiraling downward, but the administrator realized the town still had valuable waterfront assets (Informant 1). He was able to prevent the town from tearing down historic housing. With his leadership, the general attitude was, "No, let's not tear the building down. Yes, we understand it's cheaper to tear it down and to put up a shed, but it's a historic building and we're going to work to keep it" (Informant 1). Informant 2 provided additional details, saying that Mr. Abbondanzio was instrumental in redirecting a drive to put a trash incinerator downtown, where the current Great Falls Discovery Center is, which exhibits the natural, cultural, and Industrial history of the Connecticut River watershed (Appendix C, Quote #4).

Informant 2 shared an anecdote about how the closing of the Gill-Montague bridge was causing area residents to pass over the Food City Supermarket in Turners Falls and do their shopping in nearby Greenfield. RiverCulture took on the problem by staging a production in the declining store. By doing some “crazy” programming in the store to keep it from going under and become just another vacant storefront, people began to take notice of Turners Falls as a creative and vibrant place (Appendix C, Quote #5). RiverCulture, along with other concerned townspeople, interviewed people around town to see what they needed to buy from the store so that they would be more likely to shop there and discovered that there was a lack of local foods there (Informant 2). The organization hatched a plan to set up a theatre performance directly in the store combined with a reception that showcased local food. Performances were held in the bakery section by an anarchist theater troupe. Patrons were wildly supportive of the project, which had “the best concession stand of any theater.” The activists convinced the store manager to carry a larger selection of food afterward. This attracted a new demographic of people who had previously bypassed the supermarket (Appendix C, Quote #6). The event changed people’s perception of the store. It was now “the cool supermarket that had a theater performance in the bakery section and it rebranded the place and people decided to patronize it” (Informant 2). Because of a crisis, RiverCulture had re-envisioned their bland supermarket and other existing assets into something that was “vibrant, authentic, and unique” (Appendix C, Quote #7).

Informant 2 shared another example of how a laundromat owner, Chris Janke, addressed a challenge creatively. He had been accumulating piles of abandoned clothing in the basement of the laundromat and had the inspiration to do something unique with them. He contacted some local artists and fashion designers and asked them to put together a fashion

show from the lost articles. Informant 2 said that the fashion show was the hottest ticket in Franklin County for a year. Janke's venue was now the "cool laundromat," and the town won more accolades for creatively addressing a challenge and making do with what they had (Appendix C, Quote #8). The fashion show, along with a "Water Under the Bridge" festival after the opening of the bridge, helped to brand the town in a new way.

Informant 1 described another instance of creative problem solving that involved adaptive reuse. RiverCulture was able to inject arts into the downtown while at the same time beautifying a crumbling part of a block, which led to further investment. Several of the storefronts in one building were not only vacant but were filled with piles of garbage. RiverCulture approached the landlord and asked him if he would not mind if art was exhibited in the windows. The owner agreed. RiverCulture, together with the owner of a newly renovated store, Loot, cleaned out the storefronts, raised money to pay a carpenter to put up temporary walls, and started running a gallery that was only visible from the street. Within a year, the street was looking up—a new bar was started around the corner, and an individual invested half a million dollars the failing building to put in 13 residential units (Appendix C, Quote #9). The investors had said that RiverCulture was what attracted them to the community, and they felt confident that the investment would grow (Informant 2). Their enthusiasm has led them to serve as informal ambassadors for the community by reaching out to other potential investors (Appendix C, Quote #10).

The Pioneer Valley, with the influence of nearby academic institutions, is politically liberal, and several informants thought that shaped the welcoming nature of the place. Massachusetts law made Informant 13 feel welcome. "There is a beauty to this space being extremely liberal and feeling protected by Massachusetts state laws that I'm not protected

under everywhere else in the country” (Informant 13). Informant 7 discussed how Massachusetts State Senator Adam Hinds, who represents several of the Pioneer Valley counties, has been a champion in the cultural sphere and was recently awarded for his support for cultural education (Appendix C, Quote #11). Informant 14 agreed that that Adam provided good leadership but added “they need to be well represented and [to] listen.” Informant 6 said a well-functioning government is dependent on the values of a participating electorate and their underlying values (Appendix C, Quote #12).

Of the interviews done in New York’s Capital District, Informant 20 described how Troy municipal management is emerging from a period where they were mostly concerned with survival but are now putting more energy into the higher cultural needs of its citizens. There has been a palpable change in Troy, where local government has shifted from putting out fires in the midst of mismanagement, toward “trying to put them in a position for things to come” (Informant 20). However, they are not yet able to establish more funding for the arts or placemaking initiatives (Appendix C, Quote #13).

4.2.2.2. Local Ownership of Media

Several informants said that having local media was an important component of vibrancy. Informants from the resident focus group were proud of the presence of local radio stations and newspapers in the Pioneer Valley (Informants 11, 12, 13, and 14). Local media ownership was thought to be important to counteract nationally backed shows that broadcast “junk” (Informants 13 and 14) and “propaganda” (Informant 11). Informant 11 said that the bigger media companies had probably not established their turf in the area because the population was too low to turn a profit.

Turners Falls has a new venture called Church of the Podcast (Informant 2). The town of Montague has a community television station (Informant 1) and a community newspaper, which are ways to increase awareness of issues that affect the town (Informant 2). “The people [are] reporting it. You see them at an event, and you know that they have their little pad and they’re writing things down” (Informant 1). Informant 2 said that the ability for average citizens to write what they think increases social connections and make for a more vibrant community (Appendix C, Quote #14).

4.2.2.3. Education

The presence of higher learning had an impact on vibrancy (Informants 9, 12, 13, and 14). The colleges attract people who are interested in celebrating a vibrant culture and also support the local economy in many ways. Informant 9 said, “To me, the intellectual level [of the] five colleges add a lot to vibrancy of this place...We have around here many colleges and plus accessibility.” The Pioneer Valley was said to be supportive of a strong educational climate at all levels (Informant 14). “I think when we talk about the be attributes of this space and attributes of this area, so much of that is from there being five colleges all united in a circle and the way that shapes the culture here” (Informant 13).

4.2.2.4. Infrastructure

Vibrant cities were said to be walkable and bikeable, with good public transportation systems (Informants 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10). There should also be good access to technology. Informant 9 said “To me that adds vibrancy to the community and it’s a small college town. It’s highly technology driven and technology savvy. It connects us to Internet from anyplace.” The presence of sidewalks was a main reason why Informant 3 chose to live in Shelburne Falls. She

explained that “It doesn't seem civilized to have streets without sidewalks.” Informant 4 also thought that sidewalks were a sign of a community that takes good care of its citizens; the concept of “walkability” includes more than just having sidewalks—there also needs to be amenities to walk to. For example, in a more caring community would make it easy for the elderly to get to the library (Appendix C, Quote #15).

Informant 9 also said that sidewalks should also connect people to the things they need in a reasonable amount of time. Without walkability, according to Informant 14, there is a higher quotient of strip malls. “Down South, people say that if you go stay at one of those motels on the strip mall, you not only can't walk to the next place, you can only drive there” (Informant 14). Informant 9 said that walkability enhances the well-being of both residents and visitors (Appendix C, Quote #16).

The Pioneer Valley currently has Amtrak rail lines that traverse the valley and go as far north as St. Albans, Vermont (Informant 12). “Our friends came from New York, but they don't have a car, so they arrived in Northampton from New York and said it was a good ride” (Informant 12). The resident focus group discussed how public transportation options were increasing in the Pioneer Valley. According to Informant 11, MBTA (Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority) is going to expand the commuter rail to Springfield and then north to Greenfield. Due to the rising housing costs in metropolitan Boston, accommodations need to be made to bring commuters in from western Massachusetts. The transportation changes might positively impact the demographics and vibrancy in Western Massachusetts and might stem the decline in population (Informant 11; Appendix C, Quote #17).

Informant 12, who was employed with a bicycle touring company, noted that Albany was doing better with its bike lanes. “They do have some here even when I got off the trail just

riding around here. I was like, 'OK, great they have some.' They have bike lanes marked on the roads here so that's important to me" (Informant 12).

4.2.2.5. Natural Beauty

Several informants said that the availability of nearby natural amenities contributed to a place's vibrancy. Parks should be available and well-maintained, but not "untouchable" (Informant 15). The rural nature of the Pioneer Valley and nearby Vermont and New Hampshire provides "all kinds of natural beauty" (Informant 14). Informant 9 explained how the natural world is important to him and his family for hiking, camping, backpacking, and skiing (Appendix C, Quote #18).

Informant 11 described how San Antonio leverages the river running through its city with its RiverWalk to create a vibrant place. The attraction, originally built for the World's Fair in 1968, is a place for people to congregate and is a setting for local restaurants and businesses to flourish. Informant 14 said it was rarer for American cities to maintain their rivers compared to European cities. Informant 11 said that Boston was attempting to do something similar to San Antonio where the Charles River Canal passes the North End (Appendix C, Quote #19).

Informants from the residence focus group (Informants 11, 12, 13, and 14) thought that places that have a combination of a rural area infused with universities with relative quick access to urban amenities were desirable because, "living in the city or being in the city, you hemorrhage money very quickly. I like that I can afford to be here, and I can still have all of this culture that the colleges bringing to the area" (Informant 13). Informant 14 said, "You can go from the tops of mountains for skiing to Boston or New York." The open-space rurality combined with the diverse cosmopolitan nature in cultural hubs dispersed around the valley

leads to an opportunity to have rich natural and cultural experiences simultaneously (Informant 11; Appendix C, Quote #20). The combination of pockets of cultural activity with nearby urban attractions was something Informant 19 also admired about the valley. Many of his friends resist zoning changes to increase density because they moved there for the green space, but he said the open space works hand-in-hand with the urban space, creating an “interesting, urbane, vital, active vibrancy” (Informant 19; Appendix C, Quote #21). Informant 14 illustrated this with an anecdote he had about visiting his brother in Los Angeles. His brother drove him to an Argentine restaurant in the San Fernando Valley, and Informant 14 thought it would have been easier to drive to Boston and back, and the meal would have been better (Appendix C, Quote #22).

The Pioneer Valley has a rich agricultural tradition, which includes, in addition to the roadside farm-stands, periodic events such as the Cummington Fair and Cummington Market (Informant 11). Various land preservation instruments protect the open spaces in the valley, which protect recreation areas and vistas, such as the Franklin Land Trust (Informant 11) and Agricultural Protection Restriction areas (Informant 14). The natural beauty of the area attracts visitors from all over the world for the D2R2 Bike Race (Informant 11).

4.2.2.6. Social Capital

Strong social interactions were said to be essential to vibrant communities, which are facilitated by the built and natural environments. “There's the physical structure and then there's the social. The physical would permit movement of nature, of people. It would encourage connection, exchange, and participation through physical structures in the environment” (Informant 3). More vibrant communities were said to be tight-knit. Informants 1

and 2 described how the nearby town of Ashfield's strong social connections are further strengthened by their theater company and the presence of a restaurant with a central meeting place where people can communicate with one another (Appendix C, Quote #23). The presence of volunteer organizations also contributes to vibrancy. Informant 9 described the importance of the Boy Scouts to him and his son. He described how he feels good about the trees he planted downtown with the organization and how that form of civic participation adds vibrancy to a place (Appendix C, Quote #24).

Informant 13 mentioned social groups in the Pioneer Valley associated with outdoors activities make the area vibrant. Informant 11 was flabbergasted by the concentration of cyclists in the area, which extends beyond the valley into Western Massachusetts and Vermont. The two (as a couple) also made several social connections, this time indoors, at the Rock Wall gym (Appendix C, Quote #25).

Another aspect of social interactions is the relationship between residents and out-of-towners. Informant 20 said that there are occasions in Troy when people seeking entertainment run into the poor and this interaction might be part of an authentic, vibrant experience, as well. The people, some of whom live in shelters, might appear to passersby "like characters in a backdrop, like in a Dickens' story," as they walk to their bars. Informant 20 said he imagined the visitors had varying degrees of empathy toward them (Appendix C, Quote #26).

4.2.2.7. Well-being

Several informants said that access to health care, self-care, and the overall well-being of residents was an important part of vibrancy. The feeling of well-being is distinguished from a feeling of safety in this section. In these places, residents are more content because their basic

needs and dignities are respected. Informant 9 appreciated the unlimited access to health care he had access to, and that this made “a town a town” and contributed greatly to its vibrancy (Appendix C, Quote #27). Informant 19 said that vibrant cities are healthy cities, where minorities and the underserved do not have to worry about being arrested without just cause and where the built environment addresses basic comfort needs, such as by providing access to parks where residents can escape heat islands (Appendix C, Quote #28).

However, there was an understanding that healthy places could not be maintained without enough investment. “You can only be healthy if you have an income or that support ... your way of life too. Maybe health is the center point of it all” (Informant 16). Vice versa, building a healthy community is another goal of economic development. “If we can attract new residents to an area or attract new visitors to an area while also making it a healthier environment, those are the kinds of things that they [economic developers] like to see” (Informant 15). Lastly, the aesthetics, culture, and art of a locale were said to be tied to the well-being and subsequent vibrancy of place. When asked about health and contentment in vibrant places, Informant 21 said, “Yes. If the environment looks good...they painted the birds on the parking garage.”

4.2.2.8. Arts and Culture

Every focus group and interviewee agreed that vibrant places host authentic, local cultural activities. The events include “regular artistic events, music festivals, open studios...dance concerts, independent film... music venues for a range of different styles of music getting played...craft fairs” (Informant 5). Other cultural amenities in the Pioneer Valley include the Bridge of Flowers in Shelburne Falls and Jones Library in Amherst (Informant 12) and

multiple bookstores (Informant 14). Informants 9 and 10 thought that the range of available cultural activities and hidden gems, such as a variety of small art galleries, cultural events, and cuisines was necessary for vibrant places. Informant 9 said that “Vibrancy calls for something that is alive, and you can do things. You can watch things. You can experience things” (Appendix C, Quote #29).

Informants 1 and 2 discussed how access to art and culture by a diverse group of people in Turners Falls blends with the other amenities to add to its vibrancy. In Turners Falls, there are a variety of things to do near the river, including parks, a theater, a cultural interpretation center, shops, and restaurants (Appendix C, Quote #30). The cultural events and music attractions inspire other economic and enrichment actions, while putting the Pioneer Valley on the national stage. The Turners Falls Cider Days Celebration attracted a cider maker to establish a production in town (Informant 1). The owner now sits on the board for that event.

Other concerts and festivals draw people to the valley, such as Garlic and Arts Festival in Orange (Informant 13) and the Green River Festival in Greenfield (Informant 14). The Garlic and Arts Festival is where Informant 12 learned permaculture gardening. Dedicated music venues are also an attraction. The Iron Horse Music Hall in Northampton is known for its outside musical guests for a relatively small residential population. According to Informant 14, look at any group’s itinerary and it will list “San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Miami, New York City, Northampton, and Boston.”

Informants 21 and 22 referred to events and festivals in the state of New York that contributed to its vibrancy. In Albany, Informant 21 mentioned Lark Street as a cultural hub, and mentioned the Ark on Lark Event, which features chalk drawings on sidewalks, and the Tulip Festival, one of Albany’s signature events that harkens back to the region’s Dutch heritage.

Informant 22 mentioned events in Buffalo that combine music and food on the waterfront. Rochester's Jazz Fest was also a big contributor to that city's vibrancy. Informant 22 noted that these festivals get popular and suddenly, the city becomes a destination for outsiders (Appendix C, Quote #31).

Informants 1 and 2 discussed how there are often a standard set of people in the community who were responsible for planning placemaking events. They are the ones who show up at meeting after meeting. The RiverCulture representatives often meet with their counterparts in the nearby cities of Northampton and Holyoke (Appendix C, Quote #32).

The Print Shop in Turners Falls qualifies as a cultural and business opportunity (Informants 1 and 2). It has the equipment to print t-shirts and even large-scale items, such as car decals. The owner purchased the shop, which had not been thriving, and received a grant from the Massachusetts Cultural Council to turn it into a cooperative. For a yearly membership, members have free use of the shop's computers and printers.

For the emerging Turners Falls, Informant 1 said there was a risk to be over-reliant on creative enterprises, in contrast with the adjoining town, Greenfield, which could be relied upon to handle residents' more utilitarian shopping needs. She also wondered if there was a saturation point for all the "cool stuff," such as pour-over coffee and record stores (Appendix C, Quote #33).

RiverCulture, now run by the town of Montague, was formerly funded by an Adam's Grant from the Massachusetts Cultural Council. Informants 1 and 2 discussed how there were different models of funding municipally based cultural activities in the Pioneer Valley.

RiverCulture was once funded through an Adams Grant, similar to Easthampton. RiverCulture

now funds their part-time staff position through their planning department (Appendix C, Quote #34).

Informants 12 and 14 believed that artists, artisans, and craftspeople are attracted to the valley because of low-cost working spaces in abandoned mills and factories, a liberal political climate, and free resources, such as Jones Library in Amherst. The artists, in turn, then become “a very important sell” (Informant 14). Informant 20 did not feel that the creative class, per se, was necessary to create vibrancy. The performers can be brought in from elsewhere (Appendix C, Quote #35). However, Informant 20 did think artists brought courageousness to places. They easily inject themselves into new and potentially uncomfortable situations, where people aren’t exactly the same as themselves, and that forces them to come up with new solutions to the problems at hand (Appendix C, Quote #36). Informant 20 said, in many cases it is a choice for white artists to move into uncomfortable places, and the way they adapt makes them appear as creative types, whereas people of color have needed to survive challenging situations in Western society with creative solutions since colonization, but are less likely to be seen as creative for their forced adaptability (Appendix C, Quote #37).

4.2.2.9. Gathering Places

Coffee shops are examples of informal meeting places that add to vibrancy (Informant 10). Informant 9 said places needed to have pockets of places for people that are manageable and walkable but were not overly crowded nor overly large (Appendix C, Quote #38). Informant 19 said that places did not need to be overly dense to be vibrant: “I’m attracted to places with other people but I meet a lot of people that like to keep away from

people.” Informant 10 said something similar when she described West Hartford, CT, where she sees lots of people walking outside and hanging out and having coffee (Appendix C, Quote #39).

Informant 12 described how she felt outdoor markets contribute to vibrancy. She pointed to the Common Market at Amherst Junior High, where every Saturday morning, where they hold events such as garden club plant sale once a year and have book sales other times. The active common reminded her of other active outdoor markets, like the flower market in Rome (Appendix C, Quote #40).

People gather to be idle, to bustle about doing tasks, or to simply watch others.

Informant 19 said that Buffalo has become more vibrant in recent years. “I would say, if you want to call it vibrancy or whatever, but you drive around or walk around, you see more people out. You see more buildings with lights on. You see more construction” (Informant 19).

Informant 15 said that presence of people hanging out was an important part of a place’s vibrancy. There need not be some type of kinetic activity going on. A place filled with people watching other people can also be vibrant (Appendix C, Quote #41).

4.2.2.10. Pedestrians

Informants 21 and 22 said that vibrant places tend to have significant pedestrian activity, and, vice versa, are less dominated by cars (Appendix C, Quote #42). Overly crowded places could even be considered less vibrant, according to Informant 17, often because they did not maintain their pedestrian activity after working hours. He described how he would see a lot of people out during lunch in the financial area of Boston, but the place became deserted after 5 pm. He wondered whether it was vibrant, but only during working hours (Appendix C, Quote #43). Informant 20 agreed that pedestrian traffic was a good indicator of place vibrancy.

He recalled the town he grew up in in western Pennsylvania, where, before the steel and coal industry collapsed, had meat markets and dress shops, with a lot of people walking around downtown. After the retail shops moved to the suburbs, you could drive through town and not see a single person. In his mind a vibrant place has human activities “unfolding in public space in real time” (Appendix C, Quote #44).

4.2.2.11. Unique and Historic Architecture

Vibrant places were noted to have preserved and protected much of their architecture. The architecture not only reminds residents and visitors of their heritage, creating a sense of place, but also can provide an affordable housing option while making places visually appealing and variegated. Informant 5 was influenced by how a place looks when deciding whether to settle in nearby Greenfield, MA (Appendix C, Quote #45). This aspect of vibrancy is related to good governance and forward-thinking municipal employees. Informant 2 described how the former town administrator for Turners Falls has been vigilant in protecting their historic architecture for long-term-deeded affordable housing. She said the alternative would have been having the buildings knocked down or letting them fall into disrepair (Appendix C, Quote #46).

In Massachusetts, the availability of old mill buildings is often a desirable and affordable option for artist live/workspaces and innovative startups. Informant 11 said that every town in the valley seems to have an abandoned factory (Appendix C, Quote #47). Informants 11, 12, 13, and 14 said the mills should be better showcased as historical offerings. “There's beauty in the built environment, the architecture in the built environment” (Informant 14). Informant 11 recalled how well San Antonio featured their historical architecture, pointing to the Alamo,

which is “lit up all night long” and serves as a main attraction in the center of the city (Appendix C, Quote #48).

Troy, compared to other cities in the Capital District, has an abundance of historic architecture, which draws people to move to the city. “Troy has retained a lot of their beautiful buildings. They have tours. They have the waterfront, which is nice, with the restaurants. (Informant 21). Informant 20 said the presence of Troy’s architecture was ironic because it is a result of the city being passed over for so many years (Appendix C, Quote #49).

Informants 21 and 22 said that historical structures were draws for them as well. Informant 21 noted that Colonie, a town in the Capital District, was the original home of the Shaker religious society, and is where founder Ann Lee is buried. Informant 22 thought that Buffalo had done some significant historical revitalization along their waterfronts, which she had noticed through her bike touring. The preservation of original structures along the Erie Canal, adding plaques, and improving pathways have “made it [exploring the area, particularly by bike] a really nice experience” (Appendix C, Quote #50). Places that interpreted their history and architecture were even more valued, especially at the neighborhood level. Informant 22 said she loved hearing about the history of a neighborhoods, “how they got here, and who is part of making the place what it...Why did this place happen? Why is it important.” She thought that was something that Albany could do more of (Appendix C, Quote #51). Informant 22 also said the old grain silos in Buffalo were a great example of historical preservation, where the structures and surrounding areas were repurposed as a park. She said they looked “really cool,” especially because they were right by the lake, where people can kayak, bike around the silos, and occasionally take tours of the interior (Appendix C, Quote #52).

4.2.2.12. Cleanliness

Informant 15, a member of the planners' focus group, said that past business recruitment districts and other downtown revitalization agencies particularly focused up on the "cleaning up of downtown." He went on to say "it's somewhat sterilized..., but you're trying to adopt for downtowns what they thought were the advantages of shopping malls, which is it's a safe environment, safe from a particular perspective but clean, and so on and so forth" (Informant 15). Informant 5 said that cleanliness, bright colors, freshness, uniqueness, and classiness were important for vibrancy, and that its visual appear was an indicator for how people cared about one another (Appendix C, Quote #53).

4.2.2.13. Strong Economy

Informants indicated that a strong local economy was indicative of a vibrant place. Local actors and business associations play a role in maintaining the business community (Informant 7). Some of the newer proprietors might have a semblance of a "hipster" vibe. In Turners Falls, Informant 1 said that a new acupuncture clinic is opening up, which has the potential to help all segments of society, and the hope is that the town can support creative ways to increase health and well-being without simply catering toward leisure (Appendix C, Quote #54).

Small art galleries, fairs, bookstores, and restaurants are cultural amenities while at the same time are small business venues. The locally owned shops offer products that are unique and special. The food and restaurant scenes are helped by being near heavy agriculture areas, such as the Connecticut and Hudson River valleys, which were home to all the informants. Informants in the resident focus group thought that there were various "pockets" of vibrancy

throughout the Pioneer Valley “where everyone is serving local food from local farms. Local beef. Local everything” (Informant 11).

Informant 9 from the tourism paired interview also talked about the value of local food. Having the selection of specialty food, including locally farmed eggs, milk, mint, peaches, apples, etc, appears to his “higher order needs” (Appendix C, Quote #55). Farmers markets can be an important cultural draw for vibrant places. Informant 20 discussed the success of Troy’s Farmer’s Market, which he said is even better than Union Square in New York City. It was greatly helped by a successful marketing campaign by the Deputy Mayor (Appendix C, Quote #56).

Local restaurants are strong components of the local economy. Informant 21 said it was fun to watch new restaurants opening in Albany. She thought that having a good food scene was essential to vibrancy (Appendix C, Quote #57). One of the key values of the local restaurants is their authenticity. She described how she appreciated Amherst’s Mission Cantina with their custom menu and fresh-squeezed juices in their margaritas (Appendix C, Quote #58). The locally owned restaurants were perceived to be doing better than the chain restaurants in the Pioneer Valley, “...it looks like the local restaurants that have been here for years are doing better than these chain restaurants like Appleby’s” (Informant 11). Informant 13 said that loyal customers to Antonio’s Pizza were not swayed by the lower prices of Domino’s when they tried to open up a shop nearby—they shut down in a year (Appendix C, Quote #59). Informant 13 commented on how money paid to local restaurants is more likely to recirculate in the community. Otherwise, “If you bring in big chains, then it gets like a vacuum. It sucks that money in and takes it away elsewhere” (Informant 13).

Informant 20 described how one restaurateur in Troy, found success with the Troy Kitchen, which adds to the city's vibrancy (Appendix C, Quote #60). The success of the Troy Kitchen was attributed in large part because its ability to cater to a diverse range of demographics. Informant 20 admired this business's ability to provide a meeting space for both black and white clientele, which he thought was a rarity in the United States. "It feels surprisingly comfortable and authentic" (Informant 20; Appendix C, Quote #61).

Informants 19 and 15, who were members of the planning focus group, said, from a planning perspective, the vibrancy of place is deeply connected to economic development. Part of the reason for that is there are easy metrics for economic development. Economic developers are less concerned with whether there are more people downtown, and other putative measures of vibrancy. They are secondary to "investing money because we want to create jobs" (Appendix C, Quote #62). Informant 15 explained that local authorities in recent decades were more concerned with making downtowns cleaner and more orderly to compete with the success of malls in the suburbs. In more recent years, the focus has shifted to improving quality of life for residents in the downtowns, but the ultimate goal for revitalization efforts is always about earning and income (Informant 15; Appendix C, Quote #63).

Informant 20, who is a working artist and academic, also stressed the need for economic development. Too often, there is pressure from liberal groups to focus on low-income housing, when there is a stark need in most urban areas for more investment in order to increase the tax base and make places more livable. He told the story of how a Troy official responded to a resident in a community meeting who wanted more low-income housing by saying "'We have so much low-income housing, we can't even fill it. What we need is high-income housing that actually increases the tax base so that we actually have some money to fix some stuff up with.'"

Informant 20 said there needs to be money, and it has to come from somewhere (Appendix C, Quote #64).

Local retail was thought to be more related to vibrancy than commercialized, big-box stores throughout the Pioneer Valley. Informant 11 said that nearby Shelburne Falls has some small businesses and no big box stores, which was considered an achievement, because they did not have the students that patronize shops in Amherst and Northampton, which are closer to the five colleges (Informants 12 and 13). Even so, Shelburne Falls has several unoccupied storefronts (Informant 11).

4.2.2.14. Safety

A feeling of safety was a component of vibrancy (Informants 12, 13, 14, 15, and 22). One example in the Pioneer Valley was the placement of self-serve money payment boxes in the roadside farm stands throughout the valley. Informant 22 explained how Rochester, NY, has become safer and therefore a more attractive place to be (Appendix C, Quote #65). However, Informant 15 said that the perception of what is safe varies according to the person. For example, skateboarders in a park might be thought to be threatening to tourists, where residents would not take notice (Appendix C, Quote #66).

4.2.2.15. Diversity

Vibrant places were said to be accepting of people of different incomes, ages, and races. This concept is closely related to openness discussed under the category of buzz, because places with authenticity and character were also considered to be open to diversity in all forms. As mentioned under the arts and culture category, diversity leads to a multiculturalism that

“people want to experience. They don't want to just have one experience with one set of people. They really like the multicultural exchange” (Informant 14). The proximity of places to universities played a role in the degree of multicultural diversity (Informants 11, 13 and 14). “I think if you don't have the colleges, you don't have that multicultural in this area” (Informant 11).

Informant 3 said that vibrant places had a culture of love, and Informant 7 said understanding and coming to know others was crucial. This spontaneous attitude pervades vibrant places and supplant the formal role for religious institutions (Informant 3). Informant 4 did not think this was necessarily a value residents articulate, but is just about people being “open and smiling at you on the street, and that kind of thing, you don't find everywhere” because of their life experiences. Informant 3 said, if the culture was embedded with love and respect for the place and the people, tolerance for differences would be automatic (Appendix C, Quote #67). Informant 5 agreed that it was not possible to have a diverse place without love, “because it's one thing to have a philosophic goal of fostering loving relationships and inclusivity and helping the individual but the question then becomes, well, OK, I have these ideals, how do I manifest them in my community?”

The built environment was thought to reflect an openness to diversity. Informant 1 said that Turners Falls achieves diversity through their subsidized housing program, which they have in three or more parts of town. She said that diversity was not just about how you looked—real vibrancy was dependent on being welcoming of people with different economic backgrounds (Appendix C, Quote #68). Informant 1 explained how protecting the low-income housing stock can foster social inclusion. One neighbor might be living downtown for the affordable housing and because they don't own a car, whereas their wealthier neighbor chose to live there because

they were attracted to the fancy downtown bars. Their proximity might lead them to get to know one another (Appendix C, Quote #69).

Informant 3 likened the value of diversity to a natural ecological system. “[An] ecologist would look at a forest or an ecosystem and say, how is it imbalanced or out of balance by looking at their certain parameters of diversity of plants or animals [and] the food chain.” The various actors in the system provide checks and balances, which are “the processes behind everything” (Informant 3). Informant 3 said having different types of people included in the civic conversation and contributing to the creative scene is far different than the “invisible” philanthropic donors that might, for example set up a public art project (Appendix C, Quote #70).

Monoculture might make a place that has other components of vibrancy feel significantly less vibrant. Informants noted that vibrant places tended “to not have everything be lily white” (Informant 22). Informant 19 reflected on the vibrancy of a crowded Newport, RI, after a recent visit, saying that, although it was crowded with affluent white people. She said that felt active, but not vibrant (Appendix C, Quote #71).

Informant 19 continued, saying that diversity was the strongest factor when considering vibrancy. He said that a city that was not diverse “is going to have some issues” (Appendix C, Quote #72). On the other hand, Informant 20 said his perception of vibrancy has a messiness to it. He spoke positively of the street in his neighborhood in Troy to be diverse in income, race, ethnicity, age, and ability. The mix of Section 8 residents, students, old Italian enclaves, young and old, mentally disabled, and substance abusers in the midst of new shops opening leads to grittiness and buzz, which are other aspects of vibrancy, discussed in Section 4.2.2.16 (Appendix C, Quote #73).

4.2.2.16. Buzz

Tied to the strong presence of art and culture, economic vitality brought about by locally owned venues, and a respect for health and well-being of residents, and a well-crafted built environment, several informants, particularly from the artist focus group, said that vibrant places have an intangible authenticity and unexpectedness, and an openness to slight degrees of unfamiliarity, surprise, or discomfort. This category overlaps with diversity, the presence of art and culture, and health and well-being.

Informant 2 said the ethos Turners Falls was described to her as “hipster hick” by a friend of hers. It’s a place where “you can play vintage pinballs, get a great meal and buy a gun” (Appendix C, Quote #74). Informant 6 said vibrant places are complex and multifaceted, where people can be surprised. She said that vibrancy is related to complexity, change and “different ways of seeing the same thing” (Appendix C, Quote #75). When describing vibrant places, Informant 6 said her most important criterion was “wackiness,” and was one of the main reasons why she moved to Shelburne Falls. She said wackiness can be manifested in physical structures (Appendix C, Quote #76). Wacky cultural events take on an air of superficiality while proving mystery, playing into the spirit of a vibrant place (Informant 4). It applies to arts and culture events as well as to the people themselves around town. Informant 4 described two events that reflected wackiness: The Iron Bridge Dinner, when traffic is closed and a single table is set up along the span of the bridge to serve 400 people, and the St. Joseph’s Catholic Church labyrinth (Appendix C, Quote #77).

Informant 4 went on to say that, in addition to the physical manifestation of ‘wackiness’ in events and art, vibrant places have unique creative people living purposeful lives. This eccentricity even led to feelings of safety and well-being for her. She mentioned examples of

eccentric people going about their lives on quirky missions, such as a man she knows who has been studying the Italian language for years, and older people who kayak even though they had had a lot of joint replacement surgery, and thought it had to do with the spirit of a place (Appendix C, Quote #78). Informant 6 reflected on what the essence of the unexpectedness or eccentricity. She thought of it as “something that looks familiar, then when we look at it it's actually strange” (Appendix C, Quote #79). Informant 7 thought the quiriness might be related to a subliminal openness toward people and ideas due to having a variety of life experiences (Appendix C, Quote #80).

Informant 4 described an article she had read about how this buzz is fostered in a Boston neighborhood through the human-scale nature of its built environment (Appendix C, Quote #81). Informant 11 of the resident group described feeling intangible vibrancy relating to the physical design of San Antonio’s Riverwalk, saying it was powerful and moving, but hard to explain (Appendix C, Quote #82).

Informant 15 of the planners focus group described how there has been a cultural shift over time to be more accepting, or, at least tolerant of the unfamiliar in downtown settings. There had been a movement in planning to make the downtowns more into a shopping mall experience, but now there is a feeling, led by young people, that having activities that are a little less controlled and more diverse might be a good thing (Appendix C, Quote #83). Informant 15 said that this authenticity, or edge, is balanced by the individual’s need for safety and comfort, and, even if a town was successful in finding the right mix between the two, the system is dynamic, so the ratio will eventually change (Appendix C, Quote #84).

Informants, on the whole, felt that a place's vibrancy was related to its realness, or grittiness. Overly sanitized places were thought to be less vibrant. Informant 20 reflected on Troy's grit, saying how he had witnessed a woman vomiting on the side of the building just that morning while he was walking his dog. He did not want to live in a place where that was utterly unacceptable (Appendix C, Quote #85). A place's vibrancy as it relates to authenticity might be the forced juxtaposition of human life in all its versions. Informant 20 said that the "combination of things that you want and things that you maybe don't want or maybe make you a little uncomfortable, or they don't vibe with your economic status, your racial preferences or biases" make places interesting, and vibrant, for him (Appendix C, Quote #86).

4.2.2.17. Moderate Tourism

Another aspect of a vibrant place is a tourism scene. Informant 9, a tourism expert, said, "We always say this one, 'A good place to live is a good place to visit.' For me, I think this would also create vibrancy." Vibrant places can be popular cities to visit, like New York, Boston, or San Francisco (Informant 10), and have a variety of lodging choices, including typical hotels and Air BnB (Informant 9). Informant 5 noted that tourism supports local artists (Appendix C, Quote #87). However, vibrant places are not overrun with tourists (Informant 14).

The Pioneer Valley once attracted tourists to climb Mt. Holyoke (Informant 12), but Informant 11 thought that the valley and even the Berkshires in the western part of Massachusetts have been suffering from a lack of tourism and related commercial activity. "If you drive out into the Berkshires, you see so many closed businesses" (Informant 11).

Informant 14 noted how difficult it is to be attractive to tourists for the sake of the economy without destroying their area's charming atmosphere and making it too crowded. Informant 5

noted that tourism supports local artists (Appendix C, Quote #88). Informant 12 mentioned the Emily Dickinson House in Amherst as an example of an upgraded tourist site that did not harm the community because it was done tastefully.

Informant 13 said that Chatham, on Cape Cod in Massachusetts, was an example of a place that was out of balance, with tourist buses streaming through the center of town, and people “pouring out at Lighthouse Beach by 60 or 100 people at a time.” She said these tourists were not really feeding the Chatham economy because they were just passing through, and, on top of that, Chatham did not have the infrastructure to support the traffic (Appendix C, Quote #89). In addition to being inundated by buses, Chatham recently creating a tourism campaign to take advantage of shark sightings, complete with a new logo (Appendix C, Quote #90). Informant 12 appreciated the campaign, but Informant 14 did not want to see this crass type of tourism developing in the valley. He called it “honky-tonk tourism” (Appendix C, Quote #91). Informant 11 said that the southern part of the valley was going in that direction with the Basketball Hall of Fame and the new MGM Casino in Springfield.

The texts from the focus groups and interviews were distilled into themes, which were used to create items for scales of aspects of vibrancy, which is presented below.

4.3. Final Scale Item Creation

Table 8 shows the total themes collected from the literature search, expert review, focus groups, and interviews. Several new themes were collected during the focus groups and interviews: forward-looking governance, higher-order needs, education, the combination of rural and urban amenities, moderate tourism, cleanliness, and local ownership of media. Items were written for each of the categories except the combination of rural and urban amenities

and higher-order needs, factors that were thought to be too complex to be captured in sets of items and were also partly covered by the other factors. Multiple items were written for those factors that were more multifaceted and single items were written for those that were straightforward, or “concrete,” as suggested by Rossiter (2011). The first draft of items derived from all of the preliminary research to build the domain of place vibrancy (literature search, focus groups, and interviews) was then tested on a panel of online subjects. The themes are ranked in order of consensus among the various data sources (Table 8).

Table 8: Vibrancy Themes Derived from Literature Search, Expert Advice, Focus Groups, and Individual Interviews

Focus group/interview theme (literature theme)	Source								
	Focus groups					Interviews			Lit/ Experts
	Resident	Tourism	Planner	Artist	Arts/Ad	Artist	VC1	VC2	
Gathering places (activity)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Outdoor markets	X								
Place where people want to be								X	
Night life	X								
Rock climbing	X								
Moderate density		X				X			
Arts/culture (creativity)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Art in parks			X						
Variety of things to do		X							
Accessible art					X				
Cultural beauty	X			X					
Studios				X					
Downtown cultural activity	X								
Variety of cultural entertainment	X								
Artists/artisans/craftsmen	X	X							
Book stores	X	X							
Cultural tourists	X								
Friendly to art fans				X					
Art galleries	X								
Music festivals	X	X		X					
Free libraries	X								
Music scene	X		X	X					

Focus group/interview theme (literature theme)	Source								
	Focus groups					Interviews			Lit/ Experts
	Resident	Tourism	Planner	Artist	Arts/Ad	Artist	VC1	VC2	
Competes with bigger locales	X								
Artists part of voice	X								
Cultural education				X					
Strong economy (economic activity)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Restaurants	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Locally grown/local economy	X	X							
Money recirculates	X								
Local restaurants doing better than chains	X								
Strip malls do not dominate commercial landscape	X								
Less commercialism	X								
Unique/historic architecture	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
Built environment is beautiful	X		X						
Using architecture for cultural events								X	
Riverwalks, fountains, boat tours	X								
Infrastructure	X	X		X	X	X		X	X
Bikeable/walkable streets		X		X	X	X		X	
Good roads		X							
Good public transportation	X	X						X	
Accessible technology		X							
Connectivity	X								

Focus group/interview theme (literature theme)	Source								
	Focus groups					Interviews			Lit/ Experts
	Resident	Tourism	Planner	Artist	Arts/Ad	Artist	VC1	VC2	
Diversity (diversity)	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
Culture of love				X					
Religious diversity	X								
Respect history	X						X	X	
Understanding/openness/smiling people				X					
Economic diversity						X			
Affordability	X				X				
Low-income housing					X				
Mental disability/substance abuse acceptance						X			
Young and old						X			
Buzz (atmosphere)	X		X	X	X	X			X
Awareness and promotion of unique assets					X	X			
Self-awareness of values			X						
Change/complexity/depth/movement/spontaneity			X	X		X			
Underdog city/grit			X			X			
Interesting human mosaic			X			X			
Wackiness				X	X				
Innovative people				X					
Eccentric people				X					

Focus group/interview theme (literature theme)	Source								
	Focus groups					Interviews			Lit/ Experts
	Resident	Tourism	Planner	Artist	Arts/Ad	Artist	VC1	VC2	
Physical manifestations				X					
Hipster hick					X				
Place to call home	X		X						
Natural beauty	X	X		X		X		X	
Campgrounds/open space	X	X							
Driving		X							
Hiking		X							
Open space	X								
Agricultural protection	X								
Land preservation	X								
Diversity of viewsapes	X								
Safety	X	X	X					X	X
Higher-order needs		X	X	X		X			X
Need to have enough money to stretch beyond basic needs						X			
Collective and individual needs met				X		X			
Disposable income/leisure time			X						
Pedestrians (activity)		X				X	X		X
Social capital (social capital)	X	X			X				X
Civic involvement		X			X				
Trust (ie, money boxes)	X								
Opportunity to engage others		X							
Volunteer organizations		X							

Focus group/interview theme (literature theme)	Source								
	Focus groups					Interviews			Lit/ Experts
	Resident	Tourism	Planner	Artist	Arts/Ad	Artist	VC1	VC2	
Forward-looking governance	X				X	X			
Ability to address challenges creatively					X				
Investment tools					X				
Commercial homesteading					X				
Community ambassadors/champions						X			
Consistent work by lefties over decades; “believe in the place”						X			
Liberal laws	X								
Well-being (well-being)		X	X						X
Access to health care		X							
Aliveness		X							
Healthy			X						
Socio-economic equality			X						
Moderate tourism	X	X		X					
Tourism good for artists				X					
Not overrun by busses	X								
No mass tourism	X								
Cleanliness			X	X					
Local ownership of media	X				X				
Radio--UMass and colleges	X								
Newspapers	X				X				
TV					X				
Variety of lodging choices		X							

Focus group/interview theme (literature theme)	Source								
	Focus groups					Interviews			Lit/ Experts
	Resident	Tourism	Planner	Artist	Arts/Ad	Artist	VC1	VC2	
Education	X	X							
Combination of rural and urban amenities	X	X							
Near metro areas	X								
Natural beauty	X								
Near airports	X								

Note: Arts/Ad = arts administrators; VC1 = visitor's center 1; VC2 = visitor's center 2

4.3.1. Online Pilot Test and Final Item Selection

The second draft of items corresponding to the complete set of scales is presented in Table 9. Scale items were shared with cultural programming experts, a planning professor, a professional planner, and a town manager. Following their review, all items were determined to be valid. An online pilot test of these draft items was then conducted with a Qualtrics panel of 154 subjects. Subjects were 18 and older and were selected from four regions of the United States. Subjects were asked a set of demographic questions (age, race, income, etc.) and were then asked to envision a vibrant place while they rated the scale items on a 1 to 5 Likert scale (where 1 is strongly disagree, and 5 is strongly agree). Chronbach's alpha tests were run for each multi-item factor (Table 9) to test for internal consistency. Chronbach's alpha results ranged from 0.252 for strong economy to 0.749 for moderate tourism.

A box-and-whisker plot (Figure 5) shows that the Chronbach's alpha score for strong economy (0.252) was equal to the 1.5X the difference in the interquartile range $(0.657 - 0.488) \times 1.5 = 0.254$, which is the criterion Tukey used to determine outliers (Tukey, 1977). Therefore the three items from that scale ("Few people are unemployed or underemployed"; "Property values are increasing"; and "There are a number of locally owned restaurants" were removed and were replaced by a single item ("There are a lot of locally owned businesses"; Table 11). The online pilot test also had an item relating to liberalness in the forward-looking government scale. This item was removed because it was thought to be too politically charged. The item "It is vibrant" remained as a stand-alone validity comparison to the other factors (Table 10). Other single-item scales were included to test whether the resident enjoyed living in their neighborhood and change in vibrancy change over the previous five years was added (Table 10). Table 11 shows the final items written for each scale.

Table 9: Second Draft of Vibrancy Scales and Items Used for Online Pilot Test

	Scales	Scale items	Chronbach's alpha
1.	Forward-looking governance	1. Many people believe in this place. 2. There is a sense of orderliness. 3. The local government addresses challenges creatively.	.484
2.	Local ownership of media	4. Local news is well covered	NA
3.	Education	5. Education is valued. 6. Universities are nearby.	.493
4.	Infrastructure	7. Residents can run most of their errands quickly. 8. There are good transportation options. 9. It is walkable.	.440
5.	Natural beauty	10. There are several outdoor recreational opportunities nearby. 11. There are enough parks. 12. The natural world is respected.	.580
6.	Social capital	13. The community is tight knit 14. Residents trust their neighbors. 15. Residents often run into people they know.	.616
7.	Well-being	16. People seem healthy. 17. Residents have a lot of leisure time. 18. There is good access to health care. 19. There is a sense of well-being.	.595

	Scales	Scale items	Chronbach's alpha
8.	Arts and culture	20. There are a lot of artists. 21. There is a variety of cultural things to do. 22. It has a good music scene.	.706
9.	Gathering places	23. There are a lot of opportunities to participate in local activities. 24. There are a lot of local hangouts. 25. Many people socialize in public places.	.641
10.	Pedestrians	26. There are usually a lot of people on the streets.	NA
11.	Unique and historic architecture	27. It has a lot of history. 28. It is interesting to look at. 29. The architecture is beautiful.	.673
12.	Cleanliness	30. It is clean.	NA
13.	Strong economy	31. Few people are unemployed or underemployed. 32. Property values are increasing. 33. There are a number of locally owned restaurants.	.252
14.	Safety	34. People can safely walk at alone at night.	
15.	Diversity	35. Different types of people are welcome. 36. The poor are respected. 37. Newcomers are welcome. 38. It has unique people. 39. It is liberal.	.620
16.	Buzz	40. There is a sense of excitement. 41. It is edgy. 42. It can often be surprising.	.607
17.	Moderate tourism	43. It has a lot of hotel rooms. 44. There are a lot of tourists. 45. It draws people seeking entertainment.	.749
	Higher order needs taken care of	Not included as a scale	

	Scales	Scale items	Chronbach's alpha
	Combination of rural and urban amenities	Not included as a scale	

Figure 5: Box-and-Whisker Plot of Chronbach's Alpha Scores

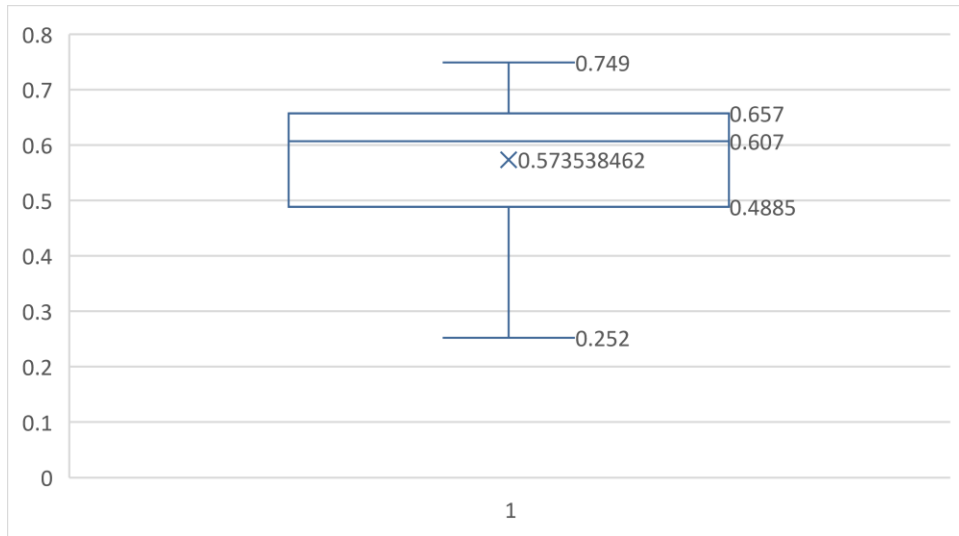


Table 10: Additional Questionnaire Items

	Vibrancy (overall)	47. It is vibrant.
	Enjoyment	48. I enjoy living here.
	Vibrancy change	49. It is more vibrant than it was five years ago.

Table 11: Final Vibrancy Scales and Items

	Scales	Scale items
1.	Forward-looking governance	1. Many people believe in this place. 2. There is a sense of orderliness. 3. The local government addresses challenges creatively.
2.	Local ownership of media	4. Local news is well covered
3.	Education	5. Education is valued. 6. Universities are nearby.
4.	Infrastructure	7. Residents can run most of their errands quickly. 8. There are good transportation options. 9. It is walkable.
5.	Natural beauty	10. There are several outdoor recreational opportunities nearby. 11. There are enough parks. 12. The natural world is respected.
6.	Social capital	13. The community is tight knit 14. Residents trust their neighbors. 15. Residents often run into people they know.
7.	Well-being	16. People seem healthy. 17. Residents have a lot of leisure time. 18. There is good access to health care. 19. There is a sense of well-being.
8.	Arts and culture	20. There are a lot of artists. 21. There is a variety of cultural things to do. 22. It has a good music scene.
9.	Gathering places	23. There are a lot of opportunities to participate in local activities. 24. There are a lot of local hangouts. 25. Many people socialize in public places.
10	Pedestrians	26. There are usually a lot of people on the streets.
11	Unique and historic architecture	27. It has a lot of history. 28. It is interesting to look at. 29. The architecture is beautiful.
12	Cleanliness	30. It is clean.

	Scales	Scale items
13	Strong economy	31. There are a number of locally owned businesses.
14	Safety	32. People can safely walk at alone at night.
15	Diversity	33. Different types of people are welcome. 34. The poor are respected. 35. Newcomers are welcome. 36. It has unique people
16	Buzz	37. There is a sense of excitement. 38. It is edgy. 39. It can often be surprising.
17	Moderate tourism	40. It has a lot of hotel rooms. 41. There are a lot of tourists. 42. It draws people seeking entertainment.
	Vibrancy (overall)	43. It is vibrant.
	Enjoyment	44. I enjoy living here.
	Vibrancy change	45. It is more vibrant than it was five years ago.

Note: Items are presented here by factor but were randomly ordered in the final questionnaire.

4.4. Longitudinal Field Study

The completed place vibrancy scales were then used to benchmark place vibrancy in the three villages in Massachusetts for what will be the start of a three-year field study. The baseline means for each of the scales are presented by village. The statistical difference in vibrancy for each scale between each village was determined through t-tests derived from OLS regression. The significance was tested first with village (Turners Falls, Millers Falls, or Montague Center) as the only independent variable (Model 1), then the model was run a second time after adding demographic variables (Model 2). Scale reliability through Cronbach’s alpha, and correlations between scales and single-item vibrancy and enjoyment scales are also presented. Lastly, data are mapped by village for selected data. For more details about the statistical method, see Section 3.4.2.

4.4.1. Subjects

The final vibrancy scales were hand-delivered to 187 residents in three villages in the town of Montague during a three-week period. Ninety-one responses were available at the time of this analysis, which was a 49% overall yield. There was a total of 46 respondents in Turners Falls, 19 in Millers Falls, and 26 in Montague Center.

4.4.2. Results of Longitudinal Field Study

The 17 themes of place vibrancy were represented by 17 scales (Table 11). Scales could have either single or multiple items. The scales with multiple items are collapsed into a single mean. The internal consistency of the multiple-item scales is presented (Cronbach's alpha) followed by a summary of the demographics of the sample population and the results of each scale grouped according to similar themes.

4.4.2.1. Scale Reliability

Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency among items for the multi-item scales and is one way to assess reliability. Scores were above 0.5 for all multi-item scales except for education and social capital. The low scores can at least partly be a result of the small number of items in each scale (three or less in most cases). For example, education, which was quite low (0.3278), had only two items.

Table 12: Scale Reliability

Scales with more than one item	Interitem covariance	Cronbach's alpha
Gathering places	.571289	0.7840
Arts and culture	.4798714	0.6968

Scales with more than one item	Interitem covariance	Cronbach's alpha
Natural beauty	.4119717	0.6704
Moderate tourism	.3929078	0.6691
Unique and historic architecture	.3707989	0.6681
Well-being	.3009895	0.6651
Governance	.2808682	0.6063
Buzz	.2965437	0.5876
Diversity	.1660841	0.5299
Infrastructure	.2921768	0.5280
Social capital	.1995532	0.4754
Education	.186287	0.3278

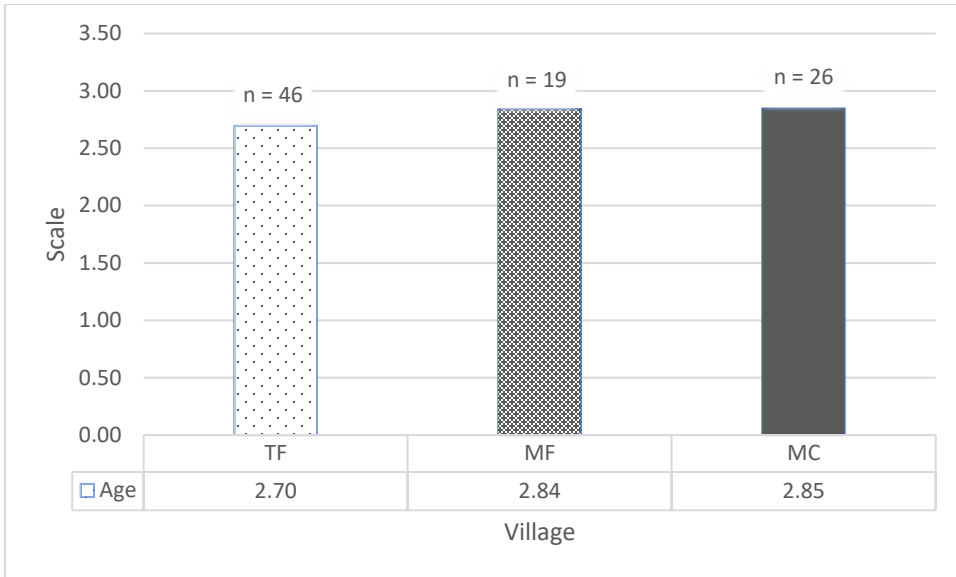
4.4.2.2. Demographics

The demographic variables were age (18 to 35, 36 to 52, 53 to 70, and 71 or over; Figure 6), gender (male or female; Figure 7), income (\$0 to \$24,000, \$24,001 to \$48,000, \$48,001 to \$72,000, \$72,001 to \$96,000, and \$96,000 or over; Figure 8), and interest in traveling (hardly ever, once a year, more than once a year; Figure 9). Race was not included in the analyses because there was not enough variation (96% of respondents were white).

Categorical data were collected for the demographic variables with a 5-point Likert scale. Even though data were categorical, differences between categories were nearly evenly spaced. Therefore, as a simple way to compare the demographic variables at a glance, the means of the category values are displayed. A subject might, for example, have received a value of 1 under the age category of 18 to 35, a value of 1 if they were male, a value of 1 if they made from \$0 to \$24,000, and a value of 1 if they hardly ever travelled. The results show that the demographic variables for the villages were balanced, given the small sample size, although

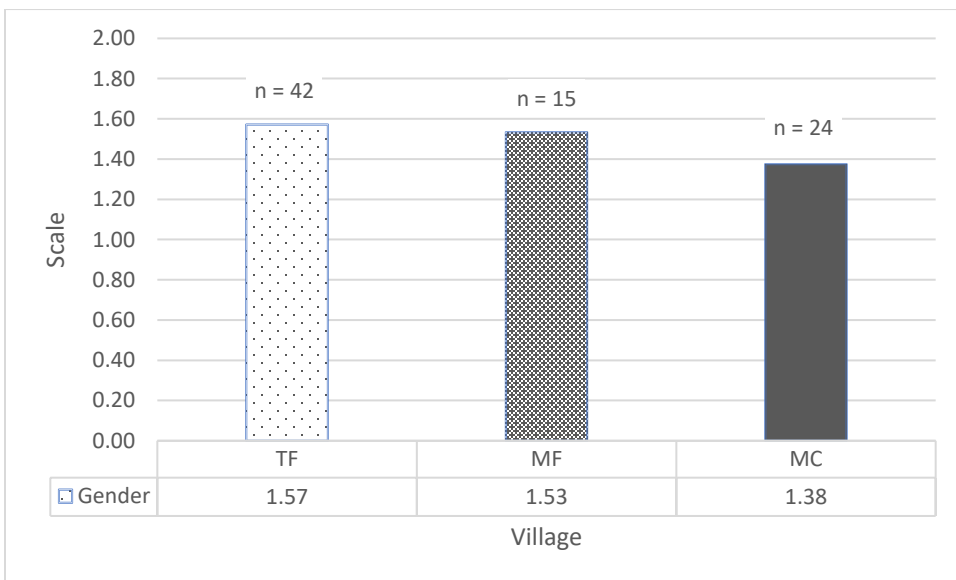
there was a trend for more males (Figure 7) and higher income (Figure 8) in Montague Center compared to the other two villages. Graphical displays of demographic variables follow.

Figure 6: Age (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



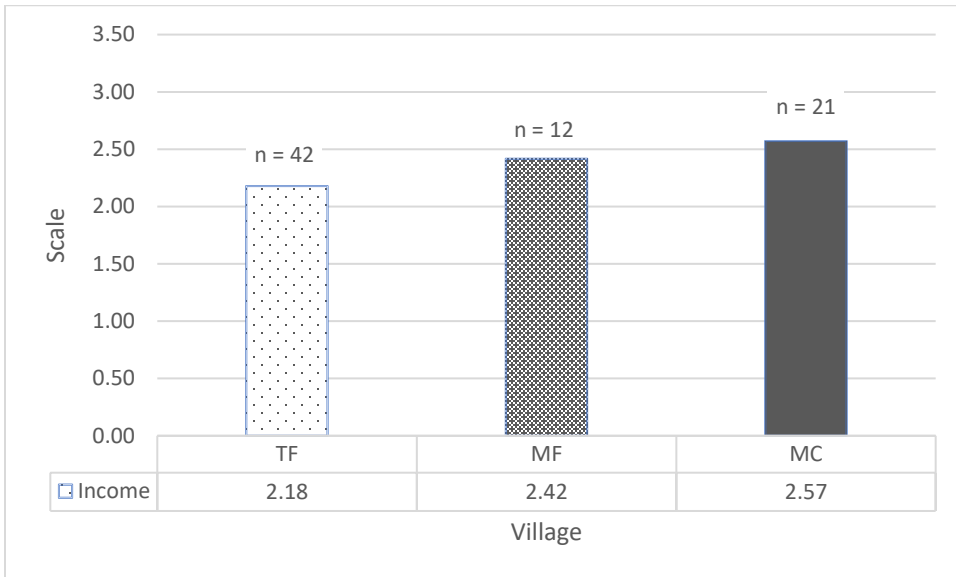
Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Age categories were: 18 to 35 (1), 36 to 52 (2), 53 to 70 (3), and 71 or over (4).

Figure 7: Gender (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



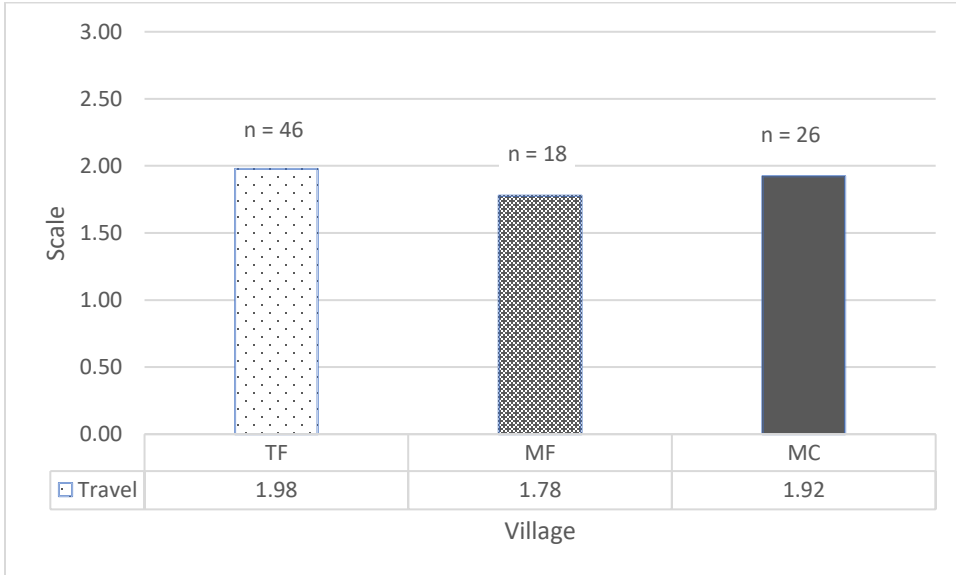
Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Gender categories were: male (1) and female (2). Other category was dropped because there were not enough subjects.

Figure 8: Income (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Income categories were: \$0 to \$24,000 (1), \$24,001 to \$48,000 (2), \$48,001 to \$72,000 (3), \$72,001 to \$96,000 (4), and \$96,000 or over (5).

Figure 9: Frequency of Travel (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



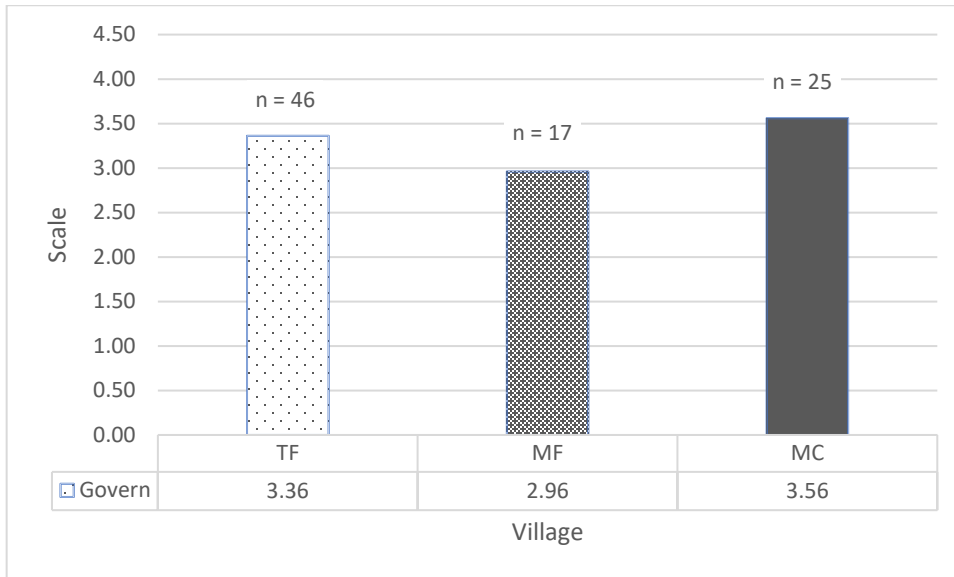
Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Frequency of travel categories were: hardly ever (1), once a year (2), and more than once a year (3).

A summary of the results of the vibrancy scales follow. Selected partial effects of the two OLS regression models of the scales on the villages are provided in Appendix D.

4.4.2.3. Governance, Local Media, and Education

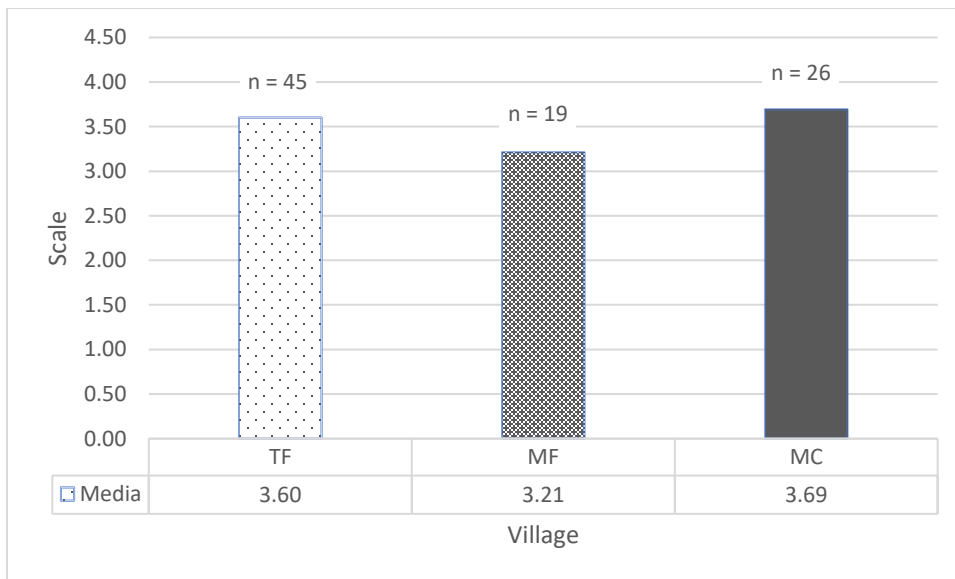
Millers Falls showed less forward-looking governance than the other two villages, and the difference was statistically significantly less than Turners Falls ($\beta = -.4015345$, $t = -2.15$, $p = 0.034$) and Millers Falls ($\beta = -.5992157$, $t = -2.90$, $p=0.005$) under Model 1, but not when demographic variables were added to the model with Model 2 (Figure 10). Local media coverage was also lower for Millers Falls compared to the other villages, but the differences were not statistically significant for either model (Figure 11). Montague Center had a statistically higher education score than Turners Falls (Model 2: $\beta = .635237$, $t=3.04$, $p = 0.003$) and Millers Falls (Model 2: $\beta = -1.039063$, $t=3.70$, $p < 0.000$); however, among the three villages, Montague Center is physically closest to the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts (Figure 12).

Figure 10: Forward-looking Governance (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



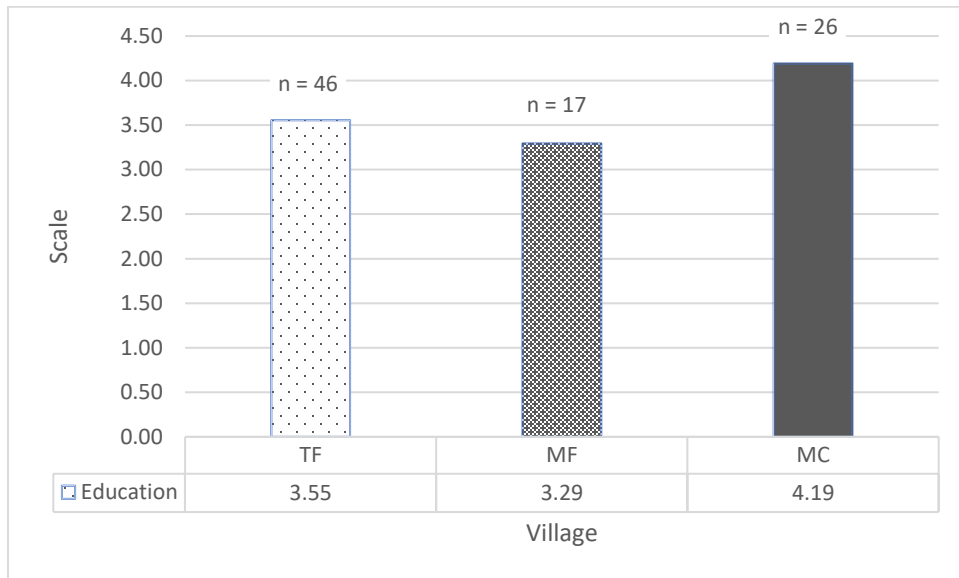
Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Miller Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.034$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.005$, Model 1. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 11: Local Ownership of Media (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1=strongly disagree and 5= strongly agree. No statistically significant differences. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 12: Education (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

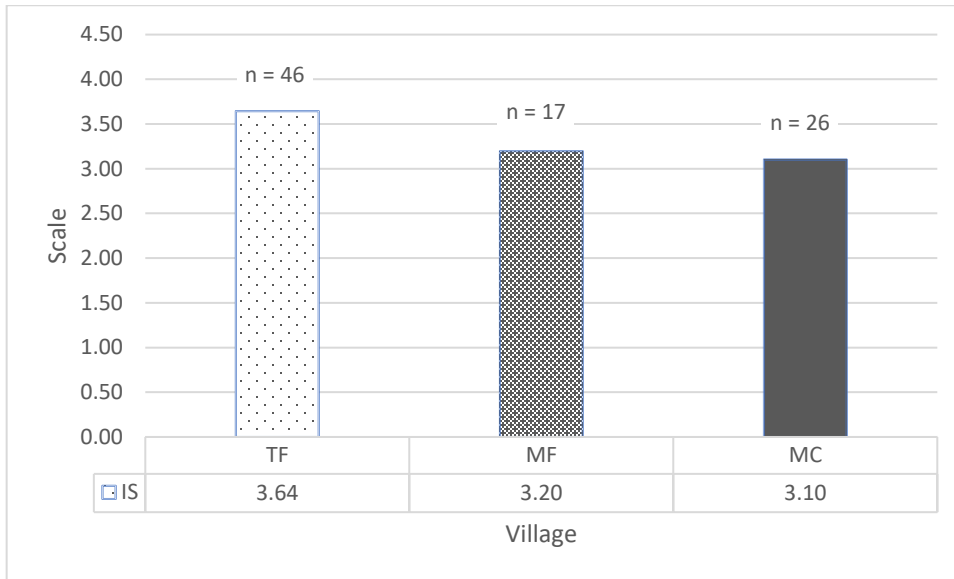


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.003$, Model 2; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.4. Infrastructure and Natural Beauty

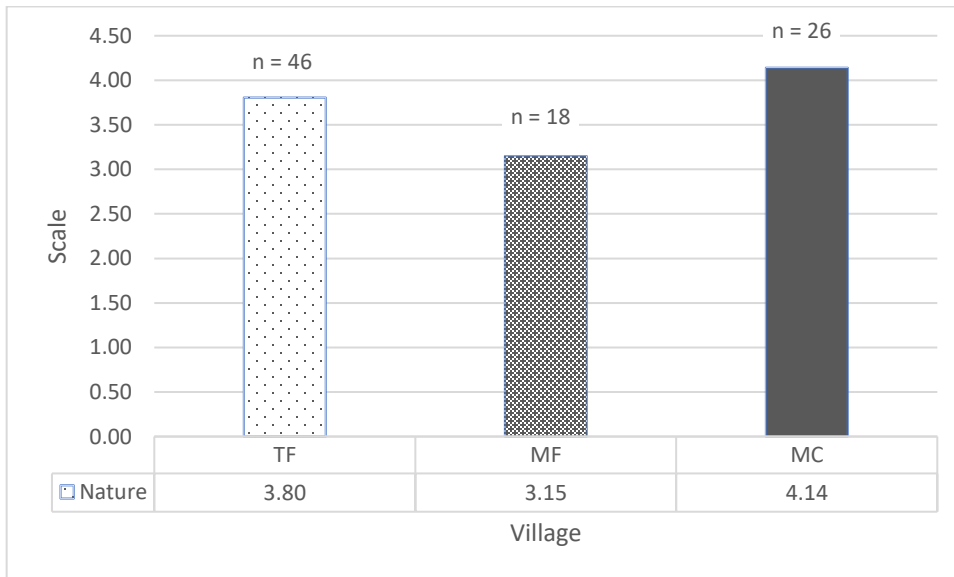
Turners Falls scored higher for infrastructure compared to Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.4488491$, $t = -2.24$, $p = 0.027$) and Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.5423634$, $t = -3.14$, $p = 0.002$; Model 2: $\beta = -.5695505$, $t = -2.70$, $p = 0.009$; Figure 13). Millers Falls had a lower mean score related to natural beauty compared with Turners Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.6561997$, $t = -3.31$, $p = 0.001$) and Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = .9928775$, $t = -4.54$, $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $-.6896313$, $t = -2.33$, $p = 0.023$; Figure 14).

Figure 13: Infrastructure (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.027$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.002$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.009$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 14: Natural Beauty (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

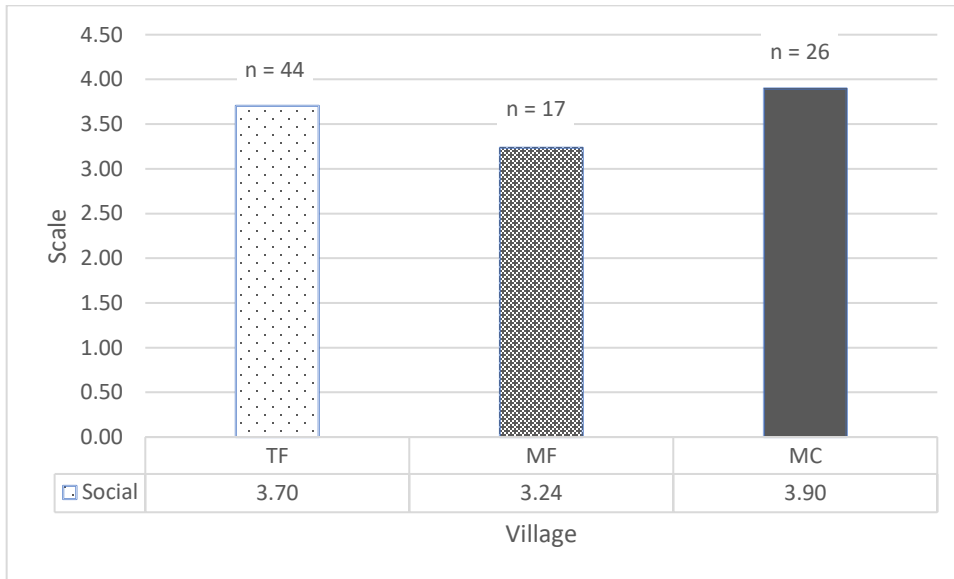


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.023$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.5. Social Capital and Well-being

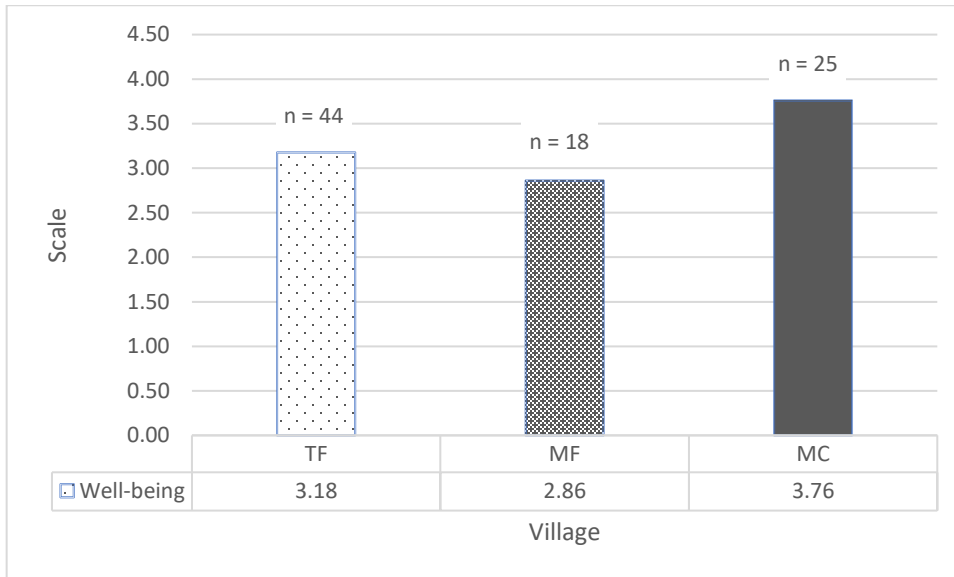
Millers Falls had a significantly lower mean score on the scale related to social capital compared to Turners Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.4692514$, $t = -2.72$, $p = 0.008$), and compared to Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.6621419$, $t = -3.52$, $p > 0.000$; Figure 15), but the differences were not statistically significant under Model 2. The mean score for well-being was statistically higher according to the second model for Montague Center compared to Turners Falls (Model 1: $\beta = .5838636$, $t = 3.88$, $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = .4927393$, $t = 2.64$, $p = 0.011$) and Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.8988889$, $t = -3.68$, $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -.5949172$, $t = -2.38$, $p = 0.021$; Figure 16).

Figure 15: Social Capital (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.008$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.001$, Model 1. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 16: Well-being (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

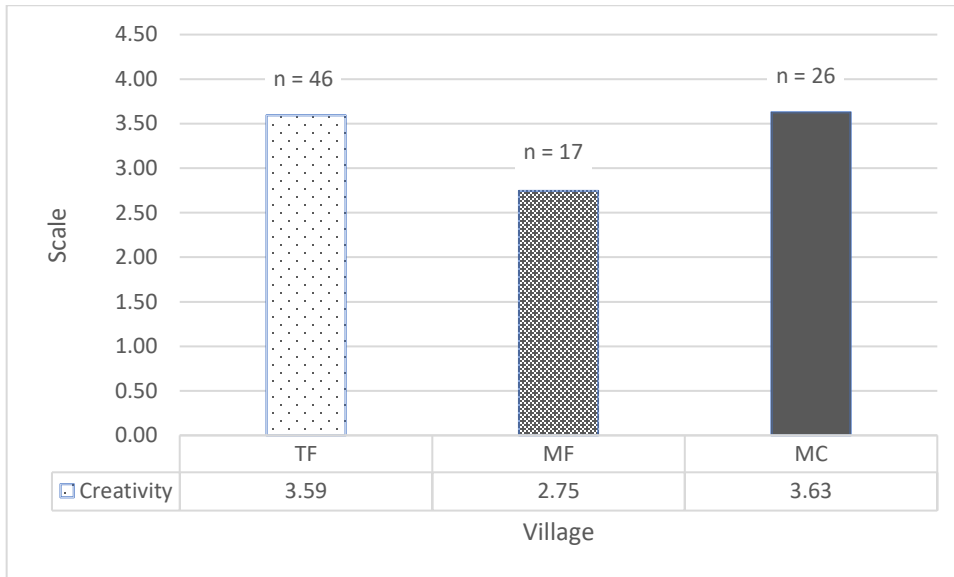


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 2; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.021$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.6. Arts and Culture

Millers Falls scored significantly lower on the scale related to arts, culture, and creativity compared with Millers Falls ($\beta = -.8491049$, $t = -3.89$, $p < 0.000$) and Montague Center ($\beta = -.8831071$, $t = -3.68$, $p < 0.000$) under Model 1; however, the differences were not statistically significant under Model 2 (Figure 17).

Figure 17: Arts and Culture (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

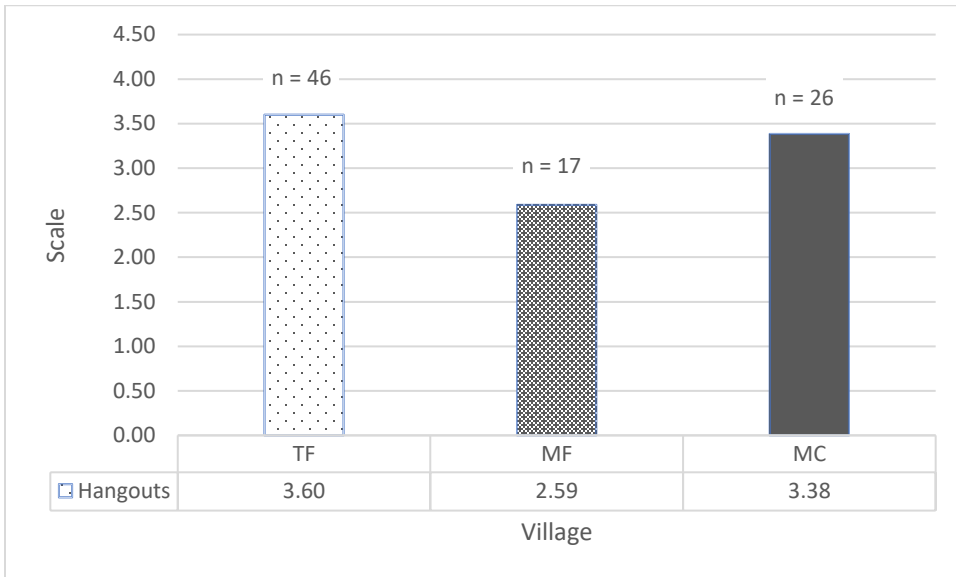


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.7. Gathering Places and Pedestrians

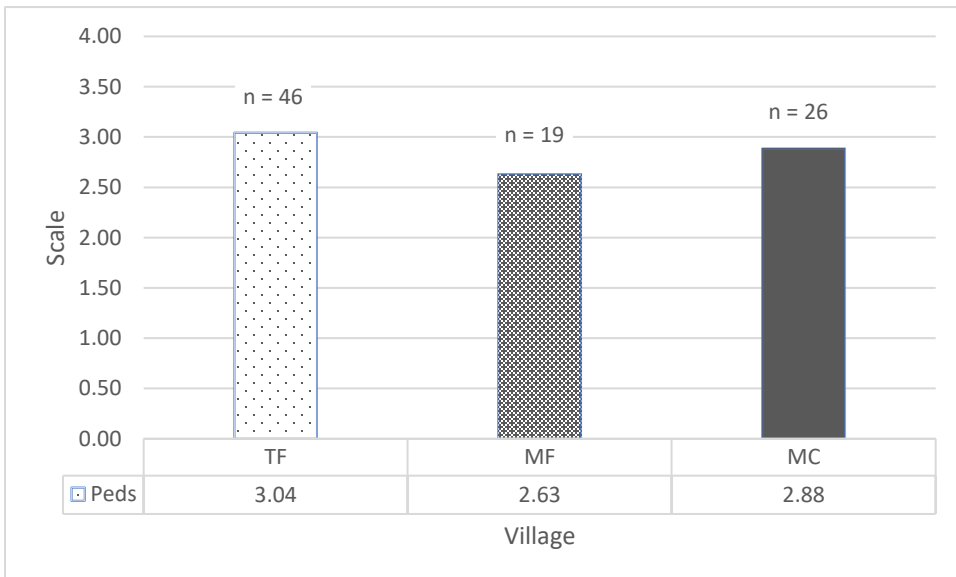
Turners Falls had a statistically significantly higher mean score on the scale related to presence of gathering places compared with Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -1.013214$, $t = -4.60$, $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -.7543762$, $t = -2.52$, $p = 0.014$) and with Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.7963801$, $t = -3.29$; $p < 0.000$; Figure 18). There were no significant differences between villages on the scale related to pedestrian activity (Figure 19).

Figure 18: Gathering Places (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.014$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 19: Pedestrians (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

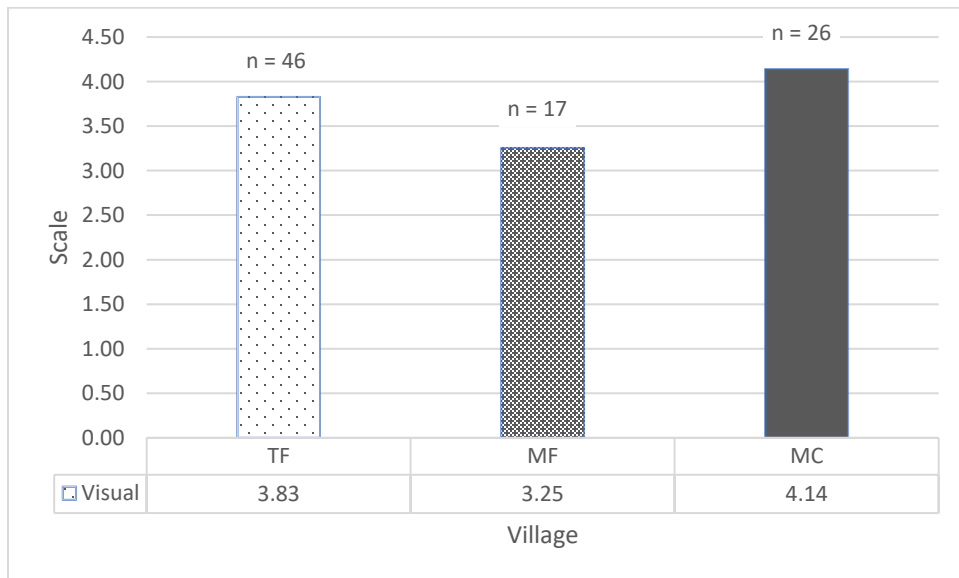


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically No statistically significant differences. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.8. Unique and Historic Architecture and Cleanliness

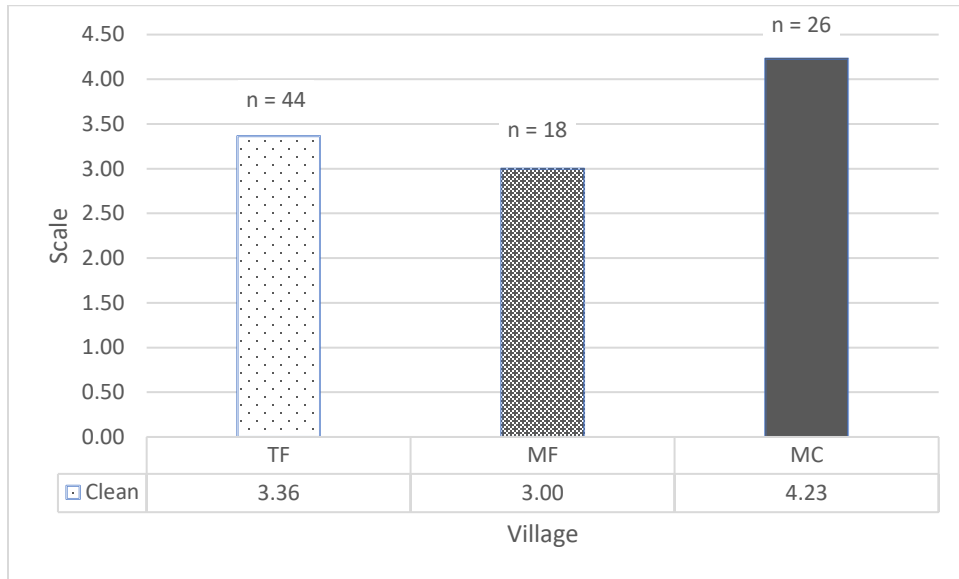
Millers Falls had a lower mean score on the scale related to the visual and historical appearance of the architecture compared with Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.571185$, $t = -2.91$, $p = 0.005$) and Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.8861236$, $t = -3.45$, $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -.5707643$, $t = -1.98$, $p = 0.052$; Figure 20). Montague Center was perceived to be cleaner than Turners Falls (Model 1: $\beta = .8671329$, $t = 4.21$; $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = .9192092$, $t = 3.41$, $p = 0.001$) and Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = 1.230769$, $t = -4.83$; $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -1.455741$, $t = -4.05$, $p < 0.000$).

Figure 20: Unique and Historic Architecture (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.005$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.052$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 21: Cleanliness (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

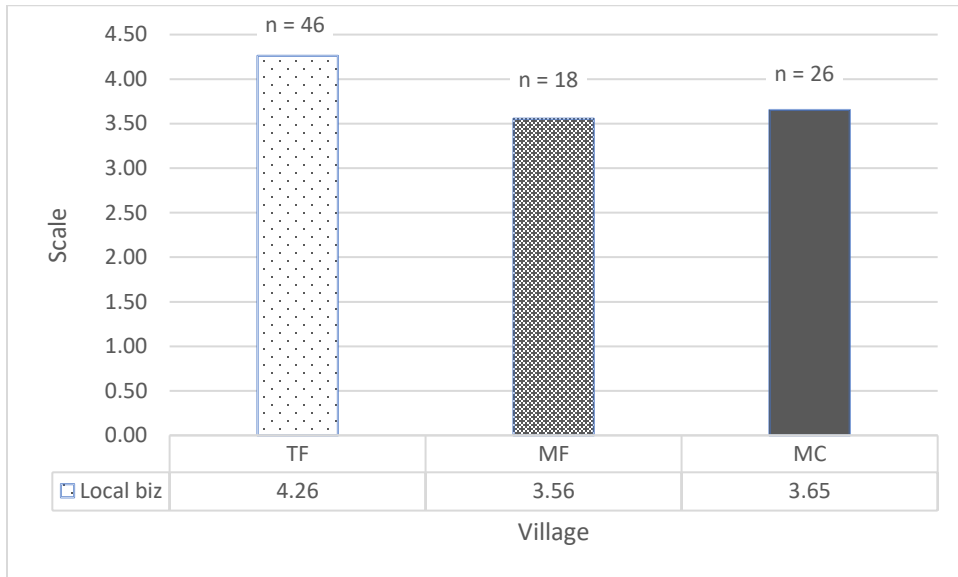


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 2; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.9. Strong Economy

Turners Falls scored higher on the scale related to local business activity compared with both Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.705314$, $t = -3.52$, $p = 0.001$; Model 2: $\beta = -.6232512$, $t = -2.31$, $p = 0.025$) and Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.6070234$, $t = -3.43$; $p = 0.001$; Model 2: $\beta = -.5483369$, $t = -2.53$; $p = 0.014$; Figure 22).

Figure 22: Strong Economy (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

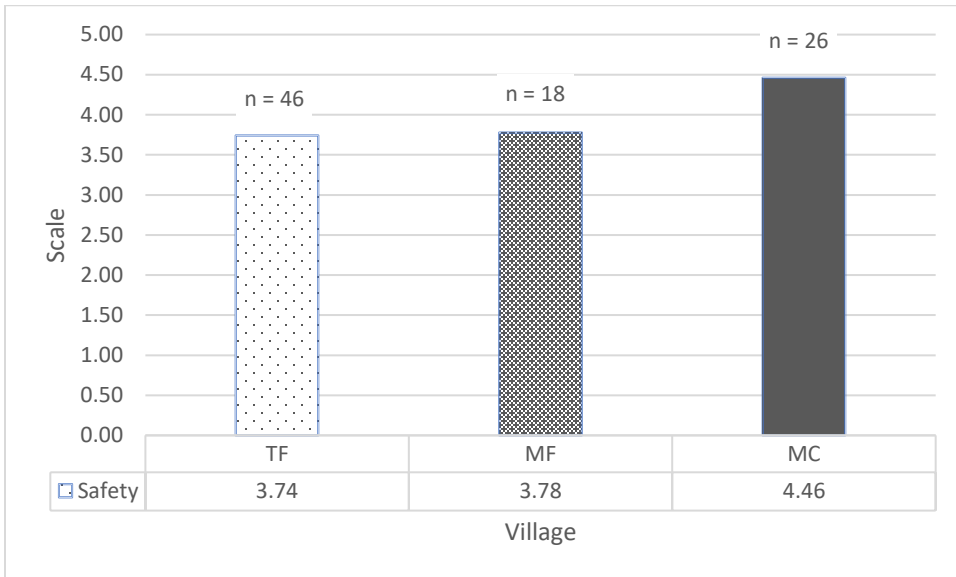


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.025$, Model 2; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.014$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.10. Safety

Montague Center was considered safer according to the scale related to safety compared to Turners Falls (Model 2: $\beta = .6749712$, $t = 2.99$; $p = 0.004$) and Millers Falls (Model 2: $\beta = -.5958078$, $t = -1.96$; $p = 0.055$) (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Safety (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

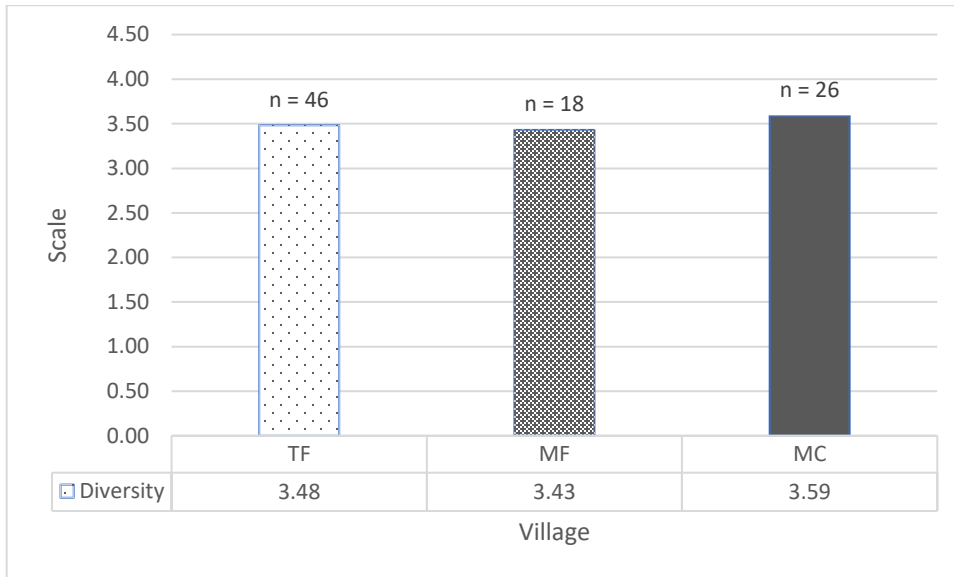


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls - Montague Center, $p = 0.006$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.004$, Model 2; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.055$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.11. Diversity

There were no statistical differences among villages on the scale measuring diversity (Figure 24).

Figure 24: Diversity (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



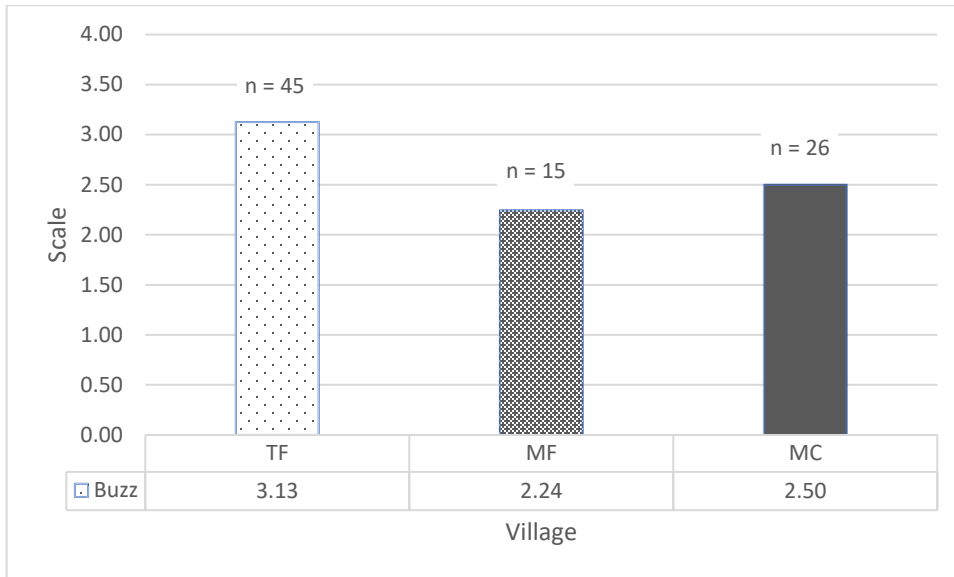
Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. No statistically significant differences. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.12. Buzz and Moderate Tourism

Turners Falls scored higher on buzz compared with Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.8814815$, $t = -4.76$, $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -.8322113$, $t = -3.50$, $p = 0.001$) and Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.6417959$, $t = -3.92$, $p = 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -.5335275$, $t = -2.89$; $p = 0.006$; Figure 25).

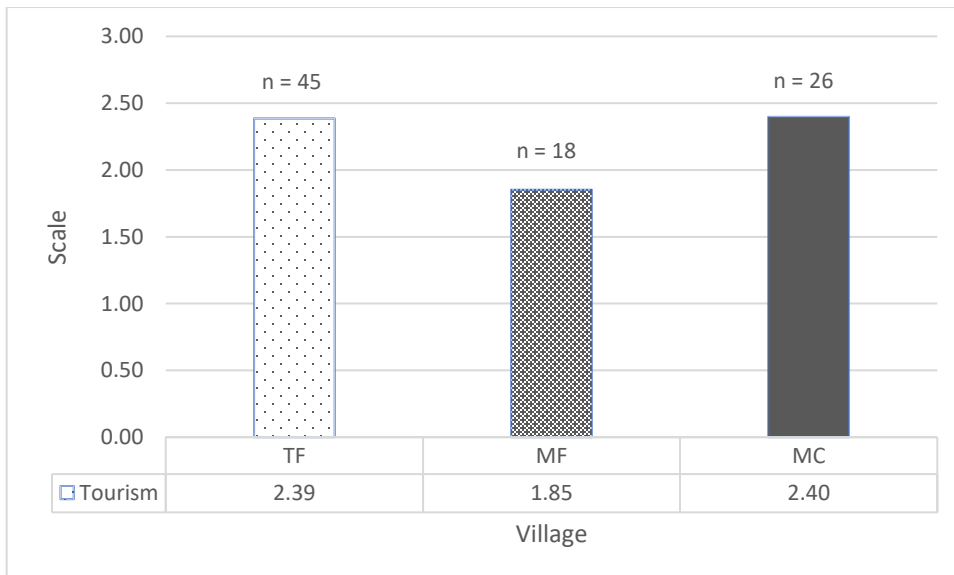
Millers Falls also scored lower on the tourism scale compared to Turners Falls ($\beta = -.5333333$, $t = -2.57$; $p = 0.012$) and Montague Center ($\beta = -.5455841$, $t = -2.39$; $p = 0.019$) with the first model.

Figure 25: Buzz (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 2; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.006$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 26: Tourism (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

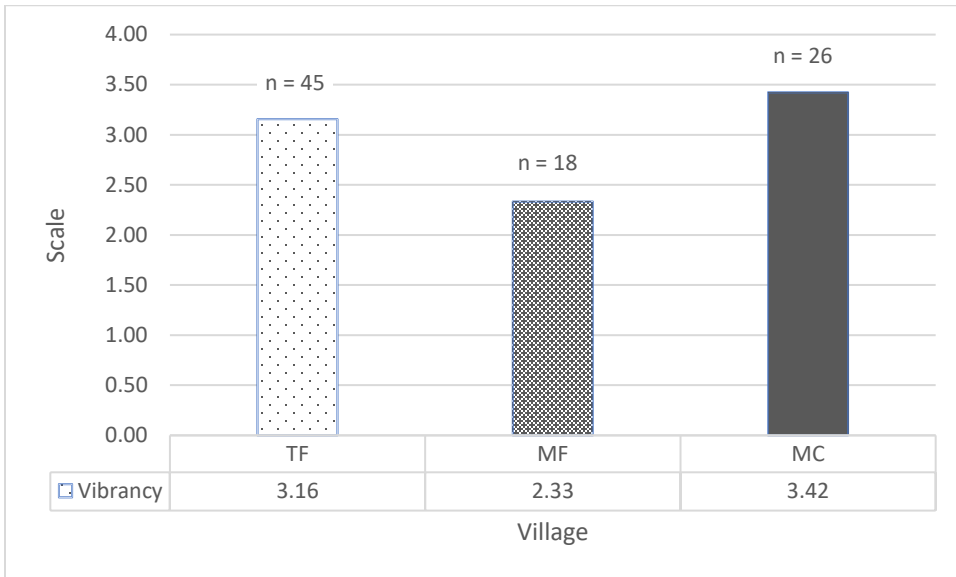


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.012$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.019$, Model 1. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

4.4.2.13. Vibrancy and Enjoyment

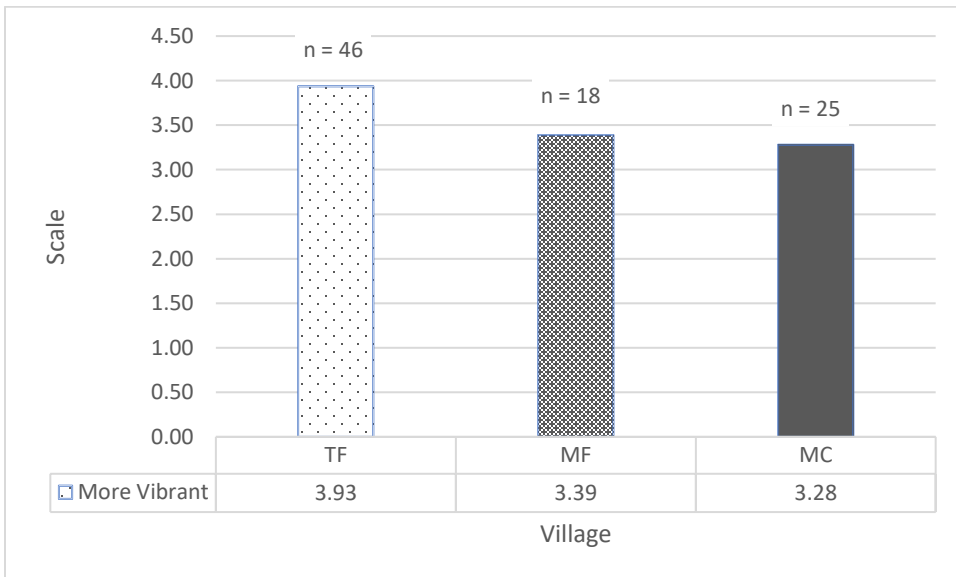
Millers Falls scored lower on the single-item scale related to vibrancy compared to Turners Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.8222222$, $t = -3.31$, $p = 0.001$; Model 2: $\beta = -.6470656$, $t = -2.03$, $p = 0.047$) and Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -1.089744$, $t = -3.99$; $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -1.048712$, $t = -3.06$, $p = 0.003$; Figure 27). Turners Falls was considered to have improved in vibrancy over the last five years compared to Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.6547826$, $t = -2.60$, $p = 0.011$; Figure 28). More residents of Montague Center reported enjoying living there compared to residents in Turners Falls (Model 1: $\beta = .3428094$, $t = 2.00$, $p = 0.022$; Model 2: $\beta = .4601387$, $t = 2.35$; $p = 0.022$) and Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.9502262$, $t = -4.37$, $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -.6711346$, $t = 2.48$, $p = 0.016$). People enjoyed living in Turners Falls more than in Millers Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.6074169$, $t = -3.07$, $p = 0.003$; Figure 29). However, the magnitude of enjoyment scores for all villages was high, nearly one point higher than residents' perception of vibrancy according to the single-item vibrancy scale.

Figure 27: Single-Item Vibrancy (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



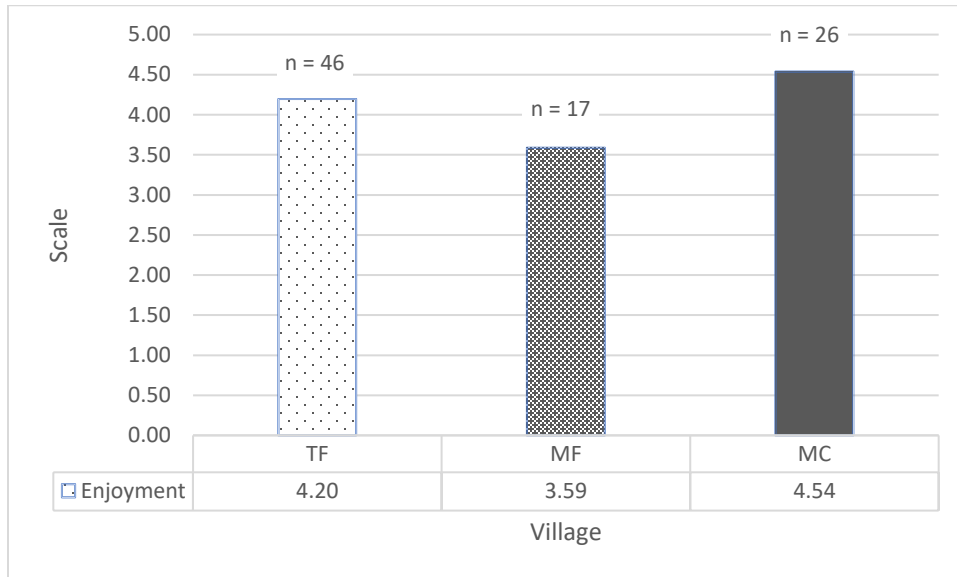
Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.047$, Model 2; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.003$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 28: Vibrancy Improvement (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.011$, Model 1. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Figure 29: Enjoyment (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

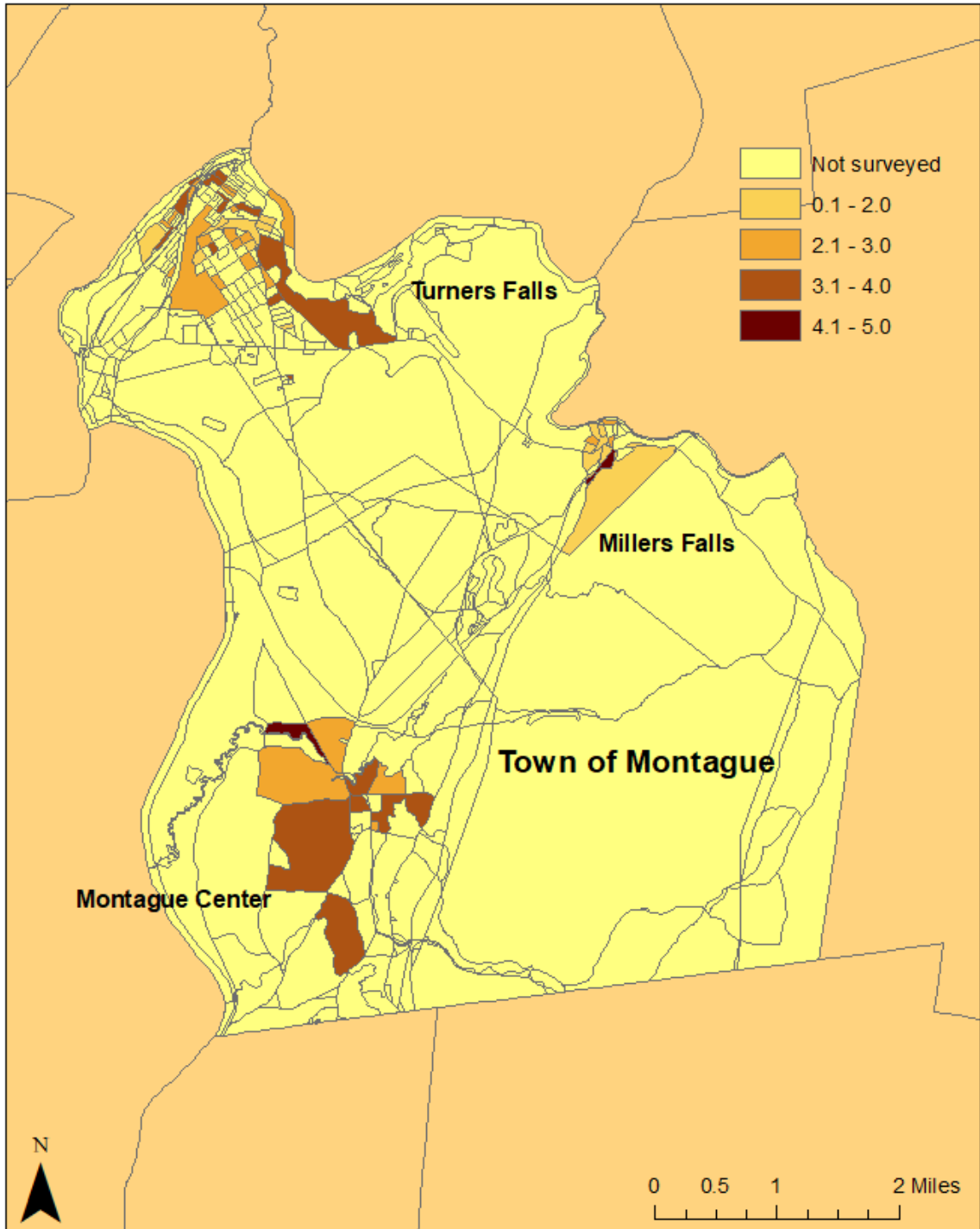


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.003$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.048$; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Montague Center – Turners Falls, $p = 0.022$, Model 2; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.016$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

Vibrancy scores were mapped by census block in the three villages in Figure 30. Census blocks were sampled proportionally to housing densities to ensure a demographically representative sample of each village. More heavily populated blocks were approached to take more surveys, and sparsely populated blocks were not approached at all. For those blocks that were approached, in most cases, only a single case was recorded, so, the interpretation of these data by geography is limited. Demographics among villages were similar by age (Figure 6), gender (Figure 7), and frequency of travel (Figure 9). Because the demographic data collected for this study was categorical, direct comparisons with the continuous data from each village is difficult to make. However, the trend for lower income in Turners Falls (Figure 8) mirrors the study area population statistics (Table 5).

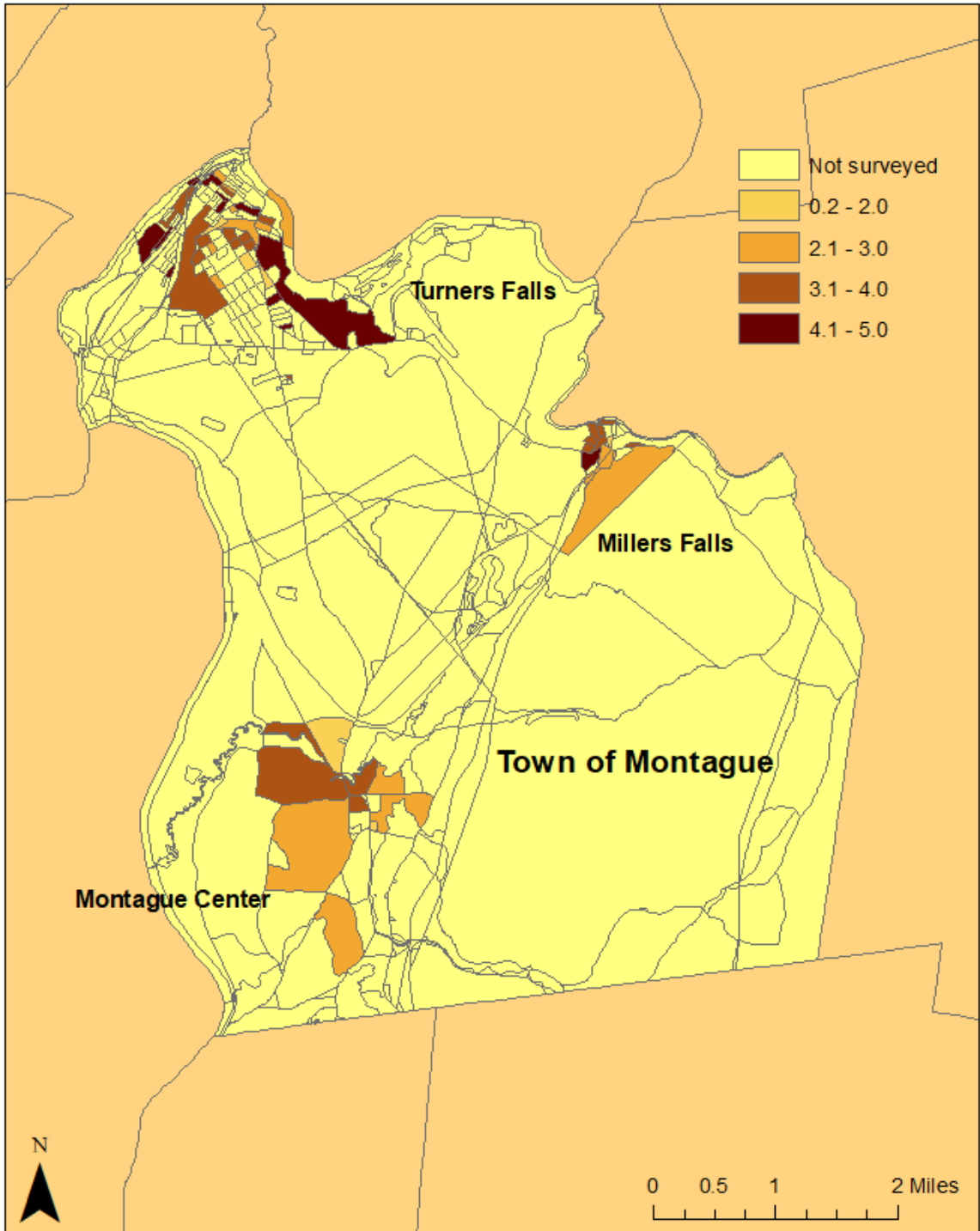
Sixty-three blocks were mapped across the three villages (39 in Turners Falls, 11 in Millers Falls, and 13 in Montague Center—the census block data was not available for all 91 of the subjects who submitted surveys). Darker shades indicate more vibrancy. The visual display shows the general trend of higher vibrancy levels in Turners Falls and Montague Center compared with Millers Falls. Figure 31 shows census blocks that were perceived to have increased in vibrancy most over the last five years.

Figure 30: Single-Item Place Vibrancy by Census Block in Three Montague Villages (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

Figure 31: Improvement in Place Vibrancy Over Previous Five Years by Census Block in Three Montague Villages (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)

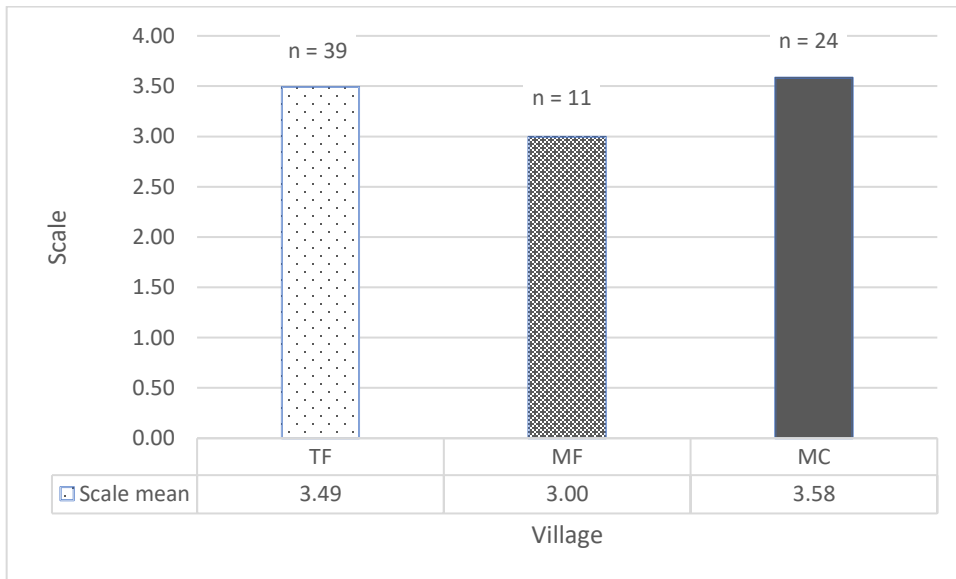


Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

4.4.2.14. Mean of Scales

The mean scores of all vibrancy scales was statistically lower for Millers Falls compared with Turners Falls (Model 1: $\beta = -.4968463$, $t = -3.51$, $p = 0.001$; Model 2: $\beta = -.3730984$, $t = -2.04$, $p = 0.047$) and compared with Montague Center (Model 1: $\beta = -.5881611$, $t = -3.90$; $p < 0.000$; Model 2: $\beta = -.4725816$, $t = -2.51$; $p = 0.016$; Figure 32).

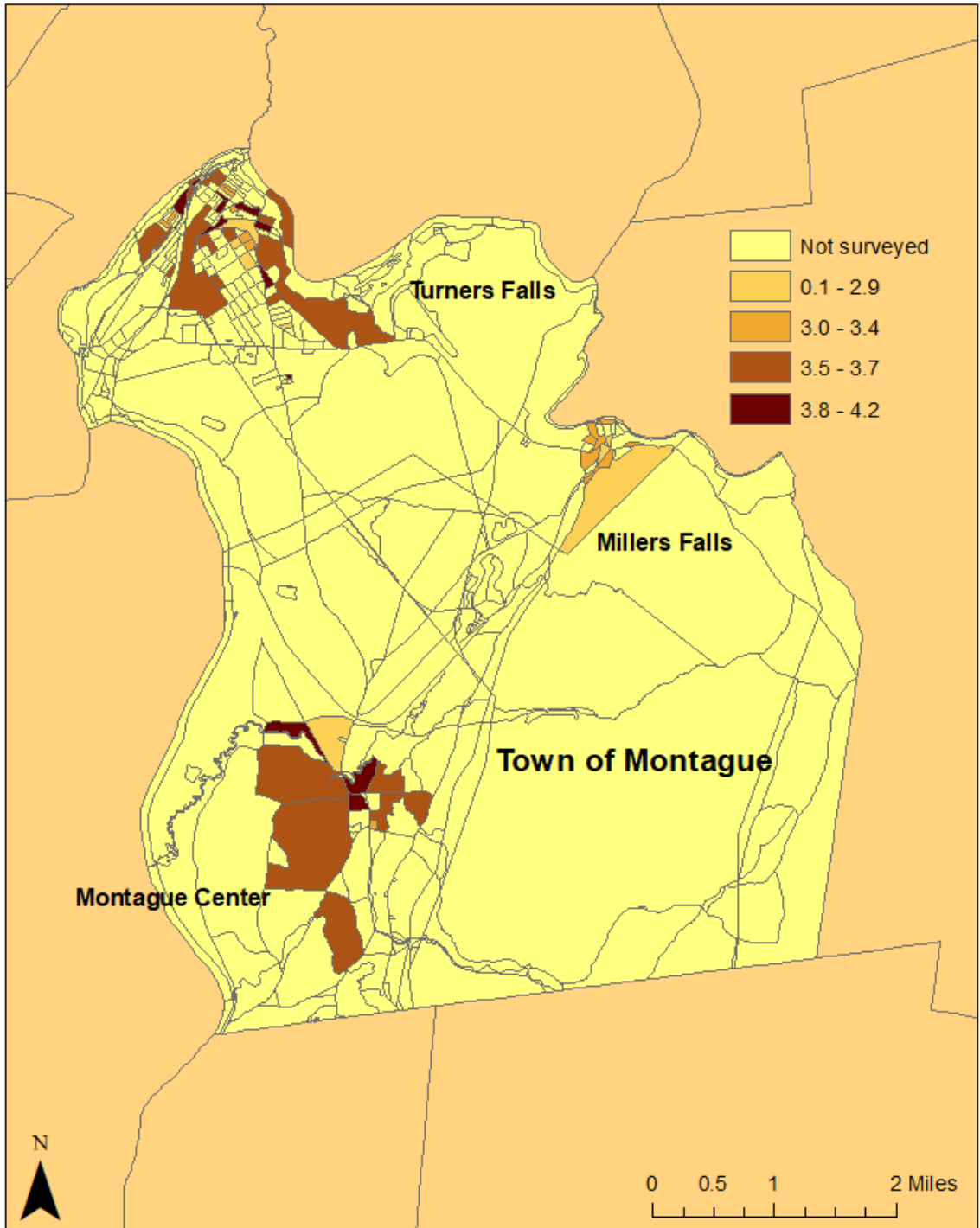
Figure 32: Mean of all Scales Measuring Place Vibrancy by Village (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Statistically significant differences: Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.001$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p < 0.000$, Model 1; Millers Falls – Turners Falls, $p = 0.047$, Model 2; Millers Falls – Montague Center, $p = 0.016$, Model 2. (See Appendix D for selected regression results.)

A geographic display of the mean of all vibrancy scales by block shows higher scores in Turners Falls and Montague Center compared with Millers Falls (Figure 33).

Figure 33: Mean of all Place Vibrancy Scales by Census Block for Three Montague Villages (Means of Likert-Scale Categories)



Note. For Likert scale, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

4.4.2.15. Correlations with Vibrancy and Enjoyment

Table 13 shows Pearson’s correlations of vibrancy as a stand-alone item in the questionnaire (“It is vibrant” Table 10) with other scales (see Table 11 for scale items). The five factors with the highest correlations are gathering places, arts and culture, buzz, moderate tourism, and unique and historic architecture. However, all correlations were statistically significant other than local news coverage, infrastructure, local economy, and safety. The mean of all scales had a $r = 0.6384$ correlation with the single-item vibrancy term.

Table 13: Correlations of Scales with Single Vibrancy Item

Place Vibrancy Theme	Pearson’s r	P
Gathering places	0.5321	0.0000*
Arts and culture	0.5251	0.0000*
Buzz	0.5162	0.0000*
Moderate tourism	0.4941	0.0000*
Unique and historic architecture	0.4309	0.0000*
Forward-looking governance	0.3982	0.0001*
Cleanliness	0.3656	0.0005*
Well-being	0.3572	0.0008*
Social capital	0.3501	0.0010*
Diversity	0.3264	0.0019*
Natural beauty	0.3219	0.0022*
Pedestrians	0.3190	0.0023*
Education	0.3178	0.0025*
Infrastructure	0.1930	0.0716
Strong economy	0.1697	0.1119
Safety	0.1306	0.2225
Local media	0.1084	0.3149
Mean of scales	0.6384	0.0000*
Enjoyment	0.3691	0.0004*

A similar set of correlations was run for each place vibrancy scale against enjoyment living in the village (Table 14) In this case, the top five correlations are social capital, governance,

well-being, gathering places, and unique and historic architecture. All correlations between and scales and enjoyment were statistically significant, and the correlation with the mean of the scales was $r = 0.7269$.

Table 14: Correlations of Scales with Enjoyment Item

Place Vibrancy Theme	Pearson's r	P
Social capital	0.6190	0.0000*
Forward-looking governance	0.5975	0.0000*
Well-being	0.5891	0.0000*
Gathering places	0.5464	0.0000*
Unique and historic architecture	0.5283	0.0000*
Arts and culture	0.4852	0.0000*
Natural beauty	0.4608	0.0000*
Local media	0.4372	0.0000*
Cleanliness	0.4160	0.0001*
Moderate tourism	0.4144	0.0001*
Diversity	0.3753	0.0003*
Education	0.3634	0.0005*
Strong economy	0.3438	0.0010*
Safety	0.3136	0.0028*
Infrastructure	0.3055	0.0038*
Buzz	0.3028	0.0046*
Pedestrians	0.2670	0.0114*
Mean of scales	0.7269	0.0000*
Single-item vibrancy	0.3691	0.0004*

4.4.2.16. Comparison of Place Vibrancy with Place Attachment

One way to choose those themes that rank highest in both vibrancy and enjoyment is to take the difference between the correlations. A comparison of the correlations for this study's vibrancy factors with the single-item vibrancy and enjoyment items as well as with the SOC (Knight Foundation, 2010a) correlations with place attachment, ranked by difference, is presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Comparison of Vibrancy, Enjoyment, and Place Attachment Correlations

Place Vibrancy Theme	Correlation with “Vibrancy” Item	Correlation with “Enjoyment” Item	Absolute Value Difference	<i>Soul of the City</i> Community Attribute*	2010 Correlation with Place Attachment
Gathering places	0.5321	0.5464	0.0143	Social offerings	0.54
Arts and culture	0.5251	0.4852	0.0399		
Education	0.3178	0.3634	0.0456	Education	0.47
Diversity	0.3264	0.3753	0.0489	Openness	0.50
Cleanliness	0.3656	0.4160	0.0504		
Pedestrians	0.3190	0.2670	0.052		
Moderate tourism	0.4941	0.4144	0.0797		
Unique and historic architecture	0.4309	0.5283	0.0974	Aesthetics	0.49
Infrastructure	0.1930	0.3055	0.1125	Basic services	0.42
Natural beauty	0.3219	0.4608	0.1389		
Strong economy	0.1697	0.3438	0.1741	Economy	0.36
Safety	0.1306	0.3136	0.183	Safety	0.23
Forward-looking governance	0.3982	0.5975	0.1993	Leadership	0.39
Buzz	0.5162	0.3028	0.2134		
Well-being	0.3572	0.5891	0.2319		
Social capital	0.3501	0.6190	0.2689	Social capital	0.15
Local media	0.1084	0.4372	0.3288		

*Although the *Soul of the City (SOC)* categories generally matched the categories derived from the current study, several of the categories overlap. For example, in the *SOC* study, aesthetics includes natural and physical beauty, whereas in this study, natural and built attractiveness are separate categories and the *SOC* category civic involvement overlapped with this study’s social capital and governance categories. *SOC* survey items were not publicly available to do a more in-depth comparison.

The following Chapter 5 will provide a summary and conclusions based on these findings.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Summary

The following set of themes are presented as factors of place vibrancy: forward-looking governance, local ownership of media, education, infrastructure, natural beauty, social capital, well-being, arts and culture, gathering places, pedestrians, unique and historic architecture, cleanliness, strong economy, safety, buzz, and moderate tourism. These themes were converted into scales and were tested in three villages in Massachusetts. A summary of the themes within the context of the results of the field study follows. Themes are grouped by those that were or were not identified in the literature search/expert review.

Themes identified in the literature search/expert view:

Gathering places: This factor was mentioned in the literature/expert review (Florida, 2012). Having informal places where people can gather, like cafes, outside markets, and do various types of activity, including just people-watching, was said to be an important part of place vibrancy by the focus groups and interviewees. Scale items included “There are a lot of opportunities to participate in local activities,” “There are a lot of local hangouts,” and “Many people socialize in public places.” The study showed there was a perception of fewer gathering places in Millers Falls compared to the other two villages. Chronbach’s alpha was high for this scale (0.7840), and the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Arts and culture: This factor was mentioned in the literature/expert review (Conejos, Langston, & Smith, 2013; Jackson, 2008; Smith, 2010; Wali et al., 2002). Focus groups and interview results suggested that arts and cultural activities were integral to vibrant places. Every kind of cultural activity, from dance to music to film, to cultural destinations, such as bookstores

and small art galleries, added to the vibrant atmosphere. This atmosphere includes artists themselves, who often bring fresh, courageous perspectives and tolerance and acceptance in sometimes uncomfortable settings. Scale items included “There are a lot of artists,” “There is a variety of cultural things to do,” and “It has a good music scene.” The study showed Millers Falls with less arts and cultural activity than the other villages. Chronbach’s alpha was high for this scale (0.6968), and the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Strong economy: This factor was mentioned in the literature/expert review (Ashley, 2015; Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015; Massey, 2013; Sheppard, 2014; Stern, 2014). Respondents in the focus groups and interviews gave many examples of how vibrant places showcased a strong local economy, particularly if the places cater to the workaday needs of the community. In addition, vibrant places do have their share of cultural amenities, local restaurants, bookstores, etc. Unique establishments might go so far as to cater to diverse clientele. A single item was used for this scale: “There are a number of locally owned businesses.” Turners Falls was perceived to have the strongest economy of the three villages tested. This factor did not correlate with the single vibrancy item.

Unique and historic architecture: This factor was mentioned in the literature/expert review (Jacobs, 1961; Montgomery, 1998). Respondents in the focus groups and interviews discussed how vibrant places tend to protect their historic architecture. The built environment is visually appealing and can serve various forward-thinking purposes, including affordable housing. Vibrant neighborhoods interpret their built history through markers and tours. Scale items included “It has a lot of history,” “It is interesting to look at,” and “The architecture is beautiful.” Millers Falls scored lower on this factor compared to the other two villages.

Chronbach's alpha was relatively high (0.6681), and the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Infrastructure: Infrastructure arose as a theme in the expert review. Focus groups and interview results suggested that vibrant cities were walkable, had multimodal transportation options, and good access to technology, such as high-speed internet. Scale items included "Residents can run most of their errands quickly," "There are good transportation options," and "It is walkable." Chronbach's alpha was mediocre (0.5280). Comparisons among the villages showed that Turners Falls was thought to have better infrastructure than the other two villages. The scale was not significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Diversity: Diversity was captured as a factor in the literature/expert review (Hawkes, 2001; Massey, 2013; A. Yue et al., 2011). Respondents from the focus groups and interviews discussed how diversity in all forms was important in vibrant places. Vibrant places are welcoming to people of different ages, races, ethnicities, and income levels, etc., and this attitude is manifested from the presence of low-income housing to small acts of kindness occurring on the street. Scale items included "Different types of people are welcome," "The poor are respected," "Newcomers are welcome," and "It has unique people." There were no statistical differences among the villages in the presence of diversity. However, Montague has very little racial diversity. Chronbach's alpha was low (0.5299), and the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Buzz: Buzz was identified as a factor in the literature/expert review (Baker & Wood, 2010). Respondents said that vibrant places had an intangible authenticity and unexpectedness. The term 'buzz' is used to describe the wackiness, eccentricities, uniqueness, grittiness, and edginess that makes up this factor. Scale items included "There is a sense of excitement," "It is

edgy,” “It can often be surprising.” Turners Falls was perceived to have a statistically higher level of buzz than the other two villages. Chronbach’s alpha was low (0.5876), and the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Safety: Safety was mentioned as a factor in the literature/expert review (Davis, 1990; Jacobs, 1961). Respondents in the focus groups and interviews mentioned that safety was an important part of place vibrancy. However, the perception of safety varied. A single item was used for this scale: “People can safely walk at alone at night.” Montague Center was perceived to be safer than the other villages. This factor did not correlate with the single vibrancy item.

Pedestrians: This factor was mentioned in the literature/expert review (Jacobs, 1961; Montgomery, 1998; Recio & Gomez, 2013). According to the respondents in the focus groups and interviews, people can be seen out on the streets and milling about in vibrant places. However, pedestrian activity in-and-of itself was not a good indicator, because some places, like financial districts, might have a bolus of activity during the middle of the day that dissipates during the evening and weekends. A single item was used for this scale: “There are usually a lot of people on the streets.” The field study did not show significant differences among the villages, but the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Social capital: This factor was mentioned in the literature review (Florida, 2012; Martin et al., 2015). Focus groups and interview results suggested that a strong fabric of social connections led to increased vibrancy. Vibrant places tend to be tight-knit and encourage social exchanges and participation in activities among community members. Social groups could be formal organizations or informal groups of friends. The interactions between all residents and visitors should at least be respected. Scale items included “The community is tight knit,” “Residents trust their neighbors,” and “Residents often run into people they know.”

Chronbach's alpha was low for this factor (0.4754). Millers Falls had lower social capital compared with the other villages. The scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Well-being: This factor was mentioned in the literature/expert review (Martin et al., 2015; Stern, 2014). Focus groups and interview results suggested that places that fostered a sense of health and well-being were vibrant. For this factor, residents' basic comfort needs and contentment were taken care of. Well-being could be facilitated through the structure of the physical environment, such as addressing heat islands, and through art and cultural projects, such as murals. Scale items included "People seem healthy," "Residents have a lot of leisure time," "There is good access to health care," and "There is a sense of well-being." Montague Center scored higher on well-being than the other two villages. Chronbach's alpha was good (0.6651), and the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Themes not identified in the literature search/expert view:

Forward-looking governance: Focus groups and interview results suggested that vibrant places had engaged citizens who elect representatives who, along with government employees, seek novel ways to solve community problems, often involving the use of arts and culture spurring economic activity and evidence of creative energy and thoughtfulness about the community. This triggers a positive feedback loop of improvement, including outside investment. A community needs to have taken care of their basic needs to have the means to create creative placemaking opportunities. Scale items included, "Many people believe in this place," "There is a sense of orderliness," and "The local government addresses challenges creatively." These items had acceptable internal consistency (Chronbach's alpha = 0.6063). In the field study, Millers Falls was shown to have less forward-looking governance than the other two

villages, with no statistical differences between Turners Falls and Montague Center. The scale was significantly correlated with the single item “It is vibrant.”

Local Ownership of Media: Focus groups and interview results suggested that vibrant places often had their own local media outlets and publications and that citizens were often recording news and were involved in its production and dissemination. Scale items included a single item: “Local news is well covered.” The field study did not show statistical differences between the villages, but there was a trend for Millers Falls to have lower local media presence. This factor was not correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Education: Focus groups and interview results suggested that education was an important component of vibrant places. Having a strong university or higher education presence increases the overall intellectual climate, contributes to the overall culture and stimulates the local economy. Scale items included “Education is valued,” and “Universities are nearby.” Chronbach’s alpha was low for this factor (0.3278), possibly because there were only two items (lowering the number of items decreases alpha). Also, systematic error was built into this scale, because Montague Center was considerably closer to the University of Massachusetts than the other two villages. This possibility was supported by the field study, where education was shown to be a more important factor in Montague than in the other villages. The scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Natural beauty: Focus groups and interview results suggested that the presence of the natural world contributed to vibrancy. Accessible parks, outdoor recreational activity, riverwalks, beautiful open spaces, and an agricultural heritage played an important role, particularly if cultural hubs were nearby. Scale items included “There are several outdoor recreational opportunities nearby,” “There are enough parks,” and “The natural world is

respected.” Comparisons among the villages show Millers Falls with a lower perception of natural beauty than the other villages. Chronbach’s alpha was relatively high (0.6704). The scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Cleanliness: Respondents in the focus groups and interviews mentioned that cleanliness was an important factor in their perception of vibrancy. Cleanliness was associated with safety, freshness, and uniqueness. However, it might also lead to a perception of sterility. A single item was used for this scale: “It is clean.” Montague Center was considered to be cleaner than the other two villages. The scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Moderate tourism: Respondents said that the presence of tourism, but not overtourism, was a necessary component of vibrancy. Tourism supports local artists and businesses but can be a drag on the infrastructure. Scale items included “It has a lot of hotel rooms,” “There are a lot of tourists,” and “It draws people seeking entertainment.” Tourism presence was low in all three villages but was lower in Millers Falls compared to the other villages. Chronbach’s alpha was relatively high (0.6691), and the scale was significantly correlated with the single vibrancy item.

Three other items were analyzed: a single-item vibrancy scale, changes in vibrancy over the last five years, and an item relating to how well residents enjoyed living in their village.

Single-item vibrancy: A single item was posed to respondents to allow for an opportunity to compare those results with the individual factors relating to vibrancy and with the mean of all the place vibrancy factors. The scale item was “It is vibrant.” Montague Center scored highest (3.42), followed by Turners Falls (3.26), and Millers Falls (3.16), and the

difference was significantly lowest in Millers Falls. The five factors that correlated highest with the single-item vibrancy term were gathering places, arts and culture, buzz, moderate tourism, and unique and historic architecture. The correlation between the mean of all factors and the single term was $r = 0.6384$.

Vibrancy Improvement: Respondents were asked whether they had noticed improvements in vibrancy over time. The scale item was “It is more vibrant than it was five years ago.” Respondents saw more of a change in Turners Falls (3.93), which was significantly larger than the change perceived in Montague Center (3.28).

Enjoyment: Enjoyment was not identified as a factor related to place vibrancy. However, a single-item scale was created to compare respondents’ perceptions of how much they enjoyed a place with their perceptions of vibrancy. The scale item was “I enjoy living here.” The magnitude of the scores were high for all villages (Turner’s Falls, 4.20; Millers Falls, 3.59; Montague Center, 4.54), nearly a full scale point higher than for vibrancy as a single item. Among the villages, Montague scored statistically higher than the other two villages, and enjoyment was significantly correlated with the single-item vibrancy term. The top five correlations between the factors and the enjoyment term were social capital, forward-looking governance, well-being, gathering places, and unique and historic architecture. The correlation between the mean of the factors and the enjoyment term was $r = 0.7269$.

Mean of Place Vibrancy Scales: The mean of all 17 place vibrancy scales was calculated to provide another overall assessment of vibrancy. The pattern of responses among the villages was similar to the response seen with the single vibrancy term. The means were higher with Montague Center (3.58) and Turners Falls (3.49) compared with Millers Falls (3.00), and the differences were statistically significant.

5.2. Conclusions

Vibrancy is an aspirational goal appearing in contemporary revitalization initiatives that is connected to built environment, place character, and cultural activities. Vibrancy was also once considered as a tentative indicator of creative placemaking interventions, which is a specific type of revitalization that uses art and culture as the tool to elicit improvements. However, the definition for vibrancy is ambiguous in the extant literature (Markusen, 2012; Nicodemus, 2013). A firmer understanding of what vibrancy means would help all planners, including those specifically using art and culture to transform places, to know what they are striving for, and, having a quantitative measure of place vibrancy would enable them to benchmark their current status and measure progress over time.

The literature shows the variety and complexity of the attempts that have been made to measure the effectiveness of creative placemaking and cultural vitality. The first problem was the lack of clarity on the definition of the goal (i.e., for creative placemaking, livability, and/or vibrancy). Second, even if there was an agreed-upon goal for cultural interventions, such as the creation of a vibrant city, the methods for evaluating achievement have been not been grounded. Holden (2004, p. 17) stated that the “ways of demonstrating benefit [of arts and culture] have become tortuous, employing complicated and contested assessments of causation.” Even results of economic impacts, which are only one aspect of place vibrancy, have been called into question.

Attempts to create universal indicators to measure creative placemaking have been derailed by the two major grant funding programs in the US, the NEA’s *Our Town* program and ArtPlace. The term vibrancy is considered too ill-defined in this creative placemaking. The NEA had experimented with developing potential indicators for the presence of arts and ‘livability’

(Morley et al., 2014). The categories of indicators are resident attachment to community, quality of life, arts and cultural activity, and economic conditions. The indicators within each category are publicly accessible secondary data from the US Census (America Community Survey, County Business Patterns), the FBI, and the US Bureau of Labor Statistics. The indicators were developed after consultation with “researchers, arts practitioners, and experts in community development” (<https://www.arts.gov/artistic-fields/research-analysis/arts-data-profiles/arts-data-profile-8/arts-data-profile-8>). The geographic scope of the indicators varies from census tract to county. The NEA currently points to these datasets as tools to help programmers evaluate their creative placemaking programs, but stresses that the data are not intended to be used to infer a causal relationship but to “guide implementation of place-based arts initiatives.” There is also no attempt to aggregate indicators into an overall category.

This study proposes a new way to evaluate revitalization initiatives, including creative placemaking projects. It presents a grounded definition of place vibrancy that has identifiable characteristics and that can be measured through scales of psychological attitudes at the smallest geographic scale (census blocks). For this study, the term vibrancy in the context of place was explored in three ways. First, factors associated with vibrancy were developed through a literature search of professional and academic literature, and through focus group and interviews of planning and tourism researchers, arts administration experts, artists, residents, and tourists. Second, scales were developed to measure respondents’ attitudes about the presence of those factors for a given place. Third, a three-year longitudinal field study of three villages in the town of Montague, MA (Turners Falls, Millers Falls, and Montague Center) was begun to get benchmark place vibrancy and to measure changes in upcoming years after new planning interventions are initiated in one of the villages—Millers Falls.

The first research question posed in this study was, *is there such a thing as place vibrancy?* The study identified 17 factors relating to place vibrancy. Recalling that vibrancy was at one time a tentative indicator for creative placemaking efforts, if the factors are interposed on the working definition of creative placemaking (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 218) in brackets and underlined, the scales match up with the overall themes of creative placemaking:

“In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors [forward-looking governance, local ownership of media, education] strategically shape the physical [infrastructure, natural beauty] and social character [social capital and well-being] of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities [arts and culture]. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces [gathering places, pedestrians], rejuvenates structures and streetscapes [historic and unique architecture, cleanliness], improves local business viability [strong economy] and public safety [safety], and brings diverse people [diversity] together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired [buzz, moderate tourism]” (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 218).

Using the definition of creative placemaking as a model, a new definition can be constructed for vibrant places:

Vibrant places have forward-looking governance, local ownership of media, and value education, which shapes the adoption of people-oriented infrastructure and access to the natural environment, while supporting the social cohesion and well-being of residents, often through arts and cultural programming. Vibrant places have an abundance of gathering places and an active street life, value unique and historic architecture and cleanliness, a strong local economy, safety, and diversity, and share the ‘buzz’ of their authentic character in a managed way with tourists.

Taken together the factors relating to place vibrancy can serve as a valid means of measuring creative placemaking. However, as with the definition of creative placemaking, this definition is evolving. Some of the factors that did not correlate well with vibrancy as a single item, such as local ownership of media, infrastructure, safety and the local economy, might fall out of the definition with further study. The construct is broad and multifaceted, so, it might be

more useful to make use of an umbrella definition instead of a more parsimonious one. Another point of caution is that this definition was derived largely from focus groups and interviews in a small region of the country. To the extent that this definition has been socially constructed and is therefore not a universal definition from a post-positivist paradigm, perhaps tweaks need to be made to it before applying it in different locales. For example, before applying the definition to a new town or neighborhood, focus groups should be convened where participants rate the previously determined vibrancy themes for relevance.

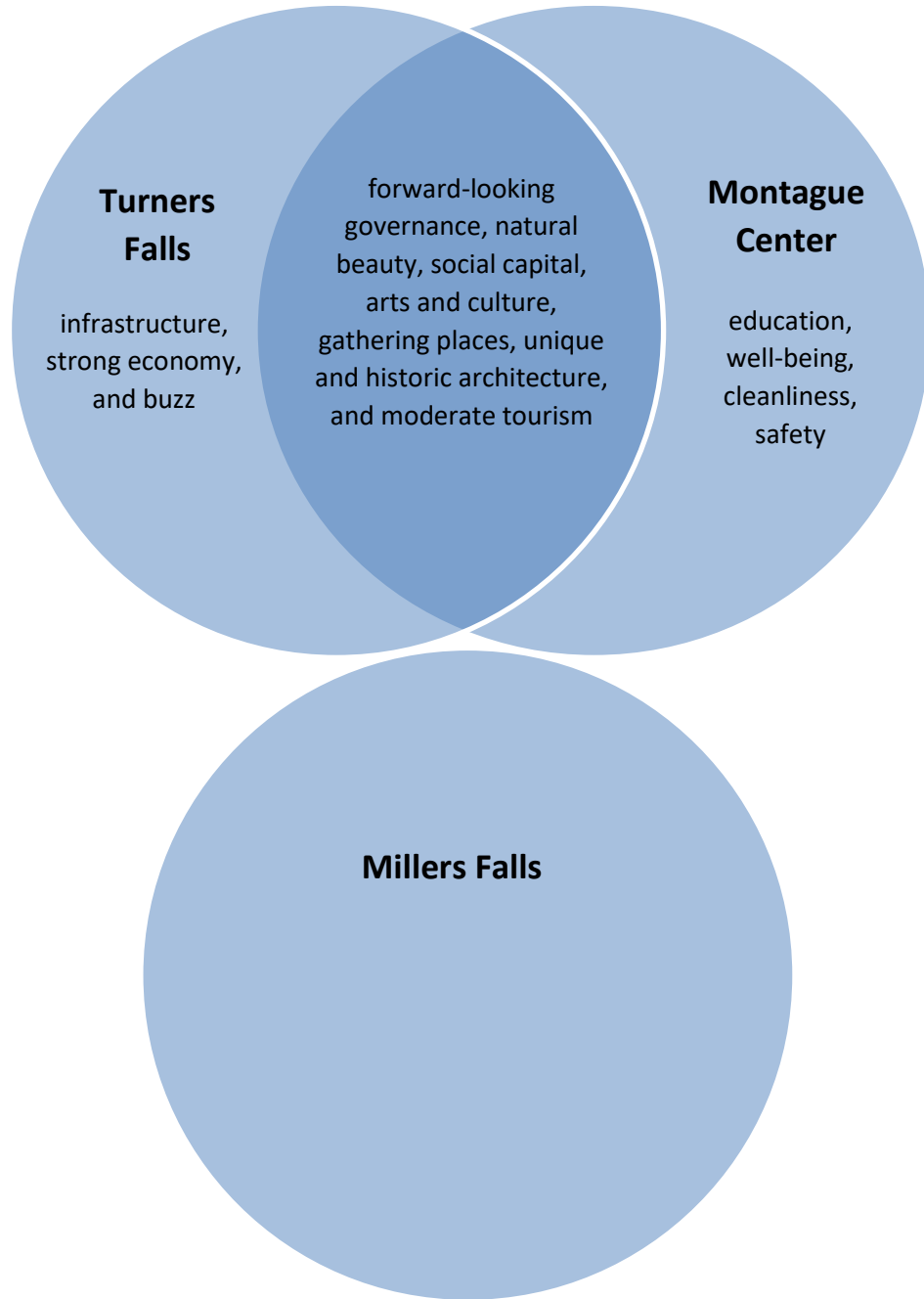
The second research question was, *after a definition for vibrancy is developed, can reliable and valid scales be built to measure the construct?* The scales for this study were built upon a sample of planning literature relating to vibrancy and from focus groups and interviews from artists, experts in planning, tourism, and arts administration, and residents and tourists. Items were written to match the domains and then underwent an expert review. This method is most closely aligned with Rossiter's (2011) emphasis on content validity. Reliability was determined through Cronbach's alpha, which tests internal consistency of the items for the multi-item scales. Some of the reliability scores were low, which is a limitation to the study. The scales were ranked according to their correlation with single-item terms for vibrancy and enjoyment, which is another prism to explore whether the scales are truly measuring vibrancy.

The third question was, *can this research method be used to measure the effects of arts and cultural interventions or, revitalization interventions in general?* This question was addressed by beginning a three-year longitudinal field study of the scales in the three Massachusetts villages. If the mean of the 17 factors can be considered as an overall measure of place vibrancy, the field study showed that Turners Falls and Montague Center had higher overall place vibrancy (3.49 and 3.58 out of the five-point Likert scale, respectively) compared

with Millers Falls (3.00). The single-item vibrancy scale (“It is vibrant”), showed a similar pattern, but the scale means were lower, particularly for Turners Falls and Millers Falls (Turner’s Falls, 3.16; Montague Center, 3.42; Millers Falls, 2.33). Given that the mean of the scales was highly correlated with the single-item vibrancy scale ($r = 0.6384$, $p < 0.000$), for the matter of convenience, it may be easier and quicker for practitioners to get an overall reading of a place by using the single item scale “It is vibrant.” In fact, vibrancy as a stand-alone item was correlated with all but four of the individual vibrancy scales—infrastructure, strong economy, safety, and local media (Table 13). However, using the complete set of scales would allow towns to track which specific improvements in vibrancy need to be made.

The analysis of the field study data shed some light on the interplay of the factors related to vibrancy. Turners Falls and Montague Center shared top honors compared with Millers Falls for forward-looking governance, natural beauty, social capital, arts and culture, gathering places, unique and historic architecture, and moderate tourism. However, their strengths diverged for some factors. Turners Falls was stronger for infrastructure, strong economy, and buzz, whereas Montague Center was stronger for education, well-being, cleanliness, and safety. No differences were seen for local media, pedestrians, and diversity. The factors that were greater in Turners Falls or Montague Center compared with Millers Falls are shown in Figure 34.

Figure 34: Place Vibrancy Strengths in Three Villages in Montague, MA



No differences: local media, pedestrians, and diversity

Although the field study had a small sample size (N = 91), it was large enough to show statistically significant differences in several vibrancy scales between the three villages of Montague, MA. For all scales, Millers Falls scored lowest (except for when no differences were shown). The scales that Turners Falls scored higher on were urban-related factors such as infrastructure, meeting places, business activity, buzz, and tourism, whereas Montague Center, which is more rural and closer to the five-college region of the Pioneer Valley of Massachusetts, scored higher on education, social capital, well-being, appearance, cleanliness, and safety. Vibrancy measured as a stand-alone item and as a mean of all vibrancy scales was comparable between Turners Falls and Montague Center, even though the two villages drew from different aspects of the construct. These results were illustrated visually when vibrancy was mapped by census block in the three villages. However, limited conclusions should be made due to the small samples from each census block.

One way to think about the vibrancy factors is through the lens of needs hierarchy. According to Informant 9, a tourism expert, places need to take care of the basic needs of both travelers and residents, but also need to take care of higher-order needs. Lower-order needs might include like safety, security, and orderliness themes, whereas higher-order needs might include themes related to beauty, excitement, surprise, variety, aspiration, action, diversity, and entertainment. Under this framework, Montague Center might skew toward satisfying more lower order needs than Turners Falls. Looking back two starting-point definitions derived from the literature, the lower-order needs appear to be more associated with what the NEA defined as 'livability' themes (Esarey, 2014, p. 15) and the higher-order needs, with a term that suggests more activity and vitality, which is reminiscent of 'vibrancy' themes (Nicodemus, 2013, p. 218). The term 'vibrancy' might therefore have a sub-component of 'livability'.

In this study, four scales did not statistically correlate with the single-item vibrancy local ownership of media, infrastructure, safety, and the economy. These findings support by Florida's (2012) research and the Knight Foundation's *Soul of the City* (SOC) study, which found that basic services and the economy were not associated with happiness, satisfaction, and place attachment. However, although these themes did not score high, they have been retained in the overall definition of place vibrancy until a larger study can be done to confirm these findings.

The Knight Foundation's SOC study showed that the top drivers of community attachment were social offerings, openness, and aesthetics. Interestingly, the top correlations between the factors and the single-item enjoyment scale were social capital, governance, well-being, gathering places, and unique and historic architecture. There was therefore considerable confirmation of the most important factors for community enjoyment, a construct similar but not exactly the same as place attachment. However, the focus of this study was on vibrancy and not community attachment. Comparatively, the factors that were most correlated with the single-item vibrancy scale were gathering places, arts and culture, buzz, moderate tourism, and unique and historic architecture.

It is not surprising that slightly different factors scored high for vibrancy and enjoyment. However, it was striking that the overall mean of the factors, which, again, were intended to be indicators of perceptions of place vibrancy, correlated slightly better with place enjoyment rather than place vibrancy ($r = 0.7269$ versus $r = 0.6384$). During the construct development phase, focus group and interview attendees may have been thinking more about place enjoyment rather than vibrancy. However, it is still unclear why this discrepancy has occurred.

The category that appears to be most important across the constructs of vibrancy, enjoyment, and attachment is presence of gathering places, where people can get together to

meet one another and interact socially. The category was ranked 1/17 with the single-item vibrancy term, 3/17 with the enjoyment term, and 1/10 in the *SOC* place attachment study, and the correlations were all quite consistent (approximately 0.54 for all three). Unique and historic architecture was a top-five category for the vibrancy and enjoyment items and is closely related to aesthetics in the *SOC* study, although natural beauty was included in the aesthetics category in the *SOC* study and is a separate category in this dissertation. Similarly, the state of the local economy and safety ranked low for all three measures. The economy measure ranked 16/17 for the vibrancy item, 14/17 for enjoyment, and 7/10 in the *SOC* study. Yet, the studies were not congruent when it came to social capital (9/17 for vibrancy, 1/17 for enjoyment, and 10/10 for *SOC* attachment). The diversity factor was also discrepant between the two studies (10/16 for vibrancy, 12/17 for enjoyment, and 2/10 for *SOC* attachment). The domains of what constitutes vibrancy are not fixed, and some are emphasized more than others in different times and places. As Informant 15 explained, in recent decades, the main goals for planners were to make downtowns safe and clean, or, more mall-like. The emphasis now is injecting arts and culture into the public space as a means of revitalization. Arts and culture ranked high as both a vibrancy and enjoyment theme, although it was not examined separately as a *SOC* place attachment theme. However, some aspects of vibrancy are more static and unable to be manipulated, such as nearness to natural beauty or universities.

Informants 1 and 2 and Goudreau (2018) discussed how Turners Falls has been experiencing a renaissance over the past five years, in large part due to the intervention of the arts and culture agency RiverCulture. The study supports this view because respondents indicated that Turners Falls was more vibrant now than five years before. It is not possible to say that RiverCulture's work caused the increase in perceived vibrancy compared to the other two

villages. However, Millers Falls and Montague Center have not received the same type of government support and showed less of an increase in perceived vibrancy.

Montague has recently received a \$15,000 grant from the Massachusetts Department of Housing and Economic Development to implement an economic development plan for Millers Falls starting in the spring of 2019. The other two villages will not be receiving any special infusion of governmental support over the next three years. Therefore, these scales could be used to track changes over time in the three villages. If the effect on vibrancy is largest in Millers Falls in subsequent years, a strong argument can be made that it was caused by the new local government initiatives. Furthermore, Montague officials could use the definition of place vibrancy derived from this study to shape their plan of how they would like to transform Millers Falls. The Project for Public Spaces might recommend taking a tactical placemaking approach by focusing on the vibrancy characteristics that are “lighter, quicker, and cheaper.” Would it make more sense to concentrate on the “lower-order” needs first, such as safety, cleanliness, and education, or the flashier buzz, infrastructure, and the local economy? Perhaps the town would like to focus more on the high-scoring place enjoyment factors, instead. Or maybe they would choose factors that score high in both vibrancy and enjoyment.

The vibrancy scales could be used in general to track aspects of what Hwang (Hwang, 2016) calls the ‘Creative Economy Life Cycle.’ Hwang theorized that the creative economy of towns undergoes a circular pattern through stages of opportunity, prosperity, self-preservation, and crisis. A town in a prosperous stage would score highest on the vibrancy scales of diversity, arts and culture, and local economy. The opposite would hold for towns that are in the crisis stage, where there is low innovation and creativity and general stagnation. Millers Falls might be an example of a town in the crisis stage. Turners Falls, on the other hand, has shown some

relative improvement in these measures, might be in the opportunity stage, as storefronts begin to fill, and buzz begins to build. Florida (2012) found that members of what he dubbed the Creative Class like to be part of the reinvention of places. He quoted an audience member at a downtown revitalization meeting who said, “We want a place that’s not *done*” (Florida, 2012, p. 281), or, are in the crisis or opportunity stages. Hwang’s Creative Economy Life Cycle curve is similar to Michael Mehaffy’s Jacobs Curve, which shows diversity decreasing after wealth is maximized in the community unless there is a concerted effort to use ‘tools’ to mitigate this effect (“The ‘Jacobs Curve’ and gentrification | CNU,” n.d.).

When aiming for ‘revitalization,’ it makes conceptual sense that the end product should be ‘vitality,’ or its intellectual cousin ‘vibrancy.’ The literature has shown an extensive array of attributes for the related concepts of livability, quality of place, placemaking, etc. Is the term place vibrancy just a short-hand term for the end product of a creative placemaking initiative? This study suggests that the preliminary answer to that is yes. Are quality places simply vibrant places? Wycoff’s (2013) definition of a quality place shares many of the same attributes of a vibrant place and a place that should engender attachment (e.g., walkable, safe, connected, welcoming, authentic, accessible, comfortable, quiet, sociable, and promote civic engagement), and this also study suggests more vibrant places are more sociable, authentic (have buzz), and promote civic engagement.

Are we attached to places because they are vibrant? The answer to that question might be a qualified yes because many place vibrancy themes are shared with the place attachment themes seen in the Knight Foundation’s *SOC* study. Their commonalities and differences are worth considering when planners design places. Some residents prefer more vibrant place than others. Certain aspects might appeal to different subtypes of the population. A further analysis

of the data from this study might show differences by demographics, such as age or income. However, the sample is too small for this study to allow for meaningful subgroup comparisons.

Looking back at Markusen's critique of the state of creative placemaking research (Markusen, 2012; Stern, 2014), this study has addressed several of the current gaps in research:

- The dimensions to be measured are difficult to define precisely.

Through an extensive literature search and qualitative data gathered from experts in focus groups and interviews, a set of dimensions of place vibrancy and a resulting definition is proposed: *Vibrant places have forward-looking governance, local ownership of media, and value education, which shapes the adoption of people-oriented infrastructure and access to the natural environment, while supporting the social cohesion and well-being of residents, often through arts and cultural programming. Vibrant places have an abundance of gathering places and an active street life, value historic and unique architecture and cleanliness, a strong local economy, safety, and diversity, and share the "buzz" of their authentic character in a managed way with tourists.*

- Most good secondary data series are not available relative to spatial scales.

Because the themes of place vibrancy were developed into scales to measure the perception of place vibrancy, assessments of primary data were made at the smallest geographic scale, the census block.

- They are unlikely be statistically significant at the desired scales.

Although the field study had a small sample size, statistically significant differences were seen in baseline levels of place vibrancy between the villages studied. With larger sample sizes,

statistical differences could be assessed at the census block level. Furthermore, by increasing the sample at the census block level and mapping the outcomes, the visual representation of these differences could be better seen and analyzed geographically. However, other publicly accessible data are not always available at the lower levels, so future comparisons against place vibrancy will still be difficult.

- Charting causes of change over time successfully is a major challenge.

For the ongoing field study, assessments are planned for the upcoming three years. However, the process is time, resource, and labor intensive. Nevertheless, the groundwork has been started here.

- There are very few arts and cultural indicators included among the measures under consideration.

This study includes a factor measuring the perception of arts and cultural activity.

When it comes to revitalization, it is important to use precise language to define outcomes. One of the terms surrounding revitalization has been ‘vibrancy’. The literature hints that vibrancy has to do with the social activities that were largely lost after cities were gutted following urban renewal and those that were not fully reclaimed after the drive toward new urbanism and the creation of the festival marketplace. The process of placemaking arose to rebuild towns and cities by reshaping the built environment and increasing community involvement in planning. ‘Creative’ placemaking brought artists and other creative types to the planning process. If placemaking is meant to correct the ills of the modern city movement, one of the central outcomes measures of the effort has been defined, albeit imprecisely, as vibrancy.

For this study, we attempted to develop a precise definition in order to give practitioners a firmer grasp of what vibrancy means. If vibrancy is indeed what community members want, with the recognition that vibrancy is different than related concepts of favorability, attachment, and livability, we used the definition to create scales to measure progress toward a more vibrant community. It may be that individual communities may choose to modify the scales or emphasize some aspects of vibrancy over others. This is reasonable as the practice of placemaking should be situated within a specific community. Perhaps the process of customizing a definition and developing a specific set of scales for individual communities is the best way to approach the problem of measuring revitalization, and, more specifically, creative placemaking projects. This study does not go so far as to suggest that an index should be created to measure vibrancy because of the difficulty of weighting the factors that comprise vibrancy. However, it does suggest that surveying community members about their perceptions surrounding vibrancy is a potentially new way to measure the outcomes of revitalization efforts, including creative placemaking.

The suggestion that vibrancy is an end-product of revitalization has deep implications for planners. Small to mid-sized legacy cities, particularly in rust-belt areas, are seeking to redefine themselves. Many are pursuing Richard Florida-type creative city agendas. Arts and cultural planning is emerging a core component of comprehensive plans. Likewise, with the increasing awareness of climate change and issues surrounding sustainability, those cities that have been left behind have an opportunity to make wholesale infrastructure changes. Sustainability, with its balancing of economic, citizen, environmental, and cultural improvement goals are encompassed by the larger place vibrancy umbrella proposed here.

5.3. Limitations and future studies

This study was limited due to several reasons, primarily because of the positionality of the subjects and researcher. The majority (86%) of informants and respondents resided in the Pioneer Valley of Massachusetts, most were highly educated, and all were white, which is likely to have played a role in their perceptions of place vibrancy. Similarly, the study's principle investigator had preconceptions and biases about vibrancy, such as that urban, high-density places were naturally more vibrant than rural places.

The field study was statistically limited because of a small sample size ($N = 91$), which reduced the sensitivity of the regression models. A census sampling method was used to proportionally sample from each block in the three villages, however, the target number of surveys handed out in each block was not always reached due to time limitations for conducting the fieldwork. For this reason, limited conclusions can be made from the GIS maps showing a geographic representation of place vibrancy in the three villages.

Several aspects of the survey instrument could be improved. Open-ended integer responses instead of categorical should have been used for the demographic questions (age, race, income, etc.), which would have allowed for continuous descriptive statistic results. Household income should have been specifically requested instead of a general question about income. The questionnaire asked about the vibrancy within the context of the respondents' neighborhood because results were intended to be analyzed at the census block level. However, it would have been useful to have the respondents answer the questions at the overall village level, as well. The respondents also knew from the structure of the questionnaire that comparisons were being made of neighboring villages in Montague. This may have skewed their responses by influencing what they were expecting the findings of the study to be (i.e., "Well, Turners Falls

is definitely more enjoyable than Millers Falls.”) Therefore, the multiple-choice question for the village they lived in could have been substituted with an open-ended question. Finally, open ended follow-up questions about enjoyment (or place attachment) could be added to enhance understanding of the relationship of vibrancy to these related constructs.

Regarding the analysis of the field study, several of the factors had low Chronbach’s alpha scores. This is partly due to the low number of items for the multi-item factors. The items in the factors with low alphas should have been perhaps analyzed separately. However, the number of factors is already quite large (17), as is the overall survey (45 items), so, if anything, items should be dropped than added. On the other hand, the results in many of the scales still seemed to show a meaningful separation between the villages, which was often statistically significant. The pattern of responses was similar for the factors, even if they had low alpha scores (with Millers Falls scoring the lowest in nearly all cases).

At least one item was left out of the scale construction. The focus groups suggested that the presence of high-speed internet and technological savvy was necessary for vibrancy. Another item should have perhaps been included under infrastructure to represent this notion. Or, perhaps it should have been broken out as its own theme, possibly in association with the use of social media and community bulletin boards, or other types of technology, beyond digital communication, to uplift the working environment and foster innovation. However, it might be too much to expect for a vibrant city to necessarily be a ‘smart city,’ as, only large metropolitan areas are likely to invest in sophisticated technological systems. It is hard enough to get rural areas to invest in high-speed internet.

With a larger sample size, statistical analyses could be done to identify more detailed spatial patterns, both within towns and between them. For example, perhaps higher vibrancy

scores cluster in the city centers, or near waterways. Perhaps they skew in a geographic direction. The larger Ns would enable statistical comparisons of among social and economic indicators at the smaller geographies.

Another limitation is that this is an interim report for the ongoing longitudinal field study of the three villages, so, one of the main outcomes of the study, whether Millers Falls will experience the greater increase in vibrancy compared to the other two villages after their upcoming planning interventions, will not be known until later years. In addition, since the groundwork has been started in the scale development this does not mean the scale cannot be further refined. New measures may include items and factors related to enjoyment in living in the area and the sense of attachment to the area.

Future analyses can include time-series comparisons of other sets of data with the attitudinal scales derived from this study, such as walkability scores, housing prices, and retail sales. Correlations of the vibrancy measures with the creative placemaking indicators developed by the NEA would cross-validate both sets of indicators. However, the persistent difficulty will be comparing similar geographic areas—for example, county-wide canvassing would require a large representative survey sample, which is labor intensive and time consuming.

This study was performed to develop a definition of place vibrancy and a means to measure it. The definition for place vibrancy within the context of towns and cities developed for this study is broad, and some dimensions are more representative than others. In practical terms, it is apparent that two towns can both score relatively high on overall place vibrancy (Turners Falls and Montague Center compared to Millers Falls), yet they score differently on various types of vibrancy factors (such as those related to higher- or lower-order needs hierarchy). Future studies might use additional or expanded analysis methods, such as latent

class analysis to see if sets of vibrancy characteristics cluster in different types of towns. Also, future studies should continue to measure place vibrancy in tandem with related constructs such as place attachment.

From a practitioner's standpoint, conceptualizing and measuring place vibrancy is an ongoing need for most communities. Florida writes how the creative class is attracted to a quality of the place that is similar to the concept of vibrancy presented in this study (Florida, 2012). However, it's reasonable to expect that what constitutes a quality place would be different for different types of people—more creative types are likely to be more attracted to a type of vibrancy that has more surprises and edginess than retirees who are looking for quiet and security. In either case, in today's digital age, which gives the creative workforce more mobility, the characteristics of a place play a more central role as to where people want to live. Quality of place also shapes where we want to stay when we travel, as short-term rentals embed travelers in vibrant neighborhoods all over the world. Tracking the perceptions of various vibrancy characteristics enable communities to consciously move toward the type of place they strive to be. Some qualities are, in fact, in opposition with one another, such as cleanliness versus buzz (which aims to capture some of the grittiness of emerging places). In these cases, achieving the proper balance is the objective. Whatever the goals are for a particular community, being aware of the vibrancy dimensions, some of which focus on people-centered characteristics, such as inclusiveness (diversity) and access (infrastructure) would also presumably protect communities against the displacement, which is the chief criticism for creative city approaches that do not address rising inequalities in cities.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Focus Group/Interview Protocol

Hello. My name is John Delconte. I am a graduate student from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst's Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning. I am conducting a study to develop a scale to measure place vibrancy. Another way to think of place vibrancy is the "buzz", or vitality of a place. Newspapers sometimes talk about a place as revitalized. These are all similar concepts. You have been selected to participate because you are an expert in planning or tourism, because you are an artist, or because you live in or are visiting the place where this study is being undertaken. You do not have to answer any of the questions and may terminate the interview at any time you wish. I will keep your identity anonymous.

The ground rules are:

1. If you make a statement that you want to follow up on, you don't need to feel as if you have to wait for my prompts. The goal is to have a conversation rather than a question and answer session.
2. I will say as little as possible so that the interpretation of the questions comes from you and not from me.

Here is a sheet of paper that I am going to ask you to fill out in a few minutes. <Hand out blank sheet of paper to participant.> Do you have any questions? OK, let's get started.

1. How long have you've lived in [name of city]? OR How long will you be visiting [name of city]?
2. What is something you like to do when you aren't working?
3. What do you consider as some of the biggest issues [name of city] is currently facing?
4. Do you consider [name of city] to be a vibrant place?
5. What makes a place vibrant for you?
6. Name a few things about [name of city] that makes it vibrant? this is a brainstorming exercise go ahead and jot them down on the sheet I gave you. They can be anything – major or minor – successful or not...
7. Does the vibrancy of a place make you want to visit it?
8. Have you ever used Air BnB? If so, why?
9. Think of a city that you think has a lot of vibrancy. Would it have:
Pedestrian activity?

Atmosphere?

Social capital (connections or relationships between people)?

Creativity?

Economic activity?

Presence of gathering places?

Certain built environment characteristics?

A sense of well-being.?

10. Are there any other parts of a vibrant place that we are missing?

Closing

I appreciate your time and your active participation in this interview; your thoughts and ideas will help develop a scale to measure the vibrancy of places and might be used as a tool to measure revitalization efforts or the ability of a place to market itself for certain types of tourism. Here is my card so that you may e-mail me if you think of anything else to mention.

Appendix B

Place Vibrancy Questionnaire

Place Vibrancy Study

<i>(to be filled out by researcher)</i>	Address _____		
Subject _____	Tract _____	Block Group _____	Block _____

Q1.1 You are being invited to participate in a research study titled “Place Vibrancy and Its Measurement: Construct Development and Scale Development”. This study is being done by PhD candidate John Delconte and faculty adviser Dr. Rod Warnick from the University of Massachusetts Amherst. You were randomly selected to participate in this study because a pilot study of the scale is being run in the town of Montague.

The purpose of this research study is to develop a scale to measure place vibrancy. Another way to think of place vibrancy is the “buzz”, or vitality of a place. Newspapers sometimes talk about a place as revitalized. These are all similar concepts. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete the attached questionnaire about your neighborhood. It will take you approximately 10 minutes to complete. This is a long-term study. We will be returning to ask you to fill out another survey each year for the following 4 years.

You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study may help planners and tourism officials to measure revitalization efforts and to make destinations more attractive to tourists. We believe there are no known risks associated with this research study; however, a breach of confidentiality is always possible. To the best of our ability your answers in this study will remain confidential. We will minimize any risks by keeping written notes locked in an office and data secured on a password-protected data server.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can withdraw at any time. You are free to skip any question that you choose. If you have questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the researchers, John Delconte (919-630-4478; jdelconte@umass.edu) or Rod Warnick (413-545-6629; warnick@isenberg.umass.edu). If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at 413-545-3428 or humansubjects@ora.umass.edu.

By checking “I agree” below you are indicating that you are at least 18 years old, have read and understood this consent form and agree to participate in this research study.

Q1.2 Do you agree to participate?

- I agree
 - I don't agree
-

Q1.3 Your name:

- Name _____
-

Q1.4 Your village:

- Turners Falls
 - Millers Falls
 - Montague Center
-

Q1.5 Your age:

- 18 to 35
 - 36 to 52
 - 53 to 70
 - 71 or over
-

Q1.6 You identify as:

- Male
 - Female
 - Other
-

Q1.7 Your income:

- \$0 to \$24,000
 - \$24,001 to \$48,000
 - \$48,001 to \$72,000
 - \$72,001 to \$96,000
 - \$96,000 or over
-

Q1.8 Your race:

- Hispanic or Latino
 - White (Not Hispanic or Latino)
 - Black or African American (Not Hispanic or Latino)
 - Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (Not Hispanic or Latino)
 - Asian (Not Hispanic or Latino)
 - Native American or Alaska Native (Not Hispanic or Latino)
 - Two or More Races (Not Hispanic or Latino)
-

Q1.9 How often do you go on vacations?

- Hardly ever
 - Once a year
 - More than once a year
-

Q2 Below are a number of statements regarding your attitude about your neighborhood. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	No opinion (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
It has a lot of history.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The community is tight-knit.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local news is well covered.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People seem healthy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Many people believe in this place.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are several outdoor recreational opportunities nearby.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is interesting to look at.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Residents have a lot of leisure time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are usually a lot of people on the streets.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is walkable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is good access to health care.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It has a lot of hotel rooms.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It can often be surprising.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are a lot of artists.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Residents often run into people they know.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	No opinion (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
There are enough parks.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a sense of well-being.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a sense of excitement.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Different types of people are welcome.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a sense of orderliness.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The natural world is respected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The local government addresses challenges creatively.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Residents trust their neighbors.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The architecture is beautiful.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are a lot of opportunities to participate in local activities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The poor are respected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Newcomers are welcome.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a variety of cultural things to do.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It has unique people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are a number of locally owned businesses.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People can safely walk alone at night.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is edgy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	No opinion (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
Residents can run most of their errands quickly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education is valued.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is clean.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are a lot of local hangouts.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is good public transportation.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Many people socialize in public places.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Universities are nearby.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It has a good music scene.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are a lot of tourists.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is vibrant.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I enjoy living here.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It draws people seeking entertainment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is more vibrant than it was 5 years ago.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix C

Selected Quotations from Interviews and Focus Groups by Theme

Forward-looking Governance	
1.	<p>“...[I’ve] spent time in Delhi, India, too. If you were just to talk about vibrancy, it's like you're literally watching life and death unfold in real time. When you step outside the door, it's not uncommon for you to be with 10,000 people within eyesight. That's a very different measure of vibrancy than San Francisco, which is just so managed. I think a lot of American cities and a lot of European cities are extremely managed to be very user-friendly in a way that I think a certain type of person feels comfortable with, the amount of people they want to be in proximity to, the amount of smells and disparate sites they want to see. If you are in a developing world city -- think about Mumbai or something like that -- that's completely different. The place has an unplanned vibrancy almost” (Informant 20).</p>
2.	<p>“...the meal tax pay[s] for this because not everybody in Montague...Montague isn't Northampton, it isn't Amherst, it's not necessarily a community where everybody wants to pay for culture. If you're paying for putting a tax on a beer or a hamburger or any other kind of meal, you could...No it's not that much. I think it's probably 3%. It's going to kick in like maybe \$50,000 a year to the town of which [the RiverCulture staff] part-time salary comes out. It more than covers it. That's how we got over the hurdle of the people in town not necessarily wanting their taxes to go up to pay for culture. Everybody's in favor of culture, of funding a creative economy if they're not literally paying for it. We had to figure out a way to spread it out. Everybody who goes to Montague to eat pays that tax and pays my salary. Not homeowners” (Informant 1).</p>
3.	<p>“It's definitely a way to get over the thing that ‘I don't want my taxes to go up to pay for somebody to paint. I don't want to pay for this. I don't use theater. I don't use culture.’ It's a way to do it. It was a radical idea when the grant was written in 2005 by the former town planner. It's a radical idea. It was radical” (Informant 1).</p>
4.	<p>“Actually, what was going to happen was there was a movement to have a trash incinerator on the main street where now the Discovery Center is. Frank was like, ‘No way. We're revitalizing this building. We're going to turn it into a heritage park.’ If that happened...” (Informant 2).</p>
5.	<p>“Basically, the challenge was that the supermarket was going under because people were bypassing the town...and then we created some interesting programming to get people there. Completely wild crazy stuff and then a lot of things rippled out from that, a lot of positive things. Then people [sic,</p>

	began to] think of us as a creative, vibrant place because we didn't just go under and become another vacant storefront” (Informant 2).
6.	“We ended up having a theater performance in the bakery section...this anarchist theater troupe did this thing in a green cube. It was crazy. The aisles were like the best concession stands of any theater because you could buy anything you wanted to eat. We also had a reception, like, in the vestibule going in. We contacted all these local food producers and said, ‘Would you come and have a reception?’ Then we convinced the manager to carry those products afterwards. Then this whole other demographic of people who never went to Food City started going to Food City... (Informant 2)
7.	“When you can look at your assets and your challenges and marry them in a way that is interesting, it makes the place vibrant and authentic and unique. It's not just like another cookie-cutter store” (Informant 2).
8.	“[The] challenge was tons of bags in the basement of the laundromat. He didn't know what to do with them. It was like all the clothes that people left behind in the laundromat and he didn't know what to do with them, they weren't claiming them, so he just doled them out to designers who made really cool new clothes out of them all. Then he had a fashion show in the laundromat and it like became the cool laundromat. It defined our town as, ‘We can make do with what we have.’” (Informant 2).
9.	<p>“[Turners Falls] had one building. It was a huge building. It was owned by a very nice man. I don't throw the word ‘slumlord’ around a lot, but he was one. His idea of what livable conditions were...you would look in the retail stores, which were all vacant. There were five of them, five, and it was filled with garbage. Just garbage, equipment. They were filthy...I went with a business owner named Erin who owns Loot, another building that's been renovated, and we talked with the owner...</p> <p>Erin and I and with some help, we cleaned them out, but he owned the building. Upstairs they had water problems, there were electrical problems, there were sewage problems. There were pipes that were leaking into these spaces.</p> <p>There was no way that people walking downtown should have to see this. The first thing I did was I raised \$1,500. We cleaned them out, we had a carpenter build temporary walls in the windows which could be moved or hinged, and we started an art gallery.</p>

	<p>You could not go inside the buildings. That was always the deal. It was just when you walked down the street you thought there was an art gallery there. There wasn't an art gallery there. This isn't anything new. This is done in communities all around.</p> <p>It absolutely worked. Whether or not we can draw a line between the Avenue A storefront galleries and then the formation of the Five Eyed Fox, which is a beautiful bar-restaurant around the corner...Inside of a year, inside of less than a year, that whole neighborhood looked, the end of it looked really well.</p> <p>Then eventually it garnered the attention of an investor who has a great heart and deep pockets. He bought it and he renovated all 13 living units and the residential units. Now it's the best block in town, but that's with an investment of possibly as much as half-a-million dollars on his part. (Informant 1)</p>
10.	<p>"...reaching out to new people, bringing them in, showing them around, partnering with them on projects. That's really important. If you get a few stakeholders, they can reach out to others and get them excited about it and bring them in. There's a lot of personal contact going on also" (Informant 2).</p>
11.	<p>"He just got an award recently for the support he has given as a legislator to cultural education. His focus has been on the schools and keeping arts in the schools. That has a real ripple effect for the rest of the community and giving priority and importance to culture." (Informant 7).</p>
12.	<p>" Even in an anarchy there would be governance and balance from people's habits and ideas. Those are all underpinnings to some of the other things that might emerge from it. Those things just don't happen. People have to step in and see, well, something changed. Now there's an imbalance or a perceived imbalance" (Informant 6).</p>
13.	<p>"There's an event that's taking place right now about what to do with a portion of the waterfront that was to become a theater complex. It fell through for complicated reasons. They have hired all these design teams to give people a sense of agency to help figure out what to use the space for.</p> <p>I had a chance to speak with somebody from city governance during this meeting. I can pretty much tell from his standpoint that there's been a lot of governmental mismanagement over the years. There's been a lot of passing the buck on certain issues. What that does is it makes progress, I think, very difficult.</p>

	<p>I think one of the reasons we're actually even seeing any change in Troy is because city governance has really taken it on as an aim, an obligation, an interest. While they're cleaning up past disasters, they're trying to also put themselves in a position for things to come. That takes a lot of attention and energy to be able to be in two places at once.</p> <p>You're putting out fires, but you're trying to build while you're doing that as well. I guess, in some cases, good city governance would just know how to do that, but this is a small town. This is a small city. It's only 50,000. I have to give it up for some people -- the mayor, the deputy mayor, and folks like that -- who have made this part of their mission.</p> <p>I don't really think you can do that without that in place, except if you're in some location where there's an enormous amount of growth. What that growth is helping to produce is maybe a percentage for the arts, a percentage for placemaking, so there's a lot of money on hand to hire staff to just deal with certain issues. The city governance can then be putting out their regular fires.</p> <p>In this case, that doesn't exist. There is some development happening here, but there's not...I think, in general, they're always trying to keep themselves from going into some sort of bankruptcy as a city. For them to be able to also have vision about the future on top of that, that says a lot. Issues would just be trying to actually find the energy, time, and money to be able to not simply put out fires” (Informant 20)</p>
Local Ownership of Media	
14.	<p>“People can write about what they think in the community newspaper. That makes people...It's all about being connected. Having avenues of connection is really a big part in my mind of a vibrant community” (Informant 2).</p>
Infrastructure	
15.	<p>“I have consciously identified sidewalks as a sign of a civilized community. I think that says a lot to me about a place. If elderly housing is [going] into [a] town and there's no way that they can get to the library or anything, I think, oh, this is a cold community. They don't really care about their senior citizens, so I think that...that's an example where you see caring, you see that kind of thoughtfulness. Not necessarily in terms of what you were saying like urban amenities as much. That is true. I agree with that. There's high degree of movability even if we may not have much walkability in terms of attraction places in town. I like that concept of just walking around or</p>

	walking and having a place that is walkable. The degree of walkability. In Amherst, you do, but it's just limited places you walk to" (Informant 4).
16.	"Walkability, if you are out there, without just taking a cab, whatever, what you can do as you walk, and opportunities like that. It's limited here, right downtown, but in some places, people, of course, certain things. I think they are trying to use that thing to enhance all the well-being of walkers, or visitors" (Informant 9).
17.	"Since I've been living in Western Mass, the census has said that every year that the population of Western Mass declines by huge amount of three or four percent something like that every year... There's lack of infrastructure for sure. There is lack of work in most areas, if there is no college or hospital" (informant 11).
Natural Beauty	
18.	"We get to do things like hiking, camping out. Through that network I realized that there's so much around here if you were to enjoy outdoors. You can do a day trip. You can do overnight trip or backpacking, hiking and not to mention if you're interested in out driving [to a] skiing site. I just feel that depending upon the season the place seems to offer a lot in terms of outdoor recreation" (Informant 15).
19.	"Boston's trying to build their own RiverWalk where the Charles River canal comes in over by the Boston Garden North End area. It made me think about the vibrancy that you're talking about, and that the World Fair brought in and it created this vibrant scene so people from all over the world could come to this fair" (Informant 11).
20.	"I think you have vast open space with cultural hubs. Community with the diversity in these hubs, but outside of them is not quite so diverse. You can have both. You can have the rural aspect and the urban cultural diversity" (Informant 11).
21.	"...but I have thought over the years as some [friends] move from a bigger city to a smaller city. When we talk about zoning, for example upzoning in Northampton, a lot of people say, 'I moved here for green space. I didn't move here for density. Stop pushing density.' I like density and diversity. They both hand-in-hand create interesting urbane, vital, active vibrancy" (Informant 19).
22.	"My brother in Los Angeles, he said, 'Oh, we've got to go to this wonderful Argentine restaurant. It's over in San Fernando Valley.' It would have been easier to drive to Boston and back to go have a meal. Whereas, for us, to go

	three hours there and three hours back. The dinner was not very good to me!" (Informant 14).
Social Capital	
23.	"It is a pretty tight-knit community of different people. People are involved in issues and there's a theater company there that took over a farm. They've infused the town with a lot of creativity. Someone came in and opened a restaurant that has a central meeting place which is really important. A place where people can communicate with each other, I think is key to a vibrant community" (Informant 1).
24.	"For example, as part of Boy Scouts, two weeks back we planted trees in downtown. I had no idea that was going on and I feel good about it. Anytime we are downtown we can spot three trees where we helped. It's nice to see that we planted trees in downtown. I was part of that. Having an opportunity to get involved in civic activities, to me, that adds vibrancy to a community like this" (Informant 9).
25.	"Some of the things that make it vibrant for [Informant 11] and I are activities that have community basis. We have the Rock Wall Gym, and that's a physical activity that I can engage in all year round, and that I have made emotional connections with the people there. I know that if I were to leave, we should go somewhere further out, choosing somewhere where there's more natural beauty and less cultural beauty. I would also lose that community and that makes it vibrant. He does the mountain biking and they have a whole bunch of guys. They can come together and then they can go out to the remote beautiful places all over that they wouldn't have access to in, say, a city environment" (Informant 13).
26.	"I think it's a lot to ask of any location that locals would just willfully interact with out-of-towners. There is a whole portion of street life that does happen in Troy, like a lot of people who are on the street a lot, maybe asking for money, maybe just hanging out, maybe because they stay in the shelters. During the day, they just have to mill about. They'll interact with people. You've got a bar scene going on down here...It's an uncomfortable, disproportionate level of engagement. In some ways, a certain group of people are trying to get money out of the other people. The other people are seeing these people as almost like characters in a backdrop, like in a Dickens' story. The degree to which they truly empathize with them or not is...but then they didn't come out to see these people in the first place. They came to go to the bar. There's a weird exchange. That, in itself, is maybe a type of vibrancy, too" (Informant 20).

Well-being	
27.	“...unlimited access to health system for me. What makes a town a town. Not necessarily in Amherst but around Amherst like Rally Medical plus Northampton, some of those places. It's more of, like, an enrichment, you know, adding to my well-being, quality of life. Those are the things that's in a vibrant city...” (Informant 9).
28.	“There's another cliché that we use a lot in the cities, ‘Healthy living.’ To me, would some...I'm liking it right now because I'm thinking this discussion does not address the minority, under-served, generally marginalized populations. For me, a vibrant city's a healthy city. Economic development? I don't know right now. I'm thinking a park where people can go for free and have a picnic and not get arrested, that's appealing to me in a city. Those aren't the kind of things that economic development planners go for because you can't measure that so easily. At the same time, if I'm African American, my idea of a vibrant city is a safe city where my kids can walk to a playground without getting arrested. Or going to a park, or not living in a heat island, there's a million things. This is off topic maybe, but it's a huge topic” (Informant 19).
Arts and Culture	
29.	“For me, a vibrant place is a place where you have an opportunity to have access to a lot of things, pick and choose. For example, abundance of opportunities to engage in arts, craft or restaurant experience and all that. You have to have some sort of a wide variety of things to choose from and to have access to. You can feel safe in either place. I say to choose from. That, to me, that's is an important thing. If it's not there, then I don't think it's as vibrant or lively. Vibrancy calls for something that is alive, and you can do things. You can watch things. You can experience things.” (Informant 9)
30.	“When there's people diverse people living together and enjoying art and culture, whether in our case in particular it's the river, it's the amenities down at the river, Unity Park and the Skate Park, the Shea Theater, the Discovery Center, shops and restaurants, things like that, that's a level of vibrancy that we're encouraging” (Informant 1).
31.	“It's probably the biggest event we have every year [Rochester's Jazz Fest] ...Any time cities or places have those kind[s] of things that bring a community together I think that suggests vibrancy. When those things become popular and people look forward to them and say, ‘Hey, I want to go to Rochester this year for the jazz fest, let's go to Rochester.’ Or, ‘Hey, let's go downtown because the jazz fest is going to be here all week. Let's go and just sit down and listen to the music’” (Informant 22).

32.	<p>“Yeah, so they'll show up for meeting after meeting. Then from there there's a larger group of people, but we go to meetings and we know everybody there. You know the representative, the person who does my job in Northampton, the person who does my job in East Hampton, person who's doing things in Holyoke” (Informant 1).</p>
33.	<p>“For me the question is, ‘How many creative communities can you have, like, if everybody's doing it?... Like Turners Falls, you can't buy a car in Turners Falls. You can't make a copy in Turners Falls. I think this is one of the reasons why Greenfield is showing an interest... I'll go to any meeting involving the health and well-being of Franklin County and the creative arts, and creative economy, but I just don't want it to become a time where Turners Falls has all the cool stuff and you go to Greenfield to get your other stuff that you need. Like, ‘I need to make a copy and then I need to get’...and then we got the record store, then our downtown becomes weird in a way. How many places do you need to have a pour-over coffee?” (Informant 1)</p>
34.	<p>“Each community is doing it differently. That's the exciting part when you really get into it. Like the Easthampton model, RiverCulture just this year went from being funded mostly by the Adams Grant...When that grant got dissolved, we had to figure out what we were going to do in town. Over the course of a year we convinced the town of Montague to create this part-time position inside the Planning Department..” (Informant 1).</p>
35.	<p>I think there needs to be creative outcome, but I don't know that the creatives necessarily need to be there. I can't help but think they would help the situation depending on the type of thing that they're doing, though. You can bring those people in from elsewhere. You create a venue. That venue needs performers -- musicians or whatever. You just bring them in (Informant 20).</p>
36.	<p>“...in some cases -- and this is not across the board, but in some cases -- there are certain creatives that are a little bit more intrepid. Let's put it that way. They're a little bit more...They're willing to be in slightly uncomfortable positions. Maybe they're not so driven by a certain standard of living. They find it interesting, maybe, to be in situations where they're not around people that aren't exactly like themself[ves]. They don't necessarily seek out comfort. You don't have to be a creative person to be these things. It might help, or they might just stereotypically go together” (Informant 20).</p>
37.	<p>“That, to me, also smacks of a white definition again. I am going to go back to this because I think, in general, people of color have had to, by force, have had to become these kind of intrepid people and have to be more adventurous to put themselves in uncomfortable positions to be able to</p>

	<p>move in any way. If there's the white version, to be generically speaking, that's like that and that we brand them the creative ones, I feel a little uncomfortable about that. It makes it feel like it's a choice. Maybe it's because it is a choice. Maybe I do have a choice" (Informant 20)"</p>
<p>Gathering Places</p>	
38.	<p>"In terms of number of people. I am not sure but most of the places that I will call vibrant, small, charming, somehow are not necessarily too big. I look at Williams even Northampton. If you consider, those are manageable, walkable places, they have a lot to offer. I don't know where population comes into play here, but even in Boston, you may have four sub-vibrant places. One precinct is more vibrant than the other, right? You look at the entire place. You look at some sections of that town." (Informant 9).</p>
39.	<p>"I can think of West Hartford [CT]. There is a big mall nearby there. There are lots of restaurants. I can think West Hartford is also considered as vibrant. Whenever I went there, there are lots of peoples walking. Lots of peoples come outside and have a coffee. I feel like even though the place is not big as much as the New York and Boston, I feel like that place is considered as a vibrant compared with the downtown in Amherst' (Informant 10).</p>
40.	<p>"I really appreciate the street life in Amherst. I don't know whether you call it street life. The Common Market, that, to me, is a very vibrant place...It's every Saturday morning. They have it in the winter, some parts of the winter, at the Amherst Junior High. Then there's the ladies' garden club plants sale once a year. It used to be the book sale on the Common. We have a pretty active Common...When I think of what, in our travels, what I really like...When we went to Rome and we were really near the flower market. Oh, my God... We ended up, instead of spending \$100, we cooked our own pesto and fresh pasta that they were selling right there" (Informant 12).</p>
41.	<p>"I think the congregation of humans...The activity, yes, but I think that sometimes people think of activity as walking and running. Sometimes I also think of activity as being just people hanging out, or people people-watching. Some of the best, most vibrant areas are just...people are doing activity, but it's not always active activity. It's more like passive activity. Basically, vibrant places are places where you see people gathering to a certain extent. They can be engaged in a variety of activity in the area even if, like I said, it's just hanging out. They can be because it's a subjective concept, but for me personally when I think about places that are vibrant, my mind's eye imagines places where people hang out. That's not the same as density, but for me it's hard to think of a vibrant place without thinking of people hanging out" (Informant 15).</p>

Pedestrians	
42.	“Anything that does not involve a car. To get cars out of the main beautiful areas, I feel this very strongly. That so much of our country it's all made for cars. You go to a place that isn't and you realize how great it is to not have cars everywhere. That people are biking, walking, and using public transport” (Informant 22).
43.	“I would say I have been in a place that has a lot of people but I wouldn't consider necessarily vibrant. My two places I would compare would be Summerville, Massachusetts and the financial area of Boston, like South Station area. I used to work...I had an internship down there. During lunch hour, yes, there would be a lot of people around, but that place and all the restaurants would shut down at 5:00. The whole place shut down. It was vibrant -- I don't know -- during the working hours” (Informant 17).
44.	“I would even like to a lot more pedestrian traffic in downtown Troy. Like I said, I grew up in a town that, prior to the steel and the coal industry collapsing, there was a downtown. There [were] meat markets, and dress shops, and all that kind of stuff. If you went downtown, there were people walking around downtown. It wasn't Fifth Avenue, but there was life. After that and after a huge outlet mall got created on the edge of town and the Walmart and everything, dead. Middle of the day, you could drive and easily not see one person. What would a vibrant atmosphere feel like? I guess, in general, it would feel like activities, both professional and leisure, are unfolding in public spaces in real time. That would create this kind of atmosphere. I think the atmosphere one's looking for is a lot of activity” (Informant 20).
Unique and Historic Architecture	
45.	“I really am affected by the appearance. When I first came to Greenfield, they've still had the thing on the bank there, it had chain link fencing around it. Oh yeah, and I thought, uh-uh, I don't think I want to...because I was house hunting and that chain link fence around the building looking on the common” (Informant 5).
46.	“That actually translates directly into why our downtown has distinctive architecture that has been preserved, because the choice that our town administrator had to make was, ‘These buildings either fall into disrepair or the only company that stepped forward to do a great job restoring them, their stipulation was that it'd become long-term deeded, affordable housing.’ Frank [the former town administrator] was like, ‘OK, at whatever cost we're going to preserve these buildings.’ That's why there's such a huge amount of affordable housing downtown. It kept the buildings beautiful.

	They did a great job. They would have either been knocked down or be derelict right now” (Informant 2)
47.	“They’re everywhere. You have tool and dye factories in Greenfield. You have the Montague Tool factory. They’re everywhere. Every town out here has an old factory that’s been shut down for decades. A lot of them are being repurposed for artisans and artists, and people who are trying to make their own way” (Informant 11).
48.	“You have to bring your history into it. Because one of the main attractions in San Antonio was the Alamo. The Alamo sits right in the middle of town. That’s lit up all night long. I think you have to attract people with the history of your area” (Informant 11).
49.	“What people are drawn to, in some cases, is the historic architecture here and the fact that, because Troy was ignored for so long, it remained intact for the most part. At the point that some things were going to be knocked down, the timing was right for some people to come and say, ‘No, this place is worth saving.’” (Informant 20).
50.	“It’s called Canal Place, I believe. They’ve restored some of anything that’s original from the original canal up there. They’ve just made it a really nice experience, with the huge amount of history, that’s some really nice plaque of stone there. It’s a much better place now. They’ve really done a nice job with the Waterfront along the lake and then going into the Niagara River. They’ve improved the canal, the path that begins the Canal Ride, so we start in Downtown Buffalo on our trip. They’ve done a renovation of a huge section of the canal path in the city which has really improved it. They have a few sections to go yet...” (Informant 22).
51.	“I really love it when places do a great job with explaining their history, and how they got here, and who is part of making the place what it...Why did this place happen? Why is it important, when you start capital? I know there’s some pretty cool neighborhoods here as well. I was here last year. I’m not exactly sure what direction they are from here, but I know there’s some great old city neighborhoods. Yeah. That’s what makes me want to go to a place. If they have interesting history, and the architecture....” (Informant 22).
52.	“It’s really cool in South Buffalo. I just did a bike ride there where we rode all around the city. It was a great way to see the neighborhoods and the city. They shut all the roads down, and did this ride all through the city. It’s an organization called GObike Buffalo, and it was a great way to see the neighborhoods. They shut down the roads. It was on Sunday morning. We

	got to ride on some of the main highways that cut through the city. They have a [lots] of these incredible grain silos that are really cool, and historic, and they're right down the lake, and they have a whole section...Silo City. There's a place where you can go kayaking along the side of them. Obviously, you can bike all around down there now. I do think they occasionally do old silo tours for people to go in and see the inside" (Informant 22).
Cleanliness	
53.	"When I'm traveling and get dropped into a strange place, the only way I can tell how people care about their community and each other is, is it clean? Is it brightly colored, fresh looking? Is there something kind of little unique and classy about it?" (Informant 5)
Strong economy	
54.	"...we had somebody interested in a community acupuncture clinic, which I'm thrilled and I hope that it gets through because not only do I like to do acupuncture, it's the kind of thing that would help both segments of the community. Yes, the people that have moved in...drink microbrews, but we do have people who are suffering and whose health might be impacted in a really powerful way if they can do community acupuncture. When it's like a health and wellness thing that I would really like to see, so it's not just about bringing in more coffee and bringing in more beer" (Informant 1)
55.	"...Being able to go to a local farm and buy fresh milk. It may not mean much to a lot of people, but it does mean something to me. Same thing with eggs, you know, we got them local, I mean that, too. The place has its own products showcased. Why not your mint, and your peaches, or your apple orchard? It takes a lot of things to offer to us...but having, let's say, organic groceries, would be as important - because they appeal to our, as I said, higher order needs. Not just simply, you know, food. We have 'X' groceries, but we have...Specialty, so we can say, a variety of things they offer. We pick and choose, if needed. I know, even if expensive, having that all right there, is a good thing for us. It's not like we go there every day, no, but I think that's a good thing" (Informant 9).
56.	"One of the biggest draws in Troy is the Farmers Market. It's pretty exceptional, I think by any standard. It even makes the one in Union Square in New York look...it pales in comparison. That was started decades ago by a friend. Then it really took the Deputy Mayor of Troy to just say, 'We are going to promote the hell out of this,' and it worked. Thousands of people are here on the weekends" (Informant 20).

57.	“...the city has a lot of good food. Food is a big thing for everybody. If there's a good scent, you know there's a good group of restaurants in a certain area that's a draw for you. That's, ‘Hey, let's go hang out, movie and eat, you know?’” (Informant 21)
58.	“When we go to the restaurant [Mission Cantina in Amherst], it's a custom menu. The people there know us by name, possibly because we eat at Mission Cantina way too much. It's good. They have all these margaritas that are fresh squeezed juices. It's kind of artisanal in that way. That makes it unique. It doesn't taste like a margarita that you would get at Longhorn or something like that” (Informant 13).
59.	“You missed it a few years ago. They opened up a Domino's across the street from Antonio's. Tried to do a late-night slice thing, same as Antonio's does. Forget it. They shut down in a year’ (Informant 13).
60.	“Cory Nelson, how he's managed to do the Troy Kitchen, I have no idea. He's just taken this old space and turned it into a food vendor court. All these people serve food. At night, there's bar and nightlife. It is so rich and vibrant in there. It's so ethnically diverse. That doesn't happen around here...” (Informant 20).
61.	“Black and white people don't hang out together. They don't anywhere in the country. That just doesn't happen. There are so few examples of that...Black people have to live in a white world. White people don't have to live in a black world. There are certain black people that have just become increasingly comfortable being in white worlds that they'll say, ‘Oh, I'll just be in both these worlds.’ There are examples of where you'll be at things where you see people of color, but it's really mostly a white event... What you don't see is so much the opposite because white people don't have to live in that world. They're very uncomfortable in a lot of cases, even being asked to. What Cory has accomplished is amazing. It feels surprisingly comfortable and authentic” (Informant 20).
62.	“...it ends up to economic development because there's metrics for economic development. Whether 10 people in a public space is vibrant, or 20, or 50, I don't know, but if there's 10 new jobs downtown, that's considered to be real progress. A lot of times, we're investing money because we want to create jobs. Economic development brings people to downtown” (Informant 19)
63.	“Don't kid yourself. It's still all about economic development. It's just that the model of economic development that they think that they're following, what goes into that has changed... The way to go about it was to emulate the mall

	to attract people from away. In order to attract people from away, it had to be clean. Now, people think that the way to attract people for the sake of economic development is...a little bit more focused on what indigenous cultural assets that you have.” (Informant 15).
64.	“The deputy mayor, I remember, at that time, Monica Kurzejeski, she goes, ‘We have so much low-income housing, we can't even fill it. What we need is high-income housing that actually increases the tax base so that we actually have some money to fix some stuff up with.’ You could see the look on the person's face was like, ‘Oh, my God. I had no idea.’ They understood it perfectly...they were like, ‘You're right. I didn't get it.’ I learned a lot from just even hearing her say that, just being like, ‘There needs to be money.’ Money has to come from somewhere. You use that money wisely.” (Informant 20).
Safety	
65.	“Yeah, I don't know how I would define it but I guess a place where people want to be, want to go and be outside and walk around and not be afraid. I live in the city in Rochester. We have a nice downtown now. It has improved vastly since when I moved there. People are still terrified to go to the city” (Informant 22).
66.	“I think that safety is important, but I think that people vary a lot in how they define safety or the kind of environments that they feel safe in. Some of the places where the teenagers hang out, and they feel completely safe, but you take somebody might be a tourist in the area. They see a lot of, ‘Oh, there's some scruffy looking skateboarder kids hanging out in that public park.’ They complain to the business owners around there, which I know from personal experience as being one of the people that used to get complained about. I think that like you were saying, safe and comfortable, but there's a variety of...different people have different feelings of what those things are” (Informant 15).
Diversity	
67.	“...there would be like a culture of love and respect for place, so physical place and for people. That would be the prevalent culture. That would be like loving where you are. You have to love things to respect them. I feel like I've learned that from raising my kids. If I love them. I can tolerate a lot of things that others would be like, ‘Oh my God.’ ...Because it goes a lot deeper. Respect is kind of cerebral. It's important but love is deeper than that.” (Informant 3).

68.	<p>“We do have a mix [of housing]. Also, one of the things that's protecting the town and that I keep constantly thinking about is our particular housing stock has a lot of low-income housing that is permanent, that it isn't going anywhere. Gentrification is something that I talk about with the town planner a lot, but we're hoping that the fact that we have this protected low-income housing downtown and that's exactly where it should be because we're a walkable community and trying to maintain that, that those people are always going to be there. It's subsidized housing. We have subsidized housing in one, two, three...Three or more areas. I don't know how many actual units that we have. It does, only because I think a level of vibrancy is when there's real diversity. That just doesn't mean that it means that people look different, that people are from different places, have different perspectives, but also that they are from different economic backgrounds” (Informant 1).</p>
69.	<p>“For example, there could be two people living in downtown Turners Falls, one because they are living in low-income housing and they don't have a car, so they like the walkability of the town. Then their neighbors in a building next door could just be renters who have a car and they work from home and they just chose the community, this is the community they want to live in and they have substantially more income, particularly disposable income, which makes eight-dollar beers possible” (Informant 1).</p>
70.	<p>“A lot of times those are like these invisible forces you wouldn't see like when you see a public piece of art, you don't know what went behind that. Like was that Rockefeller wanting to put a plaque up, or he just plops some money down or was it the result of his participatory process that brought people together? Now they are like an art's collective and they have their own. It's like there is always invisible stuff” (Informant 3).</p>
71.	<p>“It could be crowded with people. I've been there on a Saturday. It's packed with people. They're all white. They're all rich, basically. I'm exaggerating...Would I consider that vibrant? I don't know. I thought about that for a long time. Is that the kind of city...? Yeah, so I'm not sure I would say it's vibrant. It's active, but it's not vibrant” (Informant 19).</p>
72.	<p>“I have to pitch...if I see these cities through a lens of diversity, that's one way I would start ranking them or start thinking about them. To me, I'm not positive, but a city that's not diverse is going to have some issues. In some ways if we as planners especially can keep that thinking, that the value of diversity, the mixing of people of all different kinds so the benefits are huge I would say. It addresses a lot of things” (Informant 19).</p>

73.	<p>“...that's going to be based on my own personal measure of vibrancy. For instance, I happen to live on a street right now that's very mixed-race, very mixed-income. It's a combination of owner-occupied, absentee landlord, rental. The people next door are Section 8. At the end of the street is a homeless shelter. That, to me, is a type of vibrancy. Diversity is messy. Not all of Troy is that. I happen to live on a particular block that I like and I'm moving two blocks away from here, so it's pretty much the same situation. There's a richness to that. It's a combination of students and old Italian. There are a lot of social services, so you have a lot of people with mental disability and substance abuse. That creates a rich mix, so that's nice. I could think of other ways it's not vibrant. Let's say in terms of a lot of new, exciting construction. No, this isn't like a... There's some stuff happening, but there's nothing amazing. Then, there's a whole young contingent. Not a whole huge one, but there's a young contingent of people moving here and opening stores and stuff like that. That general diversity creates a kind of vibrancy” (Informant 20).</p>
Buzz	
74.	<p>“I was reading something [where someone] was trying to convince people from where she lives in Somerville to come out and check out Turners Falls. She referred to it as ‘hipster hick,’ where you can play vintage pinballs, get a great meal and buy a gun...” (Informant 2).</p>
75.	<p>“Well, you said vibrancies, so the first thing I thought is change. You know of course, but there has to be complexity, there has to be depth and different ways of seeing the same thing. Different things that you could see and surprise. I have a bunch of word to it all, basically my idea of a vibrant place” (Informant 6).</p>
76.	<p>“The first one I called wackiness. I'm thinking of things that have a physical manifestation. I'm using Shelburne Falls as the example because I moved there in April, partly because of the wackiness and vibrancy” (Informant 6).</p>
77.	<p>“...in August the Iron Bridge is closed to traffic. The whole bridge is filled with tables, and there's big dinner party given on the bridge. The Catholic Church has a labyrinth in the yard. That's only two. There are other physical manifestations. There are things that are a little unexpected that you see there. I also listed spirit, and that has to do with people I've met and run into. To me, the wackiness and the spirit were even above the support for all the arts” (Informant 4).</p>
78.	<p>“What comes first? What fosters a certain thing? I had spirit on my list. I noticed this in individuals that are passionate about something they're doing.</p>

	For just an example, one guy who's been studying Italian for years, and older people who are kayaking although they've had a lot of replacement surgery...I just keep meeting people like this and feeling like there's a lot of eccentric people. They seem to be fine...I just feel it makes me feel safer to be in a community that's eccentric at work rather than a cookie cutter community, which really is scary" (Informant 4).
79.	"When I think of the word eccentric, I think of something that either looks familiar than when we look at it it's actually strange. Then it morphs back into something familiar. It's that kind of thing..." (Informant 6).
80.	"I think it probably has more to do with people's own comfort with themselves. It's very individual. I would not say that it gets lumped together. Not necessarily even with values or like it's a cognitive thing but some people are able to do because of their life experiences" (Informant 7).
81.	"It's all about human scale. One is a monolith thing and the other is little spaces. It's all about human scale and how depressing this parking garage is, it's the whole block. Where's the humanity there? Are people that live across the street, are they happy with their lives?" (Informant 4).
82.	"A few years ago, I traveled to Texas. I went to San Antonio and I visited the Riverwalk. Talk about vibrancy, you have a night life, you're walking along the river below the city, and there's a vibrancy there that's hard to explain. It's powerful, it's moving. The whole reason that's there is the World Fair. They built that for the World Fair." (Informant 11).
83.	"I think that the younger generations, in particular, have been much more interested in a sense of authenticity that they associate with diversity as opposed to a very controlled shopping mall environment. All that has favored some types of downtown areas. Back when I was first working as a planner and working for downtown improvement districts and stuff like that, what a lot of them were discussing was, 'How can we kick out the hacky sackers and the punk rockers that are just hanging around in the public space?' Now, the conversation is a lot more of, 'How can we attract those kind of kitschy, hacky sacker types -- not that anybody plays hacky sack anymore -- but punk rocker types, and the drummers, and the other thing?' That's what makes the place vibrant and interesting" (Informant 15).
84.	"There's a balance between the authenticity and safety and because everybody has a different threshold for what they consider authentic and a different threshold for what they call a comfortable, safe environment. Except for the perfect spot. Again, even if you were to reach that pretend equilibrium, you're in a dynamic system. That's always going to be knocked out of the equilibrium. I'd also say that equilibrium changes. Portland might

	be experiencing its second heyday now. I'm not necessarily saying that it will be the beer gardens that kill it in the future. Who knows what direction things will take it in the future" (Informant 15).
85.	"It's definitely a little rough around...I mean I was literally walking the dog this morning and had to watch this woman vomit on the side of the building, which, no, I don't want to see that, but do I want to live in a world where that is... just utterly unacceptable? That would be unheard of [where I grew up]. I grew up in a small Midwestern town and never once in 20 years saw that" (Informant 20).
86.	"I think it has to be this interesting combination of things that you want and things that you maybe don't want or maybe make you a little uncomfortable, or they don't vibe with your economic status, your racial preferences or biases, or anything like...It's not like nightmare situations are...There are some bad things that happened down here, but, for the most part, it's just like having to be put in slightly awkward situations. It creates the type of vibrancy. I can't help but think it does" (Informant 20).
Moderate tourism	
87.	"Tourists can be drawn by a lot of different things to an area. They're not coming here for the beach, there is no beach, but it is welcoming to tourists. A lot of artists need the tourists to support themselves" (Informant 5).
88.	"The average person living here is taking advantage of these amenities doesn't necessarily want to pull in tens of thousands of tourists who are going to clutter up the things that they now look for...but they also recognize that that's money needs to come in to pump the economy to keep them, the amenities" (Informant 14).
89.	"What you were saying before of the balance of wanting the money to come in, and then worrying about it being taken over. My parents are down at the Cape [Cod] often. We always went to Chatham. They're having a problem where they have tourist buses that are coming in, and they're going right through the center of town. Everybody is pouring out at Lighthouse Beach by 60 or 100 people at a time. They're not really feeding into the economy, because they just going through the middle of town. But the towns don't have roads that support tourist buses going through them. It's become a problem" (Informant 13).
90.	"It's a jaw symbol that says 'Welcome to Chatham' around it because the first year when all the great whites showed up there, there was this fear nobody's going to want to come here, nobody is going to want to swim here. [Their] main attraction is the ocean. You don't want to set foot in the ocean

	anymore. Instead, they made all of these metal shark-shaped signs and gave them out to all of the local artists. They all decorated them in their own way. Then they put them up around town” (Informant 13).
91.	“Bringing people in that's just selling. That kind of tourism. I personally, don't want those buses pouring in. When we traveled abroad, whenever we saw there's buses... We'd go the other way” (Informant 14).

Appendix D

Selected Partial Effects of OLS Regressions of Scales on Villages

	Partial effects (selected significant results)					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	MF-TF β (SE)	MC-TF β (SE)	MF-MC β (SE)	MF-TF β (SE)	MC-TF β (SE)	MF-MC β (SE)
Governance	-.4015345 (.1866622) t = -2.15 $p = 0.034^*$	.1976812 (.1634066) t = 1.21 p = 0.230	-.5992157 (.2067376) t = -2.90 $p = 0.005^*$	-.1184265 (.2388551) t = -0.50 p = 0.622	.1468054 (.1743013) t = 0.84 p = 0.403	-.2652319 (.2487977) t = -1.07 p = 0.291
Local news	-.3894737 (.2712196) t = -1.44 p = 0.155	.0923077 (.2442027) t = 0.38 p = 0.706	-.4817814 (.2991968) t = -1.61 p = 0.111	.0168557 (.3559196) t = 0.05 p = 0.962	.0636159 (.2858144) t = 0.22 p = 0.825	-.0467603 (.3841394) t = -0.12 p = 0.904
Education	-.2602302 (.1940142) t = -1.34 p = 0.183	.6379599 (.1677132) t = 3.80 $p < 0.000^*$	-.89819 (.2132012) t = -4.21 $p < 0.000^*$	-.4038263 (.2602151) t = -1.55 p = 0.126	.635237 (.2087433) t = 3.04 $p = 0.003^*$	-1.039063 (.2808783) t = -3.70 $p < 0.000^*$
Infrastructure	-.4488491 (.2000425) t = -2.24 $p = 0.027^*$	-.5423634 (.1729243) t = -3.14 $p = 0.002^*$	.0935143 (.2198257) t = 0.43 p = 0.672	-.4017545 (.2676919) t = -1.50 p = 0.139	-.5695505 (.2106158) t = -2.70 $p = 0.009^*$	.167796 (.2880592) t = 0.58 p = 0.562
Nature	-.6561997 (.1982003) t = -3.31 $p = 0.001^*$	.3366778 (.1749162) t = 1.92 p = 0.058	-.9928775 (.2185913) t = -4.54 $p < 0.000^*$	-.4593967 (.2839346) t = -1.62 p = 0.111	.2302346 (.211157) t = 1.09 p = 0.280	-.6896313 (.295889) t = -2.33 $p = 0.023^*$
Social capital	-.4692514 (.1723907) t = -2.72 $p = 0.008^*$	.1928905 (.1493261) t = 1.29 p = 0.200	-.6621419 (.1882881) t = -3.52 $p = 0.001^*$	-.225966 (.2105754) t = -1.07 p = 0.288	.197476 (.1545137) t = 1.28 p = 0.207	-.423442 (.2192035) t = -1.93 p = 0.059
Well-being	-.3150253 (.1679999) t = -1.88 p = 0.064	.5838636 (.1503848) t = 3.88 $p < 0.000^*$	-.8988889 (.185611) t = -4.84 $p < 0.000^*$	-.1021779 (.2325492) t = -0.44 p = 0.662	.4927393 (.1868135) t = 2.64 $p = 0.011^*$	-.5949172 (.2495668) t = -2.38 $p = 0.021^*$
Creativity	-.8491049 (.218228) t = -3.89 $p < 0.000^*$	.0340022 (.1886445) t = 0.18 p = 0.857	-.8831071 (.2398096) t = -3.68 $p < 0.000^*$	-.5250974 (.3046765) t = -1.72 p = 0.090	.045473 (.2265824) t = 0.20 p = 0.842	-.5705704 (.3175042) t = -1.80 p = 0.078

	Partial effects (selected significant results)					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	MF-TF β (SE)	MC-TF β (SE)	MF-MC β (SE)	MF-TF β (SE)	MC-TF β (SE)	MF-MC β (SE)
Hangouts	-1.013214 (.2201615) t = -4.60 $p < 0.000^*$	-.2168339 (.1903159) t = -1.14 p = 0.258	-.7963801 (.2419344) t = -3.29 $p < 0.000^*$	-.7543762 (.2992833) t = -2.52 $p = 0.014^*$	-.2433759 (.2225716) t = -1.09 p = 0.279	-.5110003 (.311884) t = -1.64 p = 0.107
Pedestrians	-.4118993 (.289235) t = -1.42 p = 0.158	-.1588629 (.2602259) t = -0.61 p = 0.543	-.2530364 (.3201051) t = -0.79 p = 0.431	-.0370435 (.3964377) t = -0.09 p = 0.926	.0629849 (.3180205) t = 0.20 p = 0.844	-.1000285 (.4279182) t = -0.23 p = 0.816
Visual appearance	-.571185 (.195948) t = -2.91 $p = 0.005^*$	.3149386 (.1693849) t = 1.86 p = 0.066	-.8861236 (.2153263) t = -4.12 $p < 0.000^*$	-.197438 (.2763073) t = -0.71 p = 0.478	.3733263 (.2054847) t = 1.82 p = 0.074	-.5707643 (.2879405) t = -1.98 $p = 0.052^*$
Cleanliness	-.3636364 (.2327031) t = -1.56 p = 0.122	.8671329 (.2057334) t = 4.21 $p < 0.000^*$	-1.230769 (.2550188) t = -4.83 $p < 0.000^*$	-.5365317 (.3367442) t = -1.59 p = 0.117	.9192092 (.2696911) t = 3.41 $p = 0.001^*$	-1.455741 (.3598744) t = -4.05 $p < 0.000^*$
Local businesses	-.705314 (.2003908) t = -3.52 $p = 0.001^*$	-.6070234 (.1768494) t = -3.43 $p = 0.001^*$	-.0982906 (.2210072) t = -0.44 p = 0.658	-.6232512 (.2701077) t = -2.31 $p = 0.025^*$	-.5483369 (.2166791) t = -2.53 $p = 0.014^*$	-.0749143 (.2915565) t = -0.26 p = 0.798
Safety	.0386473 (.2199293) t = 0.18 p = 0.861	.722408 (.1940926) t = 3.72 $p < 0.000^*$	-.6837607 (.2425558) t = -2.82 $p = 0.006^*$	.0791634 (.2814244) t = 0.28 p = 0.779	.6749712 (.2257573) t = 2.99 $p = 0.004^*$	-.5958078 (.3037719) t = -1.96 $p = 0.055^*$
Diversity	-.0531401 (.1567161) t = -0.34 p = 0.735	.1028428 (.1383055) t = 0.74 p = 0.459	-.1559829 (.1728392) t = -0.90 p = 0.369	.0096945 (.24006) t = 0.04 p = 0.968	.2176389 (.1785283) t = 1.22 p = 0.228	-.2079443 (.2501672) t = -0.83 p = 0.409
Buzz	-.8814815 (.1851263) t = 4.76 $p < 0.000^*$	-.6417959 (.1637655) t = -3.92 $p < 0.000^*$	-.2555556 (.2013279) t = -1.27 p = 0.208	-.8322113 (.2374807) t = -3.50 $p = 0.001^*$	-.5335275 (.1848946) t = -2.89 $p = 0.006^*$	-.2986838 (.2551902) t = -1.17 p = 0.247
Tourism	-.5333333 (.2074813) t = -2.57 $p = 0.012^*$	.0122507 (.1832683) t = 0.07 p = 0.947	-.5455841 (.2281154) t = -2.39 $p = 0.019^*$	-.292395 (.2684146) t = -1.09 p = 0.280	.0065297 (.2153209) t = 0.03 p = 0.976	-.2989247 (.289729) t = -1.03 p = 0.306
Vibrancy	-.8222222 (.248458) t = -3.31 $p = 0.001^*$	.2675214 (.2194631) t = 1.22 p = 0.226	-1.089744 (.2731672) t = -3.99 $p < 0.000^*$	-.6470656 (.318575) t = -2.03 $p = 0.047^*$	.4016468 (.2553385) t = 1.57 p = 0.121	-1.048712 (.3431201) t = -3.06 $p = 0.003^*$

	Partial effects (selected significant results)					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	MF-TF β (SE)	MC-TF β (SE)	MF-MC β (SE)	MF-TF β (SE)	MC-TF β (SE)	MF-MC β (SE)
More vibrant than 5 years ago	-.5458937 (.2814285) t = -1.94 p = 0.056	-.6547826 (.2515206) t = -2.60 p = 0.011*	.1088889 (.3129113) t = 0.35 p = 0.729	-.2226783 (.3568849) t = -0.62 p = 0.535	-.3602982 (.2862914) t = -1.26 p = 0.213	.1376199 (.3852245) t = 0.36 p = 0.722
Enjoy living	-.6074169 (.1979251) t = -3.07 p = 0.003*	.3428094 (.171094) t = 2.00 p = 0.048*	-.9502262 (.2174989) t = -4.37 p < 0.000*	-.2109959 (.2514735) t = -0.84 p = 0.405	.4601387 (.1955933) t = 2.35 p = 0.022	-.6711346 (.2702796) t = -2.48 p = 0.016*
Mean of scales	-.4968463 (.141563) t = -3.51 p = 0.001*	.0913148 (.1075785) t = 0.85 p = 0.399	-.5881611 (.1509821) t = -3.90 p < 0.000*	-.3730984 (.18295) t = -2.04 p = 0.047*	.0994832 (.1332111) t = 0.75 p = 0.459	-.4725816 (.1883231) t = -2.51 p = 0.016*

Note: MF = Millers Falls, TF = Turners Falls, MC = Montague Center

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