



# Culture and Urban Revitalization: A Harvest Document

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# Creativity & Change

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**Social Impact of the Arts Project**

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# CONTENTS

## FIGURES

1—INTRODUCTION .....	1
2—THE CREATIVE SECTOR IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT .....	3
The Creative Sector and the New Urban Reality	
Increasing Social Diversity and Economic Inequality	
Evolving Urban Form	
Changing Structure of the Creative Sector .....	15
Restructuring of the Arts World	
The Creative Sector in the Post-Industrial Economy	
Transactional Policy and the Creative Sector .....	19
Changing Relationship of Government, Business, and Civil Society	
Culture and Transactional Policy-Making	
3—MAJOR DIMENSIONS OF CURRENT LITERATURE ON CULTURE AND REVITALIZATION .....	21
Cultural Production: The Creative Economy	
From Economic Impact to the Creative Economy	
New York City's Creative Core	
New York's Neighborhood Cultural Economic Development	
Artists as Economic Actors—Minneapolis-St. Paul	
Arts Agglomerations—Los Angeles, Philadelphia	
Cultural Engagement: Community Capacity Building .....	34
Arts and Culture Indicators Project	
Informal and Immigrant Arts in Chicago	
Participatory Arts in Silicon Valley	
Community Arts and Neighborhood Revitalization	
The Negative Consequences of Culture-based Revitalization .....	51
Gentrification and Displacement	
Expansion of Economic Inequality	

4—A NEW MODEL: THE NEIGHBORHOOD-BASED CREATIVE ECONOMY ..... 55

The Community Cultural Ecosystem

Creative Sector Nodes and Links

Integrating Cultural Assets into Neighborhood Market Value Analysis

Artists' Centers as Neighborhood Nodes for the Creative Economy

Evaluation and Design of Cultural Quarters

Design with Nature—Discovering the City's Process and Form

From Creative Economy to Creative Society ..... 67

An Urban Workforce Development Strategy for Creative Industries

From Economic Opportunity to Social Inclusion

5—CONCLUSION: LEARNING FROM THE LITERATURE ..... 72

Implications for Community Development Policy, Practice, and Research

The Creative Sector, Unslumming, and a New Civil Society

APPENDICES

Appendix 1—Culture and Urban Revitalization: Schema of Literature Review

Appendix 2—References



## FIGURES

Figure 2.1—Census tracts in which married couples with children made up more than 40 percent of all households, metropolitan Philadelphia, 1970 and 2000

Figure 2.2—Census tracts in which persons aged 20 to 34 made up more than 30 percent of the population, metropolitan Chicago, 1970 and 2000

Figure 2.3—Change in population by nativity, selected metropolitan areas, 1990 to 2000

Figure 2.4—Concentrations of foreign-born residents, metropolitan Philadelphia, 2000

Figure 2.5—Ethnic composition of block groups by metro location, Philadelphia five-county region, 2000

Figure 2.6—The old industrial paradigm of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century city

Figure 2.7—The mid-20<sup>th</sup> century city of the 1950s and 1960s

Figure 2.8—The 21<sup>st</sup> century city as a new portrait of cultural use and urban space

Figure 2.9—Cultural participation indexes by per capita income of block group, metropolitan Philadelphia, 1997

Figure 3.1—New York City “standout examples” of solutions to the city’s arts space crunch

Figure 3.2—Rationales for cultural clusters

Figure 3.3—The arts continuum

Figure 3.4—How arts activities leverage assets for neighborhood improvement

Figure 3.5—Percent of low-income block groups with low truancy and delinquency, by cultural participation rate, Philadelphia, 1997

Figure 3.6—Percent of block groups with increasing population and declining poverty between 1990 and 2000, by number of cultural providers within one-half mile, Philadelphia

Figure 3.7—Percent of block groups that improved by two or more MVA categories between 2001 and 2003, by regional cultural participation rate, Philadelphia

Figure 3.8—Housing market upswing between 2001 and 2003, by regional cultural participation rate, Philadelphia

Figure 4.1—The community cultural ecosystem

Figure 4.2—Evaluation elements and design criteria for cultural quarters

# 1. Introduction

**A**dvocates have long argued that the economic benefits of the arts and culture provide a firm rationale for public support. Recent scholarship on the “creative class” and “creative economy” is simply the latest effort to link cultural expression to community prosperity. In contrast, the *social* benefits of cultural engagement have received relatively little attention, even though—as we shall see—they provide a stronger case.

We need to avoid a simplistic either-or choice between the economic and social impacts of the arts. People who live in our cities, suburbs, and countryside are simultaneously consumers, workers, residents, citizens, and participants. Culture’s role in promoting community capacity and civic engagement is central to its potential for generating vital cultural districts. To separate the economic and the social impacts of the arts makes each more difficult to understand.

This document provides an overview of the state-of-the-art literature on culture and urban revitalization. In Part 2, we place the creative sector in contemporary context with a discussion of three social dynamics. The “new urban reality” has restructured our cities by increasing social diversity—fueled by new residential patterns, the emergence of young adult districts, and immigration; expanding economic inequality; and changing urban form. Shifts in the economic and political environment have changed the structure of the creative sector. Finally, the changing balance of government, nonprofit, and for-profit institutions in social policy development—the shift to transactional policy-making—has profound implications for cultural policy and the creative sector broadly defined. These three forces—the new urban reality, the changing structure of the creative sector, and the emergence of transactional policy-making—define the context within which culture-based revitalization takes place.



Part 3 turns to the major dimensions of current literature on culture-based urban revitalization: the promise of the creative economy; culture's role in building community capacity; and the negative consequences of culture-based development. Part 4 uses the critical synthesis afforded by our review of the creative economy and community building literature to propose a new model of a neighborhood-based creative economy. Part 5 concludes with a reflection on research gaps as well as the implications of the literature for community development policy and practice. Here we postulate that U.S. cities have the potential to regenerate urban neighborhoods through culture-based strategies that combine wealth-creation and social justice—but only by digesting the lessons of past experience.

The two literatures on culture-based development—economic revitalization and community building—have generally evolved along separate paths with relatively little interaction. By contrast, the European discussion of culture and revitalization has been characterized by intense efforts to integrate these two dimensions. Motivated by “third way” social policies—which try to link a neo-liberal emphasis on productivity and competitiveness with a social concern about exclusion—Great Britain under New Labour has invested in “social regeneration” schemes precisely because they promise both economic growth and social integration. As a result of this political commitment, British policy-makers have devoted considerably more effort than their American counterparts to developing theories of arts-based redevelopment, methods for assessing its effectiveness, and design criteria for practitioners.

One lesson of the European experience that resonates with that of the United States is a preoccupation with gentrification and displacement. There is a widespread perception on both sides of the Atlantic that artists serve as the opening wedge of real-estate speculation and neighborhood destruction. Thus, although the case for the effectiveness of culture-based development is far from airtight, the possibility of residential dislocation poses the greatest barrier to its wider acceptance.

Based on our reading of the literature, we propose an *ecological* model of community culture that focuses less on institutions' contributions and more on the *interdependencies* among different players. One failure of policy and practice in the arts over the past several decades has been to equate the health of the sector with the health of institutions. Although sustainable nonprofit cultural organizations are an important element of the cultural sector, an ecological approach underlines that they are only one element. A perspective that balances the economic and social impacts of culture and balances the role of nonprofit, commercial, and informal forms of cultural expression is more likely to lay a solid foundation for thinking and acting on the sector's future.

This document is a product of collaboration between the Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP), a policy research group at the University of Pennsylvania, and The Reinvestment Fund (TRF), a community development financial institution. The TRF-SIAP collaboration is facilitated by the Rockefeller Foundation as part of its commitment to urban development and community cultural vitality. The purpose of the joint project is to assess what we know about the role of the creative sector in neighborhood revitalization and to develop ways that this knowledge could be better used by decision-makers.

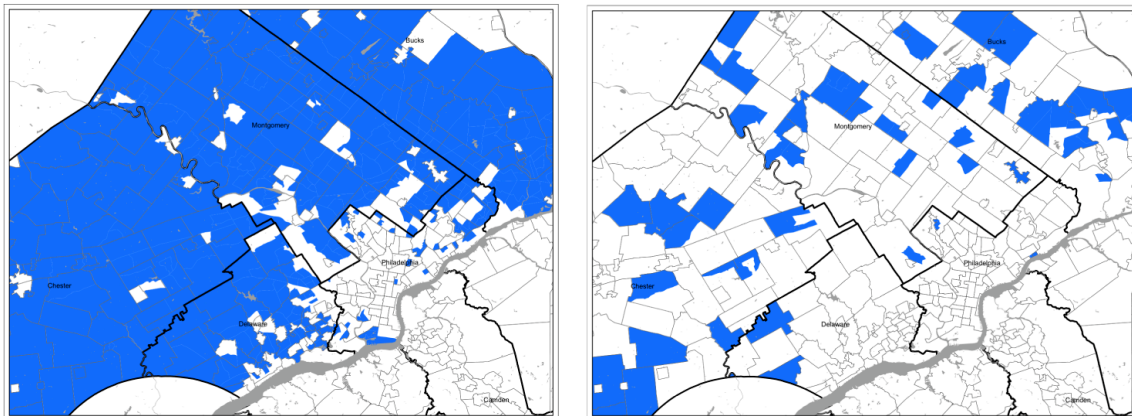
## 2. The Creative Sector in Contemporary Context

### The Creative Sector and the New Urban Reality

**T**he twenty-first century opened its eyes to a new urban reality. As the twentieth century drew to a close, the urban context within which the creative sector operates underwent fundamental change. Since the 1960s, our dominant model of metropolitan areas has been the “urban crisis,” the view that cities could be sharply distinguished from suburbs by their economic and racial characteristics, and that cities had become the primary location for the range of social pathologies from crime to disease to social isolation.

Katz and Stern’s study of social change in the twentieth century has made it clear that the realities under-girding the urban crisis metaphor are no longer as clear as they were two or three decades ago (Katz and Stern 2006). Over the past three decades, for example, changes in family life have blurred the urban-suburban divide in household structure. In 1970 suburbs virtually had a monopoly on the presence of married-couple-with-children families; by 2000 this clear urban-suburban split had disappeared (Figure 2.1).

#### Census tracts in which married couples with children made up more than 40 percent of all households, metropolitan Philadelphia, 1970 and 2000



Source: SIAP

Figure 2.1

These changing domestic arrangements are expressive of the new demographic and economic realities of the past three decades that have profoundly reshaped the urban landscape. In large part, therefore, the new urban reality goes hand-in-hand with the structural transformation of the U.S. metropolis from an industrial- to an informational-based economy. Below we discuss three characteristics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century urban landscape that influence a region's creative sector: increasing social diversity, expanding economic inequality, and a changing urban form. Of particular note is the fact that American cities are moving in two directions at once, with the cultural lives of residents moving toward diversity and integration while their economic lives are moving toward segregation.

Finally, the new urban reality represents a shift to a more balanced view of the U.S. city. After four decades during which the "urban crisis" was the dominant lens through which to understand cities, the contemporary city is best understood as a mix of forces of decline and regeneration. As a policy perspective, the new urban reality replaces a deficit model of urban communities with a dynamic system that includes assets and strengths.

### **Increasing Social Diversity and Economic Inequality**

Over the past three decades, the diversity of American cities has increased dramatically. Although the most visible indicator of social diversity is their changing ethnic composition, urban—and suburban—neighborhoods increasingly reflect changing life-cycle stages, new waves of immigration, as well as economic and household heterogeneity.<sup>1</sup> Burgeoning diversity is conducive to culture, fostering the new producers and

consumers that make communities centers of cultural life.

As a counterpoint to increasing diversity at the neighborhood level are regional disparities associated with the expansion of economic inequality. While economic diversity at the neighborhood level—like other forms of diversity—is associated with local cultural activity, increasing metropolitan-wide inequality has a more complex effect on the creative sector.

### **Young adult districts**

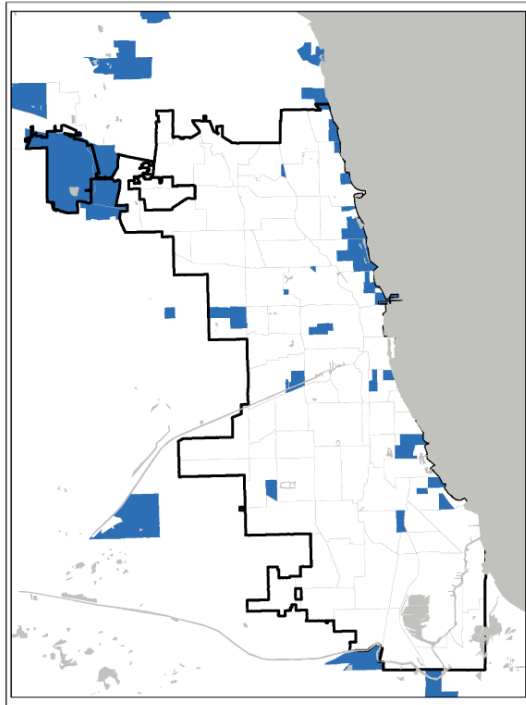
An unappreciated component of the "urban crisis" of the mid-twentieth century was the rapid shift of the transition from childhood to adulthood that occurred after World War II. Early in the century, young people spent a protracted period in this life-cycle stage because they left school early but did not marry until their late twenties. The generation of young people that came of age after World War II, by contrast, swept through this transition in a few years. During the past three decades, the transition to adulthood has again stretched out, often lasting into an individual's fourth decade.

Although the contours of this transition have been well-documented, its implications for the geography of cities have not. During the early postwar years, the quick passage from childhood to adulthood was typically associated with a geographical move to the suburbs.

<sup>1</sup> SIAP uses the census block group—approximately six to eight city blocks, depending on population density—as its neighborhood unit of analysis.

As the transition has lengthened, however, it has been accompanied by the growth of young adult districts in major American cities. Young adults, living either alone or in groups, are now found in many urban neighborhoods in concentrations of over thirty or forty percent. As the maps of Chicago in 1970 and 2000 make clear, this pattern was virtually unknown in cities three decades ago (Figure 2.2). Like the expansion of ethnic and economic diversity, the increased concentration of young adults provides a locus for both cultural production—including an influx of artists—and consumption.

**Census tracts in which persons aged 20 to 34 made up more than 30 percent of the population, metropolitan Chicago, 1970 and 2000**



Source: SIAP

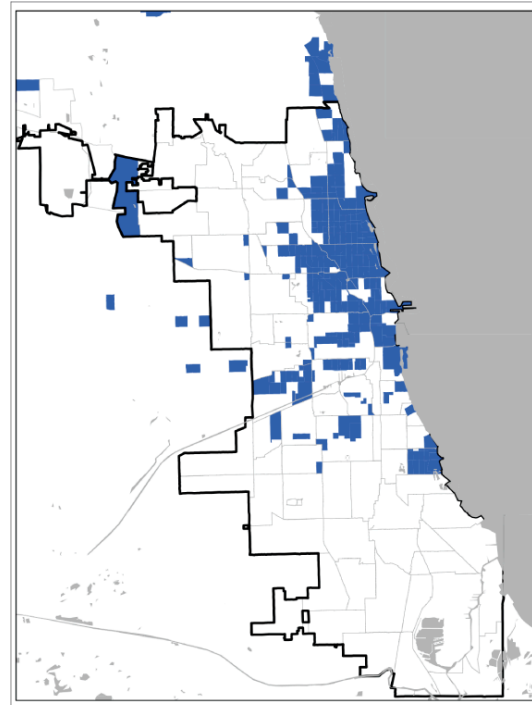
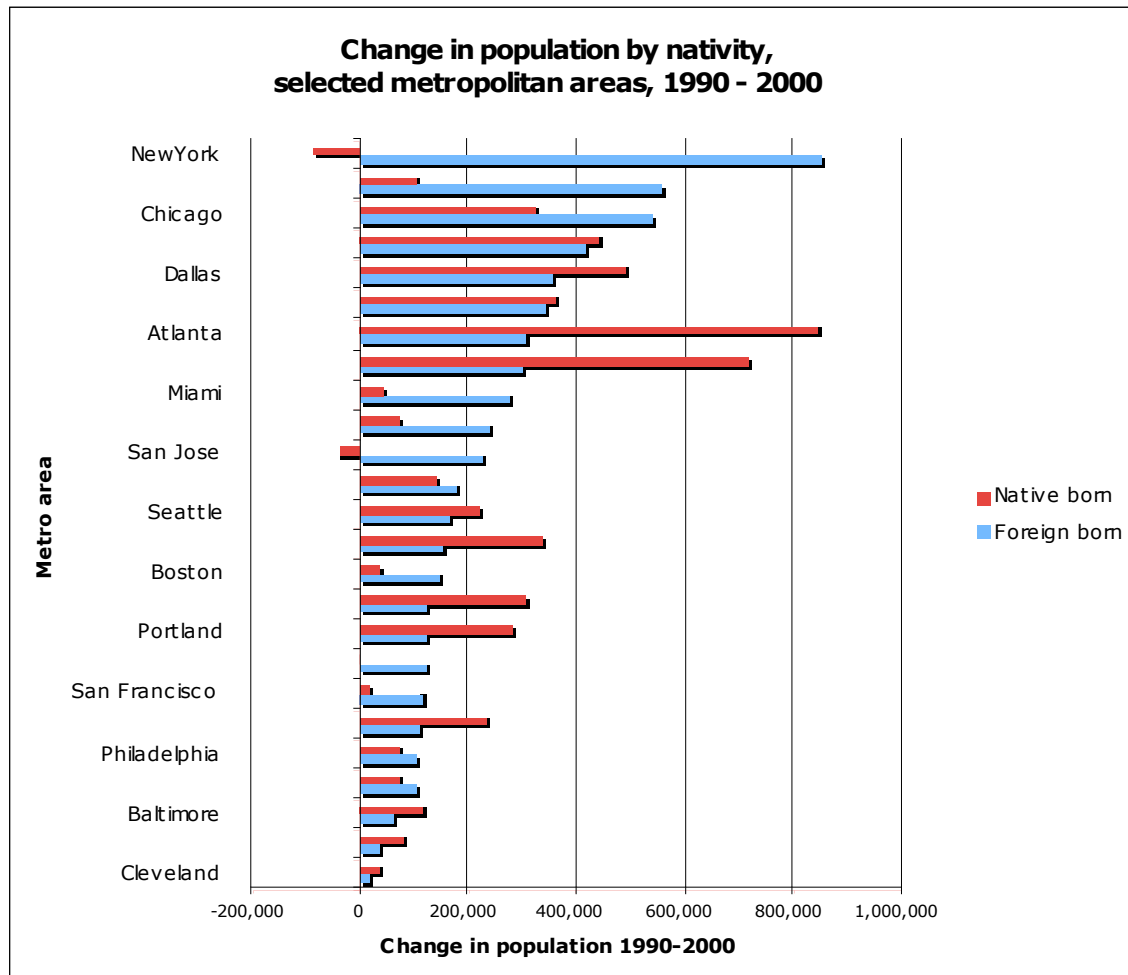


Figure 2.2.

## New immigration

The influx of immigrants from Asia and Latin America is perhaps the defining feature of the 1990s. This immigration has been disproportionately concentrated in metropolitan areas. Indeed, in many metropolitan areas—including New York—the U.S.-born population actually declined during the decade, meaning that immigrants composed more than 100 percent of all population growth (Figure 2.3).



Source: SIAP

Figure 2.3.

This new wave of immigration has been critical to the new urban reality and, in particular, to the revival of entrepreneurship in many neighborhoods and sectors. These new immigrants have also brought a renewed urgency to cultural expression as a variety of old and new ethnic groups each view a common reality through a unique set of lens. By and large, the organizational expression of immigrants' culture has occurred in the community and informal arts sectors, providing these parts of the cultural world an importance that far outweighs their size and visibility.

### Ethnic, economic, and household diversity

During the 1990s, many more Philadelphians lived in economically and ethnically diverse neighborhoods than the typical cognitive map of the city would lead one to expect. While these diverse neighborhoods were often seen as on the edge of “real” neighborhoods, in fact, they were at the center of cultural life in Philadelphia. The 2000 census made it clear that diversity was no longer the exception in U.S. metropolitan areas. For example, the proportion of Philadelphians living in an ethnically diverse neighborhood nearly doubled between 1990 and 2000 to 38 percent.<sup>2</sup> Although the suburbs remained overwhelming white in 2000, the 15 percent of suburban Philadelphians who lived in an ethnically diverse block group represented a significant increase from the 1990 figure of eight percent.

There are two additional dimensions to urban diversity: economic diversity and household diversity. A block group is economically diverse if it has *both* a higher than average poverty rate *and* a higher than average proportion of the labor force in professional and managerial occupations. By 2000, among city of Philadelphia residents, more than forty percent were living in an area that was either economically or ethnically diverse.

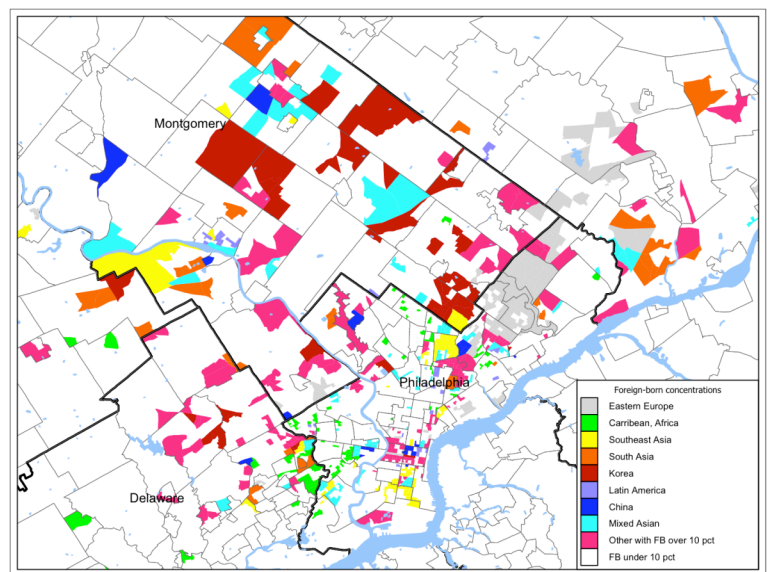
Household diversity is defined by a block group’s proportion of

non-family households.<sup>3</sup> Between 1990 and 2000, in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, the proportion of the population living in block groups that were diverse on at least one of these three dimensions—ethnic, economic, or household—rose from 29 to 41 percent. In the city of Philadelphia, the increase was from 47 to 60 percent of the population.

### Increased economic inequality

Most of this increased heterogeneity was due to the expansion of ethnic and household diversity. Diverse sections of the city are home to either many different ethnic groups or to non-traditional households. Both dimensions represent the cultural differentiation of

### Concentrations of foreign-born residents, metropolitan Philadelphia, 2000

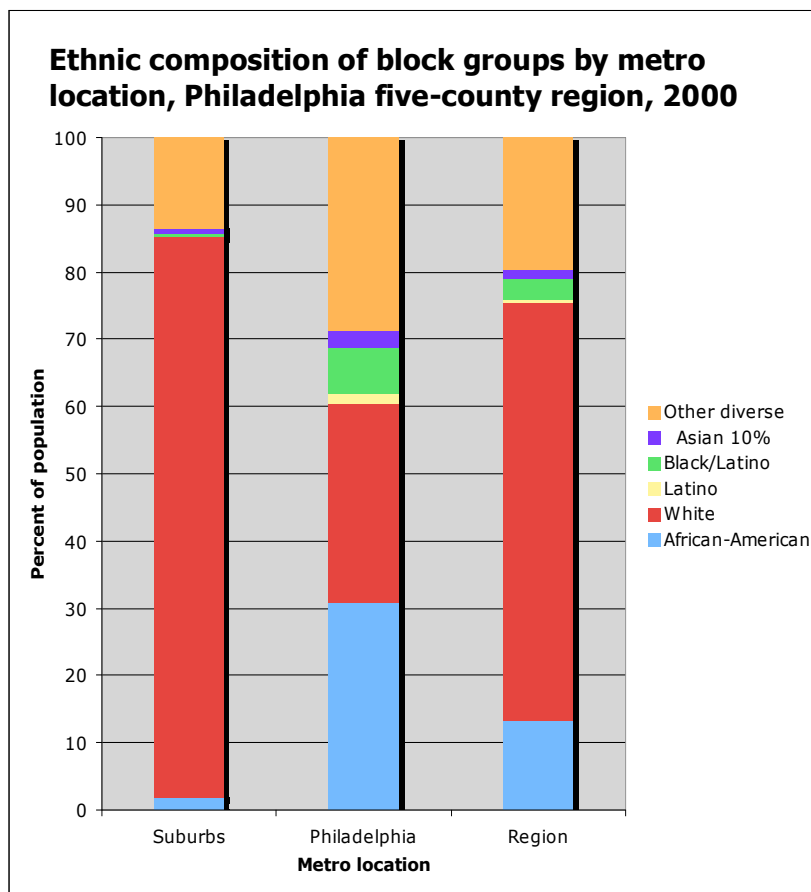


Source: SIAP

Figure 2.4.

<sup>2</sup> An ethnically diverse block group is one in which no single ethnic group—white, African American, Latin American, or Asian American—makes up more than 80 percent of the population.

<sup>3</sup> Here we use the census definition of a family. A family household is defined as one in which the head of household is living with either a spouse or a child. Other domestic arrangements that might be called a family—cohabiting couples, for example—are not family households by this definition.



Source: SIAP

Figure 2.5.

Note: White, black, and Latino block groups defined as those in which 80 percent of the population belongs to that ethnic group.

the city caused by immigration, declining ethnic segregation, and the diversification of family life. Thus, the major forces of diversification are related to culture.

The recent shift toward diversity has been countered by increased economic inequality. Over the past two decades, the gap separating the incomes of the poor and the well-off has increased dramatically. Between 1980 and 2000, the Gini coefficient—which measures the proportion of all income that would have to change hands to achieve total income equality—increased from .40 to .46, an

increase that wiped out the modest moves towards equality between the 1940s and the 1970s.<sup>4</sup>

Two forces combined to achieve this rapid increase in inequality. First, the American economy became what Robert Frank and Philip Cook call a “winner-take-all” economy—one in which a smaller share of participants grab a larger and larger share of rewards (Frank and Cook 1995). For many years, the top ten opera singers, painters, pitchers, and quarterbacks have been able to receive compensation far greater than that received by the fiftieth or hundredth best. Frank and Cook argue that globalization, the media explosion, and the breakdown of corporate bureaucracies have allowed the “winner-take-all” logic to influence a larger share of the labor

<sup>4</sup> The pattern of economic inequality in tandem with social diversity, according to Allen J. Scott and Edward J. Soja, characterizes the urban industrial development of Los Angeles at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Los Angeles today is “a vigorous complex of economic and industrial activities” including financial and business services, high technology, and various craft, fashion, and cultural products industries. Its social structure, however, is no longer dominated by an affluent blue collar working class “but is deeply divided into two distinctive segments”—an upper tier of highly paid managers, professionals, and technicians and a lower tier of low-skilled, low-wage workers. The vast majority of the lower tier are immigrants, part of “an extraordinary global migration stream that has made Los Angeles one of the most culturally heterogeneous metropolises the world has ever seen” (Scott and Soja 1996).

market. Accountants, lawyers, and even college professors increasingly operate in a star system in which millions are spent to recruit and retain a few highly-valued professionals.

Second, although the clearest success of the civil-rights movement was to end the virtual exclusion of African Americans and women from the most highly-valued (and highly-paid) jobs, the continuing concentration of most black Americans and women in low-paying jobs sharply increased income inequality *among* women and African Americans. Paradoxically, the end of group exclusion and the increase in inequality have gone hand-in-hand (Katz and Stern 2006).

### **Evolving Urban Form**

In his preface to *The Cultural Economy of Cities*, Allen Scott remarked that a distinguishing characteristic of the 21<sup>st</sup> century city is the convergence of cultural and economic development.

[C]ities have always played a privileged role as centers of cultural and economic activity. From their earliest origins, cities have exhibited a conspicuous capacity both to generate culture in the form of art, ideas, styles, and ways of life, and to induce high levels of economic innovation and growth, though not always or necessarily simultaneously. At the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a very marked convergence between the spheres of cultural and economic development seems to be occurring. This is one of the distinguishing characteristics of contemporary urbanization processes in general.

Place matters in the new world of economics and culture. In modern capitalism, “place, culture, and economy are symbiotic on one another and ... this symbiosis is reemerging in powerful new

forms as expressed in the cultural economy [of cities]” (Scott 2000).

Essential to “the new urban reality” are the implications of broader social and economic changes for the shape of metropolitan development. While neighborhoods have been diversifying, the underlying form of the urban region has been undergoing significant change. Two features of the post-industrial metropolis—the resuscitation of downtowns and the emergence of production clusters “leapfrogging” out from the central city—are integral to the development of the creative sector.

Meanwhile, the changing relationship of culture to economic production has generated new cultural forms and new uses of urban space.

### **Changing function of downtowns**

For most of the second half of the twentieth century, downtowns were the “sick man” of the American economy. By the time the first suburban shopping centers began to appear in the 1920s, downtown boosters were already alarmed by the prospect that well-heeled consumers would avoid the city center and be replaced by poorer and darker customers (Isenberg 2004). Yet, by the century’s close, two important patterns had shifted our understanding of the role of central districts in American cities.

First, downtowns gained new value as centers of economic decision-making. Surprising those who predicted that globalization and information technology would make central cities irrelevant, these districts became privileged locations in the global economy. Key decision-makers and the special services they require—ranging from legal expertise to information technologies to printing and courier services—



increasingly found it desirable to locate near one another.

At the same time, the role of cities as centers for entertainment and leisure activities gave increased prominence to central cities (Lloyd 2002).<sup>5</sup> Convention centers, sports and entertainment venues, and the hospitality industries that support them have increasingly clustered in downtowns, shifting the range of services available and the demography of the population using them. Joel Kotkin, however, has expressed skepticism about the sustainability of what he calls “the ephemeral city,” because it fails to provide the commerce, security, and spiritual orientation that are the

foundation of successful cities throughout history (Kotkin 2005).

### **Producer clusters as local competitive advantage**

Though less conspicuous than downtown makeovers, decentralized production clusters have emerged as a distinctive feature of the contemporary urban landscape. According to Michael Porter, clusters—which he defines as “geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions in a particular field”—represent a new way of thinking about location and a new kind of spatial organization form.

A cluster of independent and informally linked companies and institutions represents a robust organizational form that offers advantages in efficiency, effectiveness, and flexibility. ...

Clusters affect competition in three broad ways: first, by increasing the productivity of companies based in the area; second, by driving the direction and pace of innovation, which underpins future productivity growth; and third, by stimulating the formation of new businesses, which expands and strengthens the cluster itself. A cluster allows each member to benefit *as if* it had greater scale or *as if* it had joined with others formally—without requiring it to sacrifice its flexibility (Porter 1998).

Cluster economic theory builds on the literature on post-industrial trends in “flexible production.” This work has demonstrated that in the wake of “vertical disintegration,” related producers in particular industries choose to locate near one another. Piore and Sabel, for example, in the first statement of the flexible production paradigm, noted that the industrial

<sup>5</sup> During the 1990s, Lloyd undertook an ethnographic study of Chicago’s Wicker Park neighborhood, which had gained a national reputation as “a site of hip urban culture with a thriving music and art scene” (Lloyd 2002). Drawing on participant-observation and interviews, Lloyd developed the concept of “neo-bohemia,” that is, “bohemian traditions of artistic innovation” applied to a restructured urban economy. Neo-bohemian neighborhoods, exemplified by Wicker Park, are reconfigured as sites of accumulation by global economic trends, including:

*The displacement of older economic functions*, principally manufacturing, providing material and symbolic spaces available for adaptive recycling;

*The increasing importance of culture as a commodity*, available to be consumed locally in entertainment venues and to be exported through traditional culture industries and new media enterprises; and

*The changing occupational structure of the global city*, increasing the importance of educated, culturally competent workers to the material and immaterial labor of cultural production generated in a neighborhood like Wicker Park.

Lloyd argues that the emphasis by most urban theorists on consumption, tourism, center-city and big-ticket development “obscures more evolutionary processes of cultural development, including the expanding role played by traditional patterns of urban subcultural affiliation and artistic innovation in the post-industrial economy ...” He found that the diverse cultural profile of Wicker Park “contributes directly to conditions supportive of cultural and technological innovation.”

districts of Northern Italy were characterized by many small specialized firms that work together through an intense set of social networks (Piore and Sabel 1984). In Japan, using a slightly different model, independent automobile component producers located near the major assembly facilities (Scott 1988).

In the United States, California's Silicon Valley stands as the exemplar of the concentration of independent firms and provides an excellent parallel for the creative sector. First, the concentration of producers is associated with the availability of trained labor. Stanford and other universities train the computer engineers and other personnel necessary to develop computers. Second, the very concentration of individuals and firms in one location spurs a cross-pollination of ideas and innovation. This leads to the development of "a *milieu* of innovation" which allows the initial comparative benefit of a particular place to reproduce itself. "What defines the specificity of a *milieu* of innovation is its capacity to generate synergy, that is the added value resulting not from the cumulative effect of the elements present in the *milieu* but from their interaction" (Castells 1996).

Clusters, a dynamic and vulnerable feature of urban form, are characterized by multiplicity and dispersion across a region. Southern California, for example, is composed of multiple discrete industrial districts, each of which contains numerous individual establishments seeking the economic benefits of agglomeration. In the high-technology industrial districts of Greater Los Angeles, Scott has documented "a peculiar leap-frog dynamic"—essentially a scenario of growth and decomposition—that characterizes their

historic pattern of urbanization. This dynamic is attributed to the interplay of land prices, wages, transaction costs, and agglomeration economies in the growing metropolis.

Emerging sectors of small-scale industries "much given to network forms of interaction" are especially vulnerable and, according to Scott, deserving of policy attention.

[T]heir future success will most likely depend ... on their continued ability to form specialized industrial agglomerations and to reap the advantages of spatially dependent external economies. These external economies constitute an asset that is held jointly by all participants in the local economy. They accrue, of course, from individual efforts, talents, and skills; but they also exist as synergies that grow out of the forms of collective order that always characterize local industrial systems ... They are thus legitimately, if not inescapably, an object of public policy ... (Scott 1996a)

The new economics of competition, therefore, suggest that a "supply-side" logic be integrated into public policy to develop and leverage the creative sector. The focus of current economic development is on "demand-side" strategies—such as cultural facility, cultural district, and cultural tourism development—to stimulate downtown revitalization and regional economies. In fact, as Scott points out, the production of culture has become more and more concentrated in a set of localized clusters of firms and workers, while final products are channeled into "ever more spatially extended networks of consumption." That is to say, in the cultural products industries, production is increasingly local, while consumption is increasingly global (Scott 2000).

Clusters are a form of spatial organization particularly well-suited to the creative sector, which has never been organized either as a single or a vertically-integrated industry. The arts, in fact, are inherently collective enterprises. Each individual artist is dependent on an array of services, personnel, audiences, and colleagues in order to produce his or her work (Becker 1982). We still know very little, however, about the geographical consequences of these interdependencies.

### **Shifting relationship of cultural use to urban space**

Sharon Zukin explores the changing landscape and evolving form of the contemporary city in light of “the symbolic economy.” In this view, the contemporary urban economy is based on the production of symbols—i.e., culture—as commodities and the production of urban spaces as both sites and symbols of the city and of culture.

The diagrams below illustrate Zukin’s thumbnail history of the shifting relationship of cultural use to urban space.<sup>6</sup> In this construct, she blurs the distinction of cultural use for production, consumption, or expressive purposes. Rather, the cultural use of urban space is a symbolic, spatio-temporal reflection of the inter-relations of economic, social, and political power. Ultimately, Zukin portrays the modern city as a function of spaces of varying cultural capital.

<sup>6</sup> From Social Impact of the Arts Project 2005, *Arts In Place: Philadelphia’s Cultural Landscape*. Sharon Zukin presented this framework on April 30, 2004 as a panel participant in the University of Pennsylvania Third Annual Urban Studies Public Conversation Series.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century city, the “old industrial paradigm” of urban spaces, as drawn by the Chicago School of urban sociologists, was relatively simple (Figure 2.6). Ethnic neighborhood clusters, spaces where people lived and worked, grew out from and surrounded a commercial core. Within ethnic clusters were important intermediate spaces based on common language, popular traditions, or religion.

The form of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century city of the 1950s and 1960s reflected the “urban trenches” that divided society by class and ethnicity (Figure 2.7). The historic commercial center was now a relatively small high-culture core—“space with old cultural capital.”

Surrounding the high-culture core were zones inhabited by low-income groups, typically of different ethnicities—“ethnic spaces” and “spaces with low cultural capital.” These low-income groups concentrated in residential and factory spaces, which were assumed to be closed to others outside the ethnic group or social class. Residents able to enjoy the high-culture facilities at the center viewed these low cultural capital zones as undesirable No Man’s Lands.

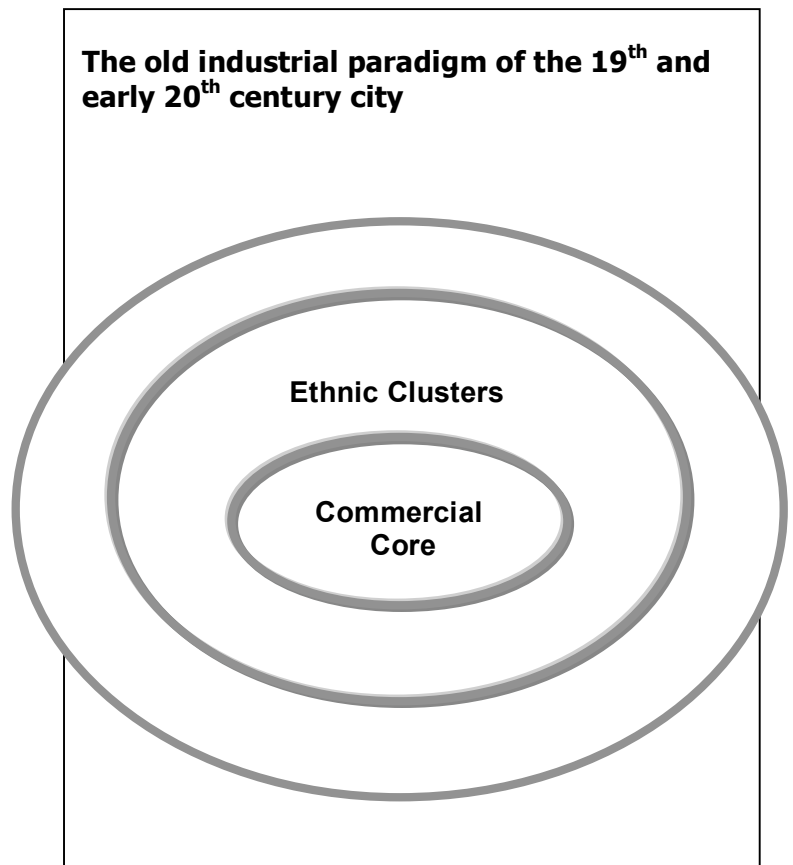
The 1970s city—as described in *Loft Living*, Zukin’s classic study of New York City’s Soho—featured “spaces with new cultural capital.” Though many continued to see the low-income zones of the city as derelict and abandoned, young artists and entrepreneurs were attracted to their big spaces and low rents. The conversion of old manufacturing loft buildings supported new cultural facilities—artists’ work and performance spaces, restaurants, and small enterprises—that did not always turn a profit but did build cultural value.

Loft conversion was reinforced by the historic preservation movement, which helped bridge the historic center (spaces with old cultural capital) with revitalized districts (spaces with new cultural capital). However, the encroachment of these new cultural spaces into ethnic spaces sparked gentrification.

The late 20<sup>th</sup> century city featured the expansion and legitimation of spaces with new cultural capital. New as well as old cultural value districts could be packaged for tourism. By 2000 old ethnic spaces were dominated by “new immigrants.” Unlike the ethnic spaces of past generations, these new ethnic spaces—with help from the mass media—began to be recognized as contributors to the city’s cultural capital. Shopping and entertainment guides highlighted the value of new immigrants’ cultural products.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century city, the spaces in which people move are more complex (Figure 2.8). Communications and interactions between people are less direct and more dependent on media. Boundaries between organizational and geographical spheres are more fluid. There is more mobility than ever before among urban spaces with old cultural capital and new cultural capital. Old buildings and streets continue to be revitalized, so that there is a constant flow of people among different districts.

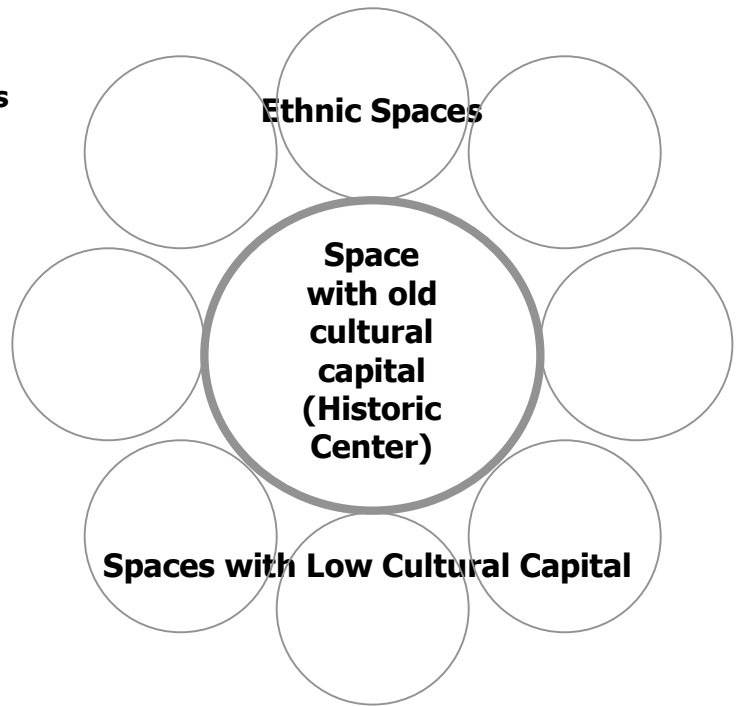
Thus, over the past 50 years, the spaces of the city have been opened up by new cultural forms. The 21<sup>st</sup> century city, in particular, is characterized by increasing diversity and interdependence of urban cultural spaces and their connections with both local and global economies.



Source: Zukin 2004.

Figure 2.6.

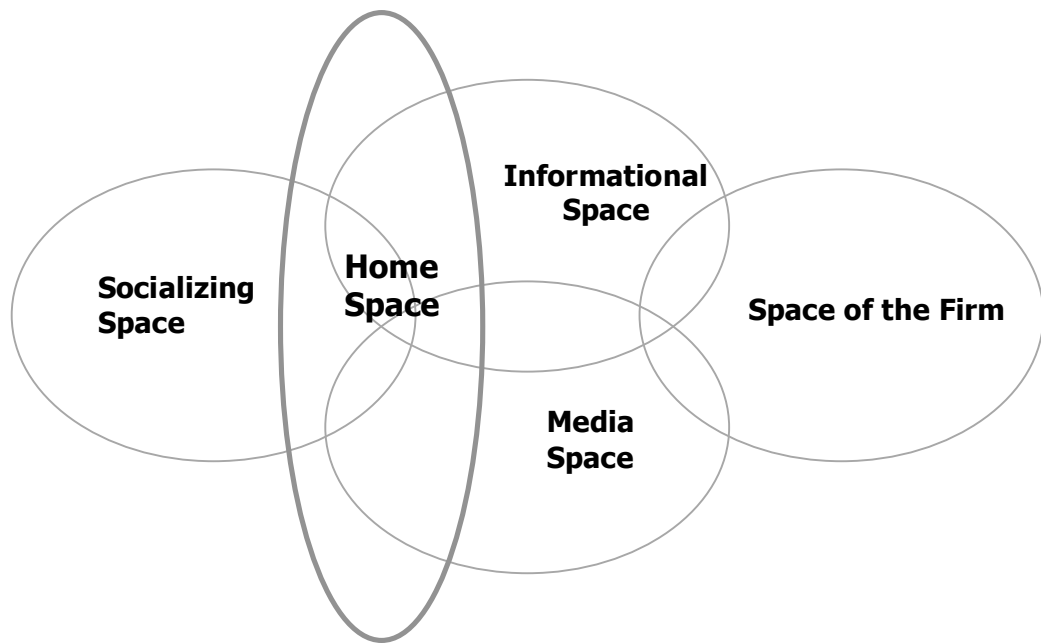
**The mid-20<sup>th</sup> century  
city of the 1950s and 1960s**



Source: Zukin 2004.

Figure 2.7.

**The 21<sup>st</sup> century city as a new portrait of cultural use and urban space**



Source: Zukin 2004.

Figure 2.8.

## Changing Structure of the Creative Sector

At the same time that the urban landscape has undergone fundamental change, the arts world has been remade by a variety of market and social forces. Because of its compatibility with 21<sup>st</sup> century industrialization, however, the restructured creative sector has the potential to move to the center of the new urban economy.

### Restructuring of the Arts World

Economic forces have influenced all aspects of the arts world. The marketization of the nonprofit cultural sector—the increased stress placed on earned income and financial performance—has been the dominant policy of the cultural sector for the past 15 years. With the end of the era of expanding institutional and government support for nonprofit culture, existing organizations have had little choice but to give greater priority to economic health. This trend has been accelerated by the adoption of managerial ideologies by philanthropic grant-makers who have used concepts of accountability and sustainability in an attempt to turn negative fiscal necessity into a positive good.

Increasing marketization has had disparate effects on different parts of the cultural sector. In its series on the state of the arts at the turn of the twenty-first century, Rand Corporation has painted a mixed portrait of the organizational world of nonprofit arts. The upper tier of this sector has become enmeshed in our “winner-take-all” economy in which a select number of premier institutions gain control of a larger “market share” of cultural expenditures. In many respects, large nonprofits operate in a market that

requires them to act similarly to large commercial cultural venues in pursuing audiences and revenues.

Meanwhile, after a 30-year period of expansion, mid-sized cultural organizations are struggling for survival and stability. In the context of limited options and declining resources, middle-tier organizations, in particular, have found it difficult to thrive under the increasing pressure by public and private contributors both to grow and become self-sustaining.

At the other end of the spectrum, American communities have seen a proliferation of small, voluntary organizations that cater to local or specialized groups. These groups—many of them part of the participatory, “informal” cultural sector—are motivated more by the interests and commitments of their members and less by conventional organizational concerns like the strength of their boards or the growth of their revenues. As one Rand study concluded:

While the commercial recording and broadcast performing arts industry is growing more and more concentrated globally, live performances are proliferating at the local level, typically in very small organizations with low operating budgets and a mix of paid and unpaid performers and staff. At the same time, a few very large nonprofit and commercial organizations are growing larger and staging ever more elaborate productions. Midsized nonprofit organizations, on the other hand, are facing the greatest difficulty in attracting enough revenues to cover their costs. Many of these groups are likely to disappear.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Rand Research Brief, “The Performing Arts: Trends and Their Implications,” 2001.

Thus a new “organizational ecology” is reshaping the cultural sector. Instead of the traditional distinction between a nonprofit sector producing “high arts” and a for-profit sector producing “mass entertainment,” the contemporary arts world appears to be divided into large vs. small organizations that cater to broad vs. niche markets (McCarthy and Ondaatje 2002).

Meanwhile, in their most recent study, McCarthy and his colleagues argue that the search for instrumental benefits of the arts—for example, arts’ impact on economic growth or academic success—is the wrong direction for cultural policy. Instead, they advocate for an approach that stresses the intrinsic benefits of the arts (McCarthy, *et al* 2004).

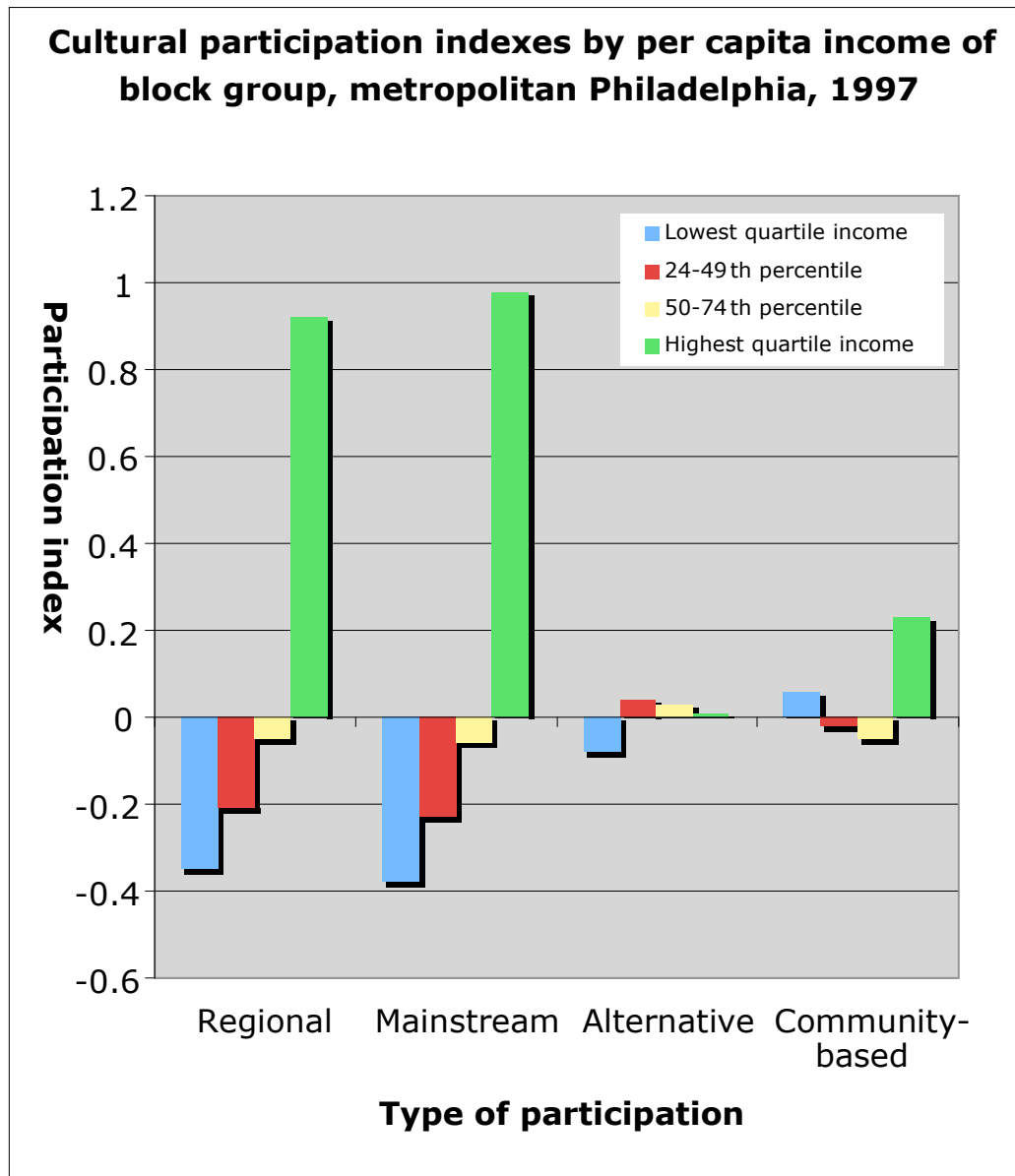
The work of the University of Pennsylvania’s Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP) on metropolitan Philadelphia also points to the restructuring of the cultural sector. SIAP has documented, on the one hand, a clear connection between socio-economic standing and the different strata of the cultural sector. The participation patterns of large, mainstream cultural organizations reflect social class and ethnic divisions. High socio-economic standing neighborhoods are more likely to have high mainstream participation. Alternative and community participation, on the other hand, are generally unrelated to social class (Figure 2.9).

In previous work, SIAP suggested that small, community-based cultural organizations and participatory groups could be viewed as “irrational organizations” in that they behave more like “new social movements” than like formal organizations (Stern and Seifert

2000a).<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, these smaller cultural organizations suffer from their unconventionality. Funding agencies tend to misread their purpose and effectiveness because of the yardsticks used to measure these qualities. At the same time, the increased market discipline in which the mainstream cultural sector operates makes cooperation between established and community-based cultural groups more strained and difficult. This tension accounts for the weak links documented by SIAP between the community cultural sector and established, regional cultural organizations—a significant “structural hole” in their institutional networks (Stern and Seifert 2002).

<sup>8</sup> See also article by Douglas McLennan, “Culture Clash: Has the business model for arts institutions outlived its usefulness?” *The Wall Street Journal*, October 8, 2005 (11).

<<http://www.rand.org/publications/RB/RB2504/>> [cited 30 November 2006].



Source: SIAP

Figure 2.9

Note: Participation indexes (regional average=0)



### **The Creative Sector in the Post-Industrial Economy**

The creative sector in a fundamental way is adaptable to the new urban reality. The restructuring of the urban economy is complementary to culture, which historically has been a decentralized, diverse, and nimble sector. As discussed above, a key feature of economic restructuring has been the replacement of large, integrated firms organized on bureaucratic principles with smaller, vertically disintegrated firms held together by social networks. As a result, firms cluster in particular neighborhoods to interact more easily, to foster an innovative environment, and to remain competitive.

In the United States, the arts and culture have evolved as a decentralized, community-based, bottom-up sector. The provision of arts and cultural services has never been subject to the kinds of rational planning or public investment—or the level of bureaucratization—characteristic of sectors such as education, health care, social services, or even recreation. Nor have the commercial arts been subject to large-scale private expansion with elaborate employment hierarchies. Moreover, like new-age firms, arts and cultural organizations tend to make decisions about location based on supply-side imperatives around agglomeration and an interest in neighborhoods that are accessible to participants.

Thus, given art worlds' changing structure, significant investment in cultural facilities might stimulate cultural tourism but is a limited tool for stimulating the productivity of the local cultural sector. The economic necessities induced by a capital campaign and mortgage payments will

inevitably put a squeeze on artistic innovation and community engagement. A new performing or exhibition facility can push even a large cultural institution into commercial marketing via popular programming or a museum shop. For a community arts center or artist-centered organization, new construction inevitably increases financial strain—and the program fee or rental structure—in a way that can compromise the group's social and artistic missions.

Artists, cultural organizations, and arts firms need affordable and flexible spaces and infrastructure to spur creativity and productivity and maintain an innovative edge. Artists—and thus the artistic portion of organizational operating budgets—are relatively immune to labor-saving economies (Baumol and Bowen 1966). Moreover, the location value added by artists and cultural workers, especially to underutilized sites and marginal locales, further widens the affordability gap. The provision of cultural spaces in the new urban economy will require creative public planning and policy.

## Transactional Policy and the Creative Sector

The new urban reality and the restructuring of the creative sector across public, private, and nonprofit spheres have given rise to—and are in turn shaped by—a new set of social and political dynamics. On the one hand, the increased mobility of capital in a global economy has increased business' leverage and decreased government's autonomy in policy-making. On the other hand, grassroots mobilization around specific neighborhood concerns or special interests constrains government's ability to act quickly and decisively. The contemporary public sector is more likely to find itself brokering transactions between contending interests than setting its own agenda.

## Changing Relationship of Government, Business, and Civil Society

American cultural policy—to the extent that one can even use that concept—was a product of the policy world of the 1960s. Occurring in the context of a rapidly expanding public sector, establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts and its associated agencies was based on a number of assumptions: a top-down model of cultural improvement; the ability of philanthropy to convince the public sector to expand its responsibility for funding culture; and a substantial increase in the subsidies available to artists and arts organizations. This environment led to “policies of institutionalization” which, in the words of Paul DiMaggio, focused on “encouraging small organizations to become larger and large organizations to seek immortality” (DiMaggio 1991).

Globalization, however, limits control by all levels of government and changes the balance among localities, states, and the federal government (Sassen 2006). Contemporary cultural policy, therefore, is framed by a redefinition of social policy in the context of changing relationships among government, business, and civil society. The new policy world acknowledges the role of informal social relations in defining the legitimacy and effectiveness of social policy. Rather than the primary agent of social policy, government—in this view—is simply one of a number of social entities that determine policy through a *transactional* process. Rather than *direct* social policy, government seeks to *steer* social outcomes in a particular direction and negotiate between contending forces.

The shift to a transactional politics focuses attention on the *balance* of different agents in policy making. Critics of neo-liberalism, for example, argue that government has increasingly become an agent of business and economic elites, imposing a new policy agenda on an unwilling public. Others now see civil society as a significant domain for change. Citizens, they argue, have gained leverage over social policy that they did not previously possess. The question to pose with respect to the creative sector, therefore, is: what are the appropriate and effective roles for the public sector, for the private sector, and for civil society (Castells 1996, Harvey 2005).

## Culture and Transactional Policy-making

This new context for social policy-making changes the potential purpose and instrumentalities of policy and its relationship to culture. At its core, culture cannot be created by

government. Culture is dependent upon the ferment, efforts, and inspiration of ordinary citizens to give voice to their understanding of the world. Moreover, the arts are one of the ways that contestation happens. Even when we feel powerless to change society, we can use the expressive and symbolic powers of the arts to present or dramatize the issue.

So, the new social policy regime provides an opportunity to shift the focus of cultural policy from serving government to aiding the indigenous efforts of citizens. At the same time, as the initiative for policy-making shifts from established centers of power to grassroots movements, the substance of cultural policy will be determined by a broader and more complex set of agents.

As we have learned from our ongoing research on the community cultural sector, cultural policy will become less an exercise in *rational decision-making* and more an interactive—or *transactional*—process as the range of established and new entities cooperate and contest the meaning of culture in American and global society.<sup>9</sup> A transactional process can open up new possibilities for democratic politics in which culture is uniquely poised to become “a domain of contestation” where debates can take place, for example, on the meaning of identity and citizenship in a multi-cultural society (Delanty 1996).

Finally, the failure of cultural policy to become an established field of inquiry and sphere of influence inside government can become its asset in

adapting to the new context of social policy. The lack of bureaucracy and entrenched special interests enhances the potential of the cultural and creative sectors for responsive change and innovation. Ideally, we might say, cultural policy would recede as an obsolete category while culture and creativity emerge as integrative agents in participatory social, economic, and urban policy-making.

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<sup>9</sup> See Lindblom and Cohen (1979) for an elaboration of interactive policy-making as an “alternative to authoritativeness” to solve social problems.

### 3. Major Dimensions of Current Literature on Culture and Revitalization

Over the past decade, scholars around the world have contributed to our understanding of the economic and social importance of the arts.<sup>10</sup> For the most part, this literature has not focused on communities. Topics like the psychological or educational importance of the arts, for example, have attracted significantly more attention than community impacts. For this review, we have identified two major dimensions of current research. First is the creative economy literature, which—in both its regional and neighborhood manifestations—has generated conceptual and methodological interest. Second is the community-building literature, which looks at the role of the arts and culture in building social networks and community capacity. Although not mutually exclusive, these two fields of study have followed separate paths and are the organizing framework for this review.

Lastly, we look at yet a third category of literature, generally ignored by both economic and social impact researchers, that addresses the negative consequences of culture-based revitalization. The two key issues identified are gentrification and expanding economic inequality. Although gentrification has attracted more attention than increased inequality, a review of research suggests that inequality is a more significant side-effect of culture-based development.

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<sup>10</sup> See the Impact database—a bibliographic resource on the social and economic impact of the arts, culture, and major events—developed by the Centre for Cultural Policy Research (CCPR) at the University of Glasgow. The Impact database was commissioned and funded by the Scottish Executive in 2004 for three years. <[http://www.culturalpolicy.arts.gla.ac.uk/site\\_resources/frame\\_set.php](http://www.culturalpolicy.arts.gla.ac.uk/site_resources/frame_set.php)> [cited 30 November 2006].

## Cultural Production: The Creative Economy

Economic development officials in cities and towns across the U.S. have embraced the paradigm of the “creative class” and the “creative economy” as “an untapped sector” that can generate revenue and jobs for their locales. According to Richard Florida, “the guru of the creative economy movement,” the regions that will thrive in the global economy are those that can attract a rich market of creative labor—scientists, researchers, architects, designers, technology experts, economists, and the like—and business will follow. “Those people want latte bars, art galleries, bike trails and warehouse lofts, [... and] an atmosphere of openness that is conducive to the ideas that juice their creativity.”<sup>11</sup>

## From Economic Impact to the Creative Economy

The creative economy bandwagon represents a third wave of interest in culture as a post-industrial urban revitalization strategy. The oldest research thread on the economic benefits of the arts and culture is the economic impact literature. Beginning with studies by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, a number of cities commissioned analyses of the aggregate impact of arts on the metropolitan area (Port Authority of New York and New Jersey 1983). The economic impact study calculates the contribution of the arts to a regional

economy based on the direct and multiplier effects of nonprofit expenditures and cultural consumption. In time, policy-makers realized that economic impact is magnified when bounded spatially. Thus, the cultural district concept evolved along with the development of major cultural facilities, such as a museum or performing arts center, as a catalyst for downtown revival.

Professional economists—particularly Bruce Seaman—began to punch holes in the methodology of the economic impact studies, noting their inattention to the opportunity costs of involvement in the arts. That is, every dollar spent on the arts was a dollar *not* spent on some other form of consumption. Moreover, the formula generates significant double counting as one organization’s direct impact gets counted as another organization’s indirect impact. Thus, local cultural expenditures can have an economic impact only as a result of *exporting* cultural products elsewhere or *importing* cultural audiences (Seaman 1987, Tepper 2002, Sterngold 2004).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> University of Glasgow’s CCPR Impact database notes a number of recent studies that critically examine the value of economic impact studies. Tepper (2002) and Sterngold (2004) conclude that conventional economic impact analysis does not provide any real evidence and that attention would be better directed toward the ways in which arts and culture enrich quality of life and contribute to social capital. Frey’s (2005) working paper, “What values should count in the arts? The tension between economic effects and cultural value,” makes the distinction between economic impact studies and willingness-to-pay studies and discusses their consequences for decision-making in the arts. Throsby (2004), in “Assessing the impacts of a cultural industry” (*The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* 34:3), argues that a structural model of the cultural sector,

<sup>11</sup> Jane M. Von Bergen, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, “Philadelphia’s prospects? A key voice on creative economy discusses whether the city has the right stuff,” Monday, June 19, 2006.

The creative economy literature, then, can be viewed as taking a step backward—in terms of claims—or forward—in terms of methods. Rather than the aggregate contribution of nonprofit arts (full-time job equivalents, tax revenues, and event-related audience spending), the focus of creative economy studies has been descriptive—documenting the size and trajectory of different sectors and their role in a region’s overall economy. Furthermore, rather than focusing on cultural consumption, the creative economy literature views creativity as an asset and spur to productivity.

The earliest creative economy studies—in Philadelphia and New England—focused primarily on the size of the nonprofit cultural sector (Pennsylvania Economy League 1998; New England Council 2000). Subsequent research, however, led to a redefinition of scope. First, the Rand Corporation undertook studies of the performing arts and the media arts that treated nonprofit and commercial cultural firms as a single sector (McCarthy, *et al* 2001, McCarthy and Ondaatje 2002). Second, Florida’s work—with its unusually expansive definitions of culture and claims about the role of creativity as a regional economic stimulus—encouraged the trend to treat the nonprofit and for-profit firms as a single sector and to include design and related fields that are not strictly part of the arts and cultural sector as part of the creative economy (Florida 2002).

Another trajectory of the creative economy literature has been case studies that explicate the links between

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examining the relationship between its elements and with the rest of the economy, can be of more value for the study of the economic contribution of arts and culture.

creative economic activity and local spillover effects. Ann Markusen and her colleagues, for example, have studied the role of artists’ centers in animating Minneapolis-St. Paul neighborhoods and other Minnesota communities (Markusen and Johnson 2006). Strom and Sheppard, along similar lines, have documented the impact of major cultural investments (the New Jersey Performing Arts Center in Newark and the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Arts in North Adams, respectively) on the economic vitality of their regions (Strom 1999, Sheppard, *et al* 2006). Vossman’s profile of a cultural district in Long Beach, California shows the contribution of case studies to our practical understanding of the challenges and opportunities these districts afford (Vossman 2002).

### **New York City’s Creative Core**

Studies of New York City by the Center for an Urban Future (CUF) examine both the citywide and neighborhood implications of the creative economy (Keegan and Kleiman 2005, Kleiman with Keegan, *et al* 2002). CUF’s work views the sector through an economic development lens and looks solely at direct employment linked to the city’s creative activity rather than attempting to capture all of the associated indirect economic activity. It differs from traditional arts-related economic impact studies in two other ways:

- the inclusion of both nonprofit and for-profit enterprises within the creative sector based on the contention that, regardless of tax status, these enterprises have the same underlying goal—to generate content, as both goods and services, that transmits symbolic and cultural meaning to a marketplace; and

- the inclusion of sole proprietorships, which are particularly important to the creative sector.

CUF's methodology was developed by Mt. Auburn Associates, a Massachusetts-based consulting firm that applies methods used for other economic sectors—such as life sciences, manufacturing, and natural resource-based industries—to the cultural sector. Mt. Auburn conducted similar assessments of the regional creative sector in New England and Louisiana.

The methodology calls for development of a region-specific definition of the creative sector. In consultation with Mt. Auburn and an advisory board, CUF defined New York's "creative core" as industries in which the creative element is central to both the cultural and economic values of what they produce. Nine industries were identified: advertising; film and video; broadcasting; publishing; architecture; design; music; visual arts; and performing arts. For the sector analysis, the researchers used the following data sources:

- U.S. Census County Business Patterns (2002)—firms and workers in the creative industries;
- U.S. Census Non-employer Data—individuals with "creative occupations" earning income from a sole proprietorship (self-employed);
- U.S. Census Equal Employment Opportunity Special Tabulation (2000)—individuals working in "creative occupations" outside of creative industries (e.g., a graphic artist in a Wall Street firm).

As of 2002 in New York City's five boroughs, the creative workforce comprised 309,142 people (278,388 in the core creative industries and 30,754 in other creative occupations), over 8.1 percent of all employment. The creative core includes 11,671 businesses and nonprofits, or 5.7 percent of all employers, as well as 79,761 sole proprietorships. In other words, about 29 percent of New York's creative workforce was self-employed. One of the more dependable growth areas for the city economy, creative employment grew between 1998 and 2002 by 13.1 percent (32,000 jobs) compared to 6.5 percent job growth citywide. Much recent growth has been among the self-employed, who accounted for nearly half (48 percent) all employment growth during this period.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the sector analysis, the research involved over 200 interviews with leaders in the creative industries, creative workers, economists, officials, patrons, and other stakeholders. The study identified the following factors as key to making New York City an environment conducive to creative work.

- *Talent*—a pool of talented, skilled, versatile workers ("three-fers," people

<sup>13</sup> New York City's creative industry counts are considered extremely conservative for several reasons. (1) The focus was on enterprises and individuals involved in the creation or production of creative content. Distribution channels were counted only if the activity also involved production—e.g., media and art galleries but not movie theaters or book stores. (2) The count does not include many of the suppliers to the creative core—e.g., art supply stores or legal services to the entertainment industry. (3) A significant amount of "embedded" activity within the creative sector is difficult to quantify—e.g., public libraries, venues at colleges and universities or craft-related businesses.

with three professional skill sets), increasingly available on a freelance basis.

- *Markets*—a receptive public ready to appreciate quality.
- *Sector mix*—opportunities for artists to earn a living while following their muse. Mutual support of nonprofit and for-profit ventures is fundamental to quality and sustainability of the city’s creative activity. For creative workers there is almost seamless fluidity between the two.
- *Clusters*—unmatched concentration that offers access to talent, suppliers, markets. Because of the unstable and collaborative nature of creative work, the creative economy is a fundamentally social economy in which connections among individuals and businesses are crucial to success and even survival.
- *Support infrastructure*—infrastructure essential to New York’s creative sector includes educational and training institutions, philanthropic and financial community, trade associations and unions, suppliers and distributors, and city government.

New York’s creative core is described, on the one hand, as “a thriving and complex creative ecosystem” and, on the other hand, as a sector “undergoing a veritable revolution” spurred by globalization, new technologies, and business conglomeration. Creative industries and individuals across the sector share collective needs that are “well-suited to a broad-based, sector-style economic development approach.”

The report identifies the following set of common challenges:

- *Cost of appropriate work space*—Affordability is especially acute for a sector with specific space

requirements and a high proportion of small enterprises and self-employed workers.

- *Access to markets*—High costs and unparalleled competition for access (via galleries, media, retail outlets, etc) are often prohibitive for emerging talent.
- *Market forces*—Creative ventures need most what the business won’t give—opportunity for experimentation, research and development, the chance to fail.
- *Lack of business skills and information*—Small businesses and aspiring entrepreneurs lack even basic business skills needed to succeed in an increasingly competitive market.
- *Work supports and economic insecurity*—Creative work tends to be project-oriented and “temporary”; workers rarely have benefits—health insurance, retirement accounts, or pension plans—common to other professionals.
- *Changes in technology*—Rapid technological changes trigger competition between commercial and “purpose-built” home studios as well as disputes over ownership of intellectual property.

CUF visited London and other UK cities to see how what could be learned from Britain to encourage creative industries and support the creative workforce. As a *model of coordination*, CUF identified Creative London, a public-private partnership created in 2004 by the London Development Agency, which is supporting development of ten locally-based partnerships or “creative hubs.”

As a *model of market-making*, CUF identified the Creative Industries Development Services in Manchester (CIDS), formed in 1999 by the



Manchester City Council to meet the needs of the creative industries and to bridge their work with a larger, global market.

As a *model of work space solutions*, CUF identified the Round Foundry Media Centre in Leeds, developed and run by a nonprofit management company called the Media Centre Network. Started with government support, the Centre is home to an array of small creative companies (IT, computer animation, television, and a new media trade association) and provides shared office space, administration, flexible lease terms, and business training opportunities.

To sustain New York's preeminence—let alone nourish its creative sector—the Center for an Urban Future made a number of recommendations including encouraging the City to take more aggressive actions to coordinate programs relevant for the sector, calling for more partnerships between nonprofit and for-profit enterprises, and developing a broader understanding of the needs of the creative workforce.

### **New York's Neighborhood Cultural Economic Development**

The Center for an Urban Future's 2005 citywide study built on its 2002 report, *The Creative Engine*, which looked at how New York City's creative economy plays at the neighborhood level. CUF launched the first study to understand how, when, where, and why cultural economic development occurs; and how its power can be harnessed in positive, balanced ways to benefit neighborhoods. The purpose was to provide new models for the city that look beyond downtowns and cultural consumption to neighborhoods and cultural production as sites for and engines of revitalization.

The research involved seven neighborhood-based case studies conducted over a two-year period. The strategy was to undertake a qualitative assessment of cultural and economic development that happens over time at the neighborhood level. *The Creative Engine* profiles the case study neighborhoods, which are located throughout New York's five boroughs.

- *Lower Manhattan*—The Alliance for Downtown New York and Lower Manhattan Cultural Council are both working with artists and arts groups in collaboration with the downtown business community to create a 24-hour community.
- *Harlem, Upper Manhattan*—Harlem's potential is the cultural history at its core and the array of possible collaborations among cultural and business networks.
- *Jamaica, Queens*—The Greater Jamaica Development Corporation, which formed the Cultural Collaborative Jamaica in 1992, has been dedicated to integrating business and cultural development for 35 years.
- *Long Island City, Queens*—Long Island City is evolving as a mixed-use business district—comprised of independent artists, light manufacturers, cultural groups, and merchants—that is growing “slow enough to manage properly.”
- *Fort Greene, Brooklyn*—The Brooklyn Academy of Music Local Development Corporation (BAM LDC) is implementing the city's most ambitious plan for a cultural district.
- *South Bronx*—The Point CDC is nurturing local commercial arts venues and making the neighborhood a cultural destination.

- *Staten Island*—In St George, an ethnically diverse historic community, civic activism and preservation efforts are working in tandem with artists' entrepreneurial efforts.

The report also presented a provocative set of overall findings and generally found throughout New York City "a huge, untapped potential for culture-based development."

- Cultural development has exploded in neighborhoods outside of Central Manhattan. "We found that balanced cultural development occurs organically within vibrant and diverse creative economies."
- In the seven neighborhoods examined, arts and culture were seen as the crucial lure for retail, street life, and other amenities that draw businesses to the area.
- The arts and culture are a major jobs engine. There are over 150,000 jobs in the creative economy, an estimated 52 percent growth from 1992 to 2001.<sup>14</sup>
- New York City has pioneered standout solutions to the city's space crunch—one of the sector's top concerns (Figure 3.1).
- Economic development intermediaries are essential to cultural development, but most are not plugged in. In a survey of over 150 economic and community development organizations, only six directly linked the arts with business to foster economically beneficial environments for long-term growth.
- Foundations and grant-makers rarely make the connection between arts

and culture and local economic development.

- Issues of gentrification and displacement are one of the biggest barriers to cultural development at the neighborhood level. In New York neighborhoods, cultural development is about integrating the creative sector into already dense residential and business communities.
- Key ingredients for successful cultural development are most often found at the neighborhood level. Strategies include: tackling displacement issues head-on; cultivating leadership with vision and patience; nurturing cultural growth that happens organically; and mixing different nonprofit and commercial creative industries.

CUF recommended that policymakers start with two simple tasks. First, begin to regard the arts as an economic sector. One of CUF's 2002 findings was that New York "lacks a clear understanding of the impact and potential of the creative economy." The report recommended that New York look to New England and Portland, Oregon—which had already completed significant research and established actions plans—for helpful models. Second, take bold and definitive steps to assist neighborhoods working toward stable and permanent cultural development.

<sup>14</sup> CUF's 2005 study, discussed above, reported that New York's 2002 creative workforce in the five boroughs comprised over 300,000 people.

## New York City “standout examples” of solutions to the city’s arts space crunch

The Center for an Urban Future conducted an informal survey of affordable space for arts organizations and culturally oriented commercial enterprises. The list is not comprehensive but gives “standout examples that could easily be replicated throughout the city.”

SPACE SOLUTION	DESCRIPTION
<p><b>The New 42nd Street</b> <i>Space for Nonprofit Theater in Times Square</i></p>	<p>A large-scale public-private partnership between the state, city and a unique nonprofit developer, the New 42nd Street achieved striking successes renovating seven theaters along 42nd Street in the early 1990s, opening an acclaimed children’s theater and state-of-the-art rehearsal/performance spaces.</p>
<p><b>Alliance of Resident Theaters/New York</b> <i>Offices for Theater Groups</i></p>	<p>In the late 1990s, A.R.T./New York used city and private funding to develop two buildings with office space for its off-Broadway constituents. One, a former nurses’ residence in Ft. Greene, is now affordable office space for 20 theatre companies. A.R.T./New York is also creating office space and planning to serve as anchor tenant and on-site manager for an additional group of organizations in a converted Garment-district building. It has already leased out one of three floors, even before moving in itself.</p>
<p><b>Chashama</b> <i>Short-Lived Theater Spaces</i></p>	<p>A bare-bones, stylistically experimental organization that works in several different media, Chashama takes advantage of underutilized property owned by private developers. Developers donate underdeveloped space to the organization for a specified time. Chashama and partnering groups temporarily build out the space for performances, rehearsals and studios, keeping costs low.</p>
<p><b>The Fourth Street Arts’ Block</b> <i>Theater Groups Buy Homes</i></p>	<p>This collaborative of seven groups along Fourth Street in the East Village recently secured a commitment from the city to purchase and renovate two properties for permanent homes.</p>
<p><b>Greenpoint Manufacturing and Design Center</b> <i>Affordable Space for Working Artists</i></p>	<p>Known for redeveloping industrial buildings, GMDC has for the first time incorporated artist studios into its new building on Greenpoint Avenue in North Brooklyn. Developed through a combination of city financing, tax incentives and the group’s own equity, the building is a prime example of the synergies possible when arts groups and industrial concerns—two sectors often pitted against one another—share space.</p>
<p><b>Lower East Side BID</b> <i>Support for Emerging Designers</i></p>	<p>LES BID launched Forward, a boutique of four up-and-coming fashion designers on Orchard Street, in December 2001. The program requires owners to learn the basics of business operation, provides marketing and technical assistance, and helps to identify space within the district once designers are ready to set off on their own.</p>
<p><b>4W Circle</b> <i>African American Artisan Entrepreneurs</i></p>	<p>Since 1991, this showcase for Afro-centric handmade wares has provided local artisans with working space and a place to develop product lines. It has also housed around 40 small companies and launched four independent shops.</p>
<p><b>The Point</b> <i>A CDC Provides Mixed Use Space</i></p>	<p>This acclaimed community development corporation has created a multi-disciplined complex that houses dance troupes, graffiti artists, and other visual and performing artists committed to serving their community in a renovated factory.</p>

Source: Kleiman and Keegan 2002

Figure 3.1.

### Artists as Economic Actors— Minneapolis-St. Paul

Artists have been absent from analyses of the economic impact of the arts and marginal to studies of the creative economy. Ann Markusen at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs has taken the lead in research that recognizes the artist at the center of cultural production.

Markusen's 2003 study and 2004 update developed the concept of the "artistic dividend" to describe the hidden contributions that artists make to regional economies. In this conceptualization, artistic activity produces dividends for a regional economy in two ways. One, artists generate current income streams on local activities as well as goods and services exported out of the region—that is, they contribute to the region's economic base. Two, artists stimulate a return to a region on past investments by the public, private, and philanthropic sectors—that is, an arts community is "a kind of public good" that attracts new businesses and employees to the region and retains current residents and businesses (Markusen and King 2003; Markusen, Schrock, and Cameron 2004).

A region's "artistic dividend," therefore, is defined as the aggregate economic impact that would not occur without the presence of artists. Because the artistic dividend is impossible to measure directly, the researchers compared regional concentrations of artists as "a good first proxy." Using census data, they developed what economists call a location quotient—the share of artistic occupations in a regional economy compared with their share in the national economy—for selected

metropolitan areas.<sup>15</sup> These data showed how artists and sub-groups of artists locate across metropolitan areas and whether they favor certain regions over others.

The artistic dividend methodology represents an occupational approach as an alternative to an establishment or industry approach to estimating the impact of the arts on the economy.<sup>16</sup> Conventional economic development analyses tend to undercount artists due to their high rate of self-employment; their tendency to work on contract rather than as wage employees; differing definitions of artistic work; and the frequency of artistic work as a second occupation. An occupational approach places skills—"human capital"—at the center of the economic development process. Indeed, as discussed above, Florida argues that firms are increasingly drawn to pools of skilled labor rather than vice-versa (Markusen and King 2003).

The artistic dividend research focuses on the occupations of those who self-identify as artists. The 2003 study

<sup>15</sup> Location quotients—less than 1.0 if artists are under-represented in a regional economy and greater than 1.0 if they are over-represented—were computed using Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) based on the US census. The 2003 study presented 1980 and 1990 census data; the 2004 update included 2000 census data.

<sup>16</sup> Critics of US economic development practices have called for strategies based on occupations rather than industries (Mather 1999, Thompson and Thompson 1985; Markusen 2002, Markusen and Schrock 2003). Markusen uses artists to make the case for an economic development strategy targeted on occupations rather than industries in the Fall 2004 *Journal of the American Planning Association*, "Targeting Occupations in Regional and Community Economic Development."

included actors, directors, performance artists, dancers, musicians, composers, authors, writers, painters, sculptors, and photographers. The 2004 study added two arts-related occupations, architects and designers, and used advertising to explore the relationship between occupation and industry.

The two artistic dividend studies use 1980, 1990, and 2000 census data to derive location quotients for selected metropolitan areas. To probe how individual artists make decisions about where and how to work, the research team convened two focus groups with “arts opinion-makers” and conducted interviews with 22 artists in the Twin Cities. Findings include the following:

- Artists contribute to the economy through direct export of their work or services outside the region, contractual work for non-arts businesses and organizations, and stimulating innovation on the part of suppliers. In other words, artists’ creative activity works both upstream (the supply side) and downstream (the demand side).
- Artists are relatively “footloose” in their regional orientations. From 1980 to 2000, the distribution of artists across US cities showed no clear relationship with either regional employment size or recent growth rates. Artists are attracted to and stay in certain places more than others.
- Two sets of metropolitan areas stand out. The “arts super cities”—Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco-Oakland—are centers of large media and entertainment empires and excelled in all subgroups of artists. A set of mid-sized regions—Washington D.C., Seattle, Boston, Orange County, CA, Minneapolis-St.

Paul, San Diego and Miami—have cultivated larger than average shares of artists in their workforces. These “second-tier” cities that are artist-rich centers tended to specialize in one or two subgroups (e.g., writers, performing artists, visual artists).

- The case study of advertising points to the benefit of treating occupations and industries as coequal forces in regional development. Decisions of artists to live in certain regions may be a stimulant to new firm formations. Decisions by both employers and artists interact to build artistic enclaves.
- Artists are attracted to regions not only by the presence of other artists and sectors employing artists but also by strong philanthropic institutions, a population that patronizes the arts, environmental and cultural amenities (such as, less congestion, recreational opportunities, and alternative health care) and livable neighborhoods with affordable housing.

In a 2006 study, Markusen and colleagues found that *artists’ centers* in Minnesota contribute to both regional and neighborhood vitality (Markusen and Johnson, *et al* 2006). The size and productivity of the state’s artistic pool appear to be strongly linked to the density and staying power of centers that provide dedicated, accessible space for artists. In the Twin Cities, artists’ centers are located throughout the neighborhoods, “complementing and sometimes stimulating the creation of other artistic, commercial, and community venues.”

### Arts Agglomerations—Los Angeles, Philadelphia

A different perspective on cultural production and economic vitality comes out of the “Los Angeles” school of urban geography. Where the creative economy literature is preoccupied with the size of the creative sector relative to overall economic growth, the L. A. School has focused on the impact of post-industrial trends on the overall structure of the economy.

The geographers argue that the advance of globalization and the emergence of “networked enterprises” within these global systems have led to “vertical disintegration” of production. In place of large integrated corporations, production is increasingly organized on a flexible specialization model that links together institutionally separate enterprises with a high level of skill, knowledge, and capital devoted to more narrow tasks.

Piore and Sabel’s *Second Industrial Divide* put this perspective on the intellectual map in the 1980s (Piore and Sabel 1984). The contribution of the geographers has been to identify how this new production model affects the spatial organization of cities. An influential study by Allen J. Scott shows how Los Angeles design industries are organized into clusters of similar firms that locate near one another in order to share resources and propinquity to their suppliers (Scott 1996b).

Scott argues that clusters of arts firms emerge for three reasons. First, and most straightforwardly, clusters are efficient. Casting agencies and set design studios want to locate near theaters because it makes life easier for each firm. Second, clustering encourages innovation. “Any localized network or complex of industrial

producers,” Scott suggests, “can be seen as a structured set of real activities and potential opportunities because they are more likely than others to have the requisite knowledge and ability to act.” Finally, the clustering of competitors accentuates the costs and benefits of different ways of doing things. Motivated by efficiency and staying “in the loop,” producers find that they need to fine-tune the proper balance of competition and cooperation. Thus, clustering is a critical feature of cultural producers both for improving the quality of work produced and benefiting economically from the work.

In the late 1990s, the Social Impact of the Arts Project began to explore the geography of arts production in metropolitan Philadelphia, in particular, the role of agglomeration on the vitality of the cultural sector. The work involved incorporating for-profit cultural firms into its database and examining the geographies of for-profit and nonprofit cultural firms and cultural participation. SIAP discovered that the Philadelphia region had two distinct commercial cultural sectors: a “mainstream” sector that included theaters, graphic design firms, and galleries and a “populist” sector of neighborhood firms like dance academies, music stores, and craft shops (Stern 2000).

In a 2005 study, SIAP used more recent data on firms and participants and new data on the concentration of artists in the metropolitan area to identify cultural agglomerations or “clusters.” While planned cultural districts focus on cultural consumption, these emergent concentrations of cultural resources typically balance cultural production and consumption. In addition, SIAP’s collaboration with the Penn Urban Studies’ 2003-04 public conversation series on Philadelphia’s cultural

landscape provided case study material on these “natural” cultural districts (Seifert and Stern 2005).

Indeed, SIAP’s geographic analyses of cultural activity across metropolitan Philadelphia have demonstrated that cultural production and consumption reinforce one another, both within communities and across the region. The arts agglomeration analysis found that cultural providers—both nonprofit organizations and for-profit firms—individual artists, and cultural participants tend to locate in similar communities. In previous research on the neighborhood effects of cultural participation, SIAP found that communities rich in cultural resources tend to send residents to programs throughout the region as well as to draw regional residents into the neighborhood (Stern 2002).

Thus SIAP’s work taps the methodological framework of the economists and geographers, who have developed the concepts of producer clusters and industrial districts to explain the location patterns of regional (and even national) economies. However, conceptually SIAP’s “cultural cluster” is more akin to that of “cultural quarter” as explored in the volume, *City of Quarters: Urban Villages in the Contemporary City* (Bell and Jayne, eds 2004).

In his article, Graeme Evans discusses the range of economic, social, and cultural rationales for cultural clustering (Figure 3.2). Despite the quite different political and structural responses to their value, these cluster rationales are not mutually exclusive. In fact, policy initiatives in the U.K. have attempted to use “culture” to conflate social and economic regeneration as well as environmental improvement (Evans 2004).

Likewise, SIAP’s concept of a *cultural cluster* is a critical mass of self-organizing cultural activity—involving production *and* consumption as well as economic *and* socio-cultural processes and outcomes—at an urban neighborhood scale.

## Rationales for Cultural Clusters

<b>Economic</b>	<b>Social</b>	<b>Cultural</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Industrial district</li> <li>▪ Managed workspace</li> <li>▪ Production chain—e.g., crafts, media, TV</li> <li>▪ Production networks</li> <li>▪ Technology transfer—e.g., Silicon Valley</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Neighborhood renewal</li> <li>▪ Urban village</li> <li>▪ Community arts</li> <li>▪ Urban regeneration</li> <li>▪ Collective identity</li> <li>▪ Arts &amp; social inclusion</li> <li>▪ Social networks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <i>Avant garde</i>/bohemia</li> <li>▪ Artists' studios and galleries</li> <li>▪ New media</li> <li>▪ Ethnic arts</li> <li>▪ Local cultural strategies</li> <li>▪ Arts schools &amp; education</li> <li>▪ Cultural intermediaries</li> <li>▪ Creative capital</li> </ul>

Source: Evans 2004

Figure 3.2.



## Cultural Engagement: Community Capacity Building

Excitement over the creative class has overshadowed a growing literature on the community benefits of the arts and culture. Like the creative economy, the community-building research has sought to move beyond the focus on official nonprofit cultural organizations. But rather than seeking to integrate culture with global economic change, this literature has shifted attention toward grassroots cultural practices and informal cultural engagement; articulated an ecological view of culture's relationship to communities; and focused on the contribution of culture to community building.

These themes can be found in the studies from The Urban Institute's Arts and Culture Indicators Project; Columbia College Chicago's study of informal arts in Chicago; the Silicon Valley studies of immigrant and participatory arts; and in SIAP's work on metropolitan Philadelphia.<sup>17</sup>

### Arts and Culture Indicators Project

The Urban Institute's Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project (ACIP) has used its connection to the National Neighborhood Indicators Project (NNIP) to call for a broad definition of culture in examining its impact on urban communities. This definition—ACIP argues—must include traditional cultural practices (including private craft pursuits and religious practices), individual artists, and other forms of informal creative expression. ACIP has proposed a "systems" approach that sees community well-being and cultural vitality as interdependent elements (Jackson and Herranz 2002).

ACIP's 2002 monograph, *Culture Counts in Communities: A Framework for Measurement*, was based on a two-part research strategy. The first part examined how arts and culture are viewed by people promoting art at the community level, how the arts are viewed by community residents themselves, and to what extent people engaged in community building use arts and culture in their work. The second part reviewed the current state of data and research on integrating the arts, culture, and creativity into neighborhood indicators and quality of life measures.

The research—done in collaboration with community builders, arts administrators, artists, grant-makers, and other applied researchers—was conducted in nine cities:

- Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Denver, Oakland, Providence, and Washington D.C.—in collaboration with the Urban Institute's NNIP affiliates;
- Los Angeles—in collaboration with The Participation Project: Arts, Communities, and Cultural Citizenship sponsored by the Getty Research Institute; and
- Chicago—in collaboration with the Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College Chicago.

Despite "ample evidence of a maturing field of community arts," ACIP found little articulated theory and scant data about cultural participation at the neighborhood level.

<sup>17</sup> Project websites are the following: The Urban Institute's Arts and Culture Indicators Project <<http://www2.urban.org/nnip/acip.html>>; Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College Chicago <[http://www2.colum.edu/center\\_for\\_arts\\_policy/](http://www2.colum.edu/center_for_arts_policy/)>; Cultural Initiatives Silicon Valley <<http://www.ci-sv.org/cna.shtml>>; and the Social Impact of the Arts Project at the University of Pennsylvania <[www.sp2.upenn.edu/SIAP](http://www.sp2.upenn.edu/SIAP)> [cited 10 July 2007].

The fields of anthropology, folklore, and cultural studies provide rich case studies of arts and cultural practices in communities, but the studies were typically done in isolation from and independent of current policy issues or debates.

The review of formal data collection among foundations and arts and cultural agencies showed: inconsistent practices yielding data that is not organizationally or geographically comparable; data collection centering on grant requirements, organizational financial conditions, and narrow definitions of arts and cultural participation; and an absence of any underlying conceptualization about the societal value of arts and culture.

Episodic surveys and research efforts illustrate the kinds of activity routinely missed. For example, the San Francisco Foundation identified over 100 ethnic dance companies in the northern bay area; the Tennessee Arts Commission identified over 300 active bluegrass, gospel, and blues groups in the state; and the 1997 President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities identified 140 annual blues festivals in the United States, most organized by volunteers.

Nationally, ACIP found a lack of common language, concepts, data, and tools to articulate, document, and advance the role and value of the arts, culture and creativity within the conventional cultural sector and across community-related policy areas. The body of the report presents "guiding principles" for identifying all aspects of neighborhood arts, culture, and creativity and a "conceptual framework" for research and measurement in these fields.

ACIP expanded on this work in its 2006 monograph, *Cultural Vitality in Communities: Interpretation and Indicators* (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, and Herranz 2006). The goal of the study was to operationalize the concept of cultural vitality and determine measures that correspond with it. ACIP's definition of *cultural vitality*—that is, "evidence of creating, disseminating, validating, and supporting arts and culture as a dimension of everyday life in communities"—recognizes the embeddedness of culture in communities. Using its definition, ACIP identified three domains of cultural vitality feasible for empirical work:

- *presence* of opportunities for cultural participation;
- *participation* in culture's multiple dimensions; and
- *support* systems for cultural participation.

The research involved an intensive investigation of national data sources (covering public, commercial, and nonprofit sectors) as well as local, regional, and state-generated data. The report categorized the range of actual and potential data sources into a four-tier schema:

*Tier one*—publicly available quantitative data, collected regularly at the metropolitan level or smaller, and nationally comparable;

*Tier two*—same as tier one but not nationally comparable;

*Tier three*—quantitative data collected once or sporadically; and

*Tier four*—qualitative data.

As a first test of this approach, the researchers used Tier 1 data—derived primarily from public sources—to rank major metropolitan areas along each dimension. The analysis

demonstrated the variety of forms that cultural vitality can take. For example, while most mainstream measures pointed to the predominance of San Francisco and New York; alternative measures such as commercial culture and public festivals led to high ranks for the metropolitan areas of Nashville and Columbus, Ohio respectively.

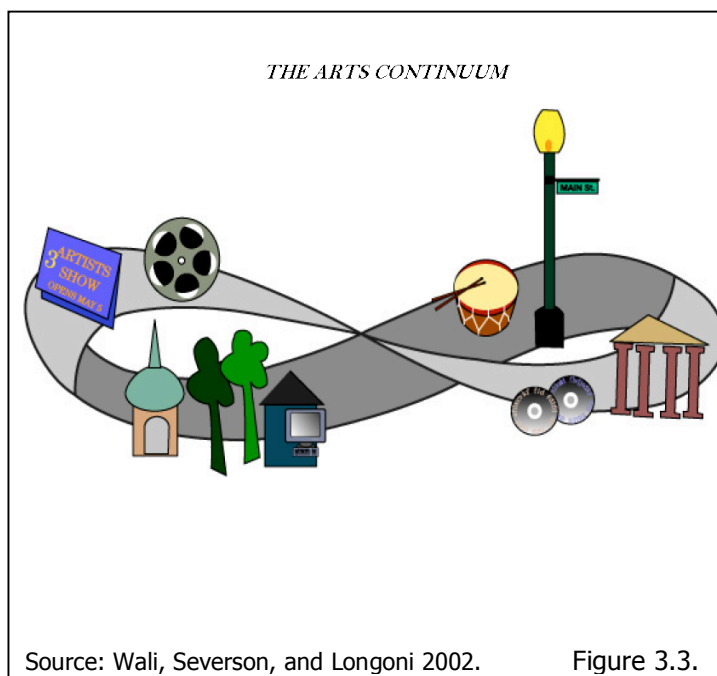
The stated purpose of the 2006 ACIP study was to lay out an agenda for governmental and non-governmental initiatives to integrate culture into broader indicators of metropolitan well-being. Indeed, the report suggests that a number of cities have already moved to incorporate these measures. Still, it seems that ACIP's interest in an inclusive perspective on cultural expression may be poorly served by a set of metropolitan area-wide measures that tend to homogenize the diversity and complexity of engagement. In addition, ACIP's advocacy of metropolitan area indicators flies in the face of the economic and non-economic research on community-level effects.

ACIP's strong advocacy of a broad definition of culture—in particular, the limelight shone on informal cultural practices and creative expression—has influenced other threads of research. Most importantly, the Columbia College Chicago study of informal arts; the Field Museum study of Mexican immigrants in Chicago; the Silicon Valley studies of immigrant and participatory arts; and SIAP studies of Philadelphia have followed this line of thought.

The language used to describe this sector is instructive. In its 1997 proceedings entitled "The Arts and Public Purpose," the American Assembly highlighted the "unincorporated" cultural sector as an important contributor to the nation's cultural life. In 1998 SIAP proposed viewing the unincorporated as an "informal" sector to highlight the theoretical links between culture and other sectors of the "informal economy" of urban neighborhoods. In 2002 Alaka Wali and the Columbia College Chicago team chose "informal arts" to describe the settings in which participatory practices occur in contrast to the organization-centered art world where "formal" activities take place. The 2005 Silicon Valley study, *There's Nothing Informal About It*, reported that informants found the terms *informal* and *amateur* problematic because:

... they 'hearken back to ideas that associate what we do with inferior, not-serious, and low-skilled forms of art' ..., as evoking associations of disorganization ..., as representing a lower level of commitment.

Informants found the technical term *unincorporated arts*, however, an acceptable descriptor. "[I]n its usage people immediately identified a reference to a particular



choice of organizational format and not an association with the value or quality of their chosen art form” (Alvarez 2005).

### **Informal and Immigrant Arts in Chicago**

The Columbia College and Field Museum studies of informal and immigrant arts in Chicago, along with the studies discussed below of immigrant and participatory arts in Silicon Valley, share a commitment to ethnographic methods and community-building theory.

#### **Informal arts as hidden assets**

A 2002 study, led by anthropologist Alaka Wali at the Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College Chicago, pursued three areas of inquiry: the role of informal arts in bridging social differences; the contributions of art-making to civic engagement; and links between the informal and the formal cultural sectors (Wali 2002).

The research team conceptualized all arts practice existing on an “informal-to-formal” continuum that ranges from ephemeral and highly spontaneous activities taking place in unstructured spaces (on the street, at home) to long-established, formally organized cultural production governed by rules for inclusion and occurring in publicly labeled “arts” spaces (museums, galleries, theaters, commercial venues) (Figure 3.3). Despite the fact that—according to NEA’s 1997 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts—millions of Americans regularly participate in informal arts activities, most research to date had focused on the traditional nonprofit and commercial cultural sectors.

The study involved 12 ethnographic case studies of informal arts activity selected to reflect a range of arts disciplines and locations throughout metropolitan Chicago. The methodology involved triangulation of data sources: participant-observation, open-ended and semi-structured interviews, and focus groups and a survey questionnaire for case-study participants. In addition, data were collected from available sources—public arts agency records, newspaper articles and notices, the U.S. census—and through interviews with key figures affiliated with local arts organizations. Below are key findings from the study.

*Informal arts activities help bridge social boundaries—age, gender, race or ethnicity, and occupational status—often used to sustain structures of inequality.* The inclusive character of informal arts practice and the socially accessible localities where it occurs induce trust and solidarity among participants and promote greater understanding and respect for diversity. Informal artists come from all walks of life and are largely representative of the pluralism of American society.

*Informal arts practice helps build individual and community assets by fostering social inclinations and skills critical to civic renewal.* These include tolerance, trust and consensus building; collaborative work habits; innovative problem-solving; and the capacity to imagine change and willingness to work for it. Informal arts provide adults with opportunities for personal expression and creativity, experiences of self-improvement and self-confidence, as well as techniques for giving and taking criticism as a way of knowledge sharing and collective improvement.

*The informal arts contribute to the strengthening of the entire arts sector.* The informal and formal arts operate on a two-way continuum upon which information, personnel, financial support, and other resources flow in a mutually beneficial way. While the

formal arts sector provides a variety of resources, the informal arts provide employment opportunities for artists, play a “research and development” role, and develop knowledgeable and committed audiences. Individual artists, small and medium-sized non-profit arts organizations, community-based groups, and public and private non-arts institutions—all play a significant role in forging these links.

The social and community contributions of informal arts and artists remain largely unrecognized and untapped. To enable greater participation and realize the full potential of the informal arts, the report offers a set of recommendations.

- 1—*Integrate arts practice in community development.* Arts practitioners from across the continuum should be integrated into asset-based community development efforts. Community development often focuses on physical infrastructure and economic development and lack strategies to expand and build upon existing social structures, networks, and assets. The creativity and problem-solving skills, civic-mindedness, and personal satisfaction that artists demonstrate can be tapped for more effective approaches to improving efficacy and expanding social capital. Linking arts practice to other aspects of urban development will serve to increase both the spaces of arts practice and the spaces for community empowerment.
- 2—*Remove barriers and enhance access to informal arts participation.* Public officials and community planners should seek ways to expand resources, facilitate access, and provide opportunities for informal participation. Support institutions and facilities that intersect with informal arts practice—e.g., public parks, local libraries, schools, community centers, social service agencies, places of worship, coffee houses, studios and community arts centers. Make cultural facilities, materials, equipment, educational opportunities, and clear information as widely available as possible.
- 3—*Make the informal arts more visible.* Despite their popularity, the informal arts remain largely hidden from view. Government and private sector agencies generally do not maintain systematic databases of community assets. Civic, community, and cultural leaders need to make public recognition of the value of the informal arts.
- 4—*Build arts advocacy coalitions across informal-formal divides.* To strengthen the cultural sector and its contribution to the public interest, arts coalitions must cross the divides of professionalism and specialization. At the same time, policies that support informal practice must be compatible with the rights of working artists to be fairly compensated for their creative work.
- 5—*Collect missing data on the social impact of the arts.* Further research—both ethnographic and quantitative—should be conducted in Chicago and elsewhere to collect systematic data on the assets created by arts production and the obstacles faced by artists. To make a political case for public and private economic support of the arts will require further investigation into the mechanisms by which art-making creates value in individual and civic contexts as well as research on the social context of arts production.

Wali *et al*/ recognized the need for “systematic measures to be developed to determine the efficacy of arts practice as part of asset creation and effective community development.”

### Mexican immigrant artistic, cultural, and social network assets

In a 2006 study that builds on the previous research,<sup>18</sup> Wali led an investigation of the cultural, artistic and social networking assets of recent Mexican immigrants in the Chicago region. The research—a joint project of the Field Museum’s Center for Cultural Understanding and Change and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign’s Team Engineering Collaboratory—combined qualitative anthropological methods with quantitative social network analysis. A computer-based survey was used to gather information on the structure and content of social relations and to map relationships between individuals and organizations in the immigrant community.<sup>19</sup>

The study had three goals: to identify the artistic, cultural, and social networking practices and capacities of recent (post-NAFTA) migrants from Mexico; to analyze how networks act to buffer challenges or obstacles faced by immigrants; and to understand how they are adapted for use in identity formation, community building, and acculturation. The research revealed that Mexican immigrants in Chicago possess a wealth of artistic and networking assets that contribute to the social, cultural and economic well-being of neighborhoods, organizations and institutions in the Chicago area.

The report highlights five sets of findings:

- 1—*Formation of individual and collective identity*—Informal cultural practices help build individual and collective identity; bond Mexican nationals within Chicago and between Chicago and Mexico; and bridge Mexican immigrants with other U.S. born groups. Key organizations and individuals facilitate this bonding and bridging.
- 2—*Building community capacity*—Chicago-area Mexican immigrants use artistic and cultural practices to break down social isolation; create new social networking relationships; strengthen existing bonds of affinity; and create local and transnational ties with outside institutions.

Church, school and primary service-based informal arts play unique and important roles as catalysts for Mexican immigrants’ development of leadership skills and financial power that help expand their institutional networks.

*Gender emerged as an important factor.* Bonds created through women’s participation in informal arts (in particular, decorative, textile, and culinary arts) increased their commitment to one another and other social groups. Men principally engaged in workers’ center activities—including church-based centers—which increased their social cohesion, knowledge and civic participation.

<sup>18</sup> The Mexican immigrant assets research builds on studies of the informal arts as a force for stimulating civic activism and bridging social divides based on ethnicity and class (Wali, Severson and Longoni, 2002) and as an important facilitator of network-building among immigrants (see Garcia, 2005; Moriarty, 2004; Dominguez and Watkins, 2003; Rajjman and Tienda, 2003; Enchautegui, 2002; Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga, 2000; Menjivar, 1997).

<sup>19</sup> Computer software called IKNOW (Inquiring Knowledge Networks on the Web) enabled the electronic collection of network data from a sample of organizations serving Chicago’s Mexican immigrant community and from a sample of Mexican immigrants in area communities.

*Political protests were informed by Mexican devotional practices* that were “collective, performative, and public.” Recent Mexican immigrant workers used “devotional protests”—which emphasized a public identity as religious devotees and dedicated workers as opposed to illegal aliens—to assert their collective presence and legitimacy.

*Artistic and cultural engagement encourages and is encouraged by bilingualism.* Bilingual individuals often serve as *social network nodes*—that is, they bridge predominantly English and Spanish speaking communities. They also tended to be the most culturally and artistically engaged as well as the most active in the public sphere.

- 3—*Stimulating economic activity*—Cultural and artistic practice and social networks stimulate economic activity that benefits the community at large. Many immigrants are such avid consumers of music that producers and venues compete actively for their patronage. Immigrant participation in peripheral economies that surround popular artistic and cultural sites—such as live performance venues or summer festivals—has had an important economic ripple effect both locally and transnationally.
- 4—*Transformation of cultural practice through technology*— Many Mexican immigrants rely upon technology to maintain transnational social networks. The Internet, cell phones, email, and digital photography have contributed to the transformation in Mexico of customs that immigrants adapted in the Chicago area. Notably, rites of passage—such as baptisms, birthdays, *quinceañeras*, and weddings—have become more ornate among recent Mexican immigrants in the U.S.
- 5—*Fostering well-educated and engaged citizens of the future*—Recent Mexican immigrant families are using social networks and artistic and cultural practices to further successful acculturation for themselves, their families, and their fellow immigrants.

Through engaging in informal arts and continued and constant innovation of cultural practices, Mexican immigrants are creating significant social resources, promoting economic participation, developing civic skills, and reaching out to non-immigrants.

## Participatory Arts in the Silicon Valley

Two studies by Cultural Initiatives Silicon Valley (CISV) examined the informal arts sector—participatory practices among immigrant and non-immigrant residents of Santa Clara County, California—in local community context (Moriarty 2004 and Alvarez 2005). Maribel Alvarez provides a palpable description of the research domain:

[This] sector of the arts community ... has been loosely designated as informal, participatory, amateur, self-taught, outsider, folk, community or unincorporated arts. ... [T]he object of study ... is ... artistic activities in which people engage more as direct producers of arts, rather than as audience members of professional arts programs, or consumers of products. These activities and modes of engagement are predominantly hands-on, voluntary, shared in a group, casually organized, and often associated with spheres of personal life such as professional, personal, religious, and leisure. Examples ... include church choirs, poetry writing circles, musical jams, social dance events, amateur photography and painting, writing groups, quilt making circles, and hip hop events or 'happenings'." (Alvarez 2005)

CISV was established to carry out a 1997 regional cultural plan mandate to activate neighborhood and community cultural activities in the Silicon Valley, a challenging suburban landscape where the majority of residents are newcomers from elsewhere in the U.S. and the world. The participatory arts research built on a 2002 study of "the supply and demand dynamics of the arts in Silicon Valley"—called *The Creative Community Index*—undertaken as a first step in understanding what executive director John Kreidler called "the regional cultural ecosystem." A 2005 update of the study enabled CISV to assess Silicon Valley's progress toward becoming a "creative community" (Kreidler and Trounstine 2005).

### Immigrant participatory arts

The Silicon Valley study of arts participation in immigrant and refugee communities applied the informal arts perspective to new Californians. In California no racial or ethnic group has held a statistical majority since 1999. Two questions were central to the inquiry. What does civic engagement look like when the civic body is, in the majority, newcomers? How do participatory arts help communities to reach across traditional ethnic and language boundaries? (Moriarty 2004)

The research, led by Pia Moriarty, involved a qualitative, anthropological approach, one, to generate hypotheses and categories of analysis directly from the arts practitioners themselves and; two, to relate the hypotheses to the current national dialogue on social capital—with specific reference to *Bowling Alone* by Robert Putnam.

Specifically, the study involved a broad-based overview of participatory arts practices in the diverse immigrant and refugee communities of Santa Clara County, where 61 percent of the residents are foreign-born immigrants and their children. Participant-observation was conducted over a six-month period at over 100 events (performances, rehearsals, exhibits, meetings, festivals, ethnic arts and language schools, and arts-mediated religious events) involving 89 organizations.

The Silicon Valley immigrant arts study contributed the concept of ethnic *bonded-bridging* to the national dialogue about social capital and civic community-building. Approximately 85 percent of the participatory arts activities observed showed a mix of bonding and bridging. Indeed—in "results of ethnographic rather than



statistical significance”—bridging was most often accomplished by means of bonding. The findings highlighted bonded-bridging as a substantial and central dynamic in immigrant participatory arts that deserves the attention of policy makers.

In this context, “ethnic” does not mean “ethno-centric.” It means an assertion of culture that can reach beyond itself to address larger issues shared by mainstreamers and immigrant ethnic groups. Immigrant artistic production is bonding, or affirming of the original in-group culture, and at the same time serves as a powerful vehicle for bridging—connecting to mainstream civic and cultural institutions.

To be “a cultural citizen” means to exercise full—not second-class—membership in the civic whole and at the same time to retain the culturally bonded self. The practice of cultural citizenship is the essence of bonded-bridging in the post-melting pot world that California has become. The report cites a small community center called MACLA, Movimiento de Arte y Cultural Latino Americana, as Santa Clara County’s “best example of cultural citizenship-building through participatory arts.”

The report provides organizational examples of the manifestations and dynamics of bonded-bridging as well as settings that promote this dimension of social capital building, such as social service agencies, libraries, movie theaters, parades, political forums, and religious centers. The research also highlights findings related to the broader social and community character of participatory arts:

- Participatory arts cannot happen alone; they are necessarily community-based and often

intergenerational. Their cultural force comes from explicit group dynamics that foster and reinvent traditional art forms as shared new expressions of culture.

- Participatory arts operate by open-entry-open-exit rather than elite gate-keeping. The genre is more about cultural transmission than about developing individual expertise. When a community claims an individual artist’s work as its own, and then follows that lead in practicing the given art form, the arts become participatory.
- Participatory arts are more about production than consumption; as such they require many “hands-on,” blurring the line between audience and present or future performers.
- Community building through participatory arts is particularly enjoyable, authentic, welcoming, and durable.

The study used as its starting point Robert Putnam’s social capital theory. In Putnam’s construct, *bonding* capital is “bad” and *bridging* capital is “good.” Moriarty countered that community self-definition and linking outside the group were interdependent processes—“bonded-bridging”—and that to separate them misrepresents the dynamic of community capacity building, which requires both.

Given the cultural creativity and civic possibilities of immigrant participatory arts, the report recommends integration of a bonded-bridging paradigm into community arts policy-making and finding priorities.

### Other informal arts in Silicon Valley

A second Silicon Valley study of participatory arts was undertaken with reference to “the debate about the place of the informal arts in the existing paradigms that rule cultural production in the United States” (Alvarez 2005). For this study, Maribel Alvarez defined “participatory arts” as practices that further participation, specifically, methods, approaches, or aesthetic opportunities crafted deliberately to advance direct involvement and artistic creation by a broad range of people not conventionally considered “artists” or art insiders.

The research explored three questions:

- What are the key messages, themes, and attitudes that render “informal” artistic experiences meaningful for their practitioners and the communities in which they occur?
- What administrative mechanisms and organizational dynamics are involved in the structuring of this field of independent creative expression?
- What is the relationship of this independent field of art-making to the predominant model of artistic delivery, the formally incorporated arts organizations?

The research team followed 17 organizations using one of two tracks. First-tier research was a core field investigation of eight programs representative of the county’s informal arts. The methods used were participant observation of everyday activities and open-ended, semi-structured interviews with selected practitioners. Second-tier research involved “scanning” activities via secondary data sources at an additional nine programs. In addition, the team conducted an online survey of local arts organizations; reviewed public documents; attended additional events

and sites; and interviewed key figures in the Silicon Valley cultural community.

The case study findings painted a picture of an informal arts field in Silicon Valley that is “expansive, entrepreneurial, resilient, and adaptive while at the same time highly idiosyncratic, dispersed, and ephemeral.” Generally, the goals of informal arts practitioners are modest and concrete: create spaces, make things happen, let people’s imagination loose, craft meaning out of untenable circumstances, upset intellectual distinctions, foster pleasure and beauty in all forms, and maybe in some serendipitous way accomplish something that transforms some small corner of the social order.

The study documented “an alternative track of cultural production” in Silicon Valley that “contradicted the prevailing logic” of nonprofit-type or commercial-type concerns in arts participation. However, practical considerations such as leadership, funding, and venues play as much a role in the informal arts as in any nonprofit arts setting. Many informal art gatherings consider becoming a 501(c) 3, while others reject the model as constraining and antagonistic to the democratic, participatory thrust of their artistic practices.

The survey of arts organizations that receive funding through the City of San Jose’s Office of Cultural Affairs put the case study findings into context. About 20 (25%) of the 80 organizations approached responded to the online survey. The responses portrayed “a tightly woven cloth of informal art activities taking place *within* the nonprofit field locally.” Even organizations with no relationship to the participatory art forms were interested a conversation about the topic.

The inventory of activities generated by the survey stood in contrast to the gap in opportunities for art-making perceived by many informal artists and advocates and points to “the fracture that runs through the Valley’s self-identified ‘cultural community’.” Policy designed to foster informal participatory arts in Silicon Valley would do well to begin by seeding those junctures in which nonprofit organizations already cultivate extensive networks and relationships with informal arts practices and practitioners.

The report identified the Arts Council Silicon Valley as “an exception to the rule.” For over 15 years, the Council has set aside funds to support non-professional, volunteer activities. Groups apply for project-related expenses and do not need to be incorporated nonprofit entities to be eligible. In 2003 the program funded 58 such groups with a total allocation of \$110,523. Grantees consisted mostly of avocational artists working primarily in direct, hand-on, participatory settings and represented a wide range of folk and informal arts practitioners as well as non-arts spaces and sites in the Valley.

The literature on informal cultural engagement, including the Chicago and Silicon Valley studies, generally has avoided drawing parallels between informal culture and the informalization of other sectors of the economy. Yet, unless we do so, we run the risk of romanticizing the informal arts. Although part of informal cultural engagement is continuous with the historical role of culture in giving voice to everyday life, other elements express the sizable institutional barriers that have been constructed to segregate poor people from the economic mainstream. In his recent book, *Off the Books*, Sudhir Venkatesh outlines the

spread of the legitimate and illegitimate informal economy in a poor neighborhood on Chicago’s South Side. Venkatesh warns that our admiration for the entrepreneurial spirit of poor residents’ efforts to survive in a harsh economic environment should not blind us to the lack of opportunities and segregation that frame the informal economy. Furthermore, as he notes, once caught in the informal economy, residents find it increasingly difficult to move into the formal economy. In the past, intermediate institutions served to bridge the gap between the formal and informal economies, but in recent years, these have become less effective (Venkatesh 2006, Stern 2001b).

In fact, a large proportion of artists of all types, particularly those operating in the informal sector, labor under difficult working conditions for low wages—stringing together several jobs to make ends meet. Although Wali *et al* are right to point to the vitality of informal culture, we must acknowledge that part of this vitality derives from the animating force of poverty (Stern, Seifert, and Zaman 2005).

## Community Arts and Neighborhood Revitalization

The research stimulated by the Arts and Culture Indicators Project has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the cultural ecology of urban communities and, in particular, the role of culture in social capital formation and community capacity-building. Few researchers, however, explicitly connect community arts with the process of neighborhood revitalization. In a Chicago study, Diane Grams and Michael Warr illustrate social networks as a key mechanism by which arts activities contribute to neighborhood improvement.<sup>20</sup> SIAP has focused on development of empirical methods to demonstrate how community arts fit into broader social and economic processes in urban neighborhoods.

### Arts as vehicles for neighborhood improvement, Chicago

The arts' contribution to community-capacity building—as documented in the work of ACIP, Wali, CISV, and SIAP— informed a study of small-budget cultural organizations in Chicago (Grams and Warr 2003). Grams and Warr conducted research in ten Chicago neighborhoods to examine how arts activities affect local communities. The sample of arts activities selected for study, largely through interviews and data mapping, was based on a snowball sampling strategy.

<sup>20</sup> Generally, social network theory and modeling are ahead of empirical research on the topic. SIAP has attempted to address this gap through documentation and mapping of social networks among all agents of the community cultural ecosystem: cross-participation among cultural participants, institutional networks of community arts centers, and artist-centered networks.

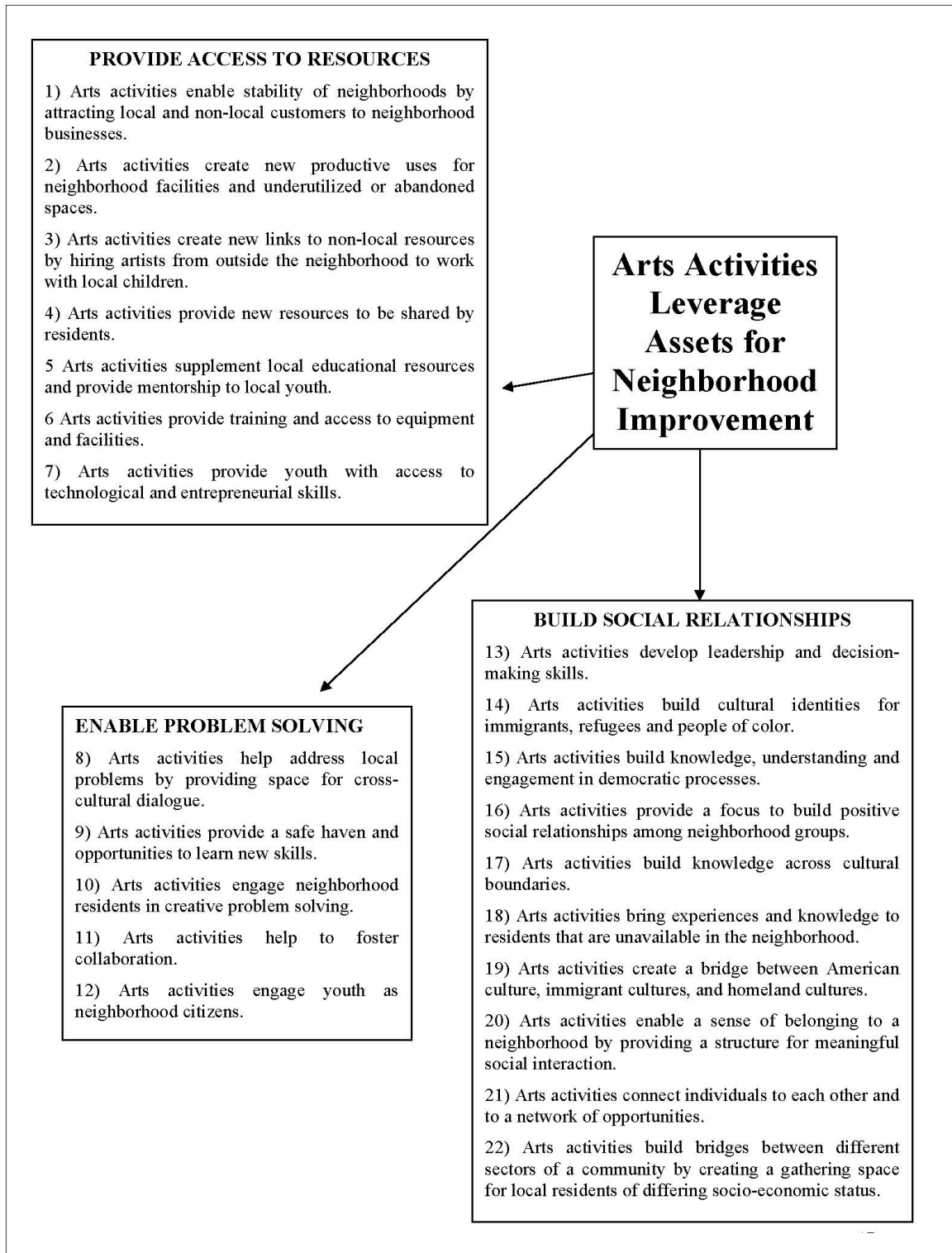
The study documents how small-budget arts activities leverage assets for neighborhood improvement. There are three types of mechanisms through which arts organizations influence their communities: connecting people to local and non-local resources, enabling collective problem-solving, and building social relationships among the different sectors of a community (Figure 3.4).

Grams and Warr pay attention to the direct economic impact of arts organizations on urban neighborhoods through their ability to expand local access to resources—by creating new markets, new uses for existing facilities, and new jobs for local artists. However, they offer a more persuasive case for the arts' contribution to social relationships. The authors point to the ability of cultural engagement to improve leadership skills, provide a foundation for group- and community-identity formation, and contribute to civic involvement.

The social networks that enable small budget arts activities are either part of the local fabric or become directly or indirectly accessible to local areas through the arts activities. The emphasis of arts activities *leveraging* assets draws attention to how arts activities create new networks, supplement and improve upon existing networks, and assist in problem-solving efforts within urban residential neighborhoods.

The report highlights the social networks that exist within local communities and encourages further exploration of ways to develop these networks. As with the other research under review, however, the authors were satisfied in documenting providers' and participants' *beliefs* that culture has neighborhood impacts rather than in actually trying to measure them.

## How arts activities leverage assets for neighborhood improvement



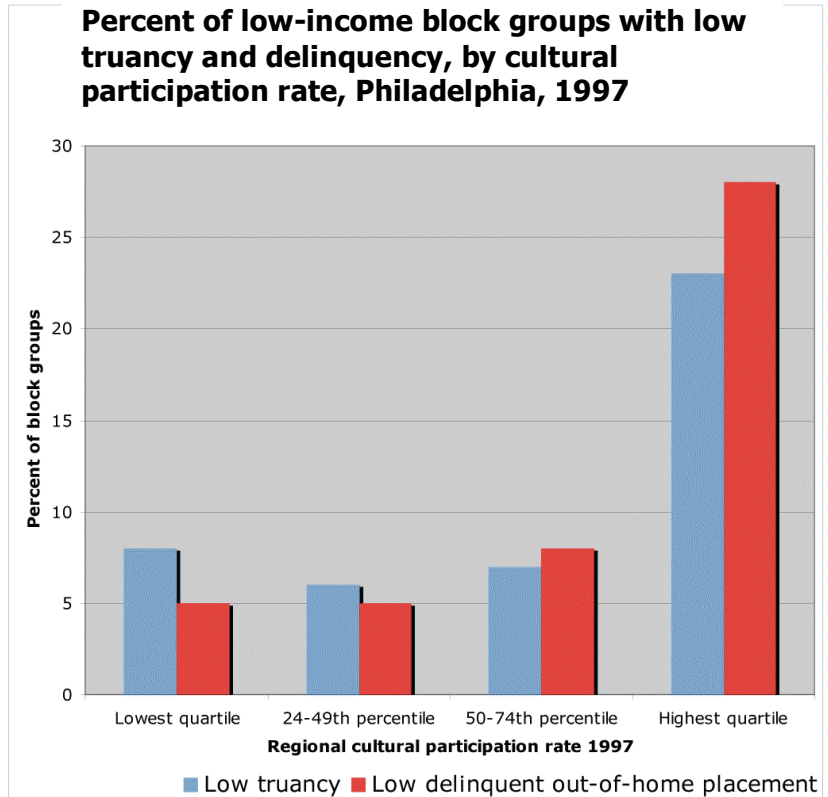
Source: Grams and Warr 2003

Figure 3.4

### Arts and neighborhood revitalization outcomes, Philadelphia

Although the ACIP, Chicago, and Silicon Valley studies have documented the community-building role of culture, only the University of Pennsylvania’s Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP) has documented the relationship between community arts and neighborhood vitality using quantitative indicators. Indeed, SIAP’s research on Philadelphia—begun in 1994—suggests strong links between cultural engagement, community capacity-building, and neighborhood revitalization.

SIAP has used data maintained by the City of Philadelphia, for example, to demonstrate a connection between community culture and child welfare: low-income block groups with high cultural participation were more than twice as likely as other low-income block groups to have very low truancy and delinquency (Figure 3.5). The child welfare indicators reflected not the number of kids in arts programs but rather the role of cultural participation in mobilizing members of the community. SIAP has suggested that these findings are an indicator of “collective efficacy”—that is, the willingness of residents to address their community’s problems and a belief that they can do so successfully<sup>21</sup> (Stern and Seifert 2002).



Source: SIAP

Figure 3.5.

<sup>21</sup> The concept was developed by Harvard School of Public Health professor Felton Earls and his colleagues. First tested on a 1995 survey of

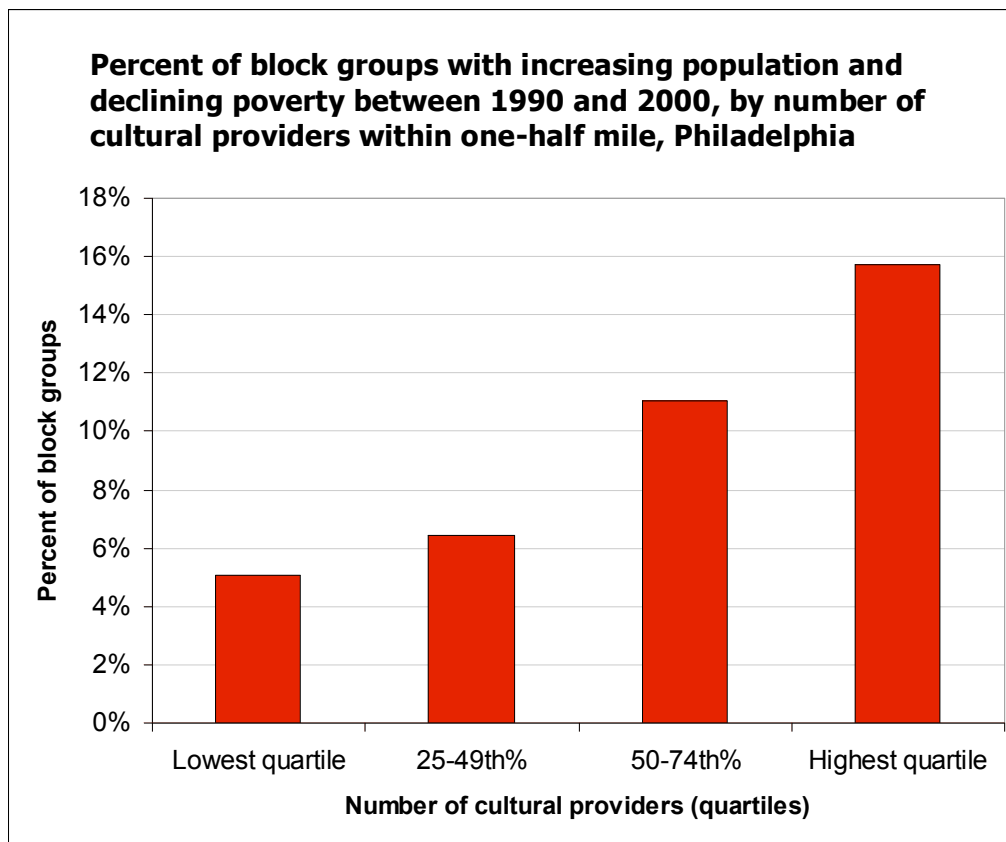
8,782 residents in 343 Chicago neighborhoods, the research found “collective efficacy”—defined as “social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good”—related to reduced neighborhood crime rates.

SIAP has found that cultural presence is associated with broader neighborhood improvement as well. Among Philadelphia neighborhoods that were low-income in 1990, roughly 15 percent underwent economic revitalization—defined by above average poverty decline and population gain—over the next decade. Yet, if the block group had a high regional cultural participation rate, the chances that it would revitalize were twice as high (Figure 3.6).

SIAP has collaborated with The Reinvestment Fund (TRF) on preliminary work that ties its findings to the market valuation analysis (MVA) that TRF conducted for the City of Philadelphia Neighborhood Transformation Initiative (NTI). This work demonstrated that *within* Philadelphia block groups with

the most serious housing market problems (“reclamation” and “distressed” neighborhoods), areas with high levels of cultural engagement were roughly three times more likely to have had decreasing poverty and increasing population during the 1990s.

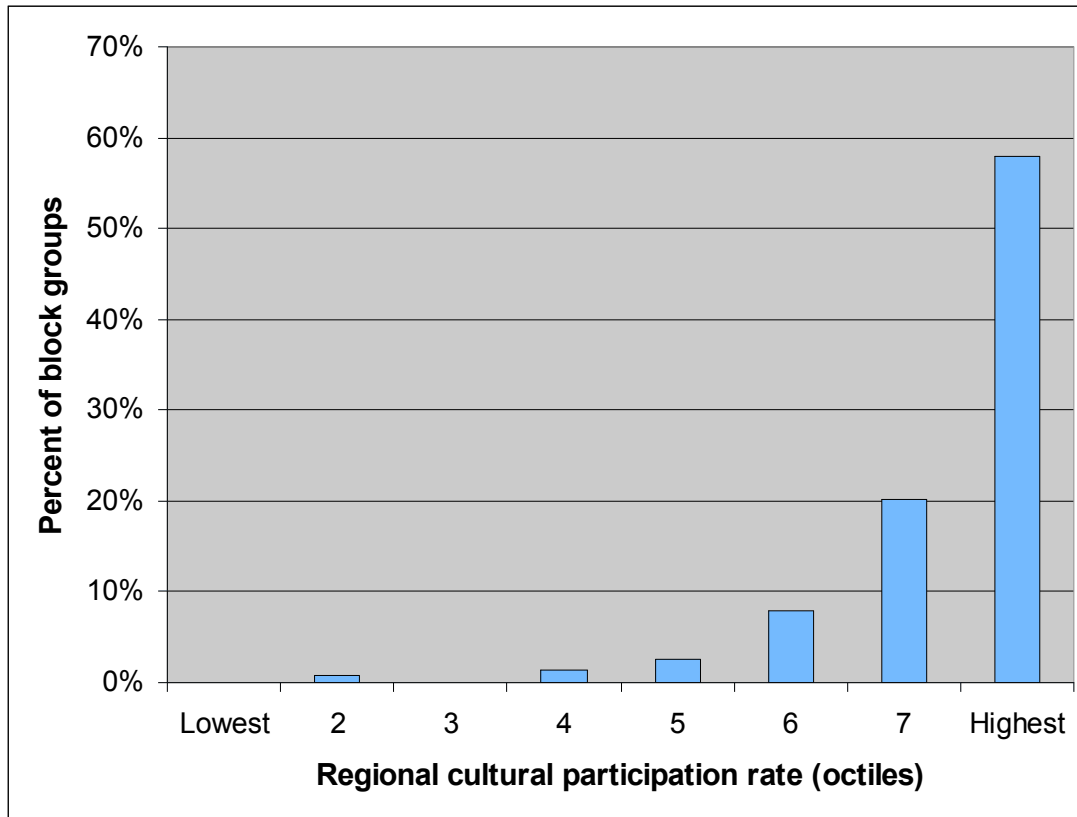
In addition, cultural engagement indexes did a good job of predicting which neighborhoods would experience significant improvements in their MVA assessment between 2001 and 2003. Indeed, among block groups that were rated in the bottom three NTI categories in 2001 (“transitional,” “distressed,” and “reclamation”), a remarkable 55 percent of those with high cultural participation moved up two categories, compared to only 10 percent of all block groups (Figures 3.7 and 3.8.).



Source: SIAP

Figure 3.6.

**Percent of block groups that improved by two or more MVA categories between 2001 and 2003, by regional cultural participation rate, Philadelphia**



Source: SIAP

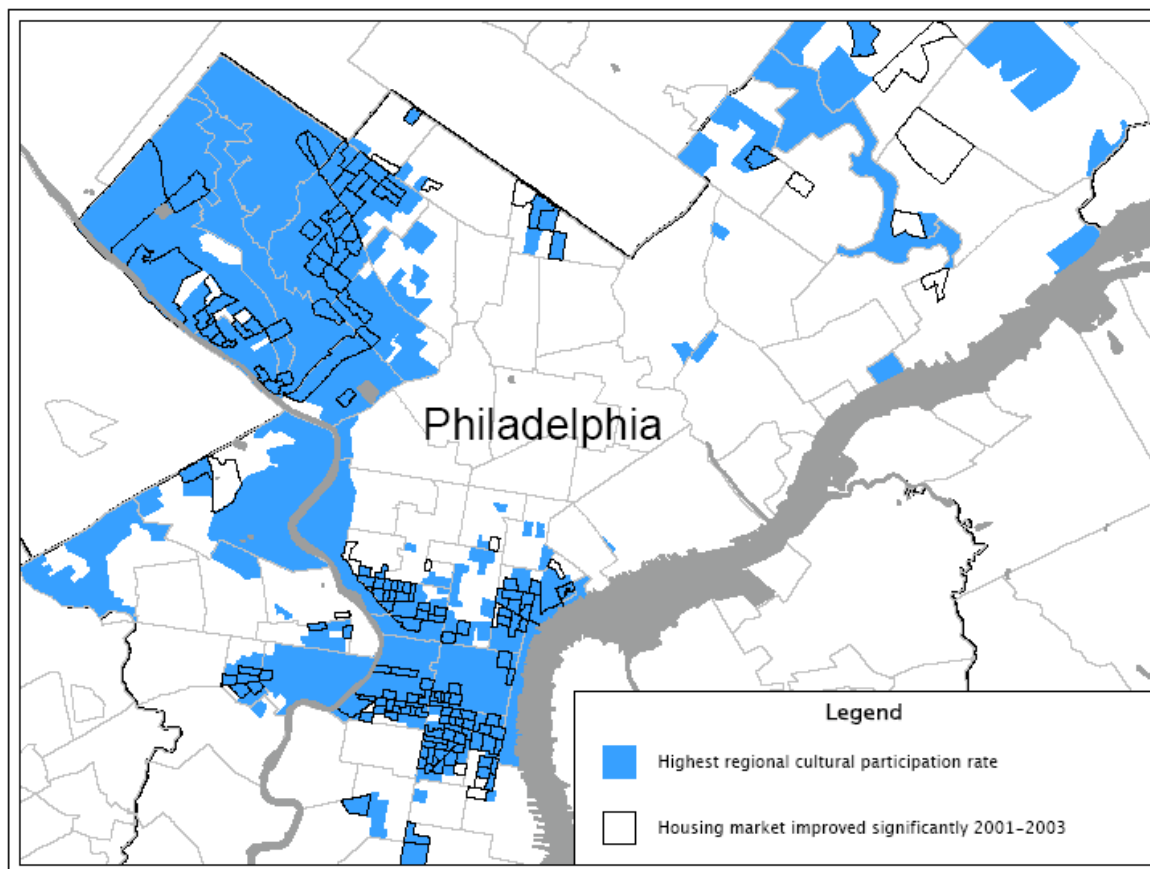
Figure 3.7.

How might we explain these connections between cultural engagement and poverty decline? SIAP has suggested that one—possibly—unique aspect of cultural participation is that it occurs across neighborhoods. Indeed, even among very small grassroots arts centers, nearly four-in-five participants come from outside the neighborhood in which the center is located. In contrast to most types of community participation that is highly focused on local residents, culture builds bridges across divides of geography, ethnicity, and social class. These bridges may be as simple as the “discovery” of an ethnic restaurant near the cultural center, or they may as substantial as the bonds linking a suburban church or synagogue to a struggling grassroots organization.

Although SIAP’s findings demonstrate a clear relationship between cultural engagement and neighborhood outcomes, there remain at least two holes in its empirical documentation. First, although cultural participation is clearly *correlated* with positive neighborhood change, SIAP has yet to document the mechanism that links participation and neighborhood change. The research has suggested that one explanation of this pattern lies in the expansion of a neighborhood’s “collective efficacy.” However, no study demonstrates this linkage directly. Second, SIAP has suggested that *cultural engagement* is responsible for the observed changes but has no comparable data on *other forms of community engagement* that would allow assessment of the relative effectiveness of culture in promoting community change.



**Housing market upswing between 2001 and 2003, by regional cultural participation rate, Philadelphia**



Source: SIAP

Figure 3.8

The common thrust of the community-building literature has been the importance of informal social engagement through artistic and cultural practices. Much of the attention of these studies has been directed at the links between informal cultural engagement and other parts of the cultural system. This largely qualitative research has also helped elaborate our understanding of the dynamics of participatory culture and the development of social networks and building of community capacity. Yet, until these qualitative insights are complemented by quantitative analysis, this research will have difficulty influencing community development planning and policy.

## The Negative Consequences of Culture-based Revitalization

Neither the creative economy nor the community building researchers have spent time evaluating the possible *negative* effects of arts and cultural development on urban neighborhoods. Yet, when we put the two sets of findings together, it is easy to see that some of the festering problems faced by contemporary cities could be exacerbated by culture-based revitalization.

## Gentrification and Displacement

Gentrification remains the most commonly raised objection to arts-based development. Sharon Zukin's *Loft Living* study of Soho, undertaken in the early 1980s, is still the most thorough scholarly explanation of the role of the arts in gentrification (Zukin 1982). Zukin argued that artists unwittingly served as part of an "artistic mode of production" in which old industrial property in lower Manhattan was recycled as high-value commercial and residential spaces. Although the conditions that Zukin described seem unique to Manhattan, her model of artists serving as the opening wedge to real estate interests looking to displace lower-income residents has become a part of the conventional wisdom on urban revitalization.

Ironically, artists and associated newcomers are among the most articulate critics of gentrification associated with neighborhood change.<sup>22</sup> Richard Lloyd's study of "neo-bohemia"

<sup>22</sup> See Social Impact of the Arts Project 2005, *Arts In Place: Philadelphia's Cultural Landscape*, regarding displacement issues raised by Philadelphia artists and cultural organizations.

in Chicago's Wicker Park neighborhood notes a 1994 article called "The Panic in Wicker Park," which "makes clear that the most noisily panicked were usually residents who had themselves been there for only a handful of years at most" (Lloyd 2002). Yet, aside from a handful of case studies, the empirical documentation of art-based gentrification is not particularly strong.

In fact, research on gentrification generally is weak. In a 2001 review of the literature, the Brookings Institution found that the research and data analyses undertaken during the gentrification wave of the 1970s and 1980s were of limited use.

"Gentrification is a politically loaded concept with unclear meaning. ... Data were spotty, inconclusive, and often contradictory. Generally, the literature has been driven by ideology rather than by a focus on concrete strategies to minimize adverse impacts associated with gentrification" (Kennedy and Leonard 2001). The paper reframes the issue "in a pragmatic and productive way" by examining the socio-economic dynamics of gentrification in the broader context of neighborhood change and revitalization.

Indeed, the tendency of artists to generate rapid population turnover may be counter-balanced to some extent by their role in stabilizing ethnically diverse neighborhoods (Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart 1997). In Philadelphia, for example, SIAP found that between 1980 and 2000 ethnically and economically diverse neighborhoods with many cultural resources were more likely to remain diverse.<sup>23</sup> Thus, we might

<sup>23</sup> SIAP has consistently found correlations at the census block group level (six to eight city blocks) between community culture (indicated

hypothesize that artists and arts groups are associated with what Jane Jacobs calls “unslumming” as distinct from gentrification. Jacobs describes unslumming as a process whereby “slum dwellers begin to stay in a slum by choice,” which leads to “gradual self-diversification” within the population, which is then reflected in “diversification of commercial and cultural enterprises” (Jacobs 1961).

Although the connection of artists to gentrification cannot be dismissed, it is fair to say that its reputation has outstripped the evidence. In fact, the Urban Institute, in its study of local support structures for U.S. artists, points to the lack of research on the role that artists actually play in neighborhood transformation processes (Jackson, *et al* 2003).

### **Expansion of Economic Inequality**

A less commonly discussed drawback of culture-based revitalization, but one for which there is more evidence, is the expansion of economic inequality. There is overwhelming evidence that economic inequality has exploded in the United States over the past thirty years (Katz and Stern 2006). A variety of changes in the economy, including globalization, the decline in unions, and de-industrialization have been linked to increased inequality.

The emergence of “winner-take-all” labor markets, a concept proposed by Robert Frank and Philip Cook, is particularly relevant to the issue of inequality and the arts (Frank and Cook 1995). Frank and Cook argue that

changes in the American labor market have expanded the number of job categories in which the most skilled members reap a disproportionate share of rewards. The archetypical winner-take-all labor market is professional sports, where the most gifted members receive salaries that are far higher than those of the average member. Frank and Cook suggest that what used to be a relatively rare feature is now common in a great number of jobs, serving to accelerate economic inequality.

In his most recent book, *The Flight of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida identifies the close association of the size of a creative class and the generation of high levels of economic inequality as a major social and economic challenge (Florida 2005b).

We can count on neither trickle-down economics nor conventional social-welfare programs to help us here. Rising inequality is driven by the dynamics of the emerging creative system and does not promise to be self-healing. On the contrary, these dynamics perversely threaten to make the situation worse.

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by presence of nonprofit providers and/or cultural participation rate) and heterogeneous neighborhoods (indicated by ethnic, economic, and/or household diversity).

Florida's newfound concern about income inequality is striking. For the past five years, city officials from New York to Spokane have used *The Rise of the Creative Class* as a how-to manual for stimulating economic growth.<sup>24</sup> The realization that pursuing creative class strategies will actually exacerbate divisions between the rich and the poor should give public officials pause.

Within the creative economy, artists are especially likely to experience the winner-take-all dynamic. The handful of opera singers, concert pianists, dancers, and authors who are seen as the best in the world garner incomes that dwarf those of gifted practitioners who are seen as more ordinary. Indeed, SIAP's study of artists in six American cities between 1980 and 2000 found that artists were consistently among the individual occupations with the highest degree of income inequality (Stern 2005).<sup>25</sup>

The job mix within the creative economy offers both promise and concern for its role in promoting economic revitalization. Overall, the creative industries are dominated by jobs with high educational requirements. In the six large metropolitan areas studied by SIAP, for example, more than half of the jobs in the creative economy in 1999 required a college degree, compared to only a third of all other jobs. At the other extreme, only

<sup>24</sup> "Inland Northwest Business Alliance looks at economic impact of gay-friendly community; Candace Gingrich to speak Oct. 2.

What would it mean to have a visible gay community in Spokane? That's the question the Inland Northwest Business Alliance (INBA), a nonprofit established to promote and support gay and gay-friendly businesses and professionals in the region, seeks to answer. INBA's Vision Committee has been meeting for 14 months, and now they're ready to involve the gay and allied community in the conversation. "We want to find out how a visible gay community can benefit Spokane as a whole," says Marvin Reguindin, Vision Committee co-chair.

According to Richard Florida, a speaker at Spokane's "Street Party on Post" in 2003 and the Heinz Professor of Economic Development at Carnegie Mellon University, the "creative class" comprises more than 30 percent of the nation's workforce and represents a significant economic power. Members of the creative class gravitate toward environments that spark their creativity, particularly communities marked by the three Ts: technology, talent, and tolerance.

Several cities around the country, including Spokane, are using Florida's ideas to rethink their urban revitalization strategies. Florida's theory asserts that openness to the gay community encourages creativity and high-tech growth. INBA wants to explore how Spokane can best develop the third "T," tolerance, and reap the economic advantages that result.

The group is interested in the social benefits as well. "A visible gay community would help all of us break down the crippling fear of discrimination and the fear of having no support," says Christopher Lawrence, a gay resident of Spokane. "We would no longer need to isolate ourselves."

INBA's effort will include an October 2 event entitled, "Building Community, Creating a Vision" with a keynote address by Candace Gingrich of the Human Rights Campaign — a national, bipartisan organization that works to advance equality based on sexual orientation — along with a subsequent series of community workshops for gathering citizen input.

<<http://www.spokane.wsu.edu/News&Events/bulletins/bulletin04/September22.asp#INBAGingrich>> [cited July 20, 2006].

<sup>25</sup> In six metropolitan areas in 1999, artists were among the professional occupations with the highest income inequality, specifically: actors and actresses, musicians and music teachers, authors, photographers, dancers and dancing teachers, and artists and art teachers. Data were drawn from IPUMS 5 percent sample for 2000 for New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Atlanta, and Chicago. Income inequality analysis was based on a Gini coefficient, which assigned to each occupation group the percent of all income that would need to be transferred for there to be a totally equal distribution.

twenty percent of jobs in the creative sector were held by persons who had a high-school degree or less compared to forty percent of jobs in the rest of the economy. Clearly, job growth in the creative sector would have to be very robust to provide significant job opportunities for poor urban residents who have attained at most a high-school degree.

At the same time, the wages earned by low-educated workers in the creative industries were somewhat higher than those earned by other low-educated workers. Among those with a high-school but not a college degree, the median salary in the creative sector was nearly 20,000 dollars per year, about three thousand dollars more than the median salary for workers in other sectors.

In short, as the creative sector becomes a more significant component of the metropolitan economy, empirical research indicates that increasing economic inequality is a much more significant downside than gentrification. The expansion of both arts occupations specifically and the creative economy overall will create more opportunities for highly-skilled workers than for urban workers with modest educational qualifications.

## 4. A New Model: The Neighborhood-Based Creative Economy

**C**an the creative economy expand economic opportunity and social inclusion without generating the inequality and gentrification that its critics have suggested? The answer to this question lies in linking the creative economy and the community building research. Both literatures move beyond traditional nonprofit models of the arts and share an interest in examining a community's assets rather than dwelling on its deficits. Both literatures invite us to see cultural organizations not in isolation but as "networked enterprises" in which their connections to wider systems are more important than their internal organization.

In this chapter we propose a new model—the *neighborhood-based creative economy*—that recognizes the social foundation of creative production and cultural participation. To stimulate urban neighborhood revitalization, the model should be both place- and people-based—that is, it should be grounded in a given locale but have active connections with other neighborhoods and economies throughout the city and region.

Below we focus first on activation of a neighborhood's creative economy. We use a model of the community cultural ecosystem as a framework and discuss approaches to policy and investment in the cultural economy of urban neighborhoods as well as guidelines for the planning and design of cultural districts.

Next we focus on integration of neighborhood residents with the regional economy and civil society. To move "from creative economy to creative society," as we envision, we propose a broad-based urban workforce development strategy for the creative industries as well as a policy mandate for social inclusion.

## The Community Cultural Ecosystem

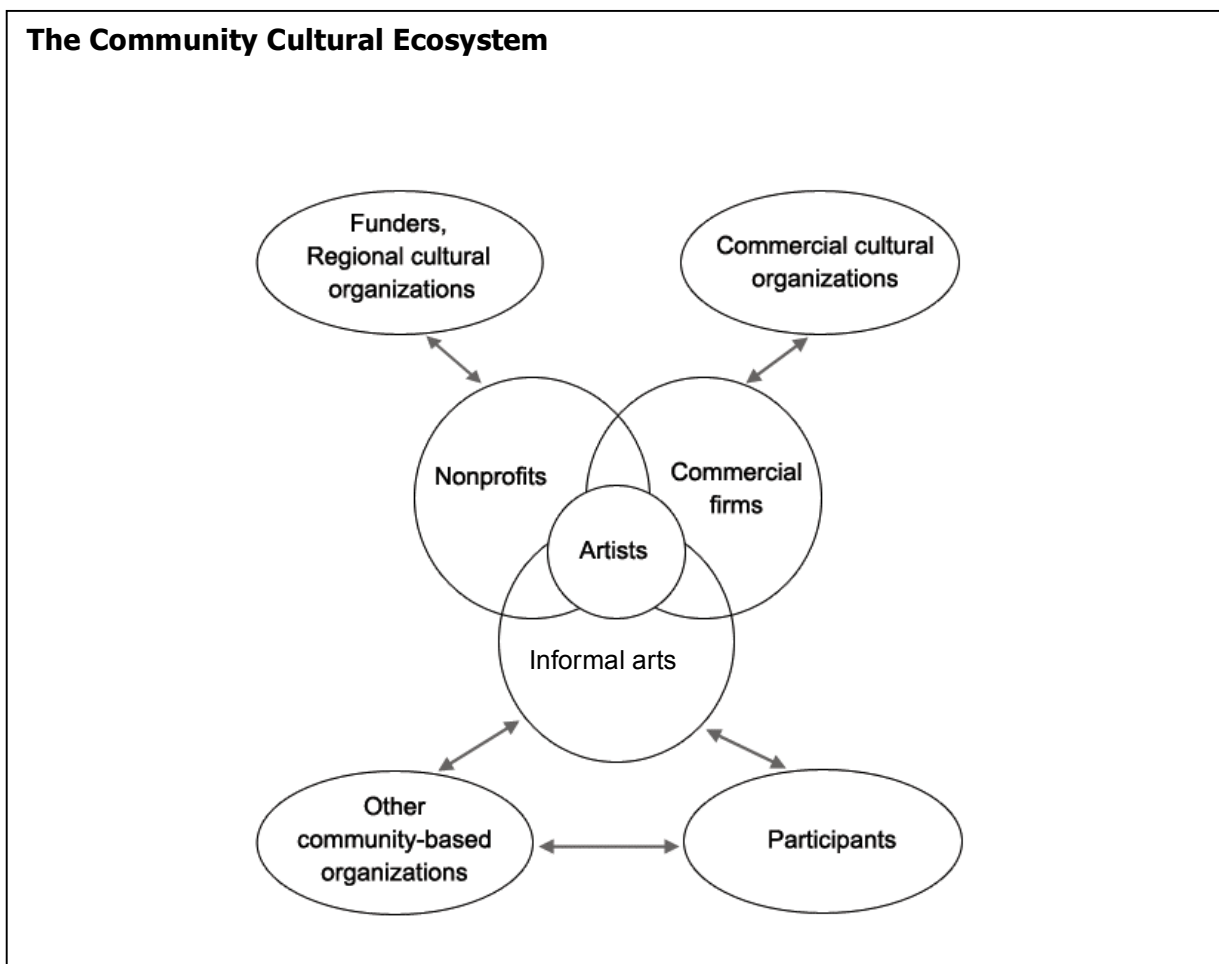
### Creative Sector Nodes and Links

SIAP has proposed a model of the community cultural ecosystem<sup>26</sup> that identifies key elements of the system, relationships between these elements, and “structural holes”—places where the ecosystem’s network is weaker than it might be (Figure 4.1). This model reconceptualizes the role of formal nonprofit cultural organizations. Although they remain important *providers* of cultural opportunities for community residents, a full portrait of the cultural ecosystem demonstrates that nonprofits share this role with a variety of other entities. Indeed, a resident survey conducted by Alan Brown/Audience Insight and SIAP suggests that the profile of nonprofit art organizations in North Philadelphia and Camden, New Jersey was quite modest (Brown 2004, Stern and Seifert 2005c). Their competitors in providing cultural opportunities include:

- informal cultural opportunities, including street festivals, community performances and events, and dance parties in private homes;
- “populist” for-profit cultural firms, including music stores, dance academies, restaurants and bars; and
- non-arts community-based organizations—both for-profit and nonprofit—that provide cultural opportunities as part of their programs, including schools, churches, social service agencies, community and recreation centers.

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<sup>26</sup> The ecosystem concept borrows from John Kreidler’s classic 1996 article, “Leverage Lost: Evolution in the Nonprofit Ecosystem.”



Source: SIAP

Figure 4.1.

Viewing local nonprofit cultural organizations within a community ecosystem changes our understanding of their complex role. Although many of these organizations are significant providers of cultural opportunities, including classes, performances, and exhibits; their other—less visible—roles may be equally important. First, they are the conduit for funding and opportunities for informal cultural associations and artists who are not eligible to receive governmental or philanthropic grants. Second, they are often key connectors between local creative resources and regional entities. If a museum or social service agency,

for example, wants to initiate a partnership or event with a local focus, community-based nonprofits are often its first contact. Finally, local nonprofits often share their space with informal groups or artists who would otherwise have difficulty mounting their work.

The diagram also calls attention to important aspects of the community cultural ecosystem that exist entirely apart from nonprofits and their traditional funders. First, regional commercial cultural opportunities—including concert venues, bars and restaurants—probably serve a much larger share of the public than either the local or regional nonprofit sector.



Second, the local commercial sector is a visible and vital part of many neighborhoods' cultural scene. Although dance academies, music stores, and production studios may share audiences and artists with the nonprofit sector, they generally do not maintain direct relationships.

Finally, local artists rival nonprofit cultural organizations in connecting local cultural activity to the wider region. However, artists' links to the region are more likely to be channeled through commercial culture than nonprofits. Within neighborhoods, artists find employment with all types of cultural providers—teaching classes at arts- and non-arts centers by day and playing at a club or private party by night.

The community cultural ecosystem model highlights the interdependence of neighborhood and regional communities and institutions; economic and social investments and impacts; and cultural production and consumption.

### **Integrating Cultural Assets into Neighborhood Market Value Analysis**

The community cultural ecosystem model provides a lens through which to view activities in particular neighborhoods and how these activities connect to the wider regional economy. This provides the opportunity to link evidence on culture to wider measures of neighborhood and regional well-being, like the Market Value Analysis (MVA) pioneered by The Reinvestment Fund (TRF).

The first step toward integrating culture into the MVA requires identifying "natural" cultural clusters—parts of the region that have a critical mass of cultural assets. Generally, TRF has relied on hard economic data—housing and

neighborhood conditions, credit profiles, crime data, and census data—to gauge a neighborhood's well-being and assign its housing market value category. Here we integrate four measures of cultural assets—nonprofit cultural organizations, commercial cultural firms, individual artists, and regional cultural participation rates—into the existing MVA system for the city of Philadelphia. The analysis involved three steps:

- 1—*Develop a single measure of a neighborhood's cultural assets.* To develop a single measure by block group, we entered the above four *cultural assets* variables into a factor analysis. A single "factor" encompassed 81 percent of the variance in these four variables.
- 2—*Model cultural assets based on economic and spatial realities.* We developed a linear equation to "predict" a block group's cultural assets score based on: per capita income, percent of non-family households, and distance from Center City (cubic). This model explained 76 percent of the variance in the cultural assets scores.
- 3—*Identify neighborhoods that are "outperforming" their location and economic status.* Because location and economic status are such strong predictors of cultural assets, the model tends to ignore significant concentrations of cultural assets in low-income neighborhoods. By comparing actual with predicted cultural assets scores, we can identify neighborhoods that are doing better than expected, i.e., neighborhoods where the concentration of cultural assets is greater than expected based on their geography, family structure, and economic standing.

We know that well-off neighborhoods have more cultural assets. Even after “correcting” for socio-economic status, we have found that a number of neighborhoods across the city have more cultural assets than “expected.” The Center City, University City, and Mount Airy-Germantown clusters represent well-known regional cultural districts. However, a significant number of these “over-achieving” neighborhoods are in areas that have a MVA classification as *distressed* or *reclamation*, while others have few assets but more than we would “expect” based on their geography and economic status.

Our initial analysis shows that a significant share of distressed and reclamation neighborhoods in Philadelphia already possess substantial cultural resources, and an even larger number are cultural over-achievers—that is, they have more cultural assets than their location and socio-economic status would lead us to expect. Preliminary findings suggest a range of possibilities for intervention and investment, for example:

- Neighborhoods that have significant clustering of cultural assets might be candidates to become sub-regional cultural districts.
- “Overachieving” low-income neighborhoods might be candidates for *workforce development* efforts directed at training residents for non-artist jobs in the creative sector.
- “Underachieving” low-income neighborhoods would be good candidates for social network and community-building efforts.

In any case, an integrated palette of economic and social capital tools and strategies would be indispensable to a neighborhood-based model of the creative economy.

## Artists' Centers as Neighborhood Nodes for the Creative Economy

Over the past generation, according to Ann Markusen and Amanda Johnson, artists' centers have emerged in the U.S. as a unique form of space dedicated for artists that has evolved in a way that nurtures a broad constituency of amateurs, art lovers, and community residents. Artists' centers, they argue, make important contributions to regional economies and to the social, cultural, and commercial lives of their neighbors (Markusen and Johnson 2006). Thus, artists' centers appear to be a potential ecosystem node or anchor in the development of a neighborhood-based creative economy.

Economic and cultural development policy, Markusen notes, undervalues the importance of space and place in the arts. While grant-makers and administrators think *organization*, artists and aficionados think *place*—a theater, gallery, club, or a neighborhood they love to visit and revisit. Many artists lack dedicated convening spaces for vetting their work, mentoring, sharing equipment, making connections and honing artistic and business skills. Many citizens lack direct exposure to artists and the opportunity in their own communities to participate in the arts and the creative process.

The report profiles 22 Minnesota centers that provide dedicated, accessible space for artists and shows how the centers have evolved and cross-fertilized. As defined by the study, two features distinguish artists' centers from other artist-serving organizations and training institutions:

- a space dedicated to an artistic medium or a geographical or affinity community, open to all without a fee to walk in the door; and

- general membership at an affordable rate without screening requirements, though certain services may be restricted.

A "full service" artists' center also offers some or all of the following:

- publications and a website that cover upcoming events, publishing and exhibition opportunities, funding competitions and sources, and community news;
- classes at various levels of expertise;
- opportunities to see master artists at work and hear them speak about their careers and art;
- equipment to share and space to work or rehearse, often on a rental basis;
- meeting space for artists, art lovers, and community members;
- competitions for grants, mentorships, and awards at different levels of expertise;
- opportunities for exhibitions, readings, publications, and performances for artists at various stages of development;
- mentoring and critical feedback; and
- connections to people, resources, organizations, and networks in their field regionally, nationally, and internationally.

Artists' centers, therefore, are distinct from other artist-serving organizations and spaces, such as teaching studios, presenting and producing organizations, art fairs and crawls, artists' retreats, artists' live-work and studio buildings, and arts incubators.

The ongoing access, the shared equipment and workspace, and the chance to rub shoulders with artists and art lovers of varying degrees of experience in interactive formats are

what make artists' centers such powerful generators of artistic work and careers. In the jargon of regional economists, these convening spaces help to maximize artistic spillover within the region; they offer the greatest number of people affordable access to new ideas and career-building experiences in diverse and ongoing forums.

Because they are places, artists' centers are embedded in the lives of their neighborhoods. Most offer classes for neighborhood children and youth, a good way to spawn artists and arts appreciators. Most contribute to neighborhood safety by bringing artists and patrons who occupy and beautify vacant buildings, increase foot traffic on the streets, and spend money in stores and restaurants. Two or more artist-serving facilities can magnify the impact by creating a grassroots cultural district.

They form an outstanding 21<sup>st</sup> century example of what Jane Jacobs celebrated about 1960s Manhattan, with its Soho, Chinatown, Little Italy, and Greenwich Village—a mosaic of unique cultural destinations that encourage city residents to cross porous borders to visit distinctive neighborhoods.

Dedicated spaces for artists and the arts can foster neighborhood vitality as well as engage the broader community.

Artists' centers, therefore, "contribute directly to the synergy between the arts and economic development." Markusen advises public and nonprofit policy-makers to view these facilities as good investments that pay cultural and economic dividends for local neighborhoods and the region. Compared to spending on large arts organizations and major economic development projects, the resources

needed to run the complex of centers in Minnesota were modest. The study recommends artists' centers as cost-effective candidates for brick-and-mortar support, operating funds, and technical assistance. In short, they are a good way to anchor a neighborhood-based creative economy.

## Evaluation and Design of Cultural Quarters

In contrast to the U.S., Great Britain's social policies under New Labour have explicitly attempted to link social inclusion with economic growth and neighborhood regeneration. A consequence of this "third way" social policy development has been the collection of a significant body of evaluative literature on culture-based regeneration in the United Kingdom. In a review of this literature, Graeme Evans argues that "[m]easuring the social, economic, and environmental impacts attributed to the cultural element in area regeneration is problematic and the 'evidence' is seldom robust" (Evans 2005). He finds that the policy debate in Britain has been framed by the boosters of specific schemes, on the one hand, and skeptical academics, on the other.

In Evans' view, the reactive quality of much of the academic work has stunted one area where academics might make a contribution—the development of methodological innovations.

Methodologies which bring together approaches across anthropology, cultural and urban studies/sociology and apply these to evaluation models which can measure social, economic and physical change are yet to be developed, although in culture and regeneration this is what the phenomenon demands.

Substantively, Evans concludes that the pure economic argument—that culture is a sure-fire ticket for economic regeneration—has tended to give way to rationales that focus increasingly on the quality-of-life and community health aspects of culture-based strategies.

What are now looked for—and this distinguishes the position today from the 1980s—are the twin

benefits of social cohesion and economic competitiveness and their interrelationship, through regeneration and related neighbourhood-based intervention (Boddy and Parkinson, 2004), seeking 'Better engagement/consultation with local communities to improve ownership of the [cultural] project and [local] benefits' (DCMS, 2003). This confirms that, in measuring and evaluating regeneration programmes and culture-led regeneration, the tests of sustainability and distributive equity are now imperatives, suggesting that short-term impacts have not been sustained in the past and that social benefits have not been achieved, or have even been displaced by the gentrification associated with major redevelopment projects and high art venues.

The increased focus on the community-building effects of culture-based regeneration strategies in the U.K. can be seen in one of two lights. Either it represents a new synthesis—an appreciation of the multi-dimensional impact of culture on neighborhoods—or a recognition that the economic promise of culture-based regeneration has not been realized. Evans tends to see it as "an admission that the ongoing economic effects from culture-led regeneration are disappointing."

One outcome of British attention to culture-based development has been a body of design criteria for the assessment of likely cultural districts. While not focused on the impact of districts, this body of literature serves as a corrective to those who see every neighborhood as a potential cultural district. Rather, it suggests—as noted by John Montgomery—that with the exception of a few global cities, the opportunity for the development of

cultural districts is circumscribed by the existing attributes of neighborhoods (Montgomery 2003).

“Natural” cultural districts have a very old history. It is only in the past three decades, however, that planners and policymakers have made conscious efforts to develop cultural districts as an urban regeneration strategy. In the British and Irish context discussed by Montgomery, efforts in Dublin, Manchester, and Sheffield were among the earliest examples of this strategy.

According to Montgomery, a successful cultural district encompasses three types of design features: activity, form, and meaning. He argues that a truly successful quarter must combine favorable features from each of these:

It is important to stress that a good cultural quarter would contain a unique mixture of these elements. Thus a place which has good Activity but an inappropriate Urban Form will not be a cultural quarter in the sense of being a good place which attracts everyday users and visitors, but rather a place (most likely) of cultural production removed from the arena of consumption. This means that cultural quarters, and indeed the wider notion of city creative economies, cannot be considered in isolation from the geography and characteristics of urban places. Places matter; place matters.

Similarly, a cultural quarter without Meaning, *inter alia*, will not be much of a place. Nor will it tend to be contemporary, *avant garde*, or particularly innovative. Culture, after all, *is* Meaning. More than this, a cultural quarter which produces no *new* Meaning—in the form of new work, ideas and concepts—is all the more likely to be a pastiche of other places in other times, or perhaps of itself in an earlier life. A good

cultural quarter, then, will be authentic, but also innovative and changing.

A successful cultural district requires a mix of creative industries and other businesses. Montgomery cites a set of detailed guidelines to ensure good *activity*.

- *Regarding land uses and opportunities*—a variety of primary land uses, including residential; the presence, size, and variety of street markets; the availability of cinemas, theatres, wine bars, cafés, pubs, restaurants and other cultural and meeting places offering services of different kinds at varying prices and degrees of quality; the availability of spaces including gardens, squares, and corners to enable people-watching and other activities such as cultural animation programs; presence of an active street life and active street frontages; and open hours and activities during daytime, evenings, and night-time.
- *Regarding property ownership and development*—the proportion of locally-owned or generally independent businesses, particularly shops; patterns of mixed land ownership so that self-improvement and small-scale investment in property is possible; the availability of differing unit sizes of property at varying degrees of cost, so that small businesses can gain a foothold and not be driven out of business by sudden rises in rent and/or property taxes; and the degree of innovation and confidence in new architecture to encourage variety in building types, styles and design.

Reviewing these features, it is clear that some occur “naturally” while others are more or less subject to policy and planning interventions. Lastly, in striking

contrast to the vast majority of the American literature, the Europeans have insisted that a successful cultural district cannot be only a center of cultural consumption but must also integrate active cultural production.

An essential pre-requisite for a cultural quarter is the presence of *cultural activity*, and, where possible, this should include cultural production (making objects, goods, products, and providing services) as well as cultural consumption (people going to shows, visiting venues and galleries) (Comedia, 1991b). This is axiomatic: cultural quarters cannot exist without cultural activity. Of special significance is the presence of venues. These should be as varied as possible, preferably at the small and medium scale where the objective is to encourage a more active street life. As well as performance venues, there should also be rehearsal and practice spaces. A mixed economy in venues helps generate self-sustaining growth, so that as well as publicly provided theatres and galleries there should also be private galleries and performance venues.

Drawing from the classic works of Jacobs and Lynch, Montgomery sees *urban form* as a critical element of cultural districts (Jacobs 1961, Lynch 1960 and 1981). Among the elements he sees as central to the *place-ness* of cultural districts are: a fine-grained urban morphology, variety and adaptability of building stock, permeability of streetscape, amount and quality of public space, active street frontages, legibility, and people attractors. Again, many of these

elements can be created, but others—including the “fine-grain” urban morphology and “variety and adaptability” of building stock—are much easier (and cheaper) to achieve if they already exist.

Finally, Montgomery advocates the centrality of *meaning* to the creation of cultural districts. He argues that “good urban places—and by extension cultural quarters—will represent and signal meaning and identity to users and citizens.”

An individual’s knowledge of a city is a function of the *imageability* of the urban environment: that is, the extent to which the components of the environment make a strong impression on the individual. In turn, imageability is influenced by a city’s *legibility*: the degree to which the different elements of the city (defined as paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks) are organised into a coherent and recognisable pattern (Lynch 1960).

On Figure 4.2 is a summary of Montgomery’s three essential design elements—activity, form, and meaning—and the specific criteria for each by which to assess the likelihood of success of a particular cultural district.

Montgomery concludes that successful cultural districts must begin with a set of assets, but how those assets are managed and leveraged is critical for the district’s success. In particular, his review of the literature suggests that the issue of *maturation*—how a district “ages” over a decade or more—is critical to its overall success.

## Evaluation elements and design criteria for cultural quarters

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### *Activity*

- Diversity of primary and secondary land uses
- Extent and variety of cultural venues
- Presence of an evening economy, including café culture
- Strength of small-firm economy, including creative businesses
- Access to education providers
- Presence of festivals and events
- Availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers
- Small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors
- Managed workspaces for office and studio users
- Location of arts development agencies and companies
- Arts and media training and education
- Complementary daytime and evening uses

### *Built form*

- Fine-grain urban morphology
- Variety and adaptability of building stock
- Permeability of streetscape
- Legibility
- Amount and quality of public space
- Active street frontages
- People attractors

### *Meaning*

- Important meeting and gathering spaces
  - Sense of history and progress
  - Area identity and imagery
  - Knowledgeability
  - Environmental signifiers
- 

Source: Montgomery 2003

Figure 4.2.

## Design with Nature—Discovering the City’s Process and Form

John Montgomery’s guidelines for cultural quarters as mechanisms of urban regeneration reference 1960s urbanists, Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch. What these observers have in common can be called an ecological approach to the social landscape of the city. Given that our model of a neighborhood-based creative economy is based on an idealization of the community cultural ecosystem, why not also call upon the father of the ecological planning method, Ian McHarg?<sup>27</sup> In his landmark work, *Design with Nature*, McHarg developed an ecological approach to urban and regional planning based on principles of “fitness” or suitability to underlying process and form, the creative

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<sup>27</sup> Scottish-born and trained, Ian McHarg spent much of his professional life in Philadelphia, where he founded the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning at the University of Pennsylvania.



adaptation of a community to its environment, and a synthesis of these factors toward design of the humane city.

Two principles underlying McHarg's method are applicable to the model of a neighborhood-based creative economy. One, discovery of a community's underlying identity, process, and form assumes that culture and creativity are embedded in—not exported to—urban neighborhoods. Two, economic evaluation is but one dimension of an integrative method that includes a community's natural and socio-cultural assets and aspirations.

An ecological view suggests a number of guidelines for policy and investment in the creative economy of urban neighborhoods, as suggested below.

- Use the full community cultural ecosystem, not just a part of it.
- View the creative sector from the "bottom up." Value the self-organizing character of the community creative sector.
- Identify clusters where cultural activity is already concentrated. Examine links between cultural clusters, community capacity, and economic vitality.
- Build from strengths. Invest in existing cultural clusters and nurture growth that happens organically.
- Don't neglect supply for demand. Cultural production and consumption reinforce one another, both within communities and across the region.
- Don't neglect social capital for economic promise. Community arts—via "collective efficacy" and "bonded bridging"—lay the groundwork for a neighborhood's economic revitalization.
- Invest in networks and infrastructure, not just organizations. Fill in "structural holes"—that is, missed opportunities for interaction and collaboration.
- Balance stability and innovation. Foster the growth and vitality of clusters rather than the immortality of organizations.
- Support bio-diversity—clusters with different kinds of agents, organizations, spaces and places. Encourage participatory arts and assist emerging and innovative groups to enter the community cultural mainstream.
- Support social diversity. Diverse neighborhoods—which both stimulate and are reinforced by cultural engagement—are at the center of the community cultural ecosystem.

Thus, the ecological framework for a neighborhood-based creative economy sets up the interdependence of discrete policy goals: revitalize low-wealth urban neighborhoods, stimulate the community creative sector, and sustain the regional creative economy.

## From Creative Economy to Creative Society

The concept of the community cultural ecosystem fits uneasily with current interest in the creative economy. At least in its American manifestations, the creative economy is thoroughly market-oriented. The profit motive is the “change agent” and cultural and social arrangements are expected to respond accordingly. Where the ecological approach seeks to draw attention to relatively invisible aspects of the cultural infrastructure, the creative economy tends to focus on the most visible and profitable aspects of the creative sector.

The creative economy research can be interpreted either narrowly or broadly. Narrowly, it makes the case that the creative sector is an ignored or under-appreciated element of the economy. That is, the very act of *conceptualizing* the creative economy can have an impact on how policy makers and others perceive it. For example, as part of the activities associated with the Creative New York conference in April 2006, the city’s Economic Development Corporation created a new not-for-profit desk to support nonprofit and cultural organizations. In this respect, the rise of the creative economy is simply the recognition that a set of separate activities that have existed for a long time—film-making, dance, architecture, fashion—share a set of common concerns that are deserving of public attention.

The narrow interpretation of the creative economy can be contrasted with far-reaching suggestions that these creative endeavors are part of a thorough redefinition of the nature of economic growth—an argument most famously associated with the work of Richard Florida. Florida’s work is based

on a reasonable and important insight—that “creativity” has become a central element of a region’s comparative economic advantage. Economists have been paying attention to the aggregate of skills and knowledge in the workforce—that is, “human capital”—for many decades. Florida’s contribution to this discussion is to hone in on those particular skills and knowledge that contribute to innovation and to see these skills as relevant across a variety of sectors. Unfortunately, in his zeal to make his case, Florida rifles through a variety of data cabinets turning up some intriguing correlations between regional economic dynamism and workforce skills as well as others—like the correlations with a “coolness” or a “gay” index—that raise problems of measurement and conceptualization.

Many arts advocates have embraced Florida’s findings as a firm foundation on which to make the public case for arts support. This is surprising ardor given what Florida actually says about the established arts sector. Although he finds moderate correlations between regional dynamism and the presence of cultural organizations, Florida views the sector—at best—as a minor contributor to the life-style that attracts his creative class. Coffee houses, recreational opportunities, and a general ambiance of coolness appear to be more reliable magnets for the creative class than symphonies or operas.

There is a darker side to the creative class argument. As Saskia Sassen noted many years ago, the networked economy tends to “valorize” particular jobs while it “devalorizes” others that may be equally important to the overall functioning of the economy. For Sassen, an example of this devalorization is the role of the cleaning staff in maintaining

the FIRE industries of lower Manhattan. By contrast, in his enthusiasm for the role of the “truly creative” in stimulating economic growth, Richard Florida values particular workers—typically higher-wage, higher-educated workers—which has the effect of devaluing those who make a less visible contribution.

The implication of Florida’s argument is to make life better for the creative class, which in a world of limited resources inevitably suggests making the world less good for the less “gifted.” In his most recent book, Florida bemoans that creative places tend to have high levels of social and economic inequality. Yet, it is difficult to see how his conceptualization of creativity could have any other outcome.

### **An Urban Workforce Development Strategy for Creative Industries**

This unhappy denouement of the creative class raises a provocative issue that has been largely unexplored. In his seminal work, *Art Worlds*, Howard Becker made a compelling case that the image of the artist as a genius *existing outside of any social organization* was fallacious (Becker 1982). Individual creativity—even in its most idiosyncratic form—is tied to a pattern of organization of social activity that allows the genius to be a genius. “Works of art,” Becker explains, “are not the products of individual makers, ‘artists’ who possess a rare and special gift.”

They are, rather, joint products of all the people who cooperate via an art world’s characteristic conventions to bring works like that into existence. Artists are a small subgroup of the world’s participants who, by common agreement, possess a special gift, therefore make a unique and indispensable

contribution to the work, and thereby make it art.

Like Sassen, Becker is as likely to view the stage hand, the printer, or the guitar string maker as critical to art as is the lone artistic genius. Becker’s point was to shatter the idea of creativity outside of social organization and to revalue the role of routine activity in creativity.

Much recent work on the creative economy and creative class appears to turn Becker’s insight on its head. Where Becker wanted to show how art requires the contribution of a whole ensemble of people with different skills and aptitudes who are successful because of their ability to coordinate their activities, the creative economy and creative class advocates want to take the classic idea of the artist—the genius existing outside of social organization—and generalize it to all “creative workers.” Where Becker sought to puncture the mystification of creativity, creative economy writers want to generalize the artist’s aura to stockbrokers, scientists, and university professors (!). It appears that we should all subject our own welfare to that of the geniuses among us, the true font of our collective well-being.

But what if we take Becker’s insight and turn the creative economy back on its feet? If the creative sector’s success is based on the social organization of people with a variety of skills and aptitudes, the creative economy could provide a foundation for a variety of new jobs and skills, not all of which are covered by current definitions of “creative workers.” Someone has to lay the fiber optic cable for the web designer, someone has to sew the costumes for the dancers, and someone has to create the drawings for the architect.

From this perspective, the creative economy might provide a set of opportunities for urban young adults who have been unsuccessful in pursuing conventional academic work. It might provide an alternative as well to those who—American Idol-like—pursue their dream to become the next Beyonce. In other words, a neighborhood-based creative economy could have implications for an urban workforce development strategy.

Indeed, there is abundant evidence that the effort to value the “creative worker” flies in the face of a much more profound reorganization of work life at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the major thrust of work reorganization was the separation of mental and manual work. The entire trajectory was the removal of knowledge from the “hands” who did the work to the engineers and managers who oversaw and directed the process (Katz and Stern 2006).

By the end of the century, however, the pendulum had begun to swing back. In sector after sector, information technologies permitted a reduction in the minute division of labor and a reintegration of manual and mental labor. The reorganization of occupational classifications for the 2000 census, for example, focused increasingly on the functions associated with particular occupations rather than their level of formal education or remuneration.

An area that deserves greater attention, then, is the range of skills that—while not creative in the conventional sense—are critical to the social organization of the creative industries. For example, with the digitization of audio and video production, it has become almost impossible to identify where the “technical” work associated with video

production stops and the “creative” work starts. Digital media production presents only the most obvious illustration. Philadelphia’s Charter High School for Architecture and Design has developed a curriculum that combines traditional academics and design skills with hands-on training in carpentry, plumbing, and other structural systems.

Indeed, the reintegration of mental and manual work required for creative production provides a fertile source for examining opportunities for the urban work force. Across the creative sector, we need a thorough inventory of the actual work involved and the paths for entering these occupations.

### **From Economic Opportunity to Social Inclusion**

A creative economy workforce development strategy would fit well with current trends in urban public policy, which are focused on market-oriented, work-based efforts to alleviate poverty. In Britain, however, the discussion of the creative economy has been linked with a policy concern around social exclusion. The UK’s melding of market and inclusion as part of the New Labour ideology points to concerns that have been largely ignored on this side of the Atlantic. As a result, as Americans have looked to Creative London for inspiration, parts of the British story have been “lost in translation.”

As we have noted, the thrust of the U.S. creative economy literature has been thoroughly market-oriented. The creative economy—defined as the use of human creativity in any economic pursuit—is totally remaking the world. “Creative people” matter and all considerations of policy and accommodation should be to make them happy. As Saskia Sassen would

say, the rest of the world (that is, we uncreative people) is devalued to the point of invisibility. Government's job is to set intellectual property rules that encourage entrepreneurs but don't hamstring innovation and otherwise get out of the way.

The *Creative New York* report certainly supports this thrust. The private sector is dynamic. The role of government is to assure that creative people have what they need. In the New York context, this means infrastructure, cooperative policies, and (because of the housing market) affordable housing for creative workers. The problem with the housing market is not that people who have lived in the neighborhood for years (that is, uncreative people) are being priced out. The problem is that underpaid creative workers have to keep moving farther and farther out into the boroughs, New Jersey, or even Philadelphia. *Creative New York's* policy recommendations are about providing the education and housing to feed the creative class without creating the burdens of regulation and taxes that would reduce profitability.

Creative London is held up by the New York report as the gold standard of policy. Yet, the mission of Creative London is not the market-driven apotheosis that Americans imagine. Rather, social inclusion and diversity are central to its role, not simply as a product of market maximization but as a result of New Labour's emphasis on merging economic and political goals. If our mission is markets and profit maximization, the role of culture in poor or minority communities is of interest only if it has the possibility of being the "next big thing."

Culture—and especially cultural inclusion—plays an important role in the political philosophy of New Labour. In

essence, following Giddens, New Labour holds that old "received" cultural categories have lost their salience in recent decades (Giddens 1998). Today, identity is an active process of development. Individuals must take responsibility for deciding who they are, what community they belong to, and what their "culture" is.

Ideally, we are all entrepreneurial in the sense that we are looking for opportunities and asking "what's in it for me." The risk of this nontraditional society is that people will fail to self-identify. This, in turn, increases the possibility for dysfunction, alienation, and deviance because there is no ready-made culture—defined either by social class or ethnicity—surrounding and orienting a person (Hall 2003).

In today's world, therefore, the creative economy is an example of a new set of social relations—based on individuals' pursuing their own interests—with an "invisible hand" that makes these private pursuits lead to social good. The flip side, of course, is a society in which primal urges combine to produce alienation and social breakdown.

Thus, Creative London tries to meld the two faces of New Labour. On the one hand, it is part of "Cool Britannia," in which creativity generates economic growth. On the other hand, it uses social inclusion as a means of overcoming the corrosive effect of all of this "looking out for Number 1" on the social fabric. The fact that—as a public agency—Creative London tries more or less to cover up its public-ness makes it difficult for Americans to see it as anything but a market-driven phenomenon for which social inclusion is justified as "one more market" or "one more genius."

For the creative economy to become the *creative society*, we need to see people as more than cogs in the economy. We need to view all urban residents as workers *and* citizens and develop an approach that acknowledges the importance of both.

Creative London is only one example of Britain's official concern with social inclusion and the potential of the arts for social "regeneration," especially in low-wealth communities. The dual policy goal of economic and social regeneration has justified public investment in the implementation as well as evaluation of cultural development projects throughout the United Kingdom.

The jury is still out on whether there is evidence to support the efficacy of the arts as a means of social regeneration. The ideological importance of this link, however, could be instructive to Americans who are overly optimistic about the potential of markets to solve or at least overcome all social problems.

## 5. Conclusion: Learning from the Literature

### Implications for Community Development Policy, Practice, and Research

**T**his paper began with a simple model. The arts and culture can play a significant role in urban revitalization, and that role plays out either by using creative enterprises as an engine for economic development or building community capacity. Through this review of current empirical and conceptual literature, however, the picture has become more complex and, one might say, ironic. A non-economic perspective on the social impact of the arts is more likely to generate neighborhood revitalization than an exclusive focus on culture's direct economic impact.

A significant share of the literature on culture-based revitalization examines the role of large-scale cultural projects as a means of reanimating downtowns. These projects have been judged by policymakers to be successful, even though the scientific evaluation literature is shallow and problematic. Of greatest concern for this review, however, has been the rather thin thread that connects projects of this sort to the well-being of low- and moderate-income urban residents. Major cultural development projects are directed at *others*—tourists, conventioners, high-income downtown residents, and suburbanites. To the extent that they are seen as benefiting those of more modest means, it is typically through the creation of service sector employment and the “trickle down” of economic benefits to the region.

If we examine the possibilities for the creative economy to generate neighborhood effects, the literature is characterized more by intriguing possibilities than proven facts. In “global” cities like New York, London, and Los Angeles, the vast agglomeration of creative assets clearly generates a set of sub-regional cultural centers like those discussed in Kleiman and Keegan’s study of New York’s “creative engines” and Scott’s study of the design industries in Los Angeles. Indeed, the broader literature on recent changes in the organization of the economy suggests that a networked economy needs producer clusters that generate what Castells has called “*milieux of innovation*.” Markusen’s recent study of artists’ centers raises the possibility that these types of spaces could also generate a level of economic activity—especially in “second-tier” cities—that would justify policy attention.

Balancing the possibilities for economic regeneration is the specter of gentrification. Ironically, the case for gentrification is no better proven than the case for revitalization. However, to the extent that the hopes for one generate the fears of the other, the economic case for revitalization finds itself caught in deadlock. Why take a chance on a culture-based strategy that will surely generate fears of gentrification if other strategies are available?

The simple economic rationale for culture-based revitalization, then, faces considerable obstacles. The existing evaluation literature is, at best, equivocal. Large-scale mega-projects are expensive, which means that the payoffs have to be extremely high. The possibilities of smaller-scale, sub-regional projects are intriguing but unproven. Both large and small cultural

projects often generate local opposition associated with fears of displacement and gentrification.

Compared to the economic impacts of culture-based neighborhood revitalization, the social benefits of community culture are persuasive and relatively well-documented. Virtually all of the relevant research finds a consistent set of positive neighborhood effects associated with culture. Cultural activity provides a means of addressing long-term barriers—class and ethnicity as well as age and gender—between social groups. It improves social networks and institutional connections both within and between neighborhoods. It animates public spaces. It creates value in the form of physical amenities and quality of the built environment. In fact, there is evidence that these community-building effects are related to wider trends in economic well-being, although SIAP has done the only work that tests this connection.

One barrier to documenting culture’s role in building community is the lack of reliable evidence on the importance of other types of neighborhood engagement to community well-being. SIAP has been able to document the relationship of cultural engagement to poverty reduction, population growth, the stabilization of diverse neighborhoods, and child welfare outcomes. The relationship of cultural participation to revitalization has been particularly impressive. However, the case for culture-based strategies would be enhanced if we had data on how the arts and culture compare with other forms of neighborhood involvement. SIAP’s work provides a research strategy for addressing this question, but it has not yet been tested on other forms of community engagement.



If policymaking were a rational decision-making process, the lessons of the past twenty years would be loud and clear. Large-scale cultural projects—under the right circumstances—can generate significant economic return, but the bulk of these benefits tend to accrue to high-wealth populations and trigger only modest trickle-down effects. Moreover, these projects often generate the fear of displacement and gentrification—even if they don't actually do so. Smaller-scale projects carry smaller costs and smaller benefits. Yet, culture makes a significant, positive contribution to the quality of social life that, in turn, may generate economic benefits.

In the context of real social policy processes, however, culture enters in an entirely different way. As a number of scholars have noted, urban politics tends to be dominated by a “growth machine” coalition anchored in real estate interests, local governments and nonprofits, and those enterprises (universities, hospitals, media outlets) that are linked to particular places (Molotch and Logan 1984, Logan and Swanstrom 1990). The recent history of planned cultural districts fits into the pattern of promoting sports facilities, tourism, and convention centers as the latest chapter in the growth machine. As with these other strategies, the attractiveness of large-scale culture-based development has less to do with the bottom-line than with some combination of cultural capital (the status associated with the venture), real estate speculation, and the power of conventional wisdom.

In contrast, social strategies fail some test of muscularity. Their benefits are granted but are not sufficient to generate the political will that would affect resource allocation. Community arts and culture are frequently placed in

the same category as recreational facilities and after-school programs. They might “keep kids off the street” but do not produce direct-enough benefits to generate enthusiasm among those who actually determine the fate of cities. They are left to fight it out with other worthy—but not sufficiently sexy—strategies for the shrinking share of public and philanthropic funding in the contemporary city.

## The Creative Sector, Unslumming, and a New Civil Society

Can a culture-based neighborhood revitalization strategy combine wealth-creation and social justice? Yes, but not by avoiding the lessons of past experience. Although this document is not the place to present a full agenda for such a strategy, it is worth identifying some alternatives that have emerged from this review of the literature.

The starting point for such a strategy is a political perspective that acknowledges, rather than denies, the potential for exclusion. Across the world, large-scale cultural schemes have been sold as economic development strategies with the implicit assumption that they would create jobs that would benefit an entire society, in spite of the fact that both common sense and research demonstrate that these projects have been generators of inequality and, to a lesser extent, displacement.

The British experience under New Labour might provide a guide to a reassessment of the social and economic value of culture-based development. The priority given to social inclusion—by Creative London, for example—is an attempt to combine market principles with social purposes. It is difficult to see how a culture-based neighborhood revitalization strategy could succeed on social justice grounds without embracing a “third way” political perspective.

The ideology of the creative economy is a significant barrier to such a shift. As we have seen, Richard Florida has become an industry. His recent acknowledgement that the creative economy is a generator of a socially-

destructive inequality does not appear to have reduced the ardor of his supporters. As discussed above, the creative class perspective has taken the traditional idea of the artist as isolated genius and generalized it to an entire stratum of the labor force. If all of our well-being is dependent upon this class of geniuses, it is hard to make a case for worrying about the mass of ordinary citizens.

Earlier, we used Howard Becker’s discussion of *art worlds* to turn the creative class on its head. Becker sought to demonstrate how the arts and culture are a system of social organization in which all actors play an important role. Rather than devalue the contribution of ordinary workers, Becker showed how cooperative networks of workers are critical to creative production.

This insight provides the foundation for a workforce development strategy associated with a neighborhood-based creative economy. If the creative economy is successful based on social organization, not individual genius, then a strategy of social inclusion would identify opportunities for social mobility and wealth-creation across the sector, not just through the genius jobs. Such a goal would require new research to evaluate the potential for workforce growth within the creative sector to include skilled technical jobs, not just a few “creative workers” and a lot of low-wage service employment.

A creative economy workforce development strategy would have implications for education as well. Currently, many urban youths who are not successful in traditional academic tracks are encouraged to pursue the arts. This has led to a proliferation of high schools with an arts’ focus. Yet, the sharp winner-take-all logic that

guides the creative sector assures that the vast majority of the graduates of these programs will not succeed in realizing their dreams.

A creative economy workforce development strategy suggests that one of the purposes of an arts-based secondary—and for that matter post-secondary—education would be to combine training in artists' professions with skill sets that are transferable to other jobs in the sector. Such a strategy could create a virtuous cycle of orienting urban kids toward jobs that really exist and re-valuing those jobs within the creative economy.

Finally, we need to develop a more fine-grained sense of how the creative sector self-organizes at the neighborhood level and how culture-based strategies can make a difference. An integrated approach that can predict and assess the “value added” of culture-based neighborhood revitalization—as proposed in the above model of a neighborhood-based creative economy—could be a point of departure.

In any case, we need a hard-headed strategy that takes both market realities and the very real human, social, and cultural impacts of the arts into consideration. Our best guess is that these strategies would be characterized by smaller investments, smaller risks, and more gradual change than most cultural facility and district plans. In this light, we might revisit Jane Jacobs' observations on “unslumming” and how to nurture it:

The processes that occur in unslumming depend on the fact that a metropolitan economy, if it is working well, is constantly transforming many poor people into middle-class people, many illiterates into skilled (or even educated)

people, many greenhorns into competent citizens (Jacobs 1993, 1961).

Regardless, we anticipate that it will be Jane Jacobs—not Richard Florida—who will prove inspirational in guiding the creative economy of the post-industrial urban neighborhood, breathing new life into the great American city.

Culture-based revitalization remains a field with great promise for fostering equitable regional development and socially just communities. The trick is to develop strategies that produce success and distribute the benefits equitably. Our review of the literature makes it clear that such a balancing act is possible; but it will require a set of intellectual, human, and political assets that are difficult to assemble. As the TRF-SIAP collaboration continues, our attention will shift increasingly from what we know about the past to strategies for the future.

## APPENDIX 1.

### CULTURE AND URBAN REVITALIZATION: SCHEMA OF LITERATURE REVIEW

**CULTURE AND URBAN REVITALIZATION: SCHEMA OF LITERATURE REVIEW**

SIAP January 2007

<b>COLLECTIVE IMPACTS OF THE ARTS AND CULTURE</b>		
<b>ECONOMIC values</b>	<b>NEIGHBORHOOD effects</b>	<b>REGIONAL effects</b>
		Nonprofit arts as economic sector in post-industrial city. Regional economic impact studies aggregate direct expenditures plus "multiplier" effects.
	Planned cultural districts and major facility development to maximize consumer-generated economic impacts; downtown revival strategy.	City as "entertainment machine," spectacles as new core function of urban economy.
	"Artistic mode of production" recycles old industrial structures as commercial/residential property. Artists as gentrification threat/revitalization promise.	Informal cultural sector as incubator of new forms, tastes. Processes that link informal and formal sectors of arts production strengthen entire sector.
	Diverse, "neo-bohemian" neighborhoods as fertile ground for culture-based development. Social diversity spawns diverse creative economies.	"Ephemeral city"--global history shows that cultural consumption ("entertainment machine") insufficient to assure urban vitality.
	Persistent link between local cultural assets and revitalization indicators--poverty decline, population gain, stable diversity--even in disadvantaged neighborhoods.	Critique of econ impact methodology: correcting for double-counting and "substitution effects," net impact only if "exporting" art or "importing" audience.
	Neighborhood economic impact of small-budget arts organizations--new markets, new jobs for local artists, new uses of existing facilities.	"Creative economy" studies view culture as spur to productivity; focus on size of nonprofit sector relative to regional economy.
	Neigh-based creative industries have nonprofit/commercial mix; local arts as jobs engine and lure for retail, street life, & amenities that draw business to area.	"Creative economy" concept broadened to include commercial culture; design and related fields; and sole proprietors (self-employed artists).
	Artists' centers as neighborhood economic, social, and cultural asset; support artists' careers; link artists with communities.	"Regional artistic dividend"--occupation vs. industry approach to impact; artists' role in region's cultural production, export economy, location advantage.
	Neighborhood revitalization potential of "natural" cultural districts, "organic" cultural economic development; cultural clusters becoming "cultural quarters."	Arts agglomerations, producer clusters as "milieux of innovation;" concentration of cultural resources as spur to productivity.
	Role of social and built environment characteristics in assessing potential of cultural quarters as mechanism for urban regeneration.	"Creativity"--creative labor--as key to regional competitive advantage. Jobs follow people. Human capital recast as the "creative class."
	Gentrification and displacement fears major barrier to cultural development at neighborhood level though research is spotty, inconclusive, contradictory.	Research finds relationship of creative economy to expansion of economic inequality and "winner-take-all" economy.
	Reframing of "gentrification" v-a-v neigh revitalization goal of "equitable development;" create/maintain economic and socially diverse communities.	No consistent evidence that cultural mega-projects work as regeneration strategy; ongoing economic effects of culture-led regeneration disappointing.
<b>SOCIAL values</b>	<b>NEIGHBORHOOD effects</b>	<b>REGIONAL effects</b>
	Integration of arts/culture measures into neighborhood/community quality-of-life indicator systems; development of community cultural vitality index.	"Art worlds" as dynamic system of social organization; creativity as product of collective activity, not individual artists.
	Broad definition of culture includes traditional cultural practices, informal creative expression, individual artists; "systems" approach to culture & community.	Cultural production and participation reinforce one another within communities and across the region.
	Cultural production and participation paradigm expanded beyond chartered nonprofits to unincorporated sector--participatory groups, "informal" arts.	"Bonded-bridging" characteristic of immigrant arts programs moves social capital dialogue beyond "bonding" vs. "bridging" distinction.
	"Community cultural ecosystem" as model for interdependence of community and regional cultural sectors.	Cultural sector as interdependent ecosystem; impact of decline in govt and philanthropic support for arts viewed as "leverage lost."
	Community-based arts groups more like new social movements than "rational" institutions; grassroots cultural enterprises not fit established org categories.	Creative sector like emerging small-scale industries that use network forms of interaction; "networked enterprises" linking separate, specialized groups.
	Community-building impacts--social bridging, civic engagement skills of informal arts; cultural engagement linked w/neigh indicators of "collective efficacy."	Community-bridging impacts--regional participation in community arts; cultural engagement bridging divides of geography, ethnicity, social class.
	Arts' contribution to social network processes; small-budget arts activities leverage local and non-local resources for neighborhood improvement.	European models of public investment in cultural development as "social regeneration" scheme, potential for economic growth <i>and</i> social inclusion.

## APPENDIX 2.

### REFERENCES

The attached list of references includes selected works compiled during SIAP's "harvest" of current research on culture and urban revitalization. The focus of our review has been on U.S.-based research conducted over the past decade. The list includes references not cited in the report that could be of interest to researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners in the emerging field of culture-based revitalization.

The listing that follows includes three types of resources. One is *literature on culture, policy, and the contemporary city* that frames our discussion of the creative sector in contemporary context (Part 2) and informs our conclusions based on review of the research (Part 5).

The bulk of the listing is the body of literature that reflects the state-of-the art *research on culture and urban revitalization*. These resources are the basis for our review of the major dimensions of current work on culture-based revitalization (Part 3) and contribute to our new model for policy, and practice, and research (Part 4).

A third type of resource has been listed separately under the heading of "*Selected Sources for Cultural Development Practitioners and Advocates*." This listing represents a sample of case study and case-making resources encountered during the literature search that may be useful to cultural development practitioners and advocates.

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