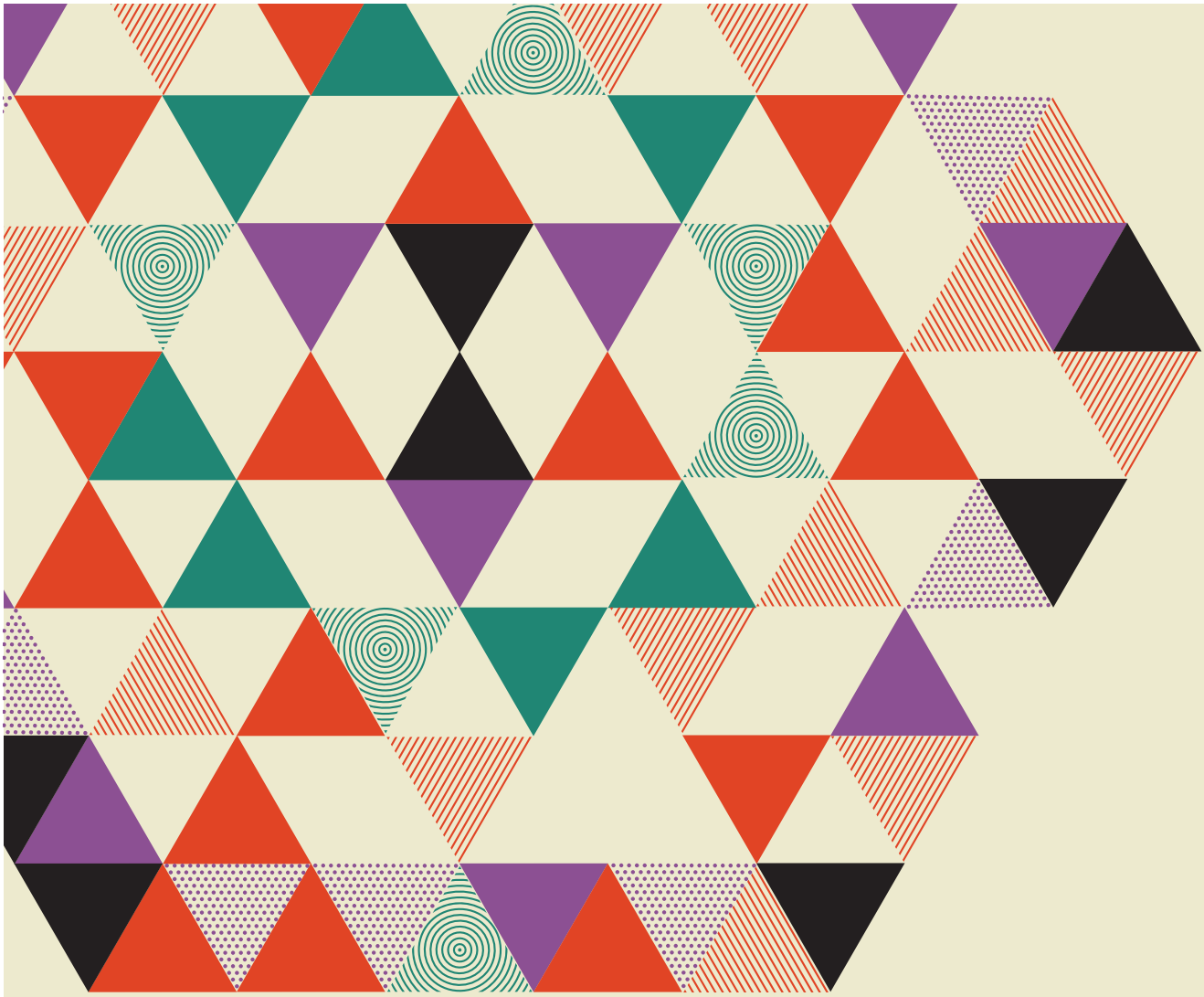

Creative PLACEMAKING

Ann Markusen *Markusen Economic Research Services*
Anne Gadwa *Metris Arts Consulting*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

A White Paper for The Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative of the National Endowment for the Arts in partnership with the United States Conference of Mayors and American Architectural Foundation.

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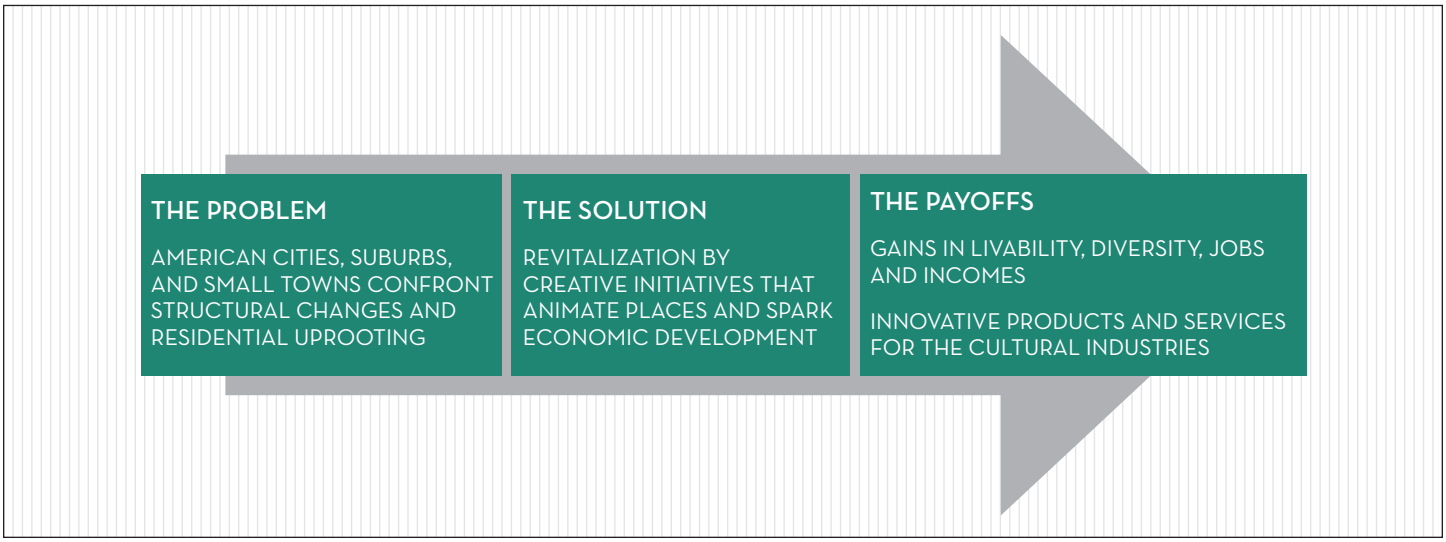
CREATIVE PLACEMAKING: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

In turn, these creative locales foster entrepreneurs and cultural industries that generate jobs and income, spin off new products and services, and attract and retain unrelated businesses and skilled workers. Together, creative placemaking's livability and economic development outcomes have the potential to radically change the future of American towns and cities.

Instead of a single arts center or a cluster of large arts and cultural institutions, contemporary creative placemaking envisions a more decentralized portfolio of spaces acting as creative crucibles. In each, arts and culture exist cheek-by-jowl with private sector export and retail businesses and mixed-income housing, often occupying buildings and lots that had been vacant and under-used. In large cities, many such hubs reflect the ethnic or historical character of place and invite residents and visitors alike across porous boundaries to visit, patronize, and enjoy. In smaller towns, traditional cultural practices and landscapes are transformed into distinctive cultural centers and festivals that revive emptying downtowns and attract regional visitors. Large cultural institutions, often inspired by their smaller counterparts, are increasingly engaging in active placemaking.

This white paper summarizes two decades of creative American placemaking, drawing on original economic research and case studies of pathbreaking initiatives in large and small cities, metropolitan to rural, as well as published accounts. The case studies stretch from Providence, Rhode Island, to Los Angeles, California, and



CREATIVE ECONOMIES HOST

- 2 million artists
- 3.6 million cultural workers
- 4.9 million cultural industry jobs

CREATIVE PLACEMAKING FOSTERS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- Recirculates residents' incomes locally at a higher rate
- Re-uses vacant and underutilized land, buildings, and infrastructure
- Creates jobs in construction, local businesses, and cultural activity
- Expands entrepreneurial ranks of artists and designers
- Trains the next generation of cultural workers
- Attracts and retains non-arts-related businesses and skills

CREATIVE PLACEMAKING FOSTERS AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN GLOBALLY COMPETITIVE INDUSTRIES

- Movies
- Broadcasting
- Publishing
- News media
- Musical recordings and video
- Social media
- Advertising
- Design services
- Architecture
- Video games

CASES OF CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

- Three Cleveland west-side theatres, one owned by a community development corporation, lead the redevelopment of a commercial corridor as Gordon Square Arts District.
- Buffalo's Mayor and a non-profit arts developer transform a vacant auto plant into artist studios and housing, infusing the neighborhood with creative and economic activity.
- Portland's new transit stations incorporate artwork that reflects distinctive neighborhoods and encourages ridership.
- San José's 01SJ Biennial marries art and technology to generate new products, bring people downtown, and showcase the City's diversity.

from Arnaudville, Louisiana, and Fond du Lac, Minnesota, to Seattle, Washington. Each reveals a distinctive strategy that succeeded when initiators built partnerships across sectors, missions, and levels of government, leveraging funds from diverse sources and programs.

Creative placemaking serves livability, diversity, and economic development goals. Livability outcomes include heightened public safety, community identity, environmental quality, increased affordable housing and workplace options for creative workers, more beautiful and reliable transportation choices, and increased collaboration between civic, non-profit, and for-profit partners. Economic development quickens because arts and cultural investments help a locality capture a higher share of expenditures from local income. Instead of traveling elsewhere for entertainment and culture, or going to a big-box retailer or shopping mall, residents are patrons of local talent and venues, earnings that re-circulate at a higher rate in the local economy. Re-using vacant space generates local property and sales tax revenues that can be devoted to streets, lighting, sanitation, greenery, and police and fire. Additional jobs and incomes are generated in construction, retail businesses, and arts and cultural production. New businesses, in the creative industries and others, are attracted to these communities.

Place has always been important for the emergence of new products, industries, and jobs. We find that creative places are cultural industry crucibles where people, ideas, and organizations come together, generating new products, industries, jobs, and American exports. They nurture entrepreneurs and expand the ranks of self-employed artists and designers who market their creations far afield. Training grounds for area youth, they incubate the next generation of creative workers and entrepreneurs. Because jobs increasingly follow people, rather than vice versa, they draw and retain other businesses and workers to their rich, lively, and diverse environs.[1]

As cultural industry incubators, creative places make valuable contributions to the national economy. More than 2 million Americans support themselves as artists, and the ranks of cultural workers exceed 3.8 million, or almost 3% of the nation's workforce. Many are entrepreneurs, some employ others; 65% of writers, 57% of visual artists, and 41% of musicians are self-employed.

Artists and related cultural workers provide the core expertise for American cultural industries, supporting close to 5 million jobs. These industries—the performing arts, movies, television, broadcasting, sound recording, video games, design, advertising, publishing, tourism—are among our most competitive internationally, producing billions of dollars in export earnings.

Creative placemakers confront daunting challenges. Many have stumbled along the way. Others have been slowed down or suffer growing pains. We asked leaders of successful efforts about the challenges they faced, how they met them, and what lessons they learned. In addition to overcoming fiscal challenges stemming from the Great Recession, many creative placemakers have navigated similar obstacles, namely: difficulties in creating partnerships, countering skepticism on the part of communities and public leaders, assembling adequate financing, clearing regulatory hurdles, ensuring long-term maintenance and sustainability, avoiding displacement and gentrification, documenting progress, and developing performance metrics. These insights are as important as their achievements for informing policy and encouraging other communities.

In the United States, creative placemaking operates at all geographic scales and with a diverse array of initiators and partners. We identify six components of a successful strategy, drawn from in-depth interviews. Each effort starts with an entrepreneurial initiator; demonstrates a commitment to place and its distinctive character; mobilizes public will, both in local government and the citizenry; attracts private sector

CHALLENGES FOR CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

- Forging partnerships
- Countering community skepticism
- Assembling adequate financing
- Clearing regulatory hurdles
- Ensuring maintenance and sustainability
- Avoiding displacement and gentrification
- Developing metrics of performance

SUCCESSFUL CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

- Prompted by an initiator with innovative vision and drive
- Tailors strategy to distinctive features of place
- Mobilizes public will
- Attracts private sector buy-in
- Enjoys support of local arts and cultural leaders
- Builds partnerships across sectors, missions, and levels of government

support, either from cultural industries or place developers or both; wins the active participation of arts and cultural leaders; and succeeds in building partnerships across sectors (for-profit, non-profit, government, and community), missions (e.g., cultural affairs, economic and workforce development, transportation, housing, planning, environment, and health), and levels of government (local, state, and federal).

Our research finds that through creative placemaking, arts and culture make substantial contributions to local economic development, livability, and cultural industry competitiveness. These contributions have not been given their due in public policy. Many city and small-town leaders are beginning to understand these connections. Some are modeling their initiatives on pathbreakers elsewhere, tailoring them to their own distinctive assets and challenges. At the state and federal levels, politicians, policymakers, and agency heads see the potential for arts and cultural activities to improve the effectiveness of their missions in transportation, housing, workforce development, health care, environmental remediation, and education. Exemplary cases of creative placemaking suggest that a collaborative policy platform can be developed across agencies, levels of government and public/non-profit/private sector organizations. This platform should be constructed from evidence on what works and where, and it should include evaluation from the start.

Arts and culture at this historic juncture are proving their power as economic and social catalysts. Through smart collaborations with other sectors—government, private business, foundations—they are creating opportunities for rejuvenation and economic development, anchored in and tailored to diverse communities. The arts can be a fulcrum for the creative transformation of American cities. ▲

[1] Ann Markusen and Greg Schrock, "The Artistic Dividend: Urban Artistic Specialization and Economic Development Implications," *Urban Studies* 43, no. 10 (2006): 1661-1686; Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2002).

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Summer Performance Series, Cleveland Public Theatre

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2008-024: Taste of Summer © 2008 City of Philadelphia Mural Arts Program/ Ann Northrup and Reentry Workers.

ANN MARKUSEN, Principal, Markusen Economic Research Services

Ann Markusen holds a PhD and MS in Economics from Michigan State University with fields of expertise in urban and regional economics, economic development, public finance, and industrial organization. An expert on urban and regional economic development, she has testified before Congress and served as President of the North American Regional Science Association, Brookings Economic Policy Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations Senior Fellow, and Member of the Presidential Commission on Offsets in International Trade. Markusen won the William Alonso Memorial Prize for Innovative Work in Regional Science (2006) and the Walter Isard Award for Outstanding Scholarly Achievement (1996). In 2010-11, she is serving as the Fulbright Distinguished Chair at the MacIntosh School of Architecture's Glasgow Urban Lab, where she is conducting a US/UK comparative study of creative cities.

Markusen has published more than a dozen books, include *Reining in the Competition for Capital* (2007), *From Defence to Development* (2003), *Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century* (1999), *Second Tier Cities* (1999), *Trading Industries, Trading Regions* (1993), *Dismantling the Cold War Economy* (1992), *The Rise of the Gunbelt* (1991), *Regions: The Economics and Politics of Territory* (1987), *High Tech America* (1986), and *Profit Cycle, Oligopoly and Regional Development* (1985).

Markusen's recent work focuses on urban revitalization, particularly on the contributions of arts and culture, human capital, and public policy. Her recent publications include:

- "Arts and Culture in Urban and Regional Planning: A Review and Research Agenda" *(Journal of Planning Education and Research, 2010)*
- *Los Angeles: America's Artist Super-City* (2010, Center for Cultural Innovation)
- Native Artists: Livelihoods, Resources, Space, Gifts (2009, The McKnight Foundation)
- *San José Creative Entrepreneur Project: Artists' Resource and Space Study* (2008) and *Final Report and Recommendations* (2009, Center for Cultural Innovation and City of San José)
- Artist Data User Guide (2008, Leveraging Investments in Creativity) exploring the demographics of state and metro artists from 2000 Census data
- *Crossover: How Artists Build Careers across Commercial, Non-profit and Community Work* (2006, The James Irvine Foundation, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and Leveraging Investments in Creativity)
- *Artists' Centers: Evolution and Impact on Careers, Neighborhoods and Economics* (2006, The McKnight Foundation)

Markusen has given keynote addresses on the creative city and the roles of artists and arts and culture in urban revitalization in Europe (Finland, Germany, France, UK), Australia, Brazil, Japan, South Korea, Canada, and in many cities and smaller towns around the US.

Markusen is a frequent advisor to mayors and city councils, state governments, and the federal government. She has worked for Chicago Mayor Harold Washington's Steel Industry Task Force, the Michigan House of Representatives as Staff Economist, and the Government Accountability Office in Washington. She is a widely sought public speaker across the US and internationally on economic development. Markusen has held professorships of three to ten years each at University of Colorado, University of California Berkeley, Northwestern University, Rutgers University, and University of Minnesota, teaching in the field of economic development. Her publications can be downloaded from her website at http: www.hhh.umn.edu/projects/prie.

ANNE GADWA, Principal, Metris Arts Consulting

Anne Gadwa is principal of Metris Arts Consulting, which provides data, analysis, and planning support to help communities strengthen the arts and help arts activity strengthen communities. An experienced researcher, Gadwa holds a master's degree in Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs and a B.A. from Oberlin College. Gadwa has authored major studies and journal articles, including:

- *How Artist Space Matters* (Metris Arts Consulting for Artspace Projects, 2010), a pathbreaking study of the impacts of three artist live/work projects in Minnesota on artists, the larger arts ecology, neighborhoods, and the regional economy.
- *"Arts and Culture in Urban and Regional Planning: A Review and Research Agenda"* (Journal of Planning Education and Research, 2010)
- *San José Creative Entrepreneurs Project: Artists' Resource and Space Study* (Center for Cultural Innovation, Los Angeles, 2008)
- *Defining, Measuring and Comparing Place-Based Public Investment Outcomes* (Lincoln Land Institute, Cambridge, MA, 2009)
- *Working Effectively with Somali Residents Through the Arts,* a study examining how the non-profit, commercial and academic arts sectors can work more effectively with a large concentration of Somali residents in the Cedar Riverside neighborhood in Minneapolis. (Cedar Riverside Neighborhood Revitalization Program, Minneapolis, 2009)

Gadwa's past professional experience in choreography and managing finances and operations of non-profit arts organizations (Movement Research, NY, 2001-2005 and In the Heart of the Beast Puppet and Mask Theater, MN, 2005-2007) informs Gadwa's work. For more information and to download publications, visit www.metrisarts.com.

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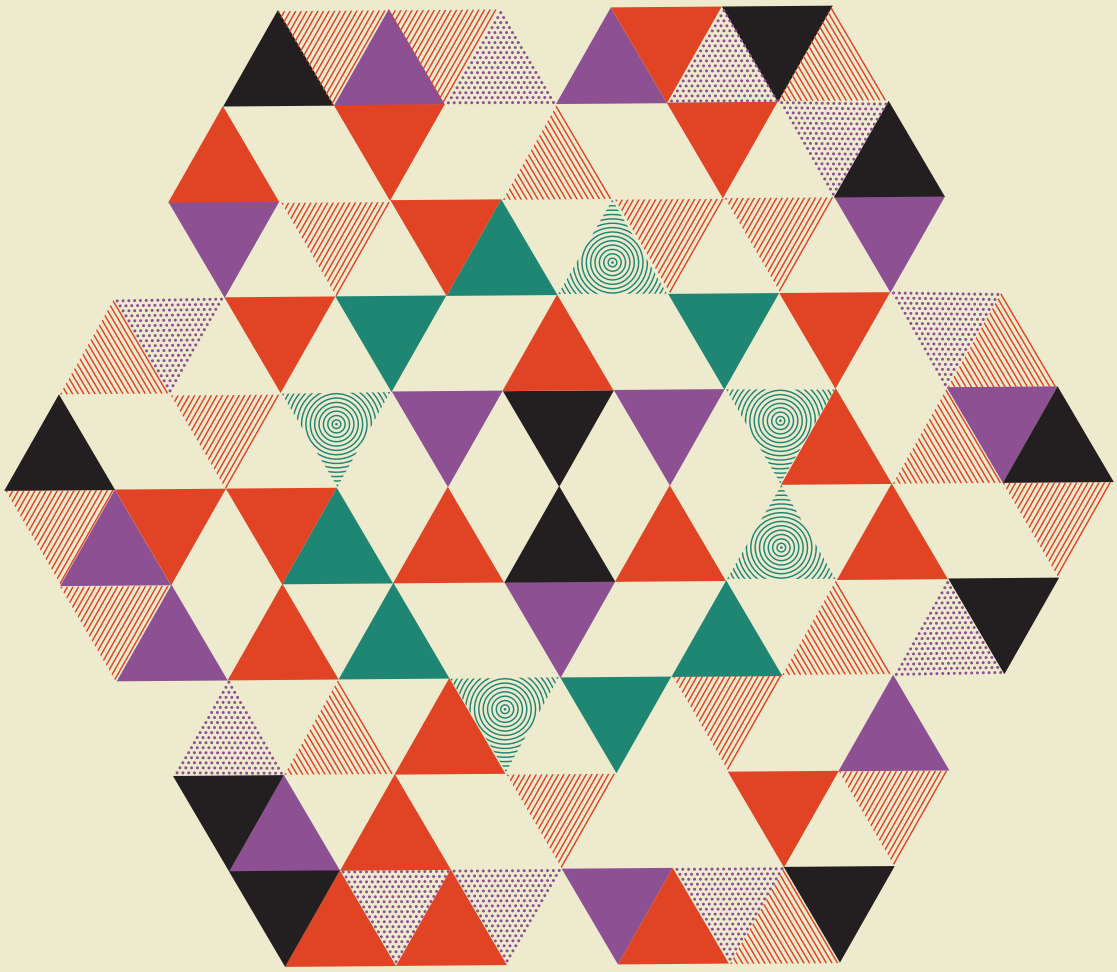

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I. INTRODUCTION

For two decades, American cities, suburbs, and small towns have struggled with structural change and residential uprooting. The causes are powerful: an integrating world economy, accelerating technological change, and Americans' proclivity to move. These forces unsettle communities and diminish returns on past investments in public infrastructure and in local networks and know-how.

Prairie and rural Appalachian towns shrink as capital-intensive agriculture, resource exhaustion, and manufacturing flight whittle down jobs and income. In cities large and small, downtowns lose business services and retail to low-density suburbs. Lacking the room and resources to build anew, close-in city precincts and inner-ring suburbs continue to lose higher-income residents. Venerable cities suffer out-migration, especially of the young, while fast-growing cities and outer-ring suburbs struggle with the public sector costs of sprawl. The Great Recession has compounded these problems.

In response, governments have committed billions to physical infrastructure and incentives to induce companies to move or stay, with mixed results. Physical capital investments have crowded out human capital investments that hold greater promise for regional development. Incentives to firms have quickened rather than dampened business migration and have cut deeply into long-term public sector revenues.[1]

Yet revitalization has come from an unexpected quarter. Mostly under the radar, unusual partners have made significant arts and cultural investments, leveraging resources from many funding sources. They create and provide jobs, nurture local businesses, generate spin-offs, revitalize local economies, and stabilize neighborhoods. They reinforce the nation's global leadership in cultural industries, a major source of jobs. In Cleveland, for instance, three theaters are driving the redevelopment of a commercial corridor as an arts district on the city's under-served west side. In dozens of cities large and small, vacant auto plants, warehouses, and hotels are transformed into artist studios and housing, infusing creative and economic activity into their neighborhoods—Buffalo's Artspace Lofts are an example. In Portland, new transit stations incorporate artwork that reflects each neighborhood, quickening the take-up of environment-friendly ridership. San José's 01SJ Biennial marries art and technology to generate new economic sectors, bring people downtown, attract 50,000 visitors, and showcase the diversity of the City's residents.

Animating new and existing infrastructure, these creative placemaking developments make important contributions to economic competitiveness, livability, and sustainability. Artists and designers are an entrepreneurial asset ripe for development, and in creative places, they find business skills and access to each other that improves their work and earnings.[2] Cultural industries cluster and thrive where creative workers reside. Arts-anchored revitalization encourages non-arts firms and families to commit to place and to participate actively in remaking where they live and work. Confirming the investment payoff, seniors, families with children, and young working people are moving back into central cities and arts-rich small towns.

Arts-based creative placemaking complements American cultural industries and supports their role as global economic players. High tech and finance have dominated American discussions of competitive advantage. In fact, the nation's cultural industries are undisputed world leaders and innovators, responsible for millions of good-paying jobs. Film, television, publishing, news media, recorded music (classical, jazz, world), video games, social media, advertising, design, and traveling performances of music, modern dance, musical theatre, and drama—all are arenas where American creativity, design, and workmanship excel. Many non-arts sectors employ artists to design products, improve work processes, and illustrate marketing campaigns that

make companies more productive and successful in an increasingly visual and aural world.

In this white paper, we report the results of extensive research on placemaking led by arts and culture and its contributions to livability, economic revitalization, creative entrepreneurship, and cultural industries. The methodology consists of reviews of existing literature, a scan of hundreds of possible cases of place-based creative revitalization, and an in-depth analysis of more than a dozen pathbreaking efforts that share common components of successful creative placemaking but are unique in their initiators, mission, partners, diversity mix, and geography.

Not all creative placemaking efforts succeed. Not all are good public investments. Based on responses to our interview questions about obstacles and lessons learned, we identified common challenges: creating partnerships, countering skepticism on the part of communities and public leaders, assembling adequate financing, clearing regulatory hurdles, ensuring maintenance and sustainability, avoiding displacement and gentrification, and developing performance metrics. These insights are as important as achievements in informing policy and helping other communities craft their creative placemaking strategies.

Successful pioneering cases share the same ingredients. Each is rooted in the talents and vision of one or several collaborating initiators. Each project has mobilized public will around its vision. Each has garnered private sector business support and buy-in. Each enjoys the commitment of some or all of the area's arts and cultural community who give of their talents, experience, and resources. In each, initiators dovetail their aspirations with those of other agencies and partners to tap into diverse pots for funding.

A culture-based revitalization effort must be appropriate to its local circumstances, not a "me, too" replica of what other cities and towns are doing. The best of the projects nurture distinctive qualities and resources that already exist in the community and can be celebrated to serve community members while drawing in visitors and new businesses, as Mark Stern and Susan Seifert's longitudinal study in Philadelphia finds.[3] In some cases, the innovation is so powerful that it becomes a role model for creative adaptations in other cities and towns. Some cities' successful experiments have induced state and national policy changes that enhance placemaking, diversity, environmental sustainability, and economic competitiveness.

In this paper, we first review the character and contributions of arts and culture as placemakers. We then explore the significance of creative places as cultural industry incubators. We address the challenges in successful creative placemaking and review characteristics shared by successful arts-related revitalization efforts around the country. The research findings call for further investigation into how a new intergovernmental policy platform could be constructed to bridge functional and sectoral divides, advancing the livability and economic productivity of American communities of all sizes. ▲

II. ARTS, CULTURE, AND CREATIVITY AS PLACEMAKERS

Today's placemaking efforts celebrate and stabilize distinctiveness with modest-scale investments, a dramatic change in American economic development. Cities and neighborhoods used to compete for major infrastructure commitments, aspiring to move up an urban hierarchy of look-alikes. In the new century, sponsors look beyond physical alterations, paying more attention to the animation of places with economic and cultural activity.

To participate in creative and cultural activities, residents and visitors alike are invited to spend their discretionary incomes locally and to cross boundaries between unique and diverse neighborhoods and within networks of small towns. Large-grained neighborhoods dominated by destination facilities like stadiums and mega-event centers are giving way to mixed-used developments that combine workspaces with housing, retail, culture, and recreational space. Elements of sustainability—transit, biking, walkability, and clean water and air—are also intentional goals. This new sensibility aspires to make places attractive to entrepreneurs, skilled workers, and new and existing residents. Arts and culture play a pivotal role in this transformation.

Placemaking is not a new American preoccupation. Citizens, local and state governments, and federal agencies have always strategically shaped communities and regions. In economists' parlance, governments supply "public goods" such as infrastructure, parks, and education, none of which can be adequately supplied by private enterprise. Youthful American cities competed for government-funded canals and railroads and, more recently, interstate highways. They also bid for job-generating military bases, universities, state capitols, and government agencies. Cities faced with industrial crowding and suburban exodus made investments in cultural and recreational space, as in the nineteenth-century City Beautiful movement. In the twentieth century, cities engaged in federally funded urban renewal, tearing down and replacing aging factories and housing with monolithic districts and structures. The outcomes have been disappointing on both livability and economic development fronts and have not stopped the centrifugal migration of business and residents.[4]

The arts quarters of cities participated in these movements. For more than a hundred years, larger American cities built monumental art museums, symphony halls, opera houses, and theatres. Often these were clustered together, as in San Francisco's Civic Center or New York's Lincoln Center, the latter an urban renewal project. Most were designed as stand-alone edifices or complexes with little integration with street life or arts-related businesses. By the late twentieth century, some of these had become isolated in inner cities suffering from population loss and disinvestment. Aging fine arts audience members drove to these destinations, parked in municipal garages, saw a show, and went home.

Over the past two decades, under the rubric of "the creative city," arts, community, and civic leaders have joined forces to fashion and nurture a larger portfolio of smaller spaces for arts and culture and animate them with activity.[5] The creative city embeds arts and cultural activities in neighborhoods cheek-by-jowl with private sector export and retail businesses and mixed-income housing. The vision invokes what Jane Jacobs celebrated in post-World War II Manhattan—a mosaic of distinctive neighborhoods, each with its cultural hallmarks, cuisines, festivals, and street life: Little Italy, SoHo, Greenwich Village, Chinatown. Across porous borders, city folk and visitors alike are invited to shop, enjoy, and learn alongside local residents.[6] Even large cultural venues and revitalization efforts can encourage neighborhood diversification: New York's recent Time Square makeover is an example.

CREATIVE PLACEMAKING: SCALE AND STRATEGY

Placemaking can occur at scales as large as a multi-state region and as small as a rural town or city neighborhood. Spanning the tiny and the huge, there are literally hundreds of American cities and regions that have looked critically at their cultural and economic development portfolios and sites, debating how best to use their scarce resources to foster a distinctive creative milieu.

In our literature review and the appended case studies, we found creative placemaking projects working at many geographic scales and with a diverse array of initiators and partners. The multi-state New England Creative Economy Initiative, launched in 2003 by the New England Council, brought together leaders from the business, cultural, and political communities of each of New England's states to insist that economic development include investment in creative industries, a creative workforce, and a community life rich in arts and cultural heritage. Also in 2003, Governor Jennifer Granholm funded Michigan's Cool Cities Initiative to promote place-based creative jobs and industries across the state.[7] In 2005, Lieutenant Governor Mitchell Landrieu started Louisiana's Cultural Economy Initiative, convening an annual Cultural Industries Summit and subsequently designating cultural districts around the state. In each of these cases, state governments devoted substantial resources and leadership to creative placemaking.

Citywide creative placemaking strategies have also been crafted, often with prominent mayoral or city councilmember leadership. For twenty years, Philadelphia's Mural Arts Program has uplifted neighborhoods with distinctive large-scale artwork created by artists, neighborhood youth, reentrant workers, and prison inmates, simultaneously beautifying, delivering arts training, and increasing public safety and community health (see case study). Emerging in the mid-2000s from the Mayor's office, Seattle City of Music embraces commercial, non-profit, and community music-making in many venues (see case study). San José's 2008 Creative Entrepreneur Project sought to animate its downtown and neighborhood cultural nodes long-term with enterprising artists and designers (see case study).

Some small towns have put themselves on the map by cultivating a distinctive creative face. Asheville, North Carolina, has remade itself as a city of craft, mounting its annual *HandMade: The Western North Carolina Craft, Architecture & Design Expo*. Ashland, Oregon's Shakespeare Festival has blossomed over the years into a huge undertaking that draws visitors nationwide for more than a dozen serious plays, many contemporary, over a nine-month season. Branson, Missouri, building on bottom-up commercial music venues, attracts large numbers of visitors to its dozens of country music stages. Arnaudville, Louisiana, has recently recast itself as an arts locale celebrating Cajun culture (see case study). All four of these rural areas and towns increased livability and economic development through distinctive strategies.

Many creative placemaking efforts address specific neighborhoods, including downtowns and residential and industrial areas that offer under-utilized private and public capacity ripe for human ingenuity. In the early 1990s, the City of Chicago devoted a vacant downtown lot to gallery37, a workforce development program that apprenticed youth to working artists—the program soon spread throughout the city as the renamed After School Matters (see case study). In Buffalo, Paducah, and Providence, vacant industrial spaces and run-down housing were transformed into artist housing and arts workspaces, jump-starting neighborhood renewal (see case studies). A community development corporation and two theater companies joined forces in Cleveland's west side to create Gordon Square Arts District, a commercial business and housing revitalizer (see case study). In Los Angeles, Hollywood Boulevard's past glory and present creativity has been preserved and revived in a concerted public/private effort (see case study).

Other creative placemaking initiatives seek to fuse arts and cultural content with the missions of other sectors. In Portland (see case study) and Los Angeles, new transit stations incorporate public art that has been designed, with community input, to reflect the neighborhood, harnessing artistry to quicken ridership. The City of Phoenix is complementing freeways and aqueducts with sculptures and artwork that softens hard edges and creates recreational space (see case study). On the Fond du Lac reservation in northern Minnesota, a health care and social services manager has improved healing and community identity by commissioning and suffusing a network of dispersed buildings with Native artists' work (see case study). San José's 01SJ Biennial seeks to merge art with Silicon Valley's formidable high technology sector (see case study).

OUTCOMES: LIVABILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The creative city vision serves livability, diversity, and economic development goals. It addresses safety, aesthetic, expressive, and environmental concerns of people who live, work, and visit. Resident artists, often traversing the neighborhood at all hours, make the streets livelier and safer, as do patrons of cultural venues and well-designed streetscapes.

Local arts offerings—public art, murals, art parades, art fairs and crawls, museums, performances, and open studio nights—offer people an opportunity to enjoy and participate. Federal research shows arts and cultural participants are more likely to be civically engaged in their communities than non-participants, even after controlling for other factors.[8] Arts activities are often fused with new environmental initiatives to clean up the streets, create bike paths and bus shelters, expose and transform unsightly public utilities, and design landscaped urban parks over sewer and waterworks. They also showcase an area's heritage and the culture and skills of newer residents from many ethnic and racial groups. By dispersing arts and cultural resources across multiple districts, they create vibrant hubs that serve residents and attract visitors.

Creative placemaking generates economic returns in multiple ways. Arts and cultural investments help a locality capture a higher share of local expenditures from income. Instead of traveling elsewhere for entertainment and culture, or going to a big-box retailer or mall for shopping fun, residents spend more on local talent and venues, money that re-circulates at a higher rate in the local economy. By using vacant and underutilized land, buildings, and infrastructure, investments in creativity increase their contribution to the public good and private sector productivity. Sales, income, and property tax revenues paid to local governments rise, enabling better maintenance of and additions to public infrastructure like streets, lighting, sanitation, greenery, and public safety. In short-term construction and permanent work with arts and cultural presenters and producers, new jobs and income streams are created. Additional jobs and incomes are generated in retail businesses that serve an expanded population of residents and visitors. And, as we next show, they spawn, attract, and retain creative businesses. ▲

III. CREATIVE PLACES AS INCUBATORS OF ARTS AND CULTURAL ENTERPRISE

Cultural industries flourish in creative places. New products and services sprout in districts where skilled creative workers congregate by day and night. There, "the secrets of the industry are in the air," as pioneering economist Alfred Marshall put it. Creative places nurture entrepreneurs, expanding the ranks of self-employed artists and designers and related workers who market their creations far afield and often employ others in whole or part.

They anchor multiple enterprises in cultural industries that specialize in products and services employing creative talent. Either formally or through informal work apprenticeships, creative places foster workforce development by training area youth to become the next generation of creative workers and entrepreneurs. They also draw and retain non-arts businesses and workers to their rich, lively, and diverse environs. Jobs increasingly follow people, rather than the other way around.[9]

Place has always been important for the emergence of new products and entire industries. They form crucibles wherein people, ideas, and organizations come together. Silicon Valley outpaced established East Coast electronic centers when young engineers and innovators began to cluster there—committed to the place rather than to particular employers.[10] The same is true of Detroit and motor vehicles, Los Angeles and motion pictures, New Orleans and jazz, Nashville and country music, Boston and publishing, Chicago and advertising, New York and visual art, and San Francisco and product design. The Seattle City of Music initiative is explicitly designed to enhance its music industry. In smaller towns and at the neighborhood scale, cultural nodes host distinctive creative activities as well.

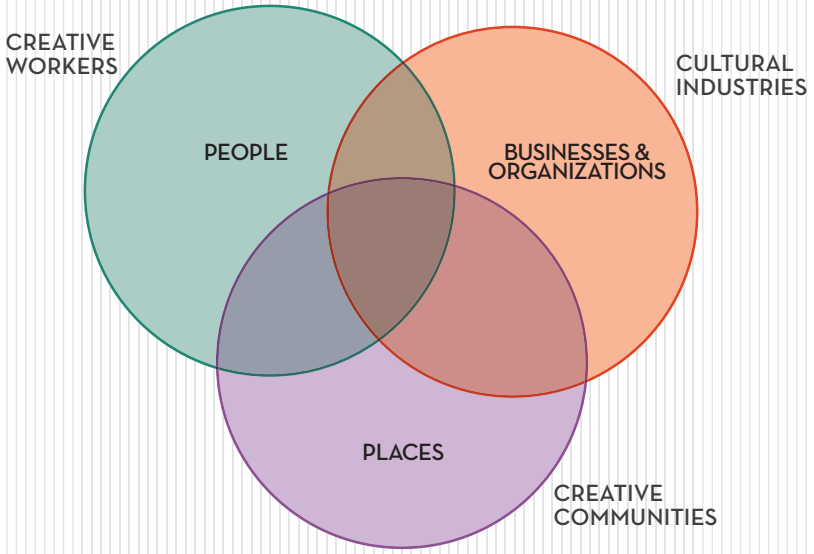
This role of creative placemaking in hosting cultural industries is under-appreciated. Few economic sectors are as large, diverse, entrepreneurial, and export-generating as the American arts and cultural enterprise writ large. Whether approached as industries (what cultural firms make), occupations (what cultural workers do), or a set of organizations (producing firms, non-profit, public agencies and community groups), the arts and cultural sector is the nation's most under-rated economic engine, producing millions of well-paying jobs. It is our most competitive sector. Many nations are challenging American science and engineering prowess, but few successfully do so in visual arts, a diverse music portfolio, digital media, design, and writing, from literature to screenplays and news. In addition to its impressive export earnings, it is the creative sector that most cultivates and disseminates what it is to be American to the rest of the world.

THE CREATIVE ECONOMY

The creative economy consists of three overlapping domains: workers, industries, and places, depicted as intersecting circles (Figure 1).[11] Each domain is populated by a unique set of actors and institutions. In all three, American enterprise is a strong driver of results.

Creative people decide what kinds of education and training to pursue and where to live and work. Those choosing arts and design make up the cultural workforce along with related support workers. As shown by the non-overlap in Figure 1, not all creative workers are embedded in cultural businesses and organizations. Many are self-employed, though some may sell their services or output to cultural industries, and many are employed in non-cultural enterprises. Compared to the workforce as a whole, artists are more than five times as likely to be self-employed (45% self-employment vs. 8% of workers overall, as of 2002), and they often create jobs for others.[12] Many gravitate to communities that offer rich cultural industry work and learning opportunities. Others choose affordable cities and small towns, exporting their work over the Internet, through galleries and publishers, or by traveling to perform.

FIGURE 1.
THE CREATIVE ECONOMY: WORKERS, INDUSTRIES, COMMUNITIES



Source: Adapted from DeNatale and Wassall, 2007, p. 5. Used with permission

In the cultural industries, businesses, non-profit organizations, and informal partnerships produce and market cultural goods and services. Their ingenuity and investments have built important cultural clusters over the decades: Hollywood moviemaking, Nashville's country music, and New York's galleries, Madison Avenue advertising, and Broadway theatres. Yet arts and cultural producers are widely dispersed and found even in some tiny rural hamlets, though not in all places, as shown in Figure 1. Creative firms sustain jobs and related businesses in hundreds of thousands of communities and span all income levels and ethnicities. Some cultural enterprises operate strictly in virtual space and are thus not embedded in place.

Places are the spatial setting for arts and cultural production and consumption. Local governments plan and regulate land uses, provide infrastructure and services, and act as a forum for all kinds of creative actors who wish to alter or improve the character of neighborhoods, districts, downtowns, or small communities. Creative placemaking may originate in the public sector but it just as often emerges in the community. Artists, arts leaders, community developers, high tech entrepreneurs, philanthropists, real estate developers, managers in non-arts businesses, and immigrant community activists—all have led in the revitalization cases profiled here.

CREATIVE WORKERS AND ENTREPRENEURS

Artists form a highly educated and innovation-producing segment of the American workforce. In 2005, an estimated 2 million Americans reported artwork as their major occupation.

Defined by their creative skills and work process, arts occupations include musicians, writers, actors, dancers, designers, architects, announcers, and visual artists (Table 1). Artists were twice as likely as workers overall to have completed college degrees. These rates rose from 51% in 2000 to 55% by 2005. Yet artists' median annual income lags behind that of other professional workers by 19.4%.[13]

The estimate of two million does not include hundreds of thousands of additional people who do artwork as a second job. Nor the tens of thousands of artists who work primarily as teachers (K-12, colleges and universities, private studios) or as arts administrators. Nor the unknown numbers of artists who spend more than ten hours a week making art and sharing it beyond their families and close friendship circle but who earn no income from it.

The ranks of cultural workers exceeded 3.6 million, about 2.7% of the nation's workforce, in 2002.[14] This broader occupational grouping includes arts professors, librarians, advertising managers, reporters, editors and technical writers, camera operators, and jewelers, among others. It still does not cover K-12 teachers and accomplished artists who do not sell their work. Creative workforce totals would be even larger if support workers were included: people who make and repair musical instruments, theatre prop makers and stage managers, sound mixers, and so on. In addition, many other jobs are dependent on the quality and

TABLE 1.
ARTISTS BY DISCIPLINE 2003-2005

	TOTAL	PERCENT OF ALL ARTISTS
DESIGNERS	779,359	39.0
ART DIRECTORS, FINE ARTISTS, AND ANIMATORS	216,996	10.9
ARCHITECTS	198,498	9.9
WRITERS AND AUTHORS	185,276	9.3
MUSICIANS AND SINGERS	169,647	8.5
PHOTOGRAPHERS	147,389	7.4
PRODUCERS AND DIRECTORS	139,996	7.0
ANNOUNCERS	55,817	2.8
ENTERTAINERS AND PERFORMERS	41,128	2.1
ACTORS	39,717	2.0
DANCERS AND CHOREOGRAPHERS	25,851	1.3
TOTAL ARTISTS	**1,999,474**	**100**

Source: Markusen and Schrock, 2006: Table 8.

competitiveness of artists' work inside large companies but outside the cultural sector.

Self-employment rates among artists are extraordinarily high, more than one in three compared with less than 10% of the workforce as a whole.[15] Those whose artwork is a second job have much higher rates of self-employment. Combining primary and secondary jobs, rates are as high as 65% for writers and 28% for architects (Table 2).[16] Arts careers continue to attract young people, despite the high cost and long years of education and the paucity of formal jobs. Since 1970, the share of visual and performing arts among all bachelor's degrees has shot up from 3.6% to more than 5.6%.[17]

The nation's artistic workforce grew rapidly between 1970 and 1990 and since then has kept pace with overall labor force expansion.[18] Writers and designers have been among the fastest-growing cultural occupations. But the current Great Recession has been tougher on artists than workers as a whole. Artists' unemployment rates in the second year of the recession rose to 9.5%, above that for all civilian workers. Artists also left the workforce in higher than average numbers and thus were not counted as unemployed. Architects and designers have been disproportionately affected, though actors suffer the highest unemployment rates—over 50% in the fourth quarter of 2009.[19]

TABLE 2.
SELF EMPLOYMENT RATES, ARTISTIC OCCUPATIONS, US, 2000

OCCUPATION	% SELF-EMPLOYMENT	PRIMARY JOB	SECOND JOB
WRITERS	65	71,369	10,056
VISUAL ARTISTS	57	69,470	13,549
MUSICIANS, SINGERS	41	65,618	32,728
PERFORMING ARTISTS	36	113,178	37,494
ACTORS	37	32,652	3,8117
PRODUCERS, DIRECTORS	22	11,879	949
DANCERS, CHOREOGRAPHERS	12	3,029	NA
DESIGNERS	32	132,122	24,095
ARCHITECTS	28	31,295	3,068

Source: National Endowment for the Arts, 2008: 5. Data from the American Community Survey.

CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

If asked to name the nation's cultural industries, most Americans might mention movie-making, musical recording, photography, and perhaps publishing. But the enterprises, both commercial and non-profit, that rely heavily on cultural workers and produce cultural content are much broader than this.

They include music and performing arts organizations, museums and galleries, broadcasters, advertisers, printers, design services, eating and drinking establishments, educational institutions, arts equipment makers and repairers, newspaper and book publishers, and religious institutions. Some of these are quite new. The video game industry, for

TABLE 3.
DISTRIBUTION OF ARTISTS IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES, UNITED STATES, 2000

INDUSTRY	TOTAL ARTISTS	ARTISTS AS % OF INDUSTRY	TOTAL EMPLOYMENT
INDEPENDENT ARTISTS, PERFORMING ARTS	259,066	45.3	571,645
OTHER PROFESSIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL SERVICES	64,536	22.8	283,636
SOUND RECORDING INDUSTRIES	7,700	20.0	38,428
MOTION PICTURES AND VIDEO INDUSTRIES	55,403	17.9	309,204
RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING AND CABLE	61,263	10.4	590,482
TOYS, AMUSEMENT, SPORTING GOODS MANUFACTURING	12,685	9.4	135,414
SPECIALIZED DESIGN SERVICES	22,785	8.4	271,541
ADVERTISING AND RELATED SERVICES	36,048	6.6	544,099
PUBLISHING, EXCEPT NEWSPAPERS AND SOFTWARE	23,545	5.6	418,578
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS	55,362	5.6	991,520
DRINKING PLACES, ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES	11,284	5.1	219,437
NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS	21,240	4.2	508,928
CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	**630,917**		**4,882,912**
CIVIC, SOCIAL, ADVOCACY, GRANTMAKING ORGANIZATIONS	6,992	1.1	661,391
PRINTING AND RELATED SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	8,547	1.0	855,008
MANAGEMENT, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL CONSULTING SERVICES	7,170	0.7	975,059
OTHER AMUSEMENT, GAMBLING, RECREATION INDUSTRIES	9,846	0.7	1,497,631
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, INCLUDING JUNIOR COLLEGES	20,268	0.7	3,111,308
COMPUTER SYSTEMS DESIGN AND RELATED SERVICES	6,147	0.5	1,246,028
RESTAURANTS AND OTHER FOOD SERVICES	7,111	0.1	6,307,807
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS	6,571	0.1	7,791,243
ALL SELECTED INDUSTRIES	**703,56**		**27,328,387**

Source: Markusen and Gadwa, 2008. Data from Census Public Use Microdata Sample [21]

instance, is estimated to serve a $55 billion market worldwide.[20]

Cultural industries are defined by researchers as those employing high concentrations of artists in their workforce (Table 3). Jobs in cultural enterprises are estimated to be between 4.6 and 4.9 million or more than 3.5% of the American workforce.[22] They include all people who work for performing arts organizations (whether commercial or non-profit), Madison Avenue advertising firms, broadcasting networks, videogame producers, and Hollywood's moviemakers, among others. In these enterprises, creative talent supports large numbers of other workers. But the table also shows that more than 200,000 artists are spread across other industries where their talents make companies' products, services, and production and design processes more efficient. Under a broader definition that includes other leisure activities, cultural industry employment grew from 15.7 to 17.3 million between 1998 and 2004, an increase of 10%.[23]

Cultural industries account for an important component of US output and exports. Although gross national product data are not available for all of the cultural industries, the totals for a number of important ones are listed in Table 4. Not all of the large group "Professional, Technical, and Scientific Services" can be considered cultural. On the other hand, other sectors that rely on cultural talent—advertising, higher education arts training and research, and toys and amusements, for instance—are not included here. Nor are the manufacturing industries that make musical instruments, cameras, recording equipment, computer software, and the many other tools and materials that support artistic output.

Because they enjoy robust domestic and international demand, the cultural industries constitute a reliable comparative advantage for the American economy. As people often say in tough times, you can always laugh with a movie or find an emotional outlet with a good book or a great play. American films, dramas, novels, non-fiction, and original compositions and recordings are sought worldwide, and American artists and cultural managers' expertise is admired in most corners of the globe. Young people, the future marketplace, are especially avid consumers.

Export totals for cultural industries are even more difficult to determine, because data on important sectors like tourism, advertising, design services, and other cultural content services are subsumed in larger industry groups. However, even a selected set of cultural industries—broadcasting, telecommunications, motion pictures, sound recording, performing arts, printing, and publishing—generated $45 billion in export sales in 2008, more than computer systems design, electrical equipment, air transportation, financial services, and American agriculture

TABLE 4.
US GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT BY INDUSTRY ACCOUNTS, 2007

SELECTED CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	BILLIONS $
PUBLISHING	303
MOTION PICTURE AND SOUND RECORDING	99
BROADCASTING AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS	800
PERFORMING ARTS, MUSEUMS, SPECTATOR SPORTS	99
AMUSEMENTS, GAMBLING, AND RECREATION	109
PROFESSIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND TECHNICAL SERVICES	2,697
TOTAL, SELECTED CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	**4,108**
ALL PRIVATE INDUSTRIES	22,895
% TOTAL, SELECTED CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	**18%**

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, Department of Commerce, 2010

TABLE 5.
US EXPORTS, CULTURAL INDUSTRIES VS. OTHER MAJOR EXPORTING INDUSTRIES, 2008

CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	EXPORTS (MILLIONS $)
BROADCASTING AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS	6,321
MOTION PICTURE AND SOUND RECORDING INDUSTRIES	11,989
PERFORMING ARTS, SPECTATOR SPORTS, MUSEUMS, AND RELATED ACTIVITIES	376
PRINTING AND RELATED SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	2,447
PUBLISHING INDUSTRIES (INCLUDES SOFTWARE)	24,597
TOTAL, SELECTED CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	**45,730**

OTHER MAJOR EXPORTING INDUSTRIES	EXPORTS (MILLIONS $)
COMPUTER SYSTEMS DESIGN AND RELATED SERVICES	9,725
ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT, APPLIANCES, AND COMPONENTS	28,489
AIR TRANSPORTATION	35,559
SECURITIES, COMMODITY CONTRACTS, AND INVESTMENTS	37,044
FARMS	45,568
MOTOR VEHICLES, BODIES AND TRAILERS, AND PARTS	87,389
COMPUTER AND ELECTRONIC PRODUCTS	117,607

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, Industry Economic Accounts, Input-Output Accounts Data

industries (Table 5). Unfortunately, we cannot compare them with other innovative industries such as biotech and robotics, the data for which are buried in large chemical and machinery manufacturing sectors.

International tourism, strongly tied to arts and culture, is an especially important source of export earnings. Visitors to the US spend much of their time and money visiting unique and prestigious cultural sites and enjoying live performances. A place without a distinctive cultural aura is much less apt to land on visitors' itineraries than those with such amenities. There is no easy way of accounting for this economic impact, beyond affirming that tourism, a form of direct participatory experience, is one of the world's largest industries and is closely tied to creative destinations.

Arts and culture's economic contribution cannot be measured in exports alone or tourists brought into the community. As noted above, many small towns, aging suburbs, and deteriorating city neighborhoods have revitalized their economies by expanding arts and cultural services that offer residents opportunities to spend their discretionary income locally. Local cultural opportunities also invite people to participate actively as amateur musicians, dancers, costume-makers, actors, and writers, deepening appreciation for artistic expertise and increasing their patronage of professional artists and arts organizations. When you realize how hard it is to play a guitar well or sculpt in stone, your desire to hear or see an accomplished artist soars. And the more residents make art, the more likely they are to become creative entrepreneurs. This observation brings us back to the project of creative placemaking. ▲

IV. CHALLENGES FOR CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

In this difficult Great Recession era, creative placemaking has paradoxically quickened. From small cities on the Plains to inner-ring suburbs to communities with vacated industrial structures, initiatives are bubbling up, often led by unlikely partners. They face considerable obstacles.

Many have become discouraged. Others have been slowed down or face growing pains. We found that many of the most successful efforts had incubation periods of one to two decades or more: historic Hollywood, Cleveland's Gordon Square, San José's ZERO1, Fond du Lac's Min No Aya Win complex, Chicago's After School Matters, and Providence's waterfront and industrial area arts revitalization.

In our research, we asked leaders of successful efforts about challenges they faced, how they dealt with them, and what lessons they learned. We found difficulties with the following: creating partnerships, overcoming skepticism on the part of communities and public leaders, assembling adequate financing, clearing regulatory hurdles, ensuring maintenance and sustainability, avoiding displacement and gentrification, documenting progress, and developing performance metrics. These insights are essential to informing policy and helping other communities.

The external environment has not been welcoming. State and local public budgets are shrinking. Banks and developers are risk-averse. Philanthropists and arts organizations have experienced asset implosion and a fall-off in contributed income. Turf walls can be high between agencies—most housing and workforce development programs are not tailored for self-employed artists or small 501(c)(3)s, and zoning ordinances forbid artist-nurturing live/work spaces. The baffling architecture of federal programs complicates matters. Schools, financially pressed, are cutting arts programs. Yet in the pathbreaking cases summarized in our Appendix, and in many other places across the country, placemakers have succeeded. In this section, we summarize the challenges; in the next, we analyze the components that successful cases collectively demonstrate.

CHALLENGES FOR CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

- Forging and sustaining partnerships
- Countering community skepticism
- Assembling adequate financing
- Clearing regulatory hurdles
- Ensuring maintenance and sustainability
- Avoiding displacement and gentrification
- Developing metrics for performance and evaluation

FORGING AND SUSTAINING PARTNERSHIPS

Partnerships, as we show below, are central to successful creative placemaking. Yet many placemaking entrepreneurs articulated the challenges in forging them. In many cases, building and maintaining partnerships have delayed projects and cut into the time that can be spent on programming. At Chicago's After School Matters, a Chicago first lady and department of cultural affairs commissioner teamed up to animate a vacant lot with a new program apprenticing youth to working artists. Portland's TriMet public art staff had to earn the trust of transit engineers and minority community leaders, each with very different concerns. The three non-profit initiators of Cleveland's Gordon Square Arts District, each with his/her own organizations to run and raise funds for, spend about a third of their time on the District effort. Partnering, many leaders reflect, requires listening, accommodating others' agendas and timelines, sharing information, and teaching each other skills. It also requires knowing when to abandon unfruitful or conflict-ridden relationships that are impeding progress.

COUNTERING COMMUNITY SKEPTICISM

Some creative placemaking initiatives confront community skepticism that makes it harder to earn public endorsement and resources. Artists who initiated Arnaudville's transformation only gradually earned buy-in from town leaders, slowing the pace of their efforts. Art forms, organizations, and neighborhoods that feel left out may complain of inequity and oppose public support, an ongoing challenge for Philadelphia's Mural Arts program and Seattle City of Music. In some cases, the concept itself escapes people. San José's ZERO1 organizers see their toughest challenge as convincing residents and tourists that melding arts with technology can serve as a powerful economic and urban strategy for the City.

ASSEMBLING ADEQUATE FINANCING

Nearly every group of placemaking initiators described daunting fundraising challenges. Both Artspace Buffalo Lofts and Cleveland's Gordon Square Arts District required sustained campaigns that knocked on many doors across all sectors to raise funds. Artspace raised rehabilitation and purchase funds from 19 different grantors and lenders. The relatively small size of many initiators compounds the problem. Large philanthropic organizations and wealthy individuals are often generous supporters of a region's largest arts organizations. One of Gordon Square's partners explained, "When we were separate small organizations, we couldn't do capital campaigns. We don't have wealthy donors on our staffs. Together, we've done great with funders and government." But it has taken years, and the funding for the two remaining theaters has not been fully raised.

CLEARING REGULATORY HURDLES

It isn't always about money. Regulatory regimes also pose hurdles for arts and culture-originating projects. Many cities have zoning codes that forbid the mixing of residential with commercial and industrial uses, preculding artists live/work housing.[24] In Buffalo, Artspace faced problematic state agency design standards. Using new concepts in traffic calming, the Gordon Square partners fought the Ohio Department of Transportation for two years before winning its bid to narrow its main street, Detroit Avenue, a state highway. Seattle's City of Music initiative had its roots in live music venues' problems with public safety and anti-music ordinances. In these and other cases, placemakers had to devote time, thought, and political capital to changing regulatory regimes.

ENSURING MAINTENANCE AND SUSTAINABILITY

Maintaining space, streetscapes, and artwork and sustaining programming pose big challenges. Often it is easier to garner private sector, public sector, and philanthropic support for money to build or renovate buildings than it is to convince the same parties to provide maintenance and operating support over the long run. American cities are riddled with over-sized infrastructure projects that later become white elephants. Outdoor murals in many cities pose preservation problems. Portland's TriMet is already thinking through the durability of the art in its transit stations. Building these concerns into an initiative's design is advisable.

AVOIDING DISPLACEMENT AND GENTRIFICATION

Arts-initiated revitalization can set off gentrification pressures that displace current residents and small businesses, including non-profit arts organizations.[25] In other words, they may be too successful. In Kentucky, Paducah's Lowertown now faces a dwindling stock of properties available for the artist relocation program as well as greater residential demand from non-artists. In the absence of deed restrictions that encourage Paducah's relocated artists to sell their homes to other artists rather than the highest bidder, the district may lose its artistic integrity. Hollywood Boulevard's rejuvenation prompted at least one small theater group to decamp for other city locations, and endangered other arts groups. Low income and minority residents are sometimes at risk from creative revitalization.

There are, however, creative ways to guard against displacement or respond to it. In the Hollywood case, the City's Community Redevelopment Agency responded with an innovative Arts Retention Program. To keep them affordable and committed to artists, non-profit developer Artspace Projects commits to owning and managing the artist live/work and studio buildings that it builds and renovates. Land banking and community land trust have been used in other locales to preserve arts and cultural renovations.[26]

DEVELOPING METRICS FOR PERFORMANCE AND EVALUATION

As creative placemaking efforts succeed and get smarter, advocates and funders are beginning to desire and demand documentation of progress and measures of success. They want to be able to demonstrate outcomes to funders, public officials, and community members, often prerequisites for future support and new projects. They want to know: What is the impact on artists? On the surrounding arts community? On local businesses? On residents of the neighborhood? On property values, tax revenues, and public service demand? On local quality of life? On civic engagement? Is the project worth what we spent on it? Is it superior to alternatives that might have used the same resources?

It is quite difficult to determine the precise impacts of a localized intervention, because so many other things are simultaneously influencing the environment. Surprisingly, there are almost no good studies of other types of urban interventions such as stadiums or public housing. Impact analyses are often written as advocacy documents before the fact, but their data are hypothetical. However, recent pioneering evaluation studies have developed and applied methodologies for showing the impact of arts and cultural placemaking. Two that deserve mention are economist Stephen Sheppard's documentation of the impact of museums and other arts spaces on neighborhood property values and social networks, and urban planner Anne Gadwa's multi-faceted study of several artist live/work buildings on artists, arts communities, neighborhoods, and businesses.[27] These efforts demonstrate that it is possible to evaluate and provide metrics, and there is likely to be a surge in good scholarship on this front. ▲

V. COMPONENTS OF SUCCESSFUL PLACEMAKING INITIATIVES

In thousands of state and local laboratories, arts and cultural catalysts have partnered in economic and community development and revitalization efforts. Pioneering cases from the nation's largest metros to tiny hamlets illuminate how partners came together to produce economic development and livability through the arts.

More than a dozen such cases are profiled in the Appendix. Each possesses a commitment to place and its distinctive qualities; a unique vision; successful partnering; buy-in from public, private, and arts and cultural non-profit sectors; and an ability to cross boundaries to leverage support and funds from other functional agencies (transportation, housing, environmental, parks and recreation, workforce development, small business) and various levels of government. All cases have demonstrated concrete outcomes. Many others were identified in a nationwide scan. Those showcased also satisfy geographical, diversity, and size criteria.

Synthesizing across the in-depth case studies, we identify six components that distinguish successful place-based arts and cultural revitalization. Success means that the initiatives produce gains in livability and sustainability as well as new jobs and economic activity, and do so in an equitable and participatory way. The components suggest a new policy vision at all levels of government where agencies join forces across functional missions (e.g., economic development, environmental protection, arts, and culture) to foster successful initiatives, evaluate them, and disseminate the results.

CREATIVE INITIATORS

Generally, one person or a small team originates a creative placemaking vision. The individuals most responsible for sparking arts development and revitalization efforts come from a surprising range of backgrounds.

Private sector actors sometimes start the process. For instance, a Silicon Valley executive first envisioned marrying the region's technological prowess to its underdeveloped artistic talent in creating the youthful and internationally respected 01SJ Biennial.

Artists, alone or with others, often lead creative placemaking. For instance, painter George Marks envisioned the revitalization of Arnaudville, Louisiana, as a haven for artists and performers, drawing tourists and new residents. In Seattle, a group of disgruntled musicians formed a Joint Artists Musicians Political Action Committee to challenge the City's antagonism to live music and went on to provide ideas and energy for the Seattle City of Music Initiative.

Creative initiators are found in the public sector, too, not always in cultural affairs agencies. Lois Weisberg, Commissioner of Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs, animated a vacant downtown lot with a new program apprenticing youth to working artists. On Fond du Lac's Ojibwe reservation, Social Service Director Phil Norrgard wanted to infuse his multi-building complex with contemporary Ojibwe art, because art is central to healing. In the process, his tribal agency has been a substantial contributor to Ojibwe artists' visibility and careers.

DESIGNING AROUND DISTINCTIVENESS

In the twentieth century, most places aspired to move up what economists call the urban hierarchy to move from rural to small town to city or metropolis ranking.

In the arts arena, as with sports stadiums and convention centers, this often meant competing to host and expand large art museums, repertory theatres, and performing arts centers. All quite expensive, some of these investments have succeeded, but many have not.[28] Over the past two decades, city and town leaders have intentionally sought a distinctive brand through a bundle of activities that will draw and retain residents and visitors.[29] In our survey of arts-based revitalization, we found that most successful projects reach for this quality of distinctiveness. They build on existing expertise and characteristics of place.

As reflected in their urban layout and architecture, some communities have built their initiatives around unique local economic and social history. Buffalo, Cleveland, Providence, and Paducah are all older industrial cities that first blossomed when water-based trade was dominant. Built along rivers and lakeshores, they possess commercial, industrial, and residential structures with architectural and historic merit. In each of these cities, coalitions of artists, city officials, real estate developers, banks, and philanthropists worked to recreate attractive work and living spaces in emptied structures, taking advantage of shorelines and preserving the individual character of buildings. Providence's famous WaterFire® event uses the river as an artery connecting various sites. Many other American communities have used vintage architecture and land uses as stages for arts-infused revitalization.

Some cities have built their arts initiatives around a characteristic local culture practice or industry. Artist initiators in Louisiana's Arnaudville embraced the town's Cajun heritage. Hollywood Boulevard redevelopers restored the historic downtown of the movie industry, making it again the destination where visitors can stroll along the Walk of Fame with its bronze star plaques embedded underfoot. Fond du Lac's Min No Aya Win Center sought to increase visibility (and incomes) of Ojibwe artists by commissioning and purchasing their work while transforming the Band's buildings into places of healing and community identity. Not all such cultural initiatives look backward. Seattle City of Music began with the recognition that Grunge music had put the City on the map as a destination for young people. San José's ZERO1 directly addresses Silicon Valley's lopsided concentration of innovative scientists and engineers and under-representation of artists, seeking to link these creative occupations to spur new ideas and animate the City.

Some cities have crafted their arts initiatives around notable problems, making the proverbial lemonade out of lemons. Phoenix, one of the nation's most sprawling and auto-dependent metros, fastened on a large visual arts program to adorn its many miles of sound barrier-lined freeways. Philadelphia's Mural Arts tackled graffiti-ridden areas by training young people to create neighborhood-reflecting beauty.

MOBILIZING PUBLIC WILL

Good placemaking ideas generally don't become reality without strong public sector support. In some instances mayors, city council members, and responsive agency staffers avidly embraced initiatives.

In others, proposed projects are met with local government indifference, hostility, and/or budgetary crises. In some cases, mobilized citizens make a difference through advocacy and action, including the insertion of arts and cultural agendas into electoral politics.

Mayors, especially in cities with strong mayoral systems, have often been enthusiastic and effective supporters. In Buffalo, Mayor Anthony Masiello assigned a senior staff person to work strenuously on an initiative to transform an abandoned auto plant into artist housing. In cities with weak mayor/strong council systems, a single councilmember may deliver public will. Cleveland City councilmember Matt Zone helped incubate the Gordon Square Arts District, committing Community Development Block Grant monies, negotiating $3 million in public financing, and attending every planning and team meeting. In some cases, politicians commit during election season. Newly elected Mayor Greg Nickels christened Seattle City of Music after musicians organized to support his campaign. Although regime change may sometimes derail creative placemaking initiatives, some cities have been able to sustain them. Providence's revival as an arts and cultural city owes much to a string of Mayor advocates.

Entrepreneurial efforts on the part of key City staffers often mobilize public will. In San José, Chief Strategist Kim Walesh, lodged in the Office of Economic Development, successfully won City Council and Mayoral support for new arts facilities, festivals like

Left Coast Live and 01SJ, and the City's pioneering Creative Entrepreneur Project.

City government commitment is also essential for accessing state and federal resources. In case after case, local politicians and city staff helped move their town's revitalization plan forward by proposing that public art be incorporated in state and federally funded roadway and transit projects, that state capital bonding be used to restore historic theaters, or that historic preservation and Low-Income Housing Tax Credits be offered for rehabbed artist housing.

THE REINVESTMENT FUND DISCOVERS ARTS AND CULTURE'S POTENTIAL

The Reinvestment Fund (TRF) has been financing urban real estate projects and businesses in the Mid-Atlantic for twenty-five years. TRF has substantial portfolios in affordable housing, commercial real estate, and charter schools. While the Fund had always provided debt financing to local arts and cultural facilities, it was not until recently that TRF's President and CEO, Jeremy Nowak, began to understand the power of arts and culture as catalysts for neighborhood change. He read the work of University of Pennsylvania scholars Mark Stern and Susan Seifert documenting the long-term stabilization and enlivening of neighborhoods that enjoy concentrations of artists and arts activities.[30] In fact, their work had made use of some of TRF's urban market indicators to track the relationship between such things as cultural participation and real estate values. "Their work was like a light bulb shining on a big asset right under my nose," Nowak is fond of saying. "And the self-organizing dimension of so much cultural activity made it clear to me that we had always underestimated its value."

The Reinvestment Fund had never looked systematically at cultural assets as a factor in community change. They had intuitively supported it, as in their involvement with Crane Arts, a huge wedge-shaped Philadelphia plumbing warehouse they had helped convert into artist studios and suites. In 2007, Nowak wrote a remarkable brief, *Creativity and Neighborhood Development*, in which he lays out a framework for placemaking, addresses the development impact of community arts and culture, and reviews the types of flexible investments that can be employed.[31] Since then, TRF has become more focused on the arts: supporting the redevelopment of sections of Orange, New Jersey, in partnership with HANDS, a non-profit community development organization that is converting historic properties into new arts and performing arts facilities; financing the renovation of the Queen Theatre in Wilmington, Delaware, which will anchor an emerging arts community; and building, in partnership with Homes For America, the new City Arts Building, in the Station North section of Baltimore.

GARNERING PRIVATE SECTOR SUPPORT

Private sector developers, lenders, sponsors, philanthropists, and local arts businesses have in most cases been important facilitators of arts and culture-led revitalization.

Where investments in arts space are involved, local developers and banks are important partners. Possessing considerable knowledge about the real estate market and neighborhood economy, they have resources to invest and can earn a return on development. Paducah's Artist Relocation Program, Cleveland's Gordon Square Arts District, and Providence's sustained arts-based revitalization all have benefited from the support of local banks and developers.

Cultural industry firms often sponsor or contribute to citywide creative initiatives because they see future benefits to productivity and workforce retention. PDI/Dreamworks founder Richard Chuang served on San José's Creative Entrepreneur Project Steering Committee and gave the keynote address at its Artist Town Hall. Because they see future new product potential in ZERO1's fusion of art with technology, Silicon Valley high tech companies supply 30% of its budget.

Private sector philanthropists, including corporate and family foundations and individuals, are often backers of arts-based revitalization, because they see the potential to generate significant benefits for neighborhoods, cultural industries, and entire regions. Artspace Buffalo Lofts' artist housing finance package relied on corporate philanthropists, and San José's ZERO1 has recruited high tech corporate sponsors.

Commercial art galleries, theaters, music presenters, and music venues have been significant participants in cultural revitalization at both neighborhood and city scale. Music presenter and venue owner Chris Esparza's Giant Creative Services and two commercial art gallery owners made substantial contributions to San José's Creative Entrepreneur Project.

SECURING ARTS COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Arts-related revitalization cannot take place without significant input of time, talent, and financial commitment on the part of the arts community.

Sometimes a new or rehabbed large arts facility can prompt downtown rejuvenation, as has San Francisco's Yerba Buena Center or Grand Forks, North Dakota's Empire Theatre. But in creative placemaking, it is more often smaller and unusual arts entrepreneurs that lead the effort.

Theaters provide a good example. In Cleveland, two smaller theater companies joined the Detroit Shoreway Community Development Corporation in designing and raising funds for an envisioned Gordon Square Arts District. Artist housing is another. Artspace Projects, a non-profit real estate developer, has rehabilitated or constructed more than twenty buildings around the United States as artist live/work, studio, and presentation space. An arts-dedicated non-profit, its commitment to managing artists space post-production to keep it affordable and dedicated to the arts has helped secure public sector and philanthropic support.

Artist service organizations can be key partners in creative placemaking. Dedicated to helping artists become good business people, California's Center for Cultural Innovation was at the forefront in San José's Creative Entrepreneur Project. Ethnic arts organizations have also played lead roles. Movimiento de Arte y Cultura Latino Americana (MACLA) created a visual arts center that turned around its San José neighborhood.[32] Educational institutions with strong arts departments can help revitalize a city's cultural industries: in Los Angeles, Otis College of Art and Design commissioned reports on the Arts and Cultural Economy of Los Angeles.[33] These and many other organizations contribute staff time, sponsorships, and portions of their hard-earned revenues to placemaking projects.

BUILDING PARTNERSHIPS

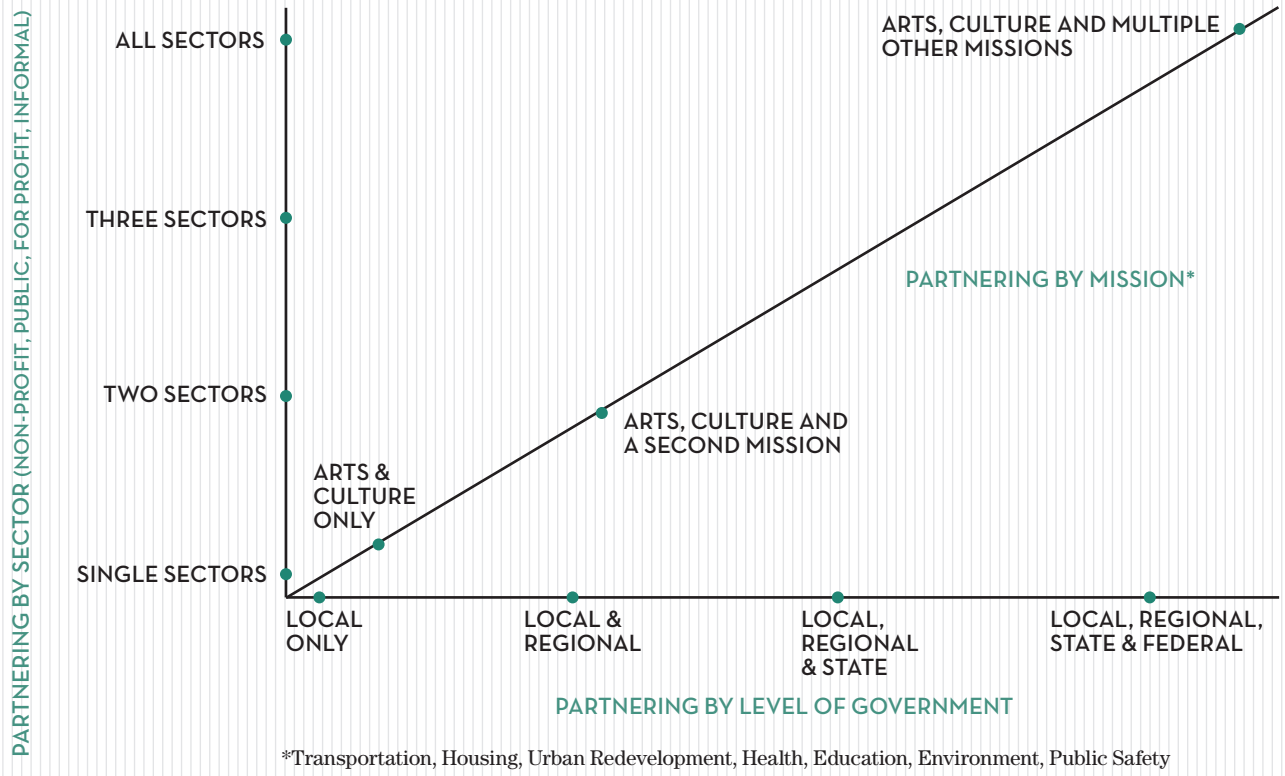
Initiators, politicians, city staffers, businesses, philanthropists, and arts organizations are all actors in successful arts-based revitalization efforts.

But it is the partnerships forged among them, and with state and federal government agencies, that have proved central to successful outcomes. Partnering can be challenging, as shown above. But its prevalence confirms that it is a crucial component of creative placemaking.

Partners bring different configurations of capability and knowledge to the creative placemaking table. A non-exhaustive account includes the following. Arts and cultural organizations and cultural industries offer visual, musical, spatial and design skills, and innovative solutions to place-based problems. Artists bring their entrepreneurial talents, motivation, comfort with risk-taking, and considerable formal education. Community development organizations possess local intelligence, knowledge of zoning and other local government practices, financing experience, a network of local stakeholders, and knowledge of what works at the grassroots level. Developers and builders are steeped in area market intelligence and offer land and structural expertise as well as development skills. Mayors, governors, city council members and legislators understand public priorities intimately, have problem-solving and negotiating skills, the power of the bully pulpit and to set agendas, and to allocate public resources. Banks and financial institutions control financial resources and possess regional market savvy. Foundations also make financial commitments and they are important shapers of cultural policy and economic development. Public sector leaders and staff wield legal and mission know-how as well as planning, process, and evaluation skills across agencies and levels of government.

Partnerships operate along three axes: cross-agency, cross-sector, and intergovernmental (**Figure 2**). Single agency to multi-agency partnerships within a single tier of government form one important axis (shown here as the diagonal axis). Historically, most American city cultural affairs offices operated independently of other city agencies and, with small budgets, often focused narrowly on public art. In recent years, in cities like San José and Minneapolis, cultural affairs offices have merged with economic and community development agencies, increasing their leverage. In other cities, cultural affairs leaders have approached and forged informal or project-based partnerships with other City agencies that have greatly amplified their reach. For instance, the City of San José's Creative Entrepreneur initiative, led by the Office of Cultural Affairs, earned partners in the City's housing, planning, and transportation departments, as well as others in the economic development agency in which it was embedded. In another case, Philadelphia's Mural Arts program, embraced by the City's Mayor, won enduring support from the City's

FIGURE 2.
AXES OF PARTNERSHIP: SECTOR, MISSION, LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT



*Transportation, Housing, Urban Redevelopment, Health, Education, Environment, Public Safety

Departments of Transportation, Streets, and Behavioral Health. In each case, agency partners either fund or offer in-kind contributions (space, staffing, equipment) to the Citywide arts initiative.

Alliances across public, commercial, non-profit, and community sectors form a second axis for creative partnering (shown in Figure 2 as the vertical axis). Organizations in each operate quite differently, constrained by legal and governance systems.[34] Sometimes conflicting agendas threaten the entire effort. It requires time, understanding, and accommodation for a non-profit arts group to work with a for-profit developer, a bank, one or more public sector agencies beholden to an elected city council, and an informal (i.e. unincorporated) community group that has no executive director and not much of a budget. Regardless of who initiates creative placemaking, potential partners must find the opportunities where interests, missions, and resources dovetail. In the restoration of historic Hollywood Boulevard, for example, the local Chamber of Commerce and private developers figured out how to work with Los Angeles' Community Redevelopment Agency, and the latter successfully responded to the neighborhood's small non-profit arts organizations threatened by gentrification.

Inter-government partnerships form a third axis. State and federal agencies have been important partners in place-based arts and cultural revitalization. Sometimes an initial funding stream helps ensure a project's incubation. Chicago launched its gallery37 with federal Job Training Partnership Act funds. Artspace Buffalo Lofts won state and federal tax credits and a HUD grant, crucial for the project's success. In other cases, state and federal support has been an add-on after initial funding. Fond du Lac has been able to use federal Bureau of Indian Affairs building maintenance funds to help purchase Ojibwe artwork for its social services and health-care complex.

Although the challenges are remarkable, many initiators and advocates of creative placemaking succeed in forging partnerships along each of these axes, often simultaneously. Many learn by doing; some learn by watching the innovations of counterparts in other places with similar circumstances. However, many local initiators design and pursue projects without the benefit of lessons from such counterparts. An intergovernmental creative placemaking policy could disseminate such learning. The case studies in the Appendix identify a range of best practices that can serve as initial guideposts. But more analyses are required to identify basic building blocks and a template that can serve a wide variety of communities. ▲

VI. CONCLUSION: TOWARD A CREATIVE PLACEMAKING POLICY PLATFORM

Growing attention to arts and culture as community creators and cultural industry stimuli parallels thirty years of emerging consciousness about the environment and its significance for livability and economic competitiveness. When Americans broadly first began to understand the negative consequences of environmental degradation in the 1970s, they organized to experiment with new forms of remediation and stewardship, winning significant changes in policy, law, and government organization.

Similarly, in the 1990s, and even earlier in some communities, creative initiators began to use arts and culture as a way of stemming industrial decline and job and resident outmigration, reusing vacated land, buildings, and infrastructure in new ways that enliven neighborhoods and whole regions while incubating creative businesses. But the policy frameworks and networking around creative placemaking have yet to be built.

The research reported here indicates that a new policy platform could link creative actors from multiple sectors, local agency missions, and levels of government in a visible and concerted initiative to encourage creative placemaking and cultural industry innovation. This effort can begin with dissemination of local pathbreaking models such as those we have documented here: how leaders initiated, structured, and funded their efforts, and the hard evidence on outcomes. Many more case studies could be done and sifted through to help policymakers understand the on-the-ground processes that seem to work best and how these are conditioned by external circumstances (size of place, industry structure, local human capital, health of the overall economy). Failed initiatives as well as successful ones should be examined.

In our research effort, we faced real challenges finding data that fully captured cultural industry dimensions and performance. Similarly, it proved difficult to locate data that revealed the impact of creative placemaking on resident and business income, livability, and city government revenues and services. While we were able to document the composition and sum of expenditures on a placemaking initiative, it proved more difficult to determine the costs and benefits of that initiative compared to other uses of the same human energy and financial resources. These are not insoluble problems: better research and evaluation could be conducted retrospectively, as we have here. Furthermore, an evaluation component could be built into new efforts as a condition of public sector funding or regulatory accommodation. Just as environmental research and evaluation have helped us understand how best to remediate past damage and how to avoid future degradation—and with which technologies and conservation practices—arts and cultural placemaking evaluations will ensure more effective outcomes.

In the absence of any past federal creative placemaking initiative, people in big cities and tiny hamlets have shown the way in literally hundreds of experiments that stretch back twenty years and even longer. They are using arts and culture to animate downtowns and neighborhoods, to stoke their creative industries, to stabilize population and jobs, and to attract new residents and businesses. As the case studies show, such efforts have been strenuous and enduring, encountering tough challenges and redesigning partnerships and strategies to fit their own circumstances. It may take a decade, but we anticipate that creative placemaking/cultural industry initiatives will continue to spread from place to place, state to state, and from local to federal government. ▲

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CASE STUDIES

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INTRODUCTION

In thousands of state and local laboratories, arts and cultural catalysts have partnered in placemaking and cultivating cultural industries. In this Appendix, we profile fourteen unique and pathbreaking cases with demonstrated accomplishments. We chose the case studies from hundreds of possible cases written up by others or widely admired by practitioners, policymakers, and researchers.

For every case that we profile, there are many more that could serve as exemplars. Those showcased are wide-ranging in geographic, diversity, and size dimensions. Our cases also serve as roadmaps for other communities that have begun similar efforts, adapting successful strategies to their own circumstances.

Successful pioneering cases share the same components. Each:

- is rooted in the talents and vision of one or several collaborating initiators
- demonstrates a commitment to a particular place and its distinctive qualities
- mobilizes public will around its vision
- garners private sector business support and buy-in
- enjoys the commitment of the local arts and cultural community
- dovetails initiators' aspirations with those of other partners
- crosses boundaries to leverage support and funds from other functional agencies (transportation, housing, environmental, parks and recreation, workforce development, small business) and levels of government

All have produced gains in livability and sustainability as well as new jobs and/or economic activity. They generally do so in an equitable and participatory way. Initiators faced formidable challenges that often resulted in delays and changes in strategy. The components and lessons learned demonstrate the need for a new policy platform at all levels of government where agencies join forces across functional missions and with private, non-profit, and community partners to foster successful initiatives, evaluate them, and disseminate the results.

Community Developers Partner with Theaters

Cleveland, Ohio's Gordon Square Arts District

Photo © Cleveland Public Theatre

Cleveland Public Theatre, Gordon Square Arts District

Photo © Detroit Shoreway Community Development

Gordon Square Arts District

Under the banner of "The Art of Economic Development," Gordon Square Arts District, a collaboration of three non-profits, is midway through a $30 million revitalization that will generate half-a-billion in economic development in an inner city Cleveland, Ohio neighborhood.

Led by a community development corporation, the team is raising funds from public and philanthropic sources to renovate two theaters and build a new home for a third. A dazzling artist-created streetscape now serves as the District's central spine. The District has revitalized the area's commercial core with arts offerings and new retail businesses while preserving and adding low-income housing units.

The non-profit organizations' core team all own and/or operate theaters. The 37-year-old Detroit Shoreway Community Development Corporation (DSCDC) bought Gordon Square Arcade and its historic Capitol Theatre in 1979, averting demolition. The 27-year-old Cleveland Public Theatre purchased a condemned theater nearby that opened in 2003 but without heat or air conditioning. Near West, a musical theatre company founded in the 1970s to give local kids an alternative to life on the streets, operates on the third floor of an old church and hopes to build anew. Cleveland's major arts institutions are clustered on the city's East Side, each large enough to lobby independently for funding. But the West Side theater groups were treated as small potatoes by funders and banks alike until they began to work together under the rubric of the Gordon Square Arts District in 2002.

The arts-based makeover took more than ten years to gel. Funds from the Local Initiative Support Corporation enabled an arts master plan in the late 1990s. The City of Cleveland funded a market and economic feasibility study. Elected in 2002, City Councilmember Matt Zone negotiated $3 million in public financing and attended every planning and team meeting. By 2008 the partners had assembled enough public and private funding to complete its Detroit Avenue Streetscape, linking the theaters and generating new and rehabbed businesses, homes, restaurants, and shops.

Artwork has been central to the Gordon Square vision. The team commissioned environmental artist Susie Frazier Mueller to work with developers and architects in designing the streetscape and leveraged her $6,000 stipend into $250,000 worth of public art elements along the Avenue. The half-mile stretch includes backless, curved, and under-lit amoeba-like benches and irregular laser-cut crosswalks—imaginative reflections of the topography of Lake Erie.

The partnership has been extraordinarily entrepreneurial in securing financial support (see box). It sought and won funding from the City of Cleveland, county, regional, state, and federal programs; from non-profits like LISC and the statewide Finance Fund; from the Cleveland and Gund Foundations, major philanthropies; and from private donors and the City's public utility.

By October of 2009, half of the Gordon Square plan had become reality. The Capitol Theatre opened its doors, streetscape

improvements on Detroit Avenue stretched from West 58th to West 73rd, and parking lots had been created and improved. In phase one of its renovations, the Cleveland Public Theatre replaced seven roofs, funded in part by a State of Ohio capital grant, and Near West is ready to build its new performance center, fronted by a public plaza.

Economic development impacts have been a major rationale for the Gordon Square Arts District funding, and the results to date are heartening. An economic impact study found that 245 construction jobs were funded annually over the 2004-2009 period with 310 forecast for each of the next three years. In the first full year of operations, 2013, the analysis expects 643 new non-transient jobs net of those displaced, at least 10% of them in arts, design, and architecture with most of the rest in retail, restaurants and clubs. The team anticipates 100,000 theatre-goers a year once all three theatres are up and running.

For Gordon Square Arts District leaders, cobbling together the funding has been the biggest challenge. "When we were separate small organizations,' reflects Ramsey, "we couldn't do capital campaigns. We don't have wealthy donors on our staffs. Together, we've done great with funders and government, though it has made it tougher on our individual fund-raising efforts." He estimates that a third of each organization's staff time goes into the Arts District effort. The partners also had to fight with the Ohio Department of Transportation for two years for approval to narrow Detroit Avenue, a state highway. Using the ideas of traffic calming, the team eventually won permission.

GORDON SQUARE ARTS DISTRICT, CLEVELAND, SOURCES OF FUNDING, 1997-PRESENT

SOURCE OF FUNDS, LOANS, IN-KIND CONTRIBUTIONS	CONTRIBUTIONS, LOANS ($)
PLANNING, MARKETING, FEASIBILITY STUDIES	
LOCAL INITIATIVE SUPPORT CORPORATION	50,000
CITY OF CLEVELAND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANTS	25,000
STREETSCAPE AND ARTS DISTRICT	
NEIGHBORHOOD PROGRESS, INC.	6,000
CITY OF CLEVELAND % FOR THE ARTS	1,900,000
NORTHEAST OHIO AREA COORDINATING AGENCY	1,500,000
GREATER CLEVELAND REGIONAL TRANSIT AUTHORITY	25,000
GUND FOUNDATION	1,200,000
CLEVELAND PUBLIC POWER	IN-KIND WIRING
	DONATIONS
THEATRE RENOVATIONS	
STATE OF OHIO CAPITAL GRANT CAPITOL, PUBLIC THEATRES	1,900,000
CUYAHOGA COUNTY CAPITAL GRANT CAPITOL THEATRE	360,000
CITY OF CLEVELAND LOAN CAPITOL THEATRE 30 YEARS AT 2%	1,500,000
CLEVELAND FOUNDATION CAPITAL THEATRE CAPITAL GRANT	500,000
PHILANTHROPIC CONTRIBUTIONS, CLEVELAND PUBLIC, NEAR WEST THEATRES	2,200,000
NEW MARKET, FEDERAL AND STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION TAX CREDITS	4,000,000
FINANCE FUND, STATEWIDE CAPITOL THEATRE	120,000

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- A veteran community development corporation (CDC) initiates a decade-plus arts remaking of an inner city commercial corridor.
- Three theaters comprise the distinctive anchor for Gordon Square Arts District, a partnership of the CDC and two theatre companies.
- More than half the $30 million in streetscape and theatre renovations has been lent or granted by public agencies (local, regional, state, federal) and private non-profit foundations, developers, philanthropists, and utility company partners.
- Community development, highway and transit monies complement arts and cultural investments to generate permanent jobs, foster new and expanded businesses, and engage neighborhood youth through drama.

Artists, the Third Leg of the Cultural Stool

Creative Entrepreneur Project, San José, California

Photo © Everett Taasevigen

High n' Low Rider *by Rubén Ortiz-Torres*

Photo courtesy of 1stACT Silicon Valley

Jazz on the Row, Santana Row in San José

The City of San José aspires for its downtown to be Silicon Valley's City Center. Following big public/private investments in arts and cultural venues and non-profit arts organizations, leaders sought to animate the city with cultural happenings and wide-ranging artist involvement.

"The City needed flavor on the street," recalls entrepreneur Chris Esparza, CEO of the for-profit Giant Creative Services, "because it had created beautiful building facades that no one wanted to be in." In early 2008, the City's Office of Economic Development/Cultural Affairs took up the challenge, launching a citywide Creative Entrepreneur Project (CEP) to nurture artists and link them with the region's extraordinary technology community.

The City now celebrates and sustains Valley artists across disciplines with artist business training, professional development scholarships, a web-based resource guide, and commissions for artists on public transportation projects. "As inventors and interpreters of artwork, artists are now celebrated as the backbone of the arts sector, but also as small businesses that make San José 'cool,' attracting talent and in turn economic activity," says Kerry Adams-Hapner, Director of Cultural Affairs.

Over two prior decades, the City had invested heavily in downtown cultural facilities, including the Tech Museum of Innovation, San José Repertory Theatre, San José Museum of Art, and California Theatre, home to Opera San José and Symphony Silicon Valley. The City had also partnered with smaller culturally specific arts groups like Teatro Visión and Movimiento de Arte y Cultura Latino Americana (MACLA), incubating them into medium-sized organizations and anchors for their communities and districts. "But we hadn't explicitly considered how to nurture and support artists, the critical third leg of the stool," recalls the City's Chief Strategist, Kim Walesh.

In addition to animating San José's downtown and neighborhoods, City leaders also dreamed of marrying Silicon Valley's technological prowess to its artistic skills. In 2007, Cultural Affairs manager Lawrence Thoo approached Walesh with the idea of helping artists become more successful commercially. With the non-profit Center for Cultural Innovation, they launched the Creative Entrepreneur Project (CEP). Its high-powered steering committee brought together high tech and arts entrepreneurs, developers and architects, college faculty and board members, and senior City staff from planning, housing, and economic development departments.

CCI conducted a survey of artists in the San José area, presenting results to an Artists' Town Hall.[35] In his keynote, Richard Chuang, co-founder of PDI/Dreamworks, told how doing artwork as a non-English-speaking child saved him from the life of a laborer and explained with dazzling graphics how art, design, and technology fuse in an increasingly visual world. The survey revealed artists' powerful desire to make arts income through bookings, sales, and commissions; find affordable workspace; and improve marketing and networking. The recommendations prompted City-funded Business of Art courses, a Creative Capacity Fund for artist training and scholarships, an on-line small and creative business resource guide, and a creative business component in its workforce development program.[36]

CEP followup is a City partnership with individuals and organizations, public and private. After their Business of Art training, a group of the artists formed the Silicon Valley Artist Collaborative, building a website, organizing exhibitions, and convening regularly. The non-profit Latino arts organization MACLA is conducting pre-development studies on live/work and workspace for artists. The ZERO1 biennial (see profile) leads the region's art and technology fusion. Climate Clock, a major public art initiative, will use information and measurement technologies to gather and display climate change data in San José's Diridon Station, where commuter trains, fast rail, light rail, and busses converge. To fund it, the City pools its percent for art dollars with San José State University resources, private investments, a submitted National Science Foundation proposal, and eventually, federal Percent for Art funding, for high-speed rail.

CEP has played an important role in animating San José's redeveloped downtown. Because live music takes place chiefly in commercial venues, the City's Cultural Affairs staff and Arts Commissions had historically not seen live music as part of their purview. 1stACT Silicon Valley, a non-profit launched in 2008 by Valley powerbrokers, is now working with the City to re-infuse the urban core with music. A new live music festival, Left Coast Live, organized by CEP steering committee member Chris Esparza, is now a six-day, 100-band event that matches innovative live music with 35 downtown venues.

The Creative Entrepreneur Project is singular for its high-level economic development patronage, bridges built with other city departments, and entrepreneurial partnerships with leaders in high tech, downtown business, education, non-profit arts, diverse communities, and actors outside the region. The CEP sends a signal to the artist community that the city values their role, understands their contributions to placemaking, and sees the potential in greater crossover between arts and technology.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- An Office of Cultural Affairs staffer proposes an artist-focused initiative to complement City investments in arts facilities and cultural organizations.
- The City builds a diverse steering committee and partners with the non-profit Center for Cultural Innovation to survey artists, report back to them in an Artists' Town Hall, and make recommendations.
- Implementation is a joint project of the City, private sector developers, colleges, arts organizations, and cultural entrepreneurs.
- City cross-agency partnerships provide artist business training, professional development scholarships, a web-based resource guide, and commissions for artists on public transportation and other public art projects.
- The CEP has animated the City's redeveloped downtown with new artist-initiated festivals, music venues, and art fairs.

After Autos … Artists

Artspace Buffalo Lofts, Buffalo, New York

Buffalo ends up near the bottom of most city rankings. But Richard Florida saw something in Buffalo and bucked that trend in his *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Wanting to prove the point, politicians across party lines including Buffalo's mayor and a New York governor and US senator supported Artspace Buffalo Lofts, a now vibrant artist community carved out of a vacant automobile factory.

Photo © Monika Parlikova Byrne, 2008

Artspace Buffalo Lofts

Not only did Buffalo Lofts create new space for artists, but it also began to break down historic social divides and trigger an economic revival in one of Buffalo's most challenged neighborhoods.

East of Main Street—neglected, unproven, poor. City leadership took a gamble that locating an artist live-work development just past the Main Street dividing line might help erase the barrier and draw dollars and confidence east. Sixty low-income artists and their families now reside in affordable live-work units carved out of the former Buffalo Electric Vehicle Company building, vacant for over 15 years, and in six new fourplexes built behind the factory. Within a few months of opening, five hundred names were on the waitlist. At Coe Place, adjacent to the building and east of Main, new property owners have breathed life into vacant, dilapidated buildings. They frequently attend art openings at the two-story community gallery operated by Artspace Buffalo Lofts residents.

Strong political backing, the acumen of an experienced artist space developer, an outpouring of community and arts support, and a specific financing instrument—Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC)—built Artspace Buffalo Lofts. An $11 million tax credit award, the largest single such New York State outlay for 2006, provided the lion's share of the $17.6 million development costs. A public subsidy for leveraging private sector dollars, Low-

Income Housing Tax Credits give private investors federal tax credits for their equity investments in affordable housing. Buffalo Lofts earned both State and Federal tax credits, significantly expanding the equity available to the project and opening it up to individuals earning only 30% of area median income. Buffalo's Mayor Masiello took sizable political risks for the project. Masiello conveyed to the State's Department of Housing and Community Renewal that Artspace Buffalo Lofts was his administration's top LIHTC priority. He also guaranteed the developer, Artspace Projects, 24/7 access to Eva Hassett, his chief of staff, who provided critical on-the-ground leadership on everything from organizing tours to fundraising to political connections at the state and federal levels.

Senator Hillary Clinton and Governor George Pataki came on board as early supporters, boosting the project's tax credit prospects. Clinton's support helped leverage an additional $250,000 from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. Artspace Projects, a developer of artist spaces with 23 projects under its belt in 17 cities and 12 states, provided its considerable expertise. Artists, arts organizations, and neighborhood and community groups offered their enthusiastic support. Without broad-based community buy-in, the project never would have happened. Phased in incrementally, early artist tenants opened their homes up as often as three times per week for tours to potential funders—fostering a sense of ownership for supporters. Despite Buffalo's economic challenges, Artspace Projects completed Buffalo Lofts in a record 3.5 years thanks to solid cross-sector support and community buy-in.

Artspace and their local partners, however, faced significant hurdles building Artspace Buffalo Lofts. Even with its long history of success nationwide, Artspace had never before secured funding for a project in New York State. Additional challenges ranged from unearthing buried leaking gas tanks that triggered cost overruns, to coaxing the Department of Housing and Community Renewal to apply flexibility in its design standards, to the collaborative development process itself. To amass $17.6 million in development costs, they pulled together loans and grants from 19 different lenders and grantors in the public and private sectors. With 23 different projects in operation around the country, Artspace knew how to piece together funding and support for artist spaces. But more recently, as the tax credit market turned south with the economic recession, it has been forced to try to do more with less with other artist housing developments. Strong local leadership and collaboration across sectors, functional agencies, and governmental levels are becoming even more critical.

Transformative. That's the descriptor Hassett chose to sum up Artspace Buffalo Lofts ... Transformative for the artists and families living in the building, a source of validation for individual artists across Buffalo, a means to breathe new life into a vacant eyesore downtown, a catalyst for surrounding neighborhoods' revitalization, and a way to break down a barrier isolating a marginalized part of town.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- A Buffalo Mayor initiates the conversion of a long-vacant auto factory into sixty low-income artist family housing units and six new fourplexes in a challenged neighborhood.
- A non-profit developer of artist housing assembles tools and partners to make it work: state and federal low-income housing tax credits, more flexible state design standards, and $17.6 million in loans and grants from 19 lenders and grantors, public and private.
- Support of artists, arts organizations, and neighborhood and community groups helps move the project to completion in a record 3.5 years.
- The artist live-work development helps erase an old Main Street dividing line, drawing dollars and confidence east.

Unusual Bedfellows Transform the City of Music

Seattle, Washington

Thanks to an unlikely coalition, Seattle has shed its repressive mid-1990s anti-dance ordinances and poster-bans and dubbed itself "City of Music." Under an economic development mantle, stakeholders including mayors, grunge rock celebrities, and for-profit and non-profit producers, presenters, and venues, together build on Seattle's music legacy. In the process they cement its reputation as a great place to live.

Photo courtesy of City of Seattle

Sasquatch! Music Festival

Seattle's Office of Film + Music, an anomaly among U.S. cities, champions the three-part City of Music initiative—City of Musicians, City of Live Music, and City of Music Business. Strategies range from embracing outdoor festivals, a wealth of different music venues, and business retention efforts for the music business industry writ large to bolstering K-12 music education and musician homeownership programs. In year two of the 12-year initiative, musicians now have access to affordable health care at a pay-what-you-can musicians' clinic. In 2009, live music venues earned a special exemption from Seattle's 5% tax on admissions fees, contributing to a climate in which two new venues opened, in stark contrast to 2008 when six venues closed.

It took political and legal action by the city's musicians, but politicians finally got the wake-up call that music in Seattle is a $1.2 billion industry deserving of support. With wealth and fame from the grunge explosion, Nirvana bassist Krist Novoselic founded JAMPAC (Joint Artists and Musicians Political Action Committee) in 1995, which successfully fought off local anti-music ordinances. Gradually, JAMPAC found politicians sympathetic to their

cause, until "What will you do for music?" became a major campaign platform issue.

Taking office in 2002, pro-music Mayor Gregory Nickels commissioned two economic impact studies by University of Washington's William Beyers (2004 and 2008).[37] The 2008 study revealed that music created 20,193 jobs in the region, with $2.2 billion in sales and $840 million in earnings, and generated $148 million in tax revenues in King County. Beyers' music industry studies broke new ground by not restricting their purview to the non-profit music sphere, as so many arts studies do. They scaled the silos between sectors, showing the full range of enterprises that supply the music sector (instrument makers, composers, music teachers, equipment retailers, recording studios) and included clubs and symphony halls together as live venues. Not only did the studies reveal the music industry's economic heft, they also empowered the broad swath of players within Seattle's music industry to see themselves as a coalition.

Office of Film + Music Director, James Keblas, took up the challenge of nurturing the music industry, working hard to ensure that a wide array of stakeholders continue to craft and support the City of Music Initiative. Seattle's Office of Arts and Culture spearheads K-12 music education efforts. Sub Pop Records invests in youth through their annual Loser Scholarship, which offers college scholarship money to high school seniors involved in music or other arts. Non-profit arts organizations helped coordinate the musicians' health clinic. Aside from a modest discretionary budget and salaries for two dedicated staff positions, the private sector funds most City of Music Initiative costs. When the Office of Film + Music promotes the Seattle scene at Austin's South by Southwest festival, for instance, city coffers contribute only a fraction of the expense.

The Seattle Music Initiative has been nimble enough to outlast a mayoral leadership change. But, it still faces challenges, some even from within the arts community. Mayor Michael McGinn made pro-music constituencies even greater promises than did incumbent Nickels, helping ensure his victory over Nickels in November 2009. However, in a city that also hosts a vibrant dance and theater scene, some arts advocates question Seattle's leaders' support for music above other art forms. Government officials counter with economic impact figures and claim that by promoting music, they will whet the public's appetite for other art forms. No other art form has bridged the sectors the way music has. The broad music coalition united, amassed the political capital needed, and the City continues to be responsive to their needs.

Their efforts make Seattle shine on quality of life measures. Seattle frequently tops the list as a place where young people want to move.[38] Talent at Microsoft and teenage DJs at the youth-run Vera Project share the benefits of a vibrant music city, as do individual musicians, symphony conductors, non-profit arts advocates, club owners, and record labels.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Musicians and music entrepreneurs challenge city regulations to demand recognition of the role of music, a $1.2 billion industry, in economic vitality.
- A new mayor mounts a City of Music initiative that nurtures musicians, live music (classical to contemporary), and music businesses.
- By 2008, including multiplier effects, music of all genres generated more than 20,000 jobs, $2.2 billion in sales, and $148 million in King County revenues.

Art – A Rural Community's Newest Crop

Arnaudville, Louisiana

Photo © Tom Pierce, 2009

Weekly fiddle jam

Photo © Lorrae Lantier

Creole musician Joe Hall

Over six years, Arnaudville, population 1,480, remade itself from a small, forgotten community into a rural hub of cultural activity. Led by an artist, a handful of townspeople re-imagined the town's impediments as assets.

By adopting a decentralized, regional approach and tapping into existing talent, they've unearthed a wellspring of community pride. Visitors from all over the world and residents of the region play music at weekly acoustic fiddle jams, speak French at monthly conversation tables, and see bonfires floating down the bayou on flat-bottom boats during the Fire and Water Festival.

A vacant auto store turned artist cooperative, Arnaudville's Town Market Rural Arts Center houses the Deux Bayous Gallery, painter George Marks' studio, NuNu's Café and its Frederick Stage, and the Frederick l'Ecole des Arts (Frederick School). Centered on creative living, the non-profit Frederick School invites the region's residents to share their talents in the culinary, literary, performing, and visual arts, and environmental sustainability. Through an Art in Context program, activity spills past school walls into satellite stages, classrooms, and galleries across the region. Neighboring towns of Grand Coteau, Breaux Bridge, and Sunset host literary festivals and Cajun jams.

As recently as 2005, these activities and platforms did not exist, despite plenty of local talent. When artist George Marks returned to care for his ailing father, he found that old storefronts had been torn down, the bakery had closed, and the former meat market was now a drug house. A successful painter with gallery representation, Marks considered moving to New York, but decided to stay, transforming the old auto store into Town Market.

With friends, Marks wondered whether the factors blamed for Arnaudville's decline could be converted into assets. Off the I-10 and I-49 beaten paths, big box stores and strip malls had bypassed Arnaudville. Straddling St. Landry and St. Martin Parishes, it was a step-child of both. By building on arts, distinctive culture, and tourism, the friends imagined that the Parishes might finally embrace them while preserving their freedom from superstore retail.

Although the Arnaudville experiment started as a grassroots "act first, apologize later" movement, Marks and fellow

organizers worked from sound political instincts and crafted savvy strategies. They reached out to artists who might relocate to the area but would celebrate, not change, Arnaudville's unique rural culture reflecting Cajun, French, German, Spanish, and Native American influences. A relocating fiddler, for instance, re-opened a former drug-house as a fiddle shop.

Anticipating local skepticism, the team initially promoted its concept to cities and visitors from afar. The tourism offices for St. Landry and St. Martin Parishes became early advocates. Visitors do come: the French Consulate in New Orleans uses the Frederick School as a rural venue for presenters from French-speaking countries around the world. But organizers relied on early support from sources closer to home for crucial momentum. Through profit sharing, local private businesses hosting Frederick School satellite classes and events have a vested interest in the strategy's success. As townspeople saw more people pumping gas, buying groceries, and eating at restaurants, the Mayor, Town Council, and Chamber of Commerce became supporters. Quoting Mt. Auburn and Associates' study on the Louisiana cultural economy, Marks convinced town aldermen to sell the town's old water processing center, out of commission for 20 years, to an out-of-town sculptor for his live/work studio.[39]

The Arnaudville creative placemakers attracted resources from state and philanthropic sectors as well. In 2008, Mayor Kathy Richard and the Council sought and won a Louisiana cultural district designation from the state's Cultural Economy Initiative. District status grants the town sales tax exemptions for original art purchases and eligibility for state historic tax credits. From staff at the Acadiana Center for the Arts—the regional arts council—Frederick School organizers learned grants could fund their programs, helping free them from bootstrapping operations when and if Marks sold a painting. They subsequently won grants from *Consulat Général de France à La Nouvelle-Orléans*, South Arts, and the Louisiana Cultural Economy Foundation, a private foundation resulting from the Cultural Economy Initiative.

With a powerful vision and persistence, an artist and his allies have demonstrated how cultural development can benefit their region. Property values have climbed, bucking national trends. Some 40-70 people, from schoolchildren to grandparents, come from as far as Canada, Haiti, and Africa to gather monthly at NuNu's, break bread, and speak French. Whereas local communities previously felt cut off from one another, they now embrace a spirit of regionalism. Marks reflects, "Everything we do is an amalgamation of all of these different folks. We provide a platform for what people do best." Future plans include converting the old jailhouse into a "bed, bread, and water" guesthouse, expanding artist housing, increasing Frederick School offerings on environmental sustainability, and exploring synergies between art and environmental stewardship. Creative leadership awakened Arnaudville to its own assets.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Artist initiator envisions a small, rural town with Cajun, French, German, Spanish, and Native American roots remade as an arts magnet.
- Drawing on local assets, regional partnerships with local businesses and county tourism office advocacy, town leaders' skepticism slowly overcome.
- City leaders and artists win Cultural District designation from the state of Louisiana's Cultural Economy Initiative, bringing tax breaks and historical preservation tax credits.
- In-migrating artists, rising property values, and greater local patronage and visitors from far afield stimulate the local economy.

Building Community, Boosting Ridership

TriMet's Interstate MAX Public Art Program, Portland, Oregon

Photos © Chris Russell/TriMet, 2004

Second Growth *by Wayne Chabre*

Mosaic tile community workshop

For TriMet's managers, building new light rail lines involves both opportunity and responsibility, goals they have met with skillful integration of public art. A key element in the livability movement, mass transit encourages high-density growth using existing infrastructure, reducing new outlays on sprawling freeways and sewer systems.

Avoiding the anonymity of past urban renewal projects, TriMet's station artwork showcases neighborhood history and reflects diverse social fabrics, instilling pride of place and boosting ridership.

Along the Interstate MAX (Metropolitan Area Express) line in North Portland, artists worked closely with community members to celebrate neighborhoods' distinctive cultures and overcome mistrust fueled by past public works. The line links downtown with Portland's most racially and ethnically diverse areas, home to Native Americans and successive waves of immigrants. At a stop in the Albina neighborhood, the commercial heart of the African American community before hospital expansion and other urban renewal projects, artist Wayne Chabre's *Second Growth*, a 12-foot tall bronze trumpet vine, bursts out of the concrete, recalling the area's once vibrant jazz scene. Nightlife and local arts have again begun to animate the district. At the Expo Center stop, Valerie Otani's *Voices of Remembrance* memorializes the 3,700 Japanese Americans interned during World War II at the Portland Metropolitan Exposition Center site. Its five large timber gates, or torii, suspend wind-clanging metal tags like those worn by internees, and stainless steel engravings of newspapers headlines like "Portland to be First Jap-Free City" encircle gate legs.

A model of civic participation, nearly 75 community members helped establish the Interstate MAX art program's initial vision,

select artists, provide background on the neighborhood's culture and history, and review artwork. Initially, North Portland residents viewed the light rail project with suspicion, and assumed they would have to fight to get artworks. As TriMet fielded calls, forwarded by City Hall, they realized the art program presented an opportunity to engage deeply with residents and provide them with a platform to shape and claim this new infrastructure. TriMet and community advisors prioritized local artists (over 40 participated) and developed mentorship opportunities and smaller projects to incorporate those with little or no public art experience, many of them artists of color. Area youth and residents participated in storytelling, writing, painting murals, and making mosaics. To balance broad participation with expertise, arts and design professionals populated a volunteer Art Advisory Committee, ensuring that selected artists' work would withstand wear and tear and aesthetic tests of time.

TriMet funded the Interstate MAX public art program using its percent for art policy to assemble $1.2 million from the $350 million total project costs, largely funded by the Federal Transit Administration (FTA). But before the mid 1990s, neither the FTA, nor TriMet, had established policies allowing transit dollars to cover artwork. For an earlier TriMet line, TriMet made the case to the FTA for arts inclusion. Shortly thereafter, a federal directive strongly encouraged all regional transit agencies to include artists in their projects.[40] TriMet formalized its percent for art policy in 1997, allocating 1.5% of eligible construction costs.

In its efforts to incorporate community-relevant art, TriMet has earned the trust of partnering units of government and its own engineering and construction staff. It now knows many mistakes to avoid. TriMet gives its Arts Advisory Committee a great deal of autonomy, including asking local, regional, and federal governments, who contribute funding, not to intrude in the process. Though initially skeptical, TriMet engineers and construction crews observed that the public art team played by the rules, respecting budgets and deadlines. With limited budgets, TriMet seeks public art with low maintenance costs. Over time, it has learned to plan for both commissioning fees and installation costs.

One strong mark of Portland's transit art success is its widespread public acceptance. TriMet has yet to face complaints that art is an unnecessary expense. Instead residents along all the transit lines want to ensure that they, too, get their fair share of it. TriMet's Public Art Manager Mary Priester reflects that public art should be rooted in place. Art, in turn, gives places character and humanity. When done "right," every project is different. TriMet artists facilitate a collaborative process, marrying their visions to a place's history and social fabric. As the Interstate MAX public art program illustrates, art rooted in community can help repair, rather than augment, regional inequities. It can help communities heal from past wrongs and renew their public spaces around unique identity.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Ethnic community challengers of a new public transit line become partners in design of stations and hiring of artists whose public works reflect the neighborhoods' histories and character.
- Public sector transit staffers make the case to their superiors and the federal Department of Transportation that transit planning funds should be spent on community engagement in station design and on commissioned artistic work sensitive to place, innovations that have become federal policy.
- Unique and powerful public art at transit stops increases transit ridership, an environmental gain, while strengthening community identity and addressing historic inequities.

Chasing Artists, Not Smokestacks

Paducah, Kentucky Artist Relocation Program

Paducah, population 26,000, seems an unlikely locale for an artist haven. Why have artists from as far as Hawaii and China chosen to uproot and make Paducah home?

Photos © Paducah Artist Renaissance Alliance

The City, with the help of a visionary artist resident and a civically minded local bank, offered artists an unusually enticing carrot: homeownership in renovated historic buildings. In the process, Paducah leveraged $30 million of private investment and triggered a complete turnaround for Lowertown, its oldest neighborhood once plagued by drug dealers, prostitution, and disinvestment.

In Paducah's Artist Relocation Program, artists apply to acquire and rehab City-owned properties. Proposals follow site visits and include cost and time estimates for rehabilitation and business plans. For qualifying artists, Paducah Bank provides low-interest loans for as much as 300% of the appraised value to cover purchase and renovation costs. The artists rehabilitate their properties, many setting up studios or galleries on the ground floor and living space above. As owners, artists earn equity and can't be evicted by landlords.

An artist's idea started the turnaround. Ten years ago most residents wouldn't even drive through Lowertown, a neighborhood four blocks from downtown and the Ohio River. Over 60% owned by absentee landlords, Lowertown's historic building stock had fallen into severe disrepair. Few townspeople wanted to invest in properties that could cost $200,000 to fix up, because the renovated homes would sell for only $80,000. Artist Mark Barone was an exception. Having rehabilitated two homes in Lowertown, he saw how its large spaces could accommodate artist live/work set-ups. In 1999, he envisioned the neighborhood's potential as an artist district. Barone's idea caught Mayor Albert Jones' attention, and in

2000 Jones drafted Barone to coordinate the Artist Relocation Program. With only a $45,000 marketing budget and a $29,000 salary, Barone went to work promoting the program to media outlets across the country.

The City undertook concerted efforts on several fronts. The Artist Relocation Program dovetailed with Lowertown's neighborhood land-use planning process. This allowed Paducah's Planning Department to change the City's zoning ordinances to permit both residential and commercial uses. They also designated Lowertown as a historic district and required that renovations follow design guidelines. By collecting on liens, and through auction and foreclosure, the City stepped-up efforts to acquire neglected properties. To discourage predatory landlord practices, the City enforced health and safety codes. With transportation enhancement grants totaling $3 million the City invested in comprehensive lighting and sidewalk improvements for Lowertown.

A local bank stepped up to the plate to fashion attractive financing arrangements for incoming artist owners. The City extended $2,500 per artist to subsidize the cost of professional fees and architectural services and turned over property titles for as little as $1. Paducah Bank matched program-qualifying artists with low-interest loans. Starting with a modest $370,000 loan for a demonstration project that renovated three storefront buildings, Paducah Bank ramped up its lending to $2 million within the program's first year, quickly recognizing the investment potential.

Now ten years into the program, Paducah celebrates its success story. With only modest public sector outlays, the City leveraged a 10-to-1 return on public investment, thanks to Paducah Bank's unusual risk tolerance for artists. Within 25 square blocks, 70 artists rehabilitated 80 Lowertown properties and constructed 20 new buildings. Long-time residents who once avoided Lowertown now buy homes there, start small businesses, and patronize artists. Even in a sour real estate climate, renovated Lowertown homes now sell for a competitive $250,000 or more. Eleven different awards programs have recognized Paducah as a national standout.

Lowertown's transformation did not come without friction. Townspeople, already wary of artist transplants, perceived incentive programs as unjust giveaways, even though many artists contributed sizable down payments and all are required to pay mortgages. Tenants and property owners viewed tough rental license requirements and code inspections as intrusive. The City's efforts to promote homeownership displaced some low-income renters, although the City increased the pool of properties that accepted Section 8 vouchers to mitigate this impact, and constructed three houses priced for low- and moderate-income families.

Paducah's artist-led renaissance faces sustainability challenges. The Artist Relocation Program is winding down. Although the City is still marketing eleven properties, only four of these have structures on them. A few of the original artist owners have sold their properties, recouping their investments. Over the coming years, the City may have to tailor new programs to keep Lowertown artist housing affordable and maintain its commercial arts businesses.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- An artist who had rehabbed two homes envisioned turning around the Lowertown district by offering artists City-owned properties to refurbish.
- The City of Paducah changes its zoning regulations, acquires properties, and markets the program, teaming with a local bank that provides low-interest loans.
- A decade later, the City had leveraged $30 million in private investment and attracted 70 artists who rehabilitated 80 Lowertown properties and constructed 20 new buildings, a 10-to-1 return on investment.

Art Shores Up the Walk of Fame

Remaking Los Angeles, California's Hollywood

Photo © Lauran Davis and CRA/LA, 2010

Hollywood and La Brea Gateway *by Catherine Hardwicke*

Photo © Carlos Figueroa and CRA/LA, 2009

Hollywood Arts Retention Program graduates

When Hollywood Boulevard's glamour slipped into seediness, the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angles (CRA/LA) turned to art and design to help the 1,100-acre area anchored by the Boulevard reclaim its glory.

Later, when comprehensive revitalization efforts spurred a red-hot real-estate market, a cohort of small arts organizations received a leg-up in the form of planning support, technical assistance, and grants to help them remain in the area. Through partnerships that span a public agency, non-profit arts groups, and private developers, the Hollywood Project Area strives to roll out a red carpet for tourists and movie stars without pulling the rug out from under long-time arts tenants.

Art and design have always been an important part of the comprehensive, long-term Hollywood Redevelopment Plan, adopted by the Los Angeles City Council in 1986. A $5 million streetscape demonstration project, launched in the early 1990s, used art and design to celebrate the area's rich entertainment heritage. Lights reminiscent of studio "barn door" lights shine on the sidewalks. Visitors snap pictures under the Hollywood La Brea Gateway, a silver art-deco style gazebo supported by sculptures of four grande dames of film. CRA/LA's $15 million rehabilitation painstakingly restored the landmark Egyptian Theatre's 1920s glamour, providing a new home for the non-profit arthouse, Cinematheque. Completed in 2001, the publicly financed Hollywood and Highland Center links a metro station with shopping and the Kodak Theatre, the Academy Awards' new permanent home. A sinuous marble mosaic, Erika Rothenberg's *Road to Hollywood* snakes its way through the development, offering stories of how Hollywood workers began their careers, culminating with a lookout of the famous Hollywood sign.

Many Hollywood developments integrate cultural components, thanks to CRA/LA's percent for art policy. Developers receiving CRA/LA financing dedicate 1% of development costs to art. They may use 60% of the funds for on-site public art, with the remaining 40% pooled in a cultural trust fund that supports art in projects CRA/LA develops. Or, developers may devote their fee to a cultural facility within the project area. Some private developers,

like the W Hotel's Gatehouse Capital and Legacy Partners, spend beyond the required amount to realize visions like Pae White's constellation of iridescent medallions, Christian Moeller's 3-D steel mural of hands, and Jennifer Steinkamp's series of digital panels, all visible as one exits the metro station.

But small arts organizations suffered rapid rent increases as private developers invested in infill projects. When The Actors' Gang, a performing arts mainstay, lost its space in 2005, Hollywood advocates mobilized. Recognizing that arts organizations—some that had been in the area over 20 years—have defined Hollywood and spurred ancillary investment and spending, CRA/LA developed the Arts Retention Program, a partnership with the non-profit LA Stage Alliance, to help small arts groups build capacity.

The Arts Retention Program offers arts organizations planning support, technical assistance, and seed grants for facility upgrades. From 2006 to 2009, twelve arts groups including arts education programs, theaters, and museums went through the rigorous, multi-year program. They exit better equipped to tackle tough market pressures; and ten of the arts organizations have remained active in Hollywood. The program bolsters arts organizations' credibility, so that developers considering setting aside space for arts and cultural organizations can be confident in the latter's stability. Even in the recession-cooled market, one developer included space for an arts education program in a planned rehabilitation of a historic home. A second cohort of Hollywood arts organizations will soon enter the program, and CRA/LA recently replicated its innovative approach in four other communities.

Hollywood's revitalization has encountered setbacks and challenges. CRA/LA takes a long view of its work. Its efforts in Hollywood fall within a 40-year plan. Lawsuits held up its work in Hollywood for four years, preventing it from moving beyond planning stages until 1990. However, $7 million in construction mitigation funds and FEMA and insurance payouts from a 1994 earthquake allowed it to move ahead with the streetscape demonstration project. In the realm of public art, CRA/LA has learned over time to prioritize sustainability. Proposals for technically complex pieces must include a maintenance plan that details stewardship and funding. CRA/LA works with private developers to record covenants, so that future property owners will preserve works of art. CRA/LA and the Hollywood Arts Council, a non-profit, also actively partner on public art conservation.

Drawing on and preserving the area's unique arts and entertainment legacy, CRA/LA and its private and non-profit partners have made tremendous strides, reclaiming Hollywood as a major cultural destination. Public art helps bridge Hollywood's mystique with today's reality. CRA/LA has proactively partnered non-profit arts organizations to help secure their future, so that Hollywood can retain these cultural assets.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- In the 1980s, Hollywood advocates and the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles begin a remake of the Hollywood Boulevard area, promoting its unique arts and entertainment legacy.
- CRA/LA's multi-million dollar demonstration projects—a theater restoration, streetscaping, and transit-oriented developments—spur private development and prompt a hot real-estate market.
- To avoid displacement from rising rents, CRA/LA launches an Arts Retention Program to help small arts organizations secure long-term leases and provide planning support, technical assistance, and seed-grants for facility upgrades.
- Today cultural workers, residents, and visitors enjoy distinctive public art and landmark cultural facilities, which strengthen Hollywood's identity.

Art as Healing

Fond du Lac Reservation, Minnesota

On Fond du Lac in northern Minnesota, a tribal health and social services manager has animated community health and gathering places around the reservation with a rich, diverse collection of Ojibwe visual art.

Photo © Cheryl Walsh Belleville, 2009

Karen Savage Blue, Wall Mural, Mash Ka Wiesen Treatment Center, Sawyer, MN.

Photo © Cheryl Walsh Belleville, 2009

Karen Savage Blue, Ojibwe painter, Fond du Lac teacher, member.

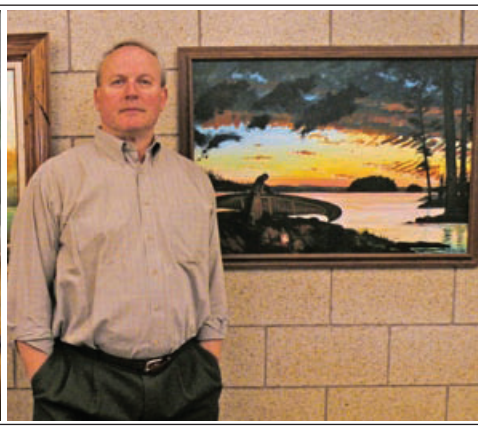

Photo © Cheryl Walsh Belleville, 2009

Phil Norrgard, Min No Aya Win Clinic. Artworks by Carl Gawboy and John Losh.

Believing that art is essential for healing and community identity, he has convinced tribal leaders to spend a percent of the building and maintenance costs on purchasing and commissioning work by living Native artists. The funds come from income for services provided to members and from the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Health Services, and State of Minnesota programs. The suffusion of art vibrant with cultural content encourages community members to access services, congregate, and share; while the payments that artists receive help to ensure future creative output.

When Fond du Lac tribal members visit their Min No Aya Win Human Services Center, they enter and wait for appointments in a spacious atrium. An entire wall is packed with hundreds of historic photos of their elders, brought in by Band members. As they move through corridors and into examination rooms, offices and conferences space, they are surrounded by artwork created by Ojibwe artists—murals, stencils, sculpture, paintings, and fiber art. In some, their creators use traditional techniques, such as beadwork and bitten birchbark, or materials such as deer hide, feathers, and bone. Other rooms host modernist paintings and sculpture, some humorous, some political, some simply beautiful. Some artists harness traditional techniques to modern themes. Others use contemporary tools to explore historic or mythic content.

The Min No Aya Win complex operates on reservation land west of Cloquet, Minnesota, and includes a human services center in downtown Duluth. Since the early 1990s, American Indians have received health care and social services in a series of attractive new buildings made possible with revenues from the Band's two casinos.

In planning each new structure, complex director Phil Norrgard asked the Tribal Council to commit 1–2% from budgets of $2.6, $4, and $6.5 million for the three central structures to purchase design and artwork for interiors. In making his pitch, Norrgard pointed out that utilitarian walls and doors cost ten times as much as the artwork he advocates.

But more important, Norrgard convinced Tribal Council members that art is essential to healing: "Art provides a context for healing that can't be created any other way." Fond du Lac members reach a comfort level with health care and social services much faster when interior environments complement their culture. Norrgard believes that in a place of healing, art is a natural part of the entire atmosphere. "It helps create the right climate for the other work to take place. People feel better when they see and interact with beautiful things, especially when they see that their grandparents, parents, and other community members have brought and attended to things that are beautiful. It's not just utilitarian, but honoring that part of life that honors the divine. That's what you hope to do with healing, too. Art has to share that space."

The devotion of resources and space to artwork pays off in terms of staff morale. In health and social services, employees are often dealing with serious individual disease and dysfunction. High staff turnover rates persist in many Indian communities. "Art reveals that incredible creative potential in all of us and gives us hope when situations are discouraging," reflects Norrgard.

Min No Aya Win's patronage of living artists boosts their careers. Among the five-building complex's treasures are brightly colored floral beadwork by Marcie McIntyre, stenciled borders by Wendy Savage, and sculptures by Jeff Savage. There are paintings by Norval Morrisseau, Carl Gawboy, Karen Savage Blue, Joe Geeshick, and others, all impeccably framed and presented. Together, they comprise the largest collection of contemporary Ojibwe art in the upper Midwest, outdoing the region's collecting museums. In a 2009 study of Native artists' livelihoods, several artists acknowledged the considerable contribution of Min No Aya Win purchases to their incomes and visibility.[41]

Norrgard welcomes artists to drop by and often buys directly from them out of their cars or at exhibits. "We have failed the art community by not appreciating and investing more in the work. We have done so much to this world to make it not beautiful, like homogenizing the visual landscape." Norrgard pays special attention to young artists, hoping to demonstrate to young people that art has value.

Convincing Board members to spend precious resources on artwork can be a challenge. Despite Min No Aya Win's pioneering example, few other Minnesota tribes have been willing to devote casino or economic development funds to artwork in community centers, hotels, or casinos. Fond du Lac's example demonstrates how a non-arts professional with an articulate philosophy and patience can build partnerships with non-arts leaders to integrate art and culture into community space, leveraging funds from tribal enterprises and the public sector. The ubiquitous artwork enhances community members' health while sustaining artists' careers. By transforming community centers into engaged aesthetic experiences, it is a model for placemaking on reservations and in rural communities.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- A tribal health and social services manager makes the case for culturally specific art as an instrument for healing and community identity.
- To commission and purchase Ojibwe design and artwork, the Tribal Council commits 1–2% from casino-funded budgets of $2.6, $4, and $6.5 million for new buildings spread around the reservation, supplemented with Bureau of Indian Affairs and State of Minnesota health maintenance monies.
- Surrounded by artwork that expressed traditional and contemporary Ojibwe themes, tribal members are more apt to seek health care and to heal faster, and staff morale improves as well.
- Contemporary Ojibwe artists' visibility and incomes are significantly amplified by Min No Aya Win complex patronage.

Marrying Art to Technology

01SJ Biennial, San José, California

Photo © Everett Taasevigen, 2008

Baby Love *by Shu Lea Cheang*

Photo © Media Chief, 2008

Mashup *by Survival Research Labs*

Can techie entrepreneurs remake a city as a place that weds technology with art? This is the quest of ZERO1, a San José non-profit art and technology network and producer of the 01SJ Biennial.

Central to ZERO1's mission is the belief that art is 1) central to collaboration, experimentation, discovery, and invention, and 2) can provoke our critical understanding of the contemporary world. Jump-started with support from the City of San José, the event now draws up to 55,000 people, generates millions in local sales, creates jobs, and leverages funds from foundation and corporate sponsors. One of the largest and most prestigious US biennials exploring the art/technology nexus, ZERO1 is remaking the face of San José for the larger world and its own citizens.

The third 01SJ Biennial, "Build Your Own World," is slated for September 2010. On eight separate platforms around the city, creators will present large and small commissioned art projects that explore contemporary thinking using technology. Trans-disciplinary in focus, the festival encompasses visual and performing arts, theater, music, and public art installations offered to the public for free or a nominal fee. For three weeks at its 2010 Biennial centerpiece, *Out of the Garage and into the World*, artists will lead workshops that engage participants 24/7, showcasing Silicon Valley's creativity, entrepreneurship, and innovation.

ZERO1 helps the Valley's residents see themselves as denizens of a uniquely creative region, not just as Biennial hosts. The City supports the Biennial because it believes San José's unique comparative advantage lies in the marriage of its technology prowess with its growing arts community. Through the Biennial, says ZERO1 Executive Director Joel Slayton, "we are laying the groundwork for an enduring collaborative community that shares common strategic goals and resources, produces unique presentation platforms, and insists on an inclusive curatorial process."

ZERO1s' lineage began in the mid-1990s, when Andy Cunningham, its founder and an icon in Silicon Valley public relations and strategic communications, staged the Interactive Media Festival. She raised $2 million from Motorola for the Los Angeles-based event. The Festival hosted artists and projects that forecast the future, including Marc Andreessen unveiling

Mosaic (his forerunner to Netscape) as an art project. As a follow-on incubation model for artist/techie intersection, Andy Cunningham assembled a board and established the non-profit Ground Zero, renamed ZERO1 following 9/11.

The idea for an international festival around creativity and innovation gradually emerged, attracting corporate sponsors and public interest. The City of San José sought an event that would brand it as the heart of Silicon Valley. The fledgling ZERO1 wrote a bid, submitted and won by the City, to host the 2006 International Symposium for Electronic Arts, using it as a launch pad to establish 01SJ as an international biennial festival.

The Biennial is an intricate partnership between forty Silicon Valley arts organizations and ZERO1. The arts partners contribute presentation venues and participants. Refusing to act as a flow-through mechanism for funding, ZERO1 doesn't just turn over dollars that it raises to artists and arts organizations. "All must have skin in the game, bring something to the table," says Slayton. ZERO1 brings them networks, curatorial expertise, and international recognition while exposing their constituents to creative artists from all over the world.

ZERO1 is shifting away from financial dependency on the public sector. The City's Department of Economic Development provided crucial early support with $250,000 for the 2006 and 2008 Biennials. As City budgets tightened, ZERO1 found itself competing directly with its cultural organization partners for limited resources, so it turned to the private sector. Of its current $1.5 million annual budget, foundations provide 50-60% and corporate sponsorships most of the rest. Revenues from token entrance fees amount to less than 10%. But ZERO1 continues to work with the City's Public Art program on mutually beneficial projects, bringing ZERO1 programming expertise, facility resources, and help in navigating City regulations.

ZERO1 is a 21st-century model for how non-profit arts organizations might function in a fast-changing world. It is more like a start-up company than an arts presenter. Its Green Prix, a Biennial platform centered on eco-locomotion—how people can move through urban space on everything from modified skateboards, bicycles, and solar cars to self-guiding automobiles—parades to a central place where people can spend hours examining the entries and talking with their creators. ZERO1 is also entrepreneuring a Center for Corporate Creativity and Cultural Innovation that will offer companies access to new ideas from the arts/technology nexus.

ZERO1 faces financial and partnership-building challenges. But the biggest challenge is how to shift people's expectations about the kind of world they want to live in and the role that art plays in building it. ZERO1 hopes the biennial event will prompt visitors to say, "Wow, this is Silicon Valley!" Says Slayton, "Right now, you can't find this perception, but if we can marry these—art, technology, digital culture—this could be one of the nation's most vibrant cities."

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Envisioning the marriage of technology prowess with artistic talent, a San José tech entrepreneur initiates a series of festivals and a non-profit organization, ZERO1, to organize them.
- The City of San José provides early crucial funding, but the Biennial is increasingly supported by corporate sponsorships and philanthropy.
- A partnership between forty Silicon Valley arts organizations and ZERO1, the arts partners contribute presentation venues and participants while gaining networks, curatorial expertise, and international recognition.
- The Biennial now draws 55,000 people and generates millions in local sales while creating jobs and nurturing art/technology projects that will grow future cultural industry businesses.

After School Matters in Chicago, Illinois

Photos © After School Matters, 2009

Can arts leaders yoke a vacant downtown lot with workforce development monies to create a pioneering program to provide city youth with marketable skills and job savvy? That's what happened in Chicago almost two decades ago.

The initiative, gallery37, was the joint brainchild of the City's First Lady and the Cultural Affairs Commissioner, who saw how it could also support artists as youth mentors and teachers. The program subsequently spread to schools and neighborhoods all over the city, and with a name change to After School Matters, into non-arts skill areas. It has partnered across public, private, and non-profit sectors, including city/parks/schools cooperation. The initiative has encouraged other City efforts, such as Cleveland's ArtWorks youth training program.

In After School Matters' placements that range from skateboard design to culinary arts to lifeguard training, Chicago teens have access to 25,000 after school and summer opportunities to prepare for college and employment. Far-reaching public and community partnerships explain the initiative's success and underpin training offerings at 60 public high schools and more than 100 community organizations. Facilitating access to neighborhood resources, public partners spanning the City of Chicago and its schools, libraries, and park districts provide 63% of the $28M annual budget through in-kind and financial contributions. A pioneering approach, After School Matters has earned national accolades, including a 1997 Innovations in American Government Award.

The non-profit After School Matters offers youth hands-on, project-based learning through a range of opportunities from informal clubs to apprenticeships with stipends, to rigorous internships. Through gallery37, After School Matters' flagship arts program, youth work with artist mentors, gaining valuable professional experience and aptitude in their chosen artistic discipline. Program "campuses" center around a local high school, a neighboring park, and library. Across all content areas, youth learn the soft-skills valued by employers: teamwork, timeliness, effective communication, and project management skills, and meet professional standards for attendance, dedication, and conduct. School principals value the program's ability to keep youth safe after school and stay on track academically. Over 100 community-based organizations host additional offerings. The Chicago Park

District leverages the program to train its future workforce, ranging from lifeguards to sports coaches.

After School Matters' roots stem from innovative public sector leadership and non-traditional federal and philanthropic seed monies. Heeding Mayor Richard M. Daley's call in the early '90s to submit ideas for Block 37, a prominent undeveloped parcel in the heart of the City's business district, First Lady Maggie Daley and Department of Cultural Affairs Commissioner Lois Weisberg proposed gallery37, an arts-based paid apprenticeship program for teens. Maggie Daley and Weisberg saw an opportunity to animate Block 37 while countering high youth unemployment, compensating for cuts in youth arts programming, and offering work and career-enhancing opportunities for both teens and professional artists. Launched in 1991 with initial funding from the Federal Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), the creative bridging of arts and workforce development soon expanded citywide. In 1995, when the Mayor assumed responsibility for Chicago's public schools, gallery37 moved from summer to year-round programming. Affirming the model's success, gallery37 became After School Matters in the early 2000s. Piggybacking on public sector innovation, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation recognized the program's potential to reduce high-risk behavior in youth and awarded a $5 million grant, extending gallery37's techniques into other content areas such as sports, science, communications, and technology.

For all of its merits, the partnership model, as well as the program's rapid growth and fluctuations in funding, entail formidable challenges. Executive Director David Siniski cautions others not to underestimate the tremendous amount of time required to develop and sustain relationships that range from individual school principals to upper level administrators of City departments. Increased demand drove After School Matters' expansion from 260 teens in 1991 to 25,000 teens in spring 2010, but funding fluctuations also dictate program contractions. Given Illinois' recent budget crises, the organization is uncertain that it will receive funding for the next fiscal year, which could amount to a $4.5 million cut in program support. Federal support has been modest after the initial JTPA seed funding, though After School Matters secured a $1 million Workforce Investment award from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act in 2009.

Despite challenges, After School Matters' success along several dimensions is irrefutable. A 2007 study from the University of Chicago's Chapin Hall Center found beneficial outcomes for participating youth including improved graduation and attendance rates and fewer course failures.[42] Chicago residents enjoy public dance, music, and theater performances, purchase youth-made art at the gallery37 Retail Store, and take pride in neighborhood-based public art created by participants. Cities in Ireland and Scotland and as nearby as Cleveland have mounted programs based on the After School Matters model. The City of Chicago demonstrates to teens that their communities care about their futures and provide tools to help them succeed.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- A First Lady and the Cultural Affairs Commissioner animate a key vacant Chicago downtown property with an arts mentoring and job training program for youth.
- gallery37's success prompts a private foundation to support its expansion city-wide and into other subject areas, from 260 teens in 1991 to 25,000 in 2010.
- After School Matters now operates across the city, pairing students with artist mentors at high schools, parks, and libraries, public partners providing 63% of its $28 million budget.
- gallery37 improves youth graduation rates, expands the arts and design workforce, offers public performances throughout the City, and greets visitors with airport murals that the celebrate the City's diverse cultures.

Transforming Neighborhoods and Lives

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's Mural Arts Program

Photo by Clem Murray for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*

Ann Northrup and inmate artists at Riverside Correctional Facility celebrate the dedication of Going Home, *the mural on which they collaborated.*

Through a unique city agency-non-profit hybrid, Philadelphia, once plagued by graffiti, is now the City of Murals. More than 3,000 of them have converted expanses of once-vacant walls into beacons of pride.

Stabilizing abandoned lots, enlivening community centers, and animating open spaces, multi-story paintings reflect the cultures of Philadelphia's neighborhoods. Twelve thousand residents and visitors tour the artworks annually. But the 2,500 youth, 400 inmates and ex-offenders, 300 professional artists, and 100 communities involved each year in arts education, restorative justice programs, and mural creation feel the Mural Arts Program's impacts even more deeply.

Today, Philadelphia's Mural Arts Program is a city agency headed by founding artist Jane Golden. A non-profit sister organization, Philadelphia Mural Arts Advocates, works in tandem with the agency, securing service contracts and raising private grant dollars and donations. Half of the Mural Arts Program's $6.5 million annual budget comes from private grants, donations, and earned income, and half is from the public sector. The City of Philadelphia contributes the bulk of public funding through staffing and service contracts, although the Pennsylvania Council for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts also provide support.

The program's crosscutting projects speak for themselves. Thanks to a partnership with Philadelphia's Streets Department and the Design Center at Philadelphia University, two fleets of recycling trucks now sport colorful youth-created graphic wraps. Through the process, youth learned about single-stream recycling and now look on with pride as the trucks service neighborhoods surrounding their schools. A 50,000-square-foot mural will soon enliven the massive expanse of parking garages at the Philadelphia International Airport, an initiative of the Deputy Mayor for Transportation. The artwork, *How Philly Moves*, will celebrate the joy of dance. To create it, artist JJ Tiziou photographed 60 professional and amateur dancers and will employ both artists and ex-offenders to install the mural, which will incorporate a selection of the photographs. To date, the Philadelphia Airport, Philadelphia Parking Authority, Bank of America, and US Airways have committed funding.

A City search for a solution to a growing graffiti problem sparked the Mural Arts Program. In 1984, as part of the City's Philadelphia Anti-Graffiti Network, Mayor Wilson Goode hired muralist Jane Golden to work with adjudicated graffiti writers. Golden recognized their artistic sensibilities. Through mural-making, she offered these youth a support structure, empowering them to create beautiful public works of art. From the start, neighborhood residents sanctioned and shaped mural themes and collaborated on design through facilitated community meetings. During the first ten years, many mural-involved community residents had

never previously encountered a City agency other than police. Golden used the program's entrée to leverage additional City support and services for previously under-served communities.

The City and Golden have expanded and stewarded the Mural Program for 26 successful years. Recognizing the program's community-bridging and placemaking roles, Mayor Edward Rendell increased City support and in 1996 reorganized the Anti-Graffiti network into the Mural Arts Program with Golden as director. Golden concurrently established the non-profit Philadelphia Mural Arts Advocates. With increased access to funds, the Mural Arts Program dramatically increased the number of projects it undertook.

Although the technical learning curve is mostly behind it, the program still tackles challenges and new opportunities. Paintings created in the early years require more maintenance than those made after artists learned which materials and surface preparation techniques improve durability. The program sometimes faces scrutiny from other local arts organizations working in the public art realm. They question why one entity should command such a large share of public resources. Beyond staffing provided as a City agency, Mural Arts earns service contracts through a competitive bid process. City support, however, has also flowed to Mural Arts out of recognition that its work serves not just artistic, but also social, placemaking and economic development objectives. For instance, a new initiative matches artists with behavioral health service providers to serve individuals struggling with drug addiction, homelessness, developmental disabilities, or mental illness. These ventures into new, untested domains continue to push the program.

Philadelphia's mural legacy is still evolving, but is already a success commanding international attention. Over 3,000 murals have enlivened Philadelphia's streets, schools, community organizations, and open spaces, each with its own artistic merit and community-related distinctiveness. The program employs artists with varying levels of experience and skills and from a range of ethnic backgrounds. In its first 25 years, it has provided more than 20,000 underserved youth with arts education. Its work with the criminal justice system provides inmates and ex-offenders with social and basic education skills, and gives them an opportunity to make amends by restoring their communities. What began as an anti-graffiti experiment is now the largest mural program in the county, a model for replication, and a catalyst for beneficial social change.

Photo by Steve Weinik.

Design in Motion © *2009 City of Philadelphia Mural Arts Program/Desiree Bender & Big Picture Youth.*

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- An artist and mayor launch the nation's largest mural arts program, begun as an anti-graffiti effort fueled by neighborhood input and harnessing ex-graffiti writers' skills.
- Private grants, donations, and earned income cover half the program's $6.5 million annual budget, with City budgets paying for staffing and services, and additional contributions from the Pennsylvania Council for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts.
- Driven by a philosophy of yoking artistic with social, placemaking, and economic development objectives, the program enjoys support and staffing contributions from the City's streets, transportation, criminal justice, and behavioral health agencies.
- Each year, 2,500 youth, 400 inmates and ex-offenders, and 300 professional artists work in 100 communities to stabilize abandoned lots, enliven community centers, animate open spaces, and reflect the diverse cultures of city neighborhoods.

Animating Infrastructure

Phoenix, Arizona Public Art Program

As a sprawling, new growth desert city, Phoenix has faced acute infrastructure demands over the last 20 years. Its groundbreaking public art program infuses art and design into public facilities and spaces ranging from freeway overpasses to recycling centers and neighborhood parks.

Photo © Phoenix Office of Cultural Affairs/Bob Rink, 2003

Waterworks *by Mags Harries, Lajos Heder, and Steve Martino*

Photo © Tim Lanterman/Phoenix Office of Cultural Affairs, 1998

Mountain Pass Bridge *by Laurie Lundquist, SVR, Inc. & HDR Engineering, Inc.*

These projects not only make Phoenix a more beautiful and vibrant city, they also expand infrastructure's very function by revealing processes often hidden from the public eye, celebrating common purpose, history, and community. The City of Phoenix not only benefits from the artistic output, but also from the process of creating public art. Artists and the Office of Cultural Affairs staff act as innovators and conveners, engaging citizens and linking disparate jurisdictions and departments.

Public art along major highways illustrate this pioneering approach. Sculptures line freeway sound walls and underpasses, and five landmark artist-designed pedestrian bridges animate State Route 51. In her *Our Shared Environment*—six reptile-shaped support columns and 18 large relief panels of human, abstract, and animal images—artist Marilyn Zwak honors the inhabitants of the ancient Hohokam village discovered when freeway site excavation began. Zwak proved to skeptical engineers that stabilized adobe could be integrated into a major highway bridge.

Phoenix's public art also animates the City's canals and waterworks. Public art lines the banks of the Salt River Valley canal system, reclaiming a stark, forgotten watercourse as a prized community asset. Water cascading from two diverted aqueducts surround visitors at Arizona Falls' Waterworks, a cooling station for recreational users on the canal banks. The project relied heavily on a community steering committee and hinged on a master agreement brokered by the City of Phoenix, Salt River Project

(the public utility company managing the waterway), the federal Bureau of Reclamation, and the Maricopa County Flood Control District.

With more than 145 projects completed and 80 in progress, the Phoenix Public Art Program is one of the most active municipal public art programs in the country. A generous and sustainable funding structure—the 1986 ordinance allocating up to one percent of the City's Capital Improvement Program to public art—reflects a precocious commitment by a wide range of civic leaders to improving Phoenix's quality of life. Phoenix has invested over $30 million since 1986, with budgets for individual projects ranging from under $10,000 to over $2.5 million. In 1988, Phoenix adopted the nation's first citywide public art master plan, applying an arts perspective to city-shaping systems ranging from transportation to water to housing. The ordinance's flexible structure allows resources to be pooled by department. In recent years, the Office of Cultural Affairs has used GIS mapping to identify concentrations of capital improvements and funds, creating more opportunities for high-impact, inter-departmental public art projects.

Phoenix's approach stands out for reasons beyond its marrying art to infrastructure: it has insisted on artist and resident participation from the start. In 1984, Mayor Terry Goddard convened an Ad Hoc Committee on the Arts with 25 members and an auxiliary of 125 permanent guests. Residents help shape projects through initial planning meetings, serving on artist selection panels, and providing ongoing input during the artistic process. The Public Art Program involves artists in the earliest stages of design, giving them a peer-to-peer voice with engineers, architects, urban planners, and city staff.

By embedding artists as core members of the design team, the City of Phoenix has moved beyond using public art as a band-aid for urban spaces. Edward Lebow, Phoenix Public Art Program Director, explains that it allows room for impertinent questions to be asked. By questioning assumptions of how things should look and function, artists collaborating with other design professionals spark citywide debates about the nature of public design and public space. These can be heated, as with the public clamor and mass media coverage of the *Wall Cycle to Ocotillo* installation of a series of large sculptural pots on State Route 51. Yet they expand the public's understanding of the role and function of both art and infrastructure.

Amid controversy and accolades, Phoenix harnesses public art to convert utilitarian infrastructure into compelling places, enriching the city as a whole. Articles in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Atlantic Monthly* have applauded the Public Art Program's work. The U.S. Department of Transportation, National Endowment for the Arts, and other regional and local bodies have honored the Public Art Program's innovative efforts with numerous awards. The Public Art Program's revised (2006) organizing principles, which prioritize creative partnerships and sustainability, show that Phoenix still leads the nation's thinking on public art.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Civic leaders envision public art helping to enhance Phoenix's quality of life, commissioning a landmark citywide public art master plan and percent for art funding stream.
- Over 20 years, Phoenix has invested over $30 million in public art, infusing capital projects with art, and in the process sparking a debate about the nature and role of infrastructure.
- From canals and trails, to pedestrian bridges over freeways, to recycling centers, public art helps make Phoenix more livable for residents and has earned the City national acclaim.

Mayors and Artists Spark a Renaissance

Providence, Rhode Island

For almost 30 years, Providence mayors have intentionally used arts and culture to build pride of place, attract residents and visitors downtown, and foster economic development. Lynne McCormack, Director for the Providence Department of Art, Culture and Tourism, explains that the mayors "get" how arts and culture contribute to the city.

Photo © Michael Melford

WaterFire Providence

"Even the one that went to federal prison got it." In Providence, city leaders champion arts and culture initiatives—festivals, tax incentive fueled arts districts, loans, and technical assistance for arts facilities—because the whole of the city benefits. Although Providence remains a challenged older post-industrial city, with high unemployment and poverty rates, distinctive arts and cultural activities have staunched the City's population decline and avoided greater distress.

An example of Providence's make-it-happen approach, WaterFire Providence® has evolved from a one-time event into an ongoing community ritual several times a month, spring to fall. Providence has struggled for almost a century with plant closings, population stagnation, physical deterioration, and more recently, a downtown retail exodus. In the early 1990s, the City moved boldly, uncovering its downtown rivers that had been paved over for decades, but only partly succeeding in creating a new downtown focal point.

Then in 1994, for a First Night celebration, artist Barnaby Evans installed a series of ceremonial bonfires on downtown Providence rivers. The dramatic work of art resonated with the broad public. Mayor Vincent Cianci encouraged Evans to create an ongoing fire installation via WaterFire, a non-profit arts organization.

Supporters of the recurring festival include local businesses, volunteers who donate their time, and the City's parks and police departments, which provide operational resources. WaterFire® draws more the one million people to Providence each year, an estimated two-thirds coming from outside the area.[43]

In pioneering arts districts with innovative tax incentives, Providence led the country. Artists in the district pay no state income tax on art income, and sales tax is waived on original artwork purchases. A civically minded developer, Buff Chase, and Mayor Cianci initiated the plan in the late 1990s as a way to entice artists into rehabilitated downtown buildings. The Rhode Island General Assembly authorized legislation in 1998, expanding the model to districts in nine other communities across the state. Maryland and Louisiana have followed Rhode Island's lead and adopted similar policies.[44]

Providence's sustained activist approach toward arts-based community development relies on historic assets and artists. Because urban renewal bypassed Providence, the city enjoys the nation's largest share of National Historic Register buildings, many transformed by artists into studios and live-work spaces. Artists facing evictions learned that the City's planning department could provide below-market loans and technical assistance for space acquisition. An example is AS220, a non-profit community arts space that anchors the downtown arts and entertainment district. From 1986-2009 the artists of AS220 worked closely with the planning department to secure financing and acquire three live-work buildings with exhibition space. City leaders continue to support artists' efforts as they see urban dead spots become animated streetscapes.

During Providence's journey from the "armpit of New England" to self-proclaimed "creative capital," government, civic, and arts leaders have encountered challenges. Providence has been unable to tap the expertise of national artist space developers, like Artspace Projects. Thirty-five percent of Providence's land is owned by tax-exempt non-profits, so the City cannot afford giveaways, and both for-profit and non-profit developers are deterred by high acquisitions costs relative to other markets. Local artists committed to Providence initiate developments and rely heavily on the City for initial below-market loans that then entice private lenders to invest.

Designating arts districts is also challenging. In an early attempt, artists found the neighborhood's renovated old office spaces ill suited to their needs. In 2005 the City tried again and succeeded in attracting galleries and artists into a west-side neighborhood offering a mix of retail and industrial space appropriate for loft conversions. Providence also faces tensions between transparency of process and development flexibility. Most action happens opportunistically rather than through formal, codified procedures.

Arts and culture have fed Providence's renaissance, thanks in large part to strong, sustained political will. The current mayor, David Cicilline, champions the arts' contributions to revitalization in federal arenas ranging from Congressional sub-committees to the U.S. Conference of Mayors. He established the Department of Art, Culture, and Tourism, where staffers acts as ombudsmen, helping artists navigate City bureaucracies and translate unfamiliar business lingo. Gradually, through artist driven initiatives, City leadership and private sector cooperation, Providence is shaping its future.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- A series of visionary mayors harness arts and culture to recast Providence as the Creative Capital.
- The WaterFire® Providence festival animates downtown rivers with floating bonfires, drawing over one million people to Providence each year, an estimated two-thirds from outside the region.
- City staffers, artists, and private developers work together to reclaim underutilized space for artist spaces, pioneering innovative arts-friendly tax incentives.

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- Native Artists: Livelihoods, Resources, Space, Gifts (2009, The McKnight Foundation)
- *San José Creative Entrepreneur Project: Artists' Resource and Space Study* (2008) and *Final Report and Recommendations* (2009, Center for Cultural Innovation and City of San José)
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- *Crossover: How Artists Build Careers across Commercial, Non-profit and Community Work* (2006, The James Irvine Foundation, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and Leveraging Investments in Creativity)
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- *"Arts and Culture in Urban and Regional Planning: A Review and Research Agenda"* (Journal of Planning Education and Research, 2010)
- *San José Creative Entrepreneurs Project: Artists' Resource and Space Study* (Center for Cultural Innovation, Los Angeles, 2008)
- *Defining, Measuring and Comparing Place-Based Public Investment Outcomes* (Lincoln Land Institute, Cambridge, MA, 2009)
- *Working Effectively with Somali Residents Through the Arts,* a study examining how the non-profit, commercial and academic arts sectors can work more effectively with a large concentration of Somali residents in the Cedar Riverside neighborhood in Minneapolis. (Cedar Riverside Neighborhood Revitalization Program, Minneapolis, 2009)

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Creative Placemaking

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