

HANDBOOK OF CREATIVE CITIES



Handbook of Creative Cities

Edited by

David Emanuel Andersson

Associate Professor, Institute of Public Affairs Management, National Sun Yat-sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan

Åke E. Andersson

Professor, Department of Economics, Jönköping International Business School, Jönköping, Sweden

Charlotta Mellander

Department of Economics, Jönköping International Business School, Sweden, Martin Prosperity Institute, Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto, Canada

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12 Scenes, innovation, and urban development

Daniel Silver, Terry Nichols Clark and Christopher Graziul

This chapter investigates the consequences of local ‘scenes’ for urban development. It treats the particular constellation of amenities in a place – cafes, galleries, pubs, music venues, fashion houses, dance clubs, antique shops, restaurants, fruit stands, convenience stores and the like – as constituting the local scene. These constellations of amenities define the scene by making available an array of meaningful experiences to residents and visitors. Scenes give a sense of drama, authenticity and ethical significance to a city’s streets and strips. Depending on its particular configuration of amenities, a vibrant scene can transform an urban area into a theatrical place to see and be seen (glamorously, transgressively or in other ways), an authentic place to explore and affirm local, ethnic or national identities (among others), an ethical place to share and debate common values and ideals (such as tradition or self-expression). The availability of these experiences varies substantially across and even within cities and regions. These variations have significant consequences for urban economies and populations.

This chapter proposes several hypotheses and analyses about scenes as one factor that contributes to ‘creative cities’. It situates these propositions within a broader universe of ideas about the significance of creativity. First, it offers a brief overview of the processes involved in what we call the institutionalization and internalization of creativity. This is a process whereby creativity moves from the margins to the centre of basic conceptions of human action, bringing with it special attention to the specific mechanisms through which creative activity is more likely to occur in one place and moment rather than another. Second, we briefly review some classic and contemporary hypotheses about what these multiple mechanisms might be, such as education, technology, density and the like. Third, we propose adding scenes as a distinctly important factor of creativity. We offer a brief introduction to our scenes perspective on urban development, before proposing and testing several hypotheses about how scenes drive urban development.

In sum, this chapter aims to systematically unpack the importance of ‘scenes’ to urban development. While work on this topic has been done theoretically and ethnographically (for example, Lloyd, 2006; Currid, 2007), we aim to pinpoint the variables that create scenes and specify how scenes influence particular attributes of economic development. We seek to connect how and where people consume with how and where they produce. Typically, there has been a disparity between consumption and production models of culture. This chapter proposes a set of mechanisms and causal linkages that join the two.

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND INTERNALIZATION OF CREATIVITY

To provide context, we begin our analysis with what has come to be known as the ‘creative cities thesis’ – largely because this topic has attracted much recent attention, both

among academics and policy-makers (Romein and Trip, 2009 review key aspects of this literature). Spurred by the decline and outsourcing of manufacturing in Western economies since the 1970s, many cities have sought alternative sources of vitality. Cities have cheated 'the death of distance' (Craincross, 1997) through developing themselves, as in New York and London, into hubs for business and financial services (Sassen, 2001); into centres for tourism, consumption and leisure activities as in Bilbao, the Boston waterfront and Chicago's Millennium Park (Clark, 2004); or into focal points for gathering the talented, creative individuals ('human capital') crucial to success in 'knowledge economies', as in Silicon Valley, Seattle, Barcelona and the North Carolina research triangle (Reich, 1992; Becker, 1993; Florida, 2002). Human performance has come to count for economists as one of the key factors of production (Parsons, 2006). This, it is claimed, is 'an economy where a person's ideas, not land or capital, are the most important input and output' (as cited in Peters and Besley, 2008). Economic geographers have stressed that locations able to harness the means of cognition are as significant as those that harness the means of production (cf. Polensky, 2007). Indeed, this anthology attests to the ascendance of creativity as an economically vital cognitive skill.

This recent focus on 'creative cities' builds on deeper social and cultural changes. To be sure, creativity is not a new value; it is as at least as old as Genesis 1, after all. But beginning especially in the nineteenth century, a number of intellectual movements made creativity increasingly internal to their understanding of human action as such (Joas, 1996): Herder on expression; Marx on revolution and praxis; Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Simmel on life; Weber on charisma; Durkheim on collective effervescence; and James, Dewey and Mead on intelligence and pragmatic improvisation. Schumpeter's 'creative destruction' built innovation and not just cost-effective production into the core of economic activity, and Jane Jacobs made surprise and disorder the very stuff of urban development (Jacobs, 1961, 1969; see also Sennett, 1970). These movements congeal in what Howard Rosenberg called the historically novel 'tradition of the new' (Rosenberg, 1959).

In the twentieth century, and especially since the 1960s, this tradition – formerly more exclusive to an intellectual and artistic 'avant-garde' – diffused to the broader public (Parsons, 1978; Clark and Hoffmann-Martinot, 1998; Taylor, 2007). Key social drivers include mass education, mass communication, increased geographic mobility and – in some theories – the need of capitalism to generate new needs (Bell, 1973). At an existential level, some authors have highlighted an increasing awareness of life's fragility, unsettledness and alterability, made unavoidable by two world wars (Joas, 2004). Others have stressed 'expressive' reactions against a stifling, bureaucratic, overly rational culture (Marcuse, 1964); while still others have sought to understand the conditions under which such an 'expressive revolution' could be integrated into basic societal functions, such as production, domestic relations and politics (Parsons, 1978). A related stream of thought points to internal value pressures within Western culture towards individuality and spontaneity, both as 'inner-worldly' activism as well as an 'expressive individualism' already implicit in early Christian notions of the personal experience of love (Bellah, 1996). As this expressive dimension rose in social salience, personalities formed on the basis of the disciplined Protestant work ethic made room for the bohemian and romantic quest for authenticity and personal meaningfulness, unsettling distinctions between productive work and unproductive play (Campbell, 1989; Bell, 1996; Brooks, 2000; Taylor, 2007).

Given this intellectual, cultural and historical context, questions about how to institutionalize and internalize the value of creativity in cities and individuals have naturally become central. Municipal cultural policy has grown, together with investment in cultural infrastructure, artist support and arts incubators. Quebec, for instance, has seen a 14-fold increase in the number of cities with official municipal cultural policies between 1992 and 2002 (De La Durantaye, 2002). In 1975, Saul Bellow wrote that 'there were beautiful and moving things in Chicago, but culture was not one of them' (P. 69). By 2009, the director of the National Endowment of the Arts could say that 'Mayor Daley should be the No. 1 hero to everyone in this country who cares about art.'¹ The number of individuals employed as artists and in the cultural industries has risen dramatically in many countries, as has the number of and participation in cultural organizations and amenities (most dramatically in the United States, Canada and the Netherlands; see Clark and da Silva, 2009).

New questions arise: what infrastructure, education, work environments, public policy and political culture best harness the human creative potential? How can artistic, entrepreneurial and scientific endeavour be instituted as activities unto themselves, and combined with one another in ways that enhance development, innovation and the broader public good? With questions like these, 'the creative class' seems on its way to self-consciousness.

Factors of Creativity

Given the long historical narrative connecting creativity, innovation and production, the 'new' creative cities thesis has provided ample opportunities for derision (cf. Chatterton, 2000). One popular Youtube video, 'Juicing the Creatives',² depicts 'creativity fields' where an old English farmer grows various assortments of hipsters and artists, before distilling their essence into a creativity juice to be sold on the open market.

Much of this response is sensible. Many advocates have promoted one-dimensional, one-size-fits-all quick fixes that generalize from single cases or single dimensions of creativity. A Bilbao for every city! Bike paths for all! Bohemias everywhere! Attract the gays and the rest will follow!

Such unilateral and rigid approaches defy the very fluidity, situation specificity and nuance so central to successful creative endeavour. Thus, in this chapter, we stress the multiple overlapping factors that may contribute to the creativity and growth of cities, and investigate what happens when we add scenes to the mix. We test our hypotheses about scenes in reference to classic and contemporary factors thought to drive urban development and innovation: education, technology, social climate, social density, artist concentrations and natural environment. Because these have received considerable attention, we briefly highlight them before beginning our discussion of scenes.

Education

Urban development has been linked with the consequences of the explosion of higher education in the United States and globally. Universities, not factories, are increasingly at the centres of successful cities. Berkeley, Stanford and Silicon Valley provide perhaps the most famous examples. The relative success of Columbus, Ohio as compared with

Cleveland, Ohio – the former with Ohio State University at its centre, the latter struggling after the decline of steel – speaks to a more general significance.

The mechanisms driving this connection between education, innovation and urban developments are diverse. Talcott Parsons (1971) considered the ‘educational revolution’ as important as the industrial revolution. It bound productivity more explicitly to cultural factors such as scientific research, organization and managerial intelligence. Daniel Bell (1973) linked ‘the coming of post-industrial society’ to the rising social power of university-educated professional groups. Robert Reich (1992) ties success in the new, global economy to ‘mind workers’ especially trained in the manipulation of symbols. Richard Florida (2002) connects the ‘means migration’ of educated, skilled persons to a relatively small number of densely populated regions with success in the creative economy. Glaeser (2004) argues that ‘skilled’ people are the key to urban success because such high human capital people tend to increase ‘new idea production’. His primary measure of ‘human capital’ is years of schooling. We follow these authors and include in our analyses measures of the proportion of the population with bachelor’s degrees and post-graduate degrees.³

Technology

Technology may well be a significant driver of urban growth in its own right, operating with its own distinct social processes above and beyond education. Florida (2002), for example, links creative cities not only to ‘talent’ but also to ‘technology’. Acs (2002) ties high technology employment to urban success, and economists such as Robert Solow and Paul Romer have long argued that technology is central to economic growth. Technology, however, is more than machines and enhanced craft-tools, as authors such as Heidegger (1977) and Parsons (1991) among others have argued. Technology may make cities into centres for innovation by promoting a certain outlook on existence: the world can be altered and transformed in new ways. Nature – including human nature – is not fixed once and for all.⁴ To crudely summarize, according to this line of thought, where there is more technological work, we would expect there to be more creative production and more growth. We therefore include in our analysis a measure of the local concentration of technological jobs, relative to the United States as a whole.

Social climate

Education and technology indicate the presence of skilled workers engaged in work that is especially concerned with innovation. Nurturing and attracting such persons, however, may depend on a city’s broader social climate. Indeed, many authors posit a link between, on the one hand, diversity, openness and tolerance, and, on the other, innovation (Florida, 2002; Kotkin, 2001; Romein and Trip, 2009). Tolerant residents, they argue, support an environment in which alternative styles, unconventional ideas, and diversity in thought and practice can flourish. New ideas are more likely to be brought to fruition and reach the public, and innovative persons are likely to be attracted to such opportunities for experimentation. Florida (2002) treat the percentage of the population that is gay as an indicator of this sort of climate, not because gays are or are not particularly creative, but because their presence may indicate a tolerant city. Even if the specific link between gays and tolerance is spurious (Clark, 2004), other more direct

indicators of a generally open social climate may well vindicate the link between tolerance, creativity and development.⁵

Social density

Social climate indicates the value system in which new ideas are nurtured or repressed. But the ability to communicate those ideas efficiently may also influence urban development. Jane Jacobs famously linked the creativity and development potential of a city to its transport and communication potentials. Much work in the geography of innovation has shown that spillover effects are central to innovation (as summarized by Hoekman et al., 2008). Knowledge is not easily contained in one firm, and when knowledgeable individuals change jobs (Almeida and Kogut, 1999), start their own firms (Klepper, 2001) or exchange knowledge informally with others (Lissoni, 2001), ideas spread rapidly. Such exchanges are known to be highly geographically concentrated (Breschi and Lissoni, 2001; Egeln et al., 2004). Glaeser et al., (2004) suggest that places with high transport costs will suffer as time becomes more valuable.⁶

Artist concentrations

The presence of a critical mass of working artists in a city may be a further factor driving its growth and innovativeness, not reducible to these others.⁷ Most straightforwardly, concentrations of artists indicate concentrations of individuals devoted to creative endeavour as a primary value governing their activity, even if that ideal is rarely realized. Not only does artistic endeavour lead by itself to creative outputs like paintings, novels and musical works, but artistic work is embedded within 'art worlds' (Becker, 1984) that employ many others in creative work – from stage managers to museum staff to art dealers. Post-industrial workplaces increasingly resemble artists' studios in many ways, not least in that they require many artists for services, such as graphic designers, web designers, product designers, marketers, voice-overs or advertising copy editors (Markusen and King, 2003). Artists sell their work to local firms, creating a more stimulating and interesting work environment, and sometimes lead workshops for employees. High concentrations of artists contribute to high quality of place, attracting skilled workers and new businesses to interesting artist neighbourhoods and cities (Florida, 2002; Markusen and King, 2003; Lloyd, 2006). The widespread increased use of 'design' as a term in even traditional industries shows the rise in sensitivity to aesthetic concerns (for example, Daniel Pink's *A Whole New Mind* (2006)). To assess the impact of artists, we include in our models the number of local arts jobs and the local concentration of arts jobs relative to the national average.

Natural environment

A long cultural tradition holds that nature inspires creativity.⁸ Such cultural and intellectual traditions suggest that cities with natural assets may foster distinct forms of creative work. For example, Van Ulzen (2007) suggests that many architects and designers choose to live in more industrial Rotterdam over more tourist-oriented and cultural Amsterdam because of Rotterdam's port and the inspiration from 'the rhythm of the river'. Kotkin (2001), by contrast, suggests that natural assets are less attractive to creative persons, who prefer the action of central cities. Certainly natural amenities like warm weather and opportunities for outdoor recreation, such as mountain climbing or swimming, influence

migration, even if the consequences of such migration for innovation and development are mixed (Brooks, 2000; Clark, 2004; Glaeser et al., 2004).⁹

THE SCENES PERSPECTIVE: A (VERY) BRIEF INTRODUCTION

The scenes perspective adds another key consideration to these drivers of urban development. It focuses attention on different types of amenities and consumption opportunities, asking how variations in these influence the development and creativity of a place. Since this perspective is new, we first outline its main principles.

The first principle of the scenes perspective is that local amenities make vital contributions to the qualities that constitute the urban scene. Cafes, theatres, parks, music venues, restaurants, markets, shops and other amenities define a range of possible experiential qualities that give meaning and value to a given place. The value is derived from the fact that relating to cities as collections of amenities defines urban spaces in a way that makes such spaces more than places for living and working. They become affective arenas for sharing, affirming or rejecting feelings, sensibilities and values; they become scenes. And the particular character of a city's scenes, as we shall see, strongly influences its patterns of development and levels of innovation.

Consistent with much past research, the scenes perspective holds that the particular configuration of amenities indicates a place's particular local scene (Clark, 2004; Currid, 2007; Florida, 2008). Drawing on both classical social theory and philosophy (from Weber and Bellah to Heidegger and Habermas) and contemporary research into many scenes (from Latin Salsa to Hardcore to Chicago Blues), our scenes perspective specifies a range of symbolic meanings that collections of amenities may make available to participants (Silver et al., (2010) summarizes several research streams from urban studies, cultural studies and youth studies that converge on the notion of a scene). Film festivals, high fashion and movie stars may, for example, indicate the presence of a glamorous scene that enables experiences of glamorous theatricality; tattoo parlours, punk music venues, body art studios and piercing salons may indicate the presence of a more transgressive scene that enables experiences of transgressive theatricality; local crafts stores, farmers markets, community centres and arts festivals may indicate the presence of a local scene, enabling the experience of local authenticity. These issues are further articulated elsewhere (Silver et al., 2006, 2010).

We arrange the meaningful experiences enabled by amenities into three analytic categories: legitimacy, theatricality and authenticity. Each corresponds to a category of meaningfulness affirmed or resisted through various types of consumption. Roughly, the legitimacy of a scene is the extent to which its activities enable participants to feel right, to feel that the experience is normatively good. By contrast, authenticity promotes the sense of being real, being rooted in some genuine identity. Finally, theatricality is the extent to which a scene's activities promote styles of social dramatics, offering occasions for mutual self-display.

These three forms of symbolic meaning form a schema for understanding variation in different types of scenes. Each category is further specified in terms of the specific type of legitimacy, theatricality or authenticity the scene affirms or resists, such as traditional, charismatic or self-expressive legitimacy; glamorous, transgressive or neighbourly the-

attractiveness; and local, ethnic or national authenticity. The symbolic qualities of a given scene may be determined by the way collections of amenities combine positive, neutral or negative valuations of various aspects of legitimacy, theatricality and authenticity. Any set of amenities may be 'translated' into this grammar of scenes by scoring them in terms of these dimensions. Systematic comparative analysis of the local scene is thus possible by analysing variations in the mix of experiential qualities projected by local amenities. Table 12.1 summarizes this theoretical approach to the 'internal environment' of scenes. It also includes some illustrative samplings of amenities from our national database that we use as indicators for each of these dimensions.

SCENES AS FACTORS OF CREATIVE CITIES

Scenes have their own internal logics and dramas that unfold, for instance, around how to express original feelings rather than conform to pale imitations, stay true to rather than do violence to a tradition, shine glamorously rather than fade into anonymity, project warmth and intimacy rather than distance and aloofness, and maintain an authentically real life rather than a phony existence. Our present concern, however, is less with this internal 'life in scenes' (Hitzler et al., 2005) than with the consequences of scenes for urban development.¹⁰

Many authors posit a link between aspects of a scene and its development impacts. Some see their value in their attractiveness to skilled workers. Kotkin (2001) distinguishes between the different built environments attractive to 'nerds' versus young childless couples, linking the relative fortunes of different cities to their ability to attract these different groups. Central city cultural areas are attractive to creative workers because 'that is where the action is' (Kotkin, 2001). Florida (2002) suggests that experiential and participatory amenities like bike paths attract the creative class. Glaeser (2004) suggests that cities grow by providing 'the basic commodities desired by those with skills'. Though he does not find any connection between art museums and county population growth, he does find that amenities appealing to 'high human capital workers' – for example, live performance venues and restaurants – significantly predict population growth, while 'amenities appealing to low human capital workers – such as bowling alleys and movie theatres – are both negatively associated with later county population growth' (Glaeser et al., 2004, P. 181). Clark (2004) contends that the attractiveness of different amenities varies across subcultures. Though population in general grows in amenity-rich places, college graduates are more numerous where there are more constructed amenities like brew pubs, operas, juice bars, Starbucks, Whole Foods, bicycle events and museums; they are less numerous where there are more natural amenities. For the elderly, the situation is reversed: their numbers are rising in places with more natural amenities and fewer constructed amenities. Residents who file high technology patents, he finds, live in places with more natural and constructed amenities.

Others have analysed scenes as more direct engines of urban growth, hypothesizing mechanisms through which scenes add value to the production process beyond attracting skilled workers who would *ex hypothesi* be just as productive somewhere else. Landry (2000) writes of the importance of 'third spaces' such as cafes, restaurants, clubs, bars, record shops and bookstores for 'creative cities' in that such spaces foster stimulating

Table 12.1 *The symbolic dimensions of scenes***Theatricality**

Scenes generate a chance to see and be seen, shaping the bearing and manners of their members. Participants can enjoy the essentially social pleasure of beautifully performing a role or a part, or of watching others do so. This is the pleasure of appearances, the way we display ourselves to others and see their images in turn.

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Glamour	Standing on the red carpet at Cannes gazing at the stars going by	Fashion Shows & Designers; Designer Clothes & Accessories; Beauty Salons; Nail Salons; Motion Picture & Video Exhibition; Motion Picture & Sound Recording Studios; Agents, Managers for Artists & Other Public Figures; Film Festivals; Night Clubs; Jewellery Stores; Casinos
Formality	Going to the opera in a gown or white tie and tails	Formal Wear & Costume Rental; Opera Companies; Fine Dining; Private Clubs; Dance Companies; Night Clubs; Golf Courses & Country Clubs; Theatre Companies & Dinner Theatre; Religious Organizations; Offices of Lawyers; Professional Organizations
Transgression	Watching a performance artist pierce his skin	Body Piercing Studios; Tattoo Parlours; Adult Entertainment: Nightclubs; Adult Entertainment: Comedy and Dance Clubs; Leather Clothing Stores; Skateboard Parks; Casinos; Beer, Wine & Liquor Stores; Gambling Industries
Neighbourliness	Attending a performance by the community orchestra	Bed & Breakfast Inns; Civic & Social Organizations; Religious Organizations; Golf Courses & Country Clubs; Sports Teams & Clubs; Playgrounds; Elementary & Secondary Schools; Fruit & Vegetable Markets; Coffee Houses; Pubs; Baked Goods Stores
Exhibitionism	Watching weightlifters at Muscle Beach	Adult Entertainment: Night Clubs; Fashion Shows & Designers; Body Piercing; Tattoo Studios; Health Clubs; Fashion Shows & Designers; Beauty Salons; Nail Salons; Discotheques

Authenticity

The human possibility to be realized in a scene, even where it is highly theatrical, may also be defined by the extent to which a scene affirms a sense of rootedness, confirming or reshaping the primordial identity of their members. Participants may seek the pleasure of having a common sense of what makes for a real or genuine experience. This is the pleasure of identity, the affirmation of who we are at bottom and what it means to be genuine and real rather than fake and phony.

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Local	Listening to the blues in the Checkerboard Lounge, landmark of the Chicago blues	Bed & Breakfast Inns; Historical Sites; Fishing Lakes & Ponds; Marinas; Book Dealers: Used & Rare; Antique Dealers; Scenic & Sightseeing Services; Nature Parks & Other Similar Institutions; Spectator Sports; Sports Teams and Clubs; Microbreweries; Fruit & Vegetable Markets; Meat Markets

Table 12.1 (continued)

Theatricality		
Ethnic	Recognizing the twang of Appalachia in the Stanley Bros.' Voices	Ethnic Restaurants (approximately 40 cuisines); Ethnic Music; Ethnic Dance; Folk Arts; Cultural and Ethnic Awareness Programmes; Language Schools; Gospel Singing Groups; Martial Arts Instruction
Corporate	Reviling a Britney Spears show because she is a corporate creation	Marketing Research; Management Consulting Services; Warehouse Clubs & Superstores; Designer Clothes & Accessories; Fast Food Restaurants; Business & Secretarial Schools; Department Stores; Convention & Trade Shows; Public Relations Agencies; Spectator Sports; Amusement & Theme Parks; Advertising & Related Services
State	Visiting the Gettysburg Battlefield	Political Organizations; Embassies and Delegations; Historical Sites; American Restaurants
Rational	Revering in the cosmic scope of human reason at a planetarium	R&D in Physical, Engineering and Life Sciences; Scientific R&D Services; Colleges, Universities and Professional Schools; Planetaria; Aquariums; Human Rights Organizations; Management, Scientific & Technical Consulting; Exam Preparation and Tutoring; Libraries & Archives; Computer Training; Offices of Lawyers

Legitimacy

In addition to their theatricality and authenticity, scenes may be defined by a judgement about what is right and wrong, how one ought to live, structuring the legitimacy of social consumption, shaping the beliefs and intentions of their members. Participants can seek the pleasure of a common sense of being in the right or rejecting those in the wrong. This is the pleasure of a good will, intending to act on what one takes to be valid beliefs.

Sub-Dimension	Example	Sample Amenity Indicators
Traditional	Sharing in the stability and assurance of hearing Mozart performed in the Vienna State Opera as you believe it was earlier	Genealogy Societies; Historical Sites; Opera Companies; Antique Dealers; Fine Arts Schools; Libraries & Archives; Family Restaurants; Family Clothing Stores; Religious Organizations; Dance Companies; Museums
Utilitarian	Attending a benefit concert because it contributes to positive outcomes or savouring the value of efficient production at a museum of industry	Fast Food Restaurants; Technical & Trade Schools; Warehouse Clubs & Superstores; Business & Secretarial Schools; Management Consulting Services; Convenience Stores; Business Associations; Junior Colleges; Computer Systems Design; Database & Directory Publishers; Exam Preparation & Tutoring; Educational Exhibits

Table 12.1 (continued)

Theatricality		
Egalitarian	Enjoying the democratic implications of a crafts fair	Human Rights Organizations; Salvation Army; Public Libraries; Elementary & Secondary Schools (Public); Environment & Wildlife Organizations; Junior Colleges; Services for Elderly & Disabled Persons; Social Advocacy Organizations; Individual & Family Services; Religious Organizations
Self-expressive	Enjoying hearing a jazz musician play something that could only be improvised spontaneously at that particular moment	Dance Companies; Fashion Shows/Designers; Yoga Studios; Art Dealers; Comedy Clubs; Body Piercing; Tattoo Parlors; Recorded Music Stores; Vintage & Used Clothing; Custom Printed T-Shirts; Music Festivals; Fine Arts Schools; Graphic Design Services; Independent Artists, Writers & Performers; Musical Groups & Artists; Performing Arts Companies; Sound Recording Industries; Hobby, Toy, & Game Stores; Interior Design Services; Karaoke Clubs
Charismatic	Watching a Chicago Bulls game because of the charismatic aura of Michael Jordan rather than because one is a Chicagoan	Designer Clothes & Accessories; Fashion Shows/Designers; Motion Picture & Video Exhibition; Art Dealers; Dance Companies; Historical Sites; Motion Picture & Sound Recording Industries; Musical Groups & Artists; Performing Arts Companies; Promoters of Entertainment Events; Spectator Sports; Fine Arts Schools; Sports Bars; Sound Recording Studios

communication between people (Landry, 2000, p. xxiii). Some scenes may facilitate the sorts of 'buzzing' face-to-face interactions and vibrant milieus that Storper and Venables (2004) show are crucial to success in co-ordinating, sustaining and enhancing creative work (see also Bathelt et al., 2004; Bahlmann et al., 2009). The glamour of the fashion scene in New York and the film scene in Los Angeles heightens demand for the products they produce, generating independent economic value (Currid, 2007). Persons not only move to places because there are certain amenities there; participation in those amenities enables them to live out and actually become the types of persons they wish to be (Silver et al., 2006). Being in a place with many self-expressive or glamorous or traditionalistic amenities makes it more likely that one will meet self-expressive or glamorous or traditionalistic people, have experiences of the majesty of glamour, the uniqueness of the expressions of a self or the power of a tradition, and commit to making the lifestyles associated with those experiences a part of one's identity and social connections. People can abstractly value glamour while living in many places; but in Los Angeles, for example, it is uniquely possible to exist in a glamorous way and become a glamorous person. Thus, even if many talented people move to cities in part because of their amenities and consumption spaces, participation in those amenities may generate independent consequences.

Another strand of research focuses specifically on bohemian scenes. What kind of connection might join bohemian neighbourhoods and urban development? Bohemias are

more than artistic enclaves. Most bohemians are not themselves artists, but dress, speak and consume in an 'artsy' way (Grăna, 1964). From the beginning, bohemian neighbourhoods were significant not only for the art they produce; they spatially concentrate individuals against the Establishment, producing a common mood of transgressing the rules in a quest for unusual, exotic experiences. Bad is Good: crime, marginal groups and drugs may all be positively valued. Silver et al., (2010) indeed find that bohemian amenities are more common in high-crime areas, though the impacts of such scenes vary a great deal in different contexts. Bohemias crystallize in a place the spirit of transgression, but they need not be revolutionary – Marx, Benjamin and Sartre criticized bohemians for being more concerned with etiquette, manners and experiences than with transforming the economic bases of society.

All of this makes bohemian neighbourhoods – filled with used clothing boutiques, late night bars, tattoo parlours, smoke shops, galleries, ethnic restaurants and marginal individuals – highly suitable as laboratories for generating new consumption styles. Analogous on the consumption side to scientific research and development on the production side, they are integrally connected to, and not necessarily in combat with, a creative economy that expands by generating new demands (Campbell, 1989). Where it is important for firms to be on the cutting edge and to appeal to youth, edginess, difference, otherness and retro style, then the presence of a bohemia could provide vital inputs. Bohemias provide growing cultural economies with 'useful labour' (Lloyd, 2006) – not only in the form of artists and designers, but also in all the highly educated support staff, marketers and executives who can go to the bars and find out what is (about to be) hip (Currid, 2007). They can consume on the edge of accepted conventions, without themselves having to be artists or revolutionaries. Thus, the presence of thriving bohemian communities could add to the creative workplace by providing relatively safe spaces for a more educated workforce that has internalized avant-garde culture.

The above discussion of scenes focuses largely on their direct consequences for urban development. Yet it also suggests added attention to the ecological context within which scenes operate and how scenes define the context within which other variables shift their dynamics. Bohemia is a case in point. For bohemias are highly contextual phenomena. Typically, the wider metropolitan areas of which bohemian neighbourhoods are a part are not very bohemian. The Latin Quarter in the 1840s stood out because the rest of Paris provided very few opportunities for concentrated and public experiences of self-actualization (as defined by the bohemians). Wicker Park in the 1990s existed within a Chicago that until very recently was dominated by the social life of ethnic churches and neighbourhoods as well as the political machine. Yorkville in the late 1960s and early 1970s existed within a moralistic Toronto where one was not legally permitted to bring an alcoholic drink from one table to another without supervision by licensed staff. The bohemian breakthrough often occurs in and celebrates such transitional, liminal moments in the life of a city. Social connections and individual identity based on tradition, ethnicity, residence, occupation and formal conventions are suddenly joined and redefined by those based on personal style, sensibility and affect. Bohemias therefore thrive in particular contexts: when the 'expressive revolution' is diffusing to the general populace but is still relatively rare, fragile and new.

Though it is possible to imagine numerous other ways beyond bohemia in which scenes are contextually salient, here we limit our discussion to three others. One is the

intersection of scenes and neighbourhood walkability. A neighbourhood may be walkable in that many people walk to work or take public transport and are therefore more likely to move about among many amenities in close proximity. But that alone does not convey the feel of the neighbourhood – an equally high Walk Score can be achieved on walk.com, for example, via many McDonalds or many local bakeries. A scene of local authenticity, by contrast, may create a distinctive environment in which walking is more likely to connect persons to place and build a sense of community involvement and investment.

A second contextual effect we propose joins scenes and technology industry clusters. A city may contain large concentrations of technological work, but without diverse scenes, the spillover effects noted by geographers may not occur. People need places to interact informally, places whose experiential qualities heighten those interactions. Amenities promoting the value of spontaneous self-expression may better facilitate the informal interactions that add value to technology firms.

A third contextual hypothesis concerns nature and scenes. Though proximity to mountains and beaches may provide advantages to some cities, others with fewer natural amenities may compensate via amenities generating a sense of rootedness in an authentic place. Jim Brainard, Mayor of Carmel, Indiana, puts this proposition clearly: ‘We have something La Jolla doesn’t have. It’s called “diversity of weather”. But we have to be able to compete with those places. We don’t have the Pacific Ocean, we don’t have the Rocky Mountains. So we have to work harder on our cultural amenities and in our built environment to make it beautiful – and to make it a place where people want to choose, to spend their lives, raise their families, and retire. . .’.¹¹ Scenes of local authenticity may become more salient for urban development in places with fewer natural amenities.

EMPIRICAL PROPOSITIONS

From these ideas about the economic consequences of scenes it is possible to derive numerous testable hypotheses. Many more are possible, but those below connect clearly to existing urban development discussions. Testing them serves to demonstrate the utility of the scenes concepts for such discussions.

We start at the most general level:

Variations in local amenity mix lead to differential urban development outcomes.

Specifying the proposition for concrete types of scenes yields the following:

Urbane scenes facilitate innovation and attract highly skilled workers.

Stressing specific scene dimensions typically considered crucial suggests:

- *Highly glamorous and individually self-expressive scenes add value to urban places over and above their general urbanity.*
- *Scenes that stress communitarian values attract socially integrated sub-populations and generate patterns of urban development hospitable to them.*

If we focus on the proposed economic consequences of bohemian scenes, the following propositions should hold:

- *Bohemian scenes promote novel ideas, attract young college graduates and generate more employment in the broader economy.*
- *The impact of bohemia is contextual; it is greater when bohemia contrast more sharply with alternatives.*

Other propositions about how scenes create distinctive ecological contexts for urban development could include:

- Walkable neighbourhoods experience distinctive development outcomes when they feature scenes of local authenticity.
- Technology industry clusters are more likely to lead to growth and innovation when they are located amidst amenities that promote experiences of self-expression.
- Amenities that highlight local authenticity are more likely to impact urban development in places with fewer natural amenities.

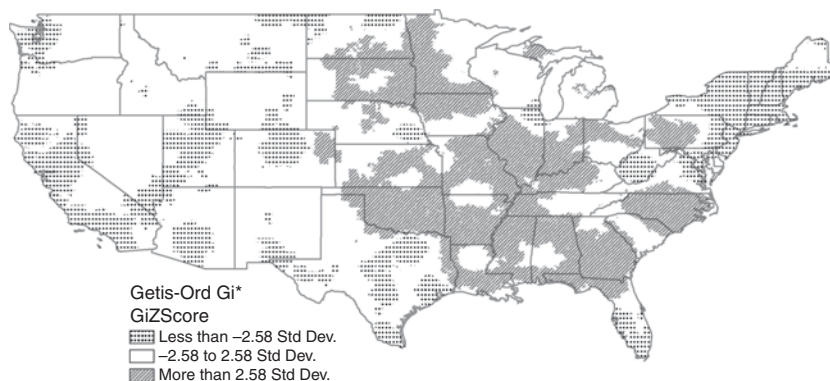
Data and Methodology

We tested these propositions using our national database of urban amenities, controlling for other factors known to affect urban economic development.

The theory of scenes, we saw, includes a matrix to identify specific types of meanings, starting with theatricality, legitimacy and authenticity. To ‘translate’ amenities into the ‘grammar’ of scenes, all amenities (some 600) in our database were coded on a five-point scale for each of the 15 sub-dimensions of scenes in Table 12.1. Lower scores indicate a negative (not weak) relation to that sub-dimension, as in rejecting tradition or opposing transgressiveness; positive scores indicate a positive relation, as in actively affirming equality or rationality. Based on these codes, a ‘performance score’ was computed for each scene dimension at the zip code level (details on index construction are available at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchAppendix.docx>). This score is the salience of each dimension (for example, self-expressiveness or neighbourliness) indicated by the amenities in that zip code. Other measures are of course possible and potentially useful, but the performance scores have demonstrated considerable face validity (Silver et al., 2010) and construct validity (Navarro, 2010). These measures provide a powerful way to capture the range and combinations of cultural meanings present in various places, as embedded in and projected by the amenities of daily life.

The 15 sub-dimensions summarize the huge amounts of cultural information from the amenities database into a manageable set of indices. These capture facets of a scene to help analyse its ‘internal’ environment. Or they can be used as we do below: as independent variables to explain other phenomena, like economic productivity, innovation, population changes, social trust political affiliation and activism.

In addition to these measures of scenes, we also utilize composite indicators of the array of dimensions of meanings in a given place – that is, combinations of all the 15 dimensions of meaning. We use two strategies. The first is more inductive, the second more deductive. The inductive strategy led to our measure of urbanity. It is based



Note: Areas with diagonal lines are more ‘communitarian’ scenes, small towns and rural counties with higher scores on neighbourliness and tradition (where there are more churches, parks, family restaurants, etc., and people say they know their neighbours, participate in civic meetings with them, and invite them to dinner, etc.) and are adjacent to other counties with similar characteristics. We see a band of such hot spots that runs from Mississippi up the centre of the USA to Minnesota and North Dakota. Blue areas are not small-town neighbourly, but more often urbane in scoring higher on self-expressive, exhibitionist, transgressive and glamorous dimensions.

The Coolest locations on the map have considerable face validity: they are California, especially Southern California along the coast, as well as Colorado, and the New York to Washington DC corridor. These are interestingly distinct from the more commonly discussed Red /Blue map of Republican/Democratic voting. Our Hot and Cold spots seem to capture more the social/cultural dimensions that dovetail more with ‘social liberalism’ as discussed in the New Political Culture (and by Ronald Inglehart, David Brooks and others). We focused on them as social life, migration decisions and debates among political candidates – much research suggests – increasingly stress these social/cultural lifestyle elements (complementing the material, job and fiscal dimensions of life).

Note that this map of our scenes dimensions is similar to maps of the ‘big five’ personality types, such as conscientiousness and agreeableness in the South and Midwest, and openness to experience on the two coasts (Florida, 2008, p. 196).

Figure 12.1 The American scenscape

on a principal component analysis of all 15 sub-dimensions, the first factor of which accounted for approximately 44 per cent of the total variance. This factor score permits us to measure where any location falls along the spectrum that most powerfully divides the American scenscape as a whole. The loadings for each sub-dimension suggest a consistent interpretation: it embodies the classic contrast between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. On one end of the spectrum are ‘urbane’ scenes of glamorous and transgressive theatricality, utilitarian and self-expressive legitimacy, and rational, state and corporate authenticity. On the other are ‘communitarian’ scenes of traditional and charismatic legitimacy, formal and neighbourly theatricality, and local authenticity. Figure 12.1 shows a map of this factor score across all US zip codes.

We generate our measure of bohemian scenes with a more deductive strategy. Using a sub-dimensional profile of an ideal-typical bohemia, we assign every US zip code a score indicating how well it matches this abstract concept. Our construction of the ideal-typical bohemia draws on past and recent discussions of the nature of bohemia to determine how a bohemian scene combines the 15 sub-dimensions of scenes. Table 12.2 summarizes this profile.

Defined thus, a scene is more bohemian if it exhibits resistance to traditional legiti-

Table 12.2 *Ideal typical Bohemian scene*

Sub-dimension	Score	Sub-dimension	Score	Sub-dimension	Score
Traditionalistic	2	Neighbourly	2	Local	4
Self-expressive	5	Formal	3	Ethnic	4
Utilitarian	1	Glamorous	3	State	2
Charismatic	4	Exhibitionistic	4	Corporate	1
Egalitarian	2	Transgressive	5	Rational	2

Source: Silver, Clark and Navano (2010).

Note: One (1) is negative, three (3) is neutral and five (5) is positive.

macy, affirms individual self-expression, eschews utilitarianism, values charisma, promotes a form of elitism (Baudelaire's 'aristocracy of dandies'), encourages members to keep their distance, promotes transforming oneself into an exhibition, values fighting the mainstream, affirms attending to the local (Balzac's intense interest in Parisian neighbourhoods), promotes ethnicity as a source of authenticity (cf. Lloyd, 2006, p. 76), attacks the distant, abstract state, discourages corporate culture and attacks the authenticity of reason (Rimbaud's 'systematic derangement of all the senses'). Scenes whose amenities generate profiles that are closer to this ideal-type receive a higher score on our Bohemian Index (measured as the value distance from the 'bliss point' defined by Table 12.6). This measurement from a bliss point is analogous to policy distance analyses in voting (for example, Riker and Ordeshook, 1973, Chapter 11). Operationally, we subtract the distance of each zip code on each of the 15 dimensions from the bohemian 'bliss point' defined in Table 12.2. We then aggregate these 15 distances and take the reciprocal score. Yes, there is room for debate on this and any characterization of bohemia. In practice, the index identifies many neighbourhoods which others cite as distinctly bohemian: in Chicago, the highest scoring neighbourhoods in 2000 include Bucktown, Wicker Park, Humboldt Park and Logan Square, all commonly perceived as bohemian at the time (Lloyd, 2006), even if they may have changed subsequently.

Other variables

To consider how our scenes operate alongside widely discussed past approaches, we chose our main dependent variables as the most widely used in the social sciences: changes in per capita income, population, gross rent, employment, college graduates and post-graduates. We also add the classic measure of innovation: the per capita rates at which three different types of patents were filed with the US Patents Office – technology patents, entertainment patents and other patents from 1975 to 1999. We refer to these dependent variables collectively as Creative City Dependent Variables (CCDVs), but also discuss them separately.

Our general strategy is to include a set of independent variables drawn from past research that we term 'the Core'. These are basic measures used by leading researchers in the subfield studying each dependent variable. The Core includes population size, per cent of population who are non-white, median gross rent, per cent college graduates, per cent Democratic vote in presidential elections, crime rate and the location quotient of

a broad measure of artistically related jobs. Finally, the Core includes the factor score mapped above. All impacts reported below are net of the above Core group of independent variables. More details about our data sources, variable definition and variable construction methods can be found at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchAppendix.docx>.

In performing our research we discovered that some items were either not available in a consistent manner nationally, or were too strongly intercorrelated with other items to permit including them all in the model. We typically omitted independent variables which had Pearson correlations with each other that exceeded ± 0.5 , but also relied on variance inflation factors (VIFs) to detect problematic multicollinearity. For most models the VIF of independent variables does not exceed four, and in no case ten. After resolving these issues, our analyses all begin with Core models for each estimated dependent variable, using multiple regression and related methods. To these models we add 'other variables', one or a few at a time, depending on the substantive proposition. These were added to assess both direct effects and the possible suppression of Core items by the other variables. This method of beginning with a set of Core variables and adding other measures to the analysis as needed has been robust in past works (cf. Clark, 2004). It allows us to maintain a consistent frame of reference across propositions by testing each with respect to a widely acknowledged set of predictors. Thus we are agnostic towards debates about which of the Core may be most important for any given dependent variable, but remain sensitive to the relative impact of including our variables of interest.

Our units of analysis are multiple. This is unavoidable given the availability of patents, crime rate and voting data. None of these three variables were reliably available at the zip code level for the entire United States. Our main scenes data were collected for individual street addresses (from sources such as the electronic yellow pages) or zip codes (from the County Business Patterns (CBP) data). Statistical analyses involving scenes included other zip code level items, but due to issues such as varying catchment areas for different scenes we experimented with different unit sizes, especially counties and metropolitan areas. For instance, a coffee shop's catchment area is normally less than a zip code, but a sports stadium or opera may serve a metropolitan area; both could attract college graduates or interact with other factors of creativity. We thus merged zip code level variables into files with variables measured at the county, municipal or metropolitan levels.

In this way we often combined several levels in a single regression analysis, especially if we posit cross-effects between levels (for instance, migrants to a zip code can be attracted by the metropolitan area stadium as well as by the zip code cafe). The typical approach to assessing multi-level effects is to employ Hierarchical Linear Modelling (HLM) and related methods. Initial explorations of these methods yielded generally consistent results to those we report below. For our purposes here, however, the violation of independence introduced by adding county-level measures as predictors/outcomes is in addition to the violation of independence introduced by the spatial autocorrelation of zip codes (which are either adjacent or in proximity). To fully address these issues we would have had to use a combined HLM and spatial dependence approach that is currently being developed and applied (see Savitz and Raudenbush, 2009) and therefore exceeds the scope of an initial analysis. Obviously such methods will provide substantial opportunities for future research and testing of our findings.

We analyse both direct and interaction effects. Direct effects are most simply measured by coefficients of independent variables in a multiple regression. Interaction effects are

present when direct effects shift across contexts – such as when glamour is more important for job growth in Los Angeles than Chicago – and are investigated here mainly by performing separate regressions on different quintiles of a key variable. Local culture and scenes can operate both ways: first by exerting their own direct effects, second by defining a context (such as glamorous) which shifts the effects of other variables. Sharp (2005) and DeLeon and Naff (2004) have stressed that local political cultures can be detected in such interactions.

Missing data was substantial in some instances, especially when we combined various data sources. For instance, the Census population data are not reported fully for zip codes when reporting could violate confidentiality (that is, zip codes with very small populations). Hence some 10 000 of the roughly 40 000 zip codes omit data for income, education and similar items from the Census of Population. Another reason for this discrepancy is that many zip codes are merely post boxes for mailing purposes (that is, corporate offices).¹²

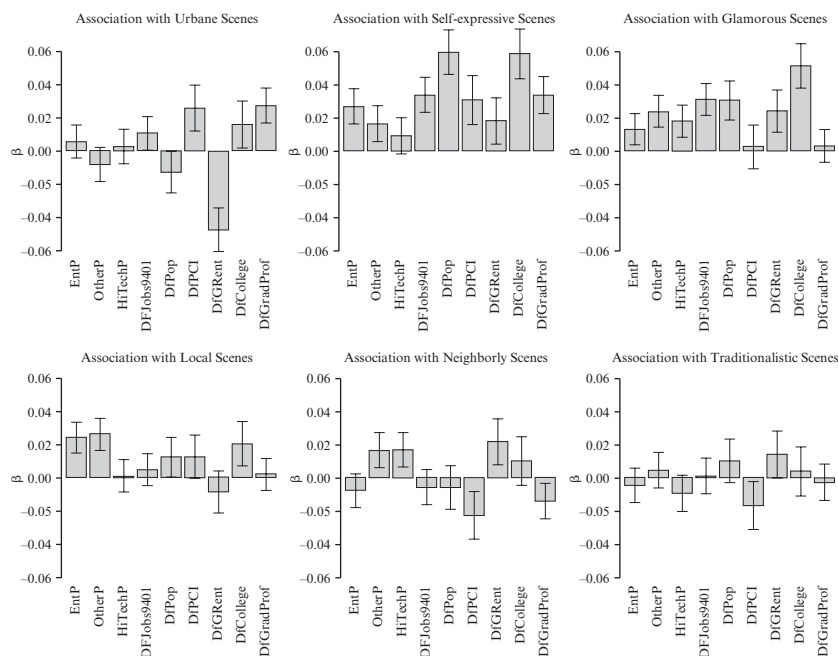
We do not include tables showing detailed regression outputs, opting instead to report substantively interesting results and representative summary figures.

Results

Figure 12.2 reports a series of regression results designed to assess some of the direct impacts of scenes outlined in the propositions above. The bars represent standardized regression coefficients (plotted with their 95 per cent confidence intervals) for five of the 15 sub-dimensions of scenes especially germane to the above propositions: self-expressive legitimacy, traditional legitimacy, glamorous theatricality, neighbourly theatricality and local authenticity. Figure 12.2 also reports results for our measure of urbanity, derived from a principal component analysis of all 15 scenes dimensions as outlined above. The results were powerful. We discuss those significant above the 0.05 level of probability.

The general feeling of urbanity captured by our factor index of amenities was positively associated with job growth, income growth, gains in post-graduate degree holders (weak), gains in college graduate growth and declining rents, but unrelated to patents and population growth. This most general dimension of the American scenscape – *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft* – is thus clearly linked to urban development trajectories. Nevertheless, as Talcott Parsons pointed out (Parsons, 1951), there is significant room for variation within and between these forms of association. The weak relationship between urbanity and change in college graduates, for instance, might suggest that this group is sensitive to distinctions among different types of urbanity; the insignificant relation to patents of all types might suggest that urbanism as such is less important than specific types of experiences (for example, self-expressive or glamorous) for facilitating interactions likely to generate innovative products.

Scenes that promote experiences of individual self-expression were significantly and positively associated with all CCDVs except for high tech patents, which were nearly significant (associated at the $\alpha = 0.1$ level). Self-expression is the only variable we tested – including such urban development staples as growth and level of human capital, arts jobs, technology jobs, population density, commute times – associated with six of our seven dependent variables: patents of all kinds, increasing population, rents, income, total jobs and human capital.



Note: In these and other figures, bars show the impact via the standardized regression coefficients for each independent variable (like self-expressive scenes here) on nine dependent variables (EntP etc.). Whiskers indicate the 95 per cent confidence interval for each coefficient. Thus if the whiskers do not cross the horizontal line at zero, the results are statistically significant. From left to right, dependent variables are log entertainment patents per capita, log other patents per capita, log high tech patents per capita, log proportional change in total employment (1994–2001), log proportional change in population (1990–2000), proportional change in per capita income (1990–2000), proportional change in gross rent (1990–2000), difference in proportion of college graduates (1990–2000) and difference in proportion of individuals with post-graduate degrees (1990–2000). These are classic least squares multiple regression point estimates. Unless otherwise noted, the Core variables are included as controls. Basic descriptive statistics are reported at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchAppendix.docx> Subsequent analysis of an expanded model that included all variables created to measure the various factors of creative cities (available at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchExtendedAnalysis.docx>) revealed basically similar results.

Figure 12.2 Scenes hypotheses

Glamorous amenities were positively linked with all CCDVs except for change in total jobs and post-graduates. In fact, both glamour and self-expression suppress the impact of college graduates on population growth. They also suppress the impact of urbanity on change in college graduates, suggesting that such persons are responsive to exceptionally glamorous and self-expressive areas more than the general urbanity found in many places. Post-graduate degree holders, by contrast, rose in urbane but not glamorous places, what we could label ‘square urban development’. These seem to be separable effects: putting glamour and self-expression in the same model does not significantly alter any of the above relations. For some outcomes, that is, glamour and self-expression each generate value all their own.

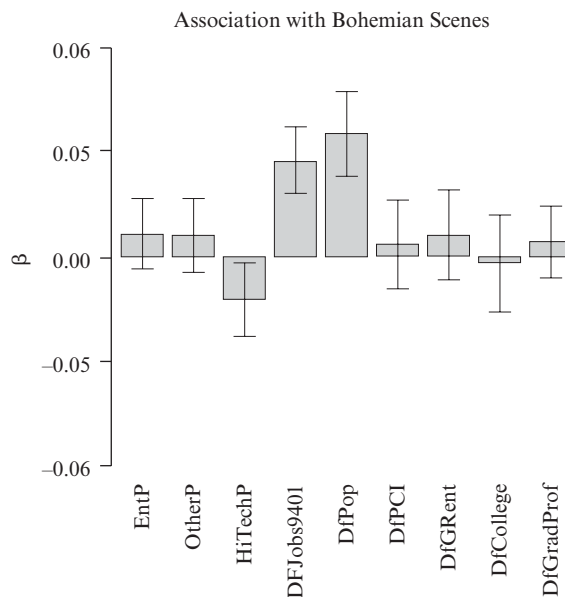
The results for the more communitarian dimensions of scenes reported in Figure 12.2 – traditional legitimacy, neighbourly theatricality and local authenticity – were

surprising. These are the places filled with the amenities that Glaeser et al. label ‘low human capital’. Traditional amenities are linked with declines in per capita incomes, as are neighbourly amenities, which also have modestly larger declines in post-graduate degree holders. And yet: amenities of local authenticity are positively and significantly – if weakly – associated with gains in college graduates, while neighbourly amenities are significantly associated with rising rents. Not only theatres and restaurants but also bed and breakfasts, golf courses and local bakeries appeal to skilled persons. Still, for the most part, the communitarian dimensions do not exhibit statistically significant relationships with most of our economic development variables. The most surprising exception is patents: neighbourly zip codes predict more high tech and other patents, while those with more locally authentic amenities have more entertainment and other patents. Cities producing the most patents contain highly neighbourly and locally oriented communities.

This finding contrasts so much with the standard story of edgy creative class domination that we investigated it further to see if the result was spurious. It seems not. Rather, it seems that the standard picture is overwhelmed by the strong relationship between rents and patents. When we exclude rents from the model, the associations of neighbourly and local amenities are negative with patents. Yet when we add rents (as a cost of living indicator), the relationship reverses: local and neighbourly amenities are significantly associated with higher concentrations of patents. We performed many tests to check whether this result is mere statistical noise or whether it carries substantive meaning. It appears to be the latter.

Interpretation? Many urban economists have noticed the strong positive relationship between high rent districts and creative industry clusters. Silicon Valley has very high rents, and many firms and individuals continue to move there, even when rents would be cheaper in Nevada. Why? They typically point to spillover effects, where locating near other innovating firms and individuals increases the productivity of everybody; the whole is greater than the parts. Others have posited a signalling process, whereby high rents signal to firms and workers that productive, talented workers are located there; a sorting effect (Berliant and Yu, 2009). Some, as we saw, suggest a premium on certain amenities, like theatres and restaurants (Glaeser et al., 2004). High human capital workers are willing to pay higher rents to gain access to these sorts of amenities and the other high human capital people likely to frequent them; low human capital amenities are correlated with lower rents and less skilled people.

Our finding complicates these stories. If we only look at the simple bivariate correlation between, on the one hand, our measures of local authenticity and neighbourly theatricality, and, on the other, patents, we find a negative relationship for both. There is less patent production in places with more amenities such as historical sites, family restaurants, parks, civic and social organizations, bakeries, fruit and vegetable markets, libraries and archives, playgrounds, coffee houses, pubs, cemeteries, antique dealers, churches and historical societies. However, once we control for rents, the relationship reverses: places that provide connection to and express the value of a tradition and neighbourliness have more patents. That places which foster neighbourly styles of theatricality have lower rents biases our view of such places (the correlation is -0.2). If we take out the effect of high rents – whether due to sorting, spillover or high-priced amenities – then we can see that a lifestyle rooted in the local and committed to the community via scenes



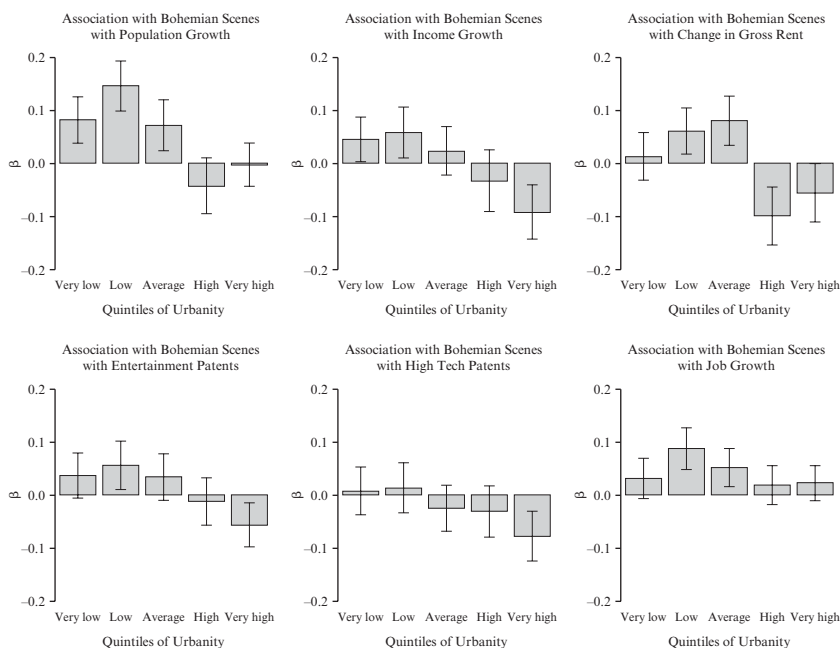
Note: See Figure 12.2 for more detailed information regarding the models presented.

Figure 12.3 Generic effect of bohemia

composed of amenities that express and enact the values of local authenticity and neighbourly theatricality is perfectly consistent with innovative work.

What specific mechanisms are here? Consider two. One proposes indirect and another direct mechanisms through which such scenes encourage novel ideas. First, the promise of a local community lifestyle may attract high-skilled workers to more rural or neighbourhood settings, ‘compensating’ for the loss of the high-rent prestige of Silicon Valley, Los Angeles or New York City with a lifestyle full of neighbourly and locally authentic amenities. In fact, some land-grant universities like the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Virginia Tech have been actively pursuing this strategy with their local governments. The presence of such workers could then lead to more innovation. Yet interacting with this first process is a second, more directly connecting local roots and neighbourly interaction to innovation, cultivating sensibilities for certain sorts of creative work. The security of a life connected organically and intimately to a community of neighbours who ‘know your name’ provides a firmer backdrop and support for the inevitable failures and risks of all creative endeavours. The best new knowledge can be like the best food: it comes slow, not fast, and is organically connected with local practice. It finds nourishment in extended conversations that unfold over years, working out of (not against) its history to find insight not in abstract, disembodied universal processes but in the particular dynamics of a concrete place. The availability of life in neighbourly and local scenes may enable these sorts of ideals to form the basis of everyday personal and social experience.¹³

What about bohemia (Figure 12.3)? An equally complicated picture emerges. At the national level, patents are not more likely to be filed by residents of cities with strong



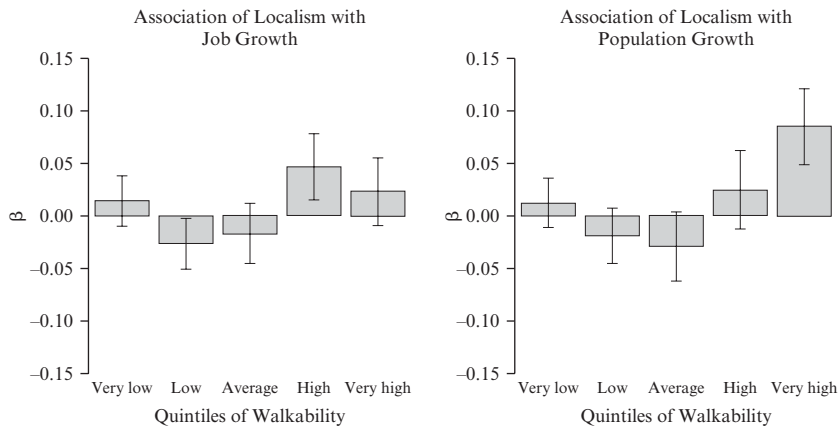
Note: See Figure 12.2 for more detailed information regarding the models presented.

Figure 12.4 Differential effect of bohemia, via urbanity

bohemian scenes. Nor are bohemian scenes attracting college graduates or experiencing rising rents or incomes. They are, however, showing increased jobs and population. Moreover, the Bohemian Index suppresses the impact of our measure of general urbanity on population growth. These results again complicate the simple stories of gentrification and Red State versus Blue State.

Above, we underscored the highly contextual nature of bohemia. This led us to go beyond traditional national analyses to look for how bohemian scenes vary in specific local contexts. If bohemias are liminal spaces between the passing of an old world and the emergence of a new, our propositions suggest that their impact should be greater when embedded in more communitarian contexts. We tested this idea by creating a variable using the county mean of our scenes factor score, which we treat here as a single variable measure of the degree of urbanity or communitarianism of the county as a whole. Places with lower scores are thus more communitarian on this measure.¹⁴ The key was then to split our national file into quintile groups based on this measure (Figure 12.4). This reveals how the impact of bohemian amenities shifts across places which are more or less urbane.

The results are highly suggestive. Bohemias are not significantly linked with entertainment patent filing nationally; however, they are in its less urbane segments, and they are associated with lower concentrations of entertainment patents (and high tech patents) in, and only in, the most urbane areas. Moreover, though nationally bohemias predict increases in total employment, this effect is almost entirely contained within the middle



Note: See Figure 12.2 for more detailed information regarding the models presented.

Figure 12.5 Differential effect of localism, via walkability

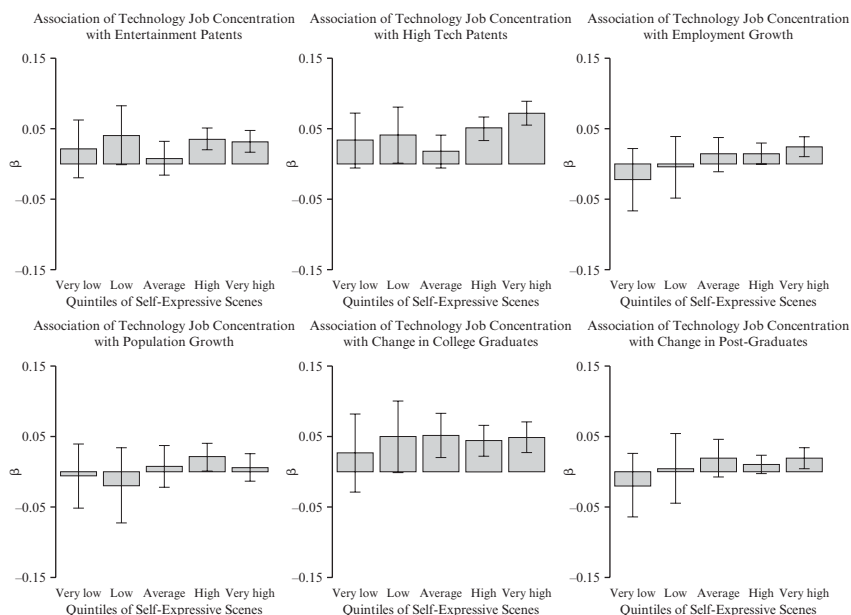
and second-most communitarian group of counties in the country. And though nationally bohemias are experiencing population growth, this growth is mostly within the most communitarian quintiles and is absent in the most urbane segments of the country. A similar pattern emerges for the relationship between bohemias and income growth: while bohemias do not predict increasing incomes nationally, they do in the lower quintiles, and their impact declines in linear fashion until, in the most urbane parts of the country, they are associated with declining incomes. The relationship between bohemias and rents shows a similar, if less linear, pattern.

These results offer strong confirmation of the notion that, for example, Lloyd's observations of Wicker Park's rise in the 1990s are not unique to Chicago but may instantiate a general phenomenon. Bohemias play a pivotal role in the early phases of a city's 'expressive revolution', where formerly blue-collar and bourgeois cities or neighbourhoods experience their first, transitional reverberations of the tradition of the new. But as that revolution becomes institutionalized and thereby moderated, the contrast between 'establishment' and 'radical' is reduced, and specifically bohemian neighborhoods stand out less. One potential indication of this developmental sequence is given by the fact that post-graduate degree holders – harbingers of the establishment – actually increase in bohemias located within the more urbane parts of the country.

Analysis by quintiles also yielded some intriguing findings for our other hypotheses about the contextual aspects of scenes' consequences for urban development. We report here on the strongest patterns, but caution that many other relationships are not so clear or coherent.

Scenes and neighbourhood walkability powerfully interact, as Figure 12.5 shows. At the national level, local authenticity is unrelated to job growth and weakly to population growth. However, within the zip codes with the largest shares of residents who walk to work, local authenticity is positively related to both job and population growth. Local authenticity has no effect in the places where fewer people walk to work.

Self-expressive scenes seem to enhance the gains associated with technology clusters.



Note: See Figure 12.2 for more detailed information regarding the models presented.

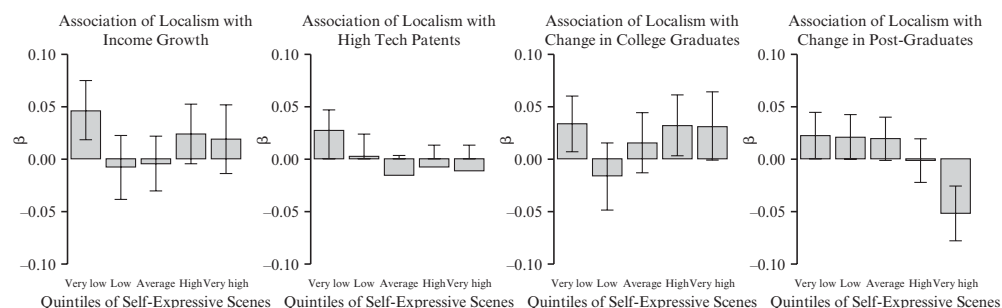
Figure 12.6 Differential effect of technology job concentration, via self-expressive scenes

As we saw, in national analysis clusters of technology jobs are positively related to patent concentration, job growth, population growth and human capital gains, while they are negatively related to rents and incomes. However, these effects are strongly mediated by the self-expressiveness of the amenities that are near technology jobs, as is shown in Figure 12.6.

The relationship between technology industry clusters and two types of patents (entertainment and technology) is mostly found within only the two most self-expressive segments of the country. The association of technology clusters with job growth is significant only within the most self-expressive quintile, their association with population growth is significant only in the second-most self-expressive quintile, and their association with post-graduate gains is significant only in the most self-expressive quintile. The association between technology clusters and change in college graduates shows a similar pattern: a positive relationship between technology jobs and increasing college graduates exists in the parts of the country with scenes less legitimized by individual self-expression. But that association grows stronger through the two top quintiles. Technology clusters may play a part in the new urban economy, but that role seems to significantly depend on such clusters locating in scenes that provide occasions for spontaneity, improvisation and unique expression.

Scenes of local authenticity are related to different urban development outcomes depending on their proximity to natural amenities, as shown in Figure 12.7.

Nationally, locally authenticated amenities are associated with higher concentrations of entertainment and other patents, rising college graduates, population and income,



Note: See Figure 12.2 for more detailed information regarding the models presented.

Figure 12.7 Differential effect of localism, via natural amenities

and unrelated to our other dependent variables. However, local authenticity shifts in impact with the natural amenity context. The positive impact of local authenticity on both income growth and high tech patents is significant only in the 20 per cent of the country with the fewest natural amenities. The positive association of local authenticity with gains in post-graduate degree holders is only (barely) significant in the quintiles with the fewest natural amenities. It is insignificant or negative in areas with the most natural amenities. Local authenticity is tied to growing numbers of college graduates in the places with the least and most natural amenities, not the ones in between. There might be something to Mayor Brainard's intuition. Amenities can both enhance a natural setting, and compensate for limited access to natural amenities. Scenes transform the dynamics of other urban development variables.

While not conclusive, these analyses of amenities and scenes illustrate, as several authors above argued, an independent 'scene effect' generated by the experiential opportunities indexed by local amenities. The economic effect of scenes runs partly through scenes attracting skilled workers, by providing them with occasions to experience distinctive styles of life. But human capital attraction does not exhaust the impact of the scene. For example, when we include change in college graduates in the model with self-expressive and neighbourly scenes, it should be noted that neither the self-expressive nor the neighbourly scene effect on the CCDVs is suppressed. Scenes add independent value to urban economies. They invest products made by their participants with the charge of glamour and more. They expose residents to interactions devoted to the search for new ways of thinking and being; they connect them to community, and to a sense of place.

REFLECTIONS

Max Weber was fond of using the phrase 'every man a monk' to characterize the world-historical implications of the Protestant Reformation. It threw open the walls of the monastery, injected its ascetic element into everyday life and offered positive religious backing for the focused, disciplined and rational exercise of mundane activities like work and

household management. Normative ideals formerly restricted to religious virtuosi were extended to a wider population, tremendously expanding and deepening the personal religious commitments and experiences available to them. Heightened expectations of disciplined performance as an everyday occurrence, outside of specialized settings, generated new anxieties and conflicts. And, most fatefully, the productivity gains for which the 'disciplinary revolution' (Taylor, 2007) was partly responsible placed the rest of the world in its steel shell. If Calvinists pursued work with the ascetic zeal of a religious calling, others for whom worldly toil was a burden were forced to work harder or move aside.

Our investigation of the conditions most likely to lead to urban growth in the contemporary world might be interpreted as suggesting that the process Weber identified has moved to a new level. 'Every man a musician' could describe it in general, if not the most accurate, terms. The walls of the lab, lecture hall and Latin Quarter have been thrown open, injecting the expressive and creative element into everyday life. Practices and sensibilities formerly restricted to creative virtuosi have been extended from the garret, studio and study to boardrooms, city halls, office cubicles and main streets nationwide. This marks a great upgrading of the expressive and creative possibilities available to the general populace. It also subjects more individuals to previously more exclusive anxieties oriented around the quest for authenticity and the demand to construct meaning for oneself.

And, perhaps just as the rise of the Protestant ethic did before it, the current institutionalization and internalization of creativity, as the present chapter documents, has transformed the economic playing field. That process has put a premium on the ability to generate new ideas and styles. Places that best facilitate idea and style-generation are succeeding, though success cannot be attributed to any single factor. Education is important, but so are basic research, technology and artistic work. Tolerant social climates create environments more open to experimentation and attractive to the most skilled workers. Hierarchical social climates often stifle innovation and growth; they are losing college graduates and generating fewer patents. Workaholic social climates leave their residents little psychological space to reach beyond the analytical mind into modes of experiences not accessible to rationalism. And finally, the places that have filled their streets and strips with opportunities for unique expressions of individuality and glamorous theatricality are not only attracting the most educated and talented, they are adding value to that talent. This is a world that Weber would have hardly recognized.

Has it thrown up an iron cage of creativity? Innovate or Die? Bohemia or Bust? There is no one, clear answer in these analyses. We can say that places that encourage residents to express and glamorously display themselves may be at the leading edge of the creative economy, yet they do not have a monopoly on innovation or growth. Other places with neighbourly social climates that encourage a sense of place are also growing and innovating; they may create networks of continuity, support, security and trust that make tolerable the unavoidable uncertainties of creation. Some places that root residents in the local or put them in contact with nature are growing, innovating and attracting people with education and skills. Nashville's country music industry rivals music industries in New York and Los Angeles. Yet each city's musical genres feed on the strikingly different amenities and scenes in which they are embedded: three of the five most abundant types of amenities in Los Angeles are jewellers, bakeries and commercial artists; in New York the top categories include jewellers, delicatessens and art dealers. Some of the most numerous amenities in Nashville are automobile customizing services, Methodist

churches and the Church of Christ. God and cars can fuel cultural production as much as bling, art and lunch on the go.

CONCLUSION

Both analysts and policy-makers, we suggest, may advance by paying more attention to scenes. We show several powerful impacts of scene components in this chapter, some simple, others complex. We have shown here too how to measure and analyse scene dimensions in terms almost as precise and concrete as education or income and other classic variables that we include in our 'Core' analyses, building on previous studies. In the new economy where consumption and production more often join, we have shown how the components of specific scenes can generate synergistic results. We have done so by using the same widely studied basic policy variables as in the best recent work: changes in population and jobs, increases in income and rents, the rise of college-educated and post-graduate populations, and patents.

But we have dug deeper into many dynamics by modelling these processes using all the US zip codes – some 40 000 – as well as combining zip code processes with those in larger units such as counties where appropriate. Our probing more deeply reveals more subtle processes, just as does a microscope or cyclotron. Both national and more scene-specific results emerge in a rather dramatic way: glamour and tradition can generate innovation and growth, just as can bohemia. Bohemian processes do not work everywhere: they are strongest in areas that are breaking with tradition and taking off in artistic and economic activity, as measured by our scenes factor score. Bohemian impacts are nil in many other places. Localism and walking can shift how other processes operate. Some places that seem left out of the 'creative economy' still manage to build successfully on their distinctive assets and lifestyles. Localism is most powerful in its positive effects precisely in those locations that have less of other things, for example, grand mountains or urbane nightlife. There are many contrasting ways to be creative. Analysts and policy-makers who attend to these more subtle combinations of classic processes can make more informed decisions.

NOTES

1. http://leisureblogs.chicagotribune.com/the_theater_loop/2009/10/new-nea-chief-lauds-daley-arts-policy-says-model-for-nation.html#at (accessed 13 March 2011).
2. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hgYwTELj-fs> (accessed 13 March 2011)
3. A number of specific mechanisms have been posited that connect education and creativity. Increased education means that decisions are increasingly based on symbols and cultural meanings, rather than tradition or custom. Symbols are infinitely more malleable and manipulable than 'stuff'; they can be combined in limitless ways, and can harness and control vast quantities of energy. The scientific method presses relentlessly towards new discoveries. Theories are born to be surpassed. Education opens persons to alternative ways of living and thinking, breeding a more critical stance on life that is less willing to accept the world as given. Through training engineers, computer scientists and other more technical professionals, scientific innovation and values diffuse from universities into firms and cities more widely. Through the humanities and some social sciences, values of critique, aesthetic novelty and 'paradigm-shifting' spread (Lipset and Altbach, 1969). Mass higher education institutionalizes innovation in more organizations and internalizes it in more individuals (Clark and Lipset, 2001). Concentrations of human

- capital may contribute to urban development directly through the productivity gains created by increased idea-generation by talented workers, or indirectly through spillover effects and their tendency to raise quality of life by minimizing social problems and encouraging better schools (Glaeser et al., 2004).
4. Critics treat technological innovation as 'domination', leading to environmental disaster, the decline of craftsmanship (Sennett, 1998; Crawford, 2009) and impoverished personal connection to Mother Nature. Others claim that the 'technological understanding of being' goes deeper than satisfying a range of given human wants and needs. It involves a life oriented around expanding and continually transforming our possibilities (Dreyfus and Spinoza, 1997). Its 'instrumental-activist' value-pattern means that it is never finished; we are continuously on the move to a new understanding of self and world (Parsons, 1951).
 5. We created a more direct index of how tolerant a city's social climate is. Our index compiles questions drawn from the DDB Lifestyle Survey about, for instance, beliefs that the father is not the natural boss of a household, that a woman's place is not necessarily in the home, that men are not by nature more intelligent than women, about the desire to learn about other cultures and about interest in visiting places different from one's home. We also investigated other social climates: a workaholic social climate, indicated by belief that one works late, works very hard most of the time and spends very little time in leisure pursuits; a hierarchical social climate was measured by responses that, for example, indicate patriarchal beliefs, being disturbed by changes in routine, feeling that the world is changing too quickly, pining for the good old days and opposing pre-marital cohabitation; a localistic social climate was indicated by responses such as being content to live in the same town for one's whole life, not expecting to move in the coming years and favouring government restrictions on imported products; and a neighbourly social climate was indicated by frequently attending club meetings, working on community projects, often visiting friends and feeling influential in one's neighbourhood. However, we do not include these and other indices of social climate in the analyses reported here. They are in the expanded model that is described in Table 7 at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchAppendix.docx>. Results of our analyses of social climate are available for download at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchExtendedAnalysis.docx>.
 6. We created several measures of social density: travel time to work, percentage of the population working at home and walking to work, public transport use and population density. However, as with social climate, we do not include these in the analyses reported here but provide more detail at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchAppendix.docx>. Suffice it to say that subsequent analyses suggest that social density and social climate do not seem to seriously modify the scenes analysis, which is our primary concern here.
 7. Artists deserve extra attention as they are quintessential creatives, masters at taking material from the world – stone, colour, sound, and so on – and refashioning it into a new perspective on the human experience. Beyond this broader notion of artistic creativity, the more narrow avant-garde sensibilities of novelty and contingency, as Daniel Bell has argued (1996), have in the past century come to dominate the cultural sphere in general and artistic work in particular, though there are exceptions.
 8. For instance, Kant argued that aesthetic appreciation of nature's beauty provokes a spontaneous play among our faculties that cannot be reduced to rules. He also wrote of the sublime experience of awesome mountains and oceanic depths as shattering our sense of stability and settledness. Romantics celebrated the wilds of nature, seeing in its unpredictability a source of creativity beyond rational calculation and aesthetic harmony. Transcendentalists saw in nature an expression of the divine whole that could be mixed with human will in the production of art.
 9. To capture some of the role of natural amenities in urban development, we created measures of average January temperature, average July temperature and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) index of natural amenities as general indicators. We complement these with an index of waterfront amenities from our amenities database, using places with lakes, rivers and oceans as well as marinas, beach accessories, boat charters, river trips and tours and waterfront food service. These are included in the expanded models and results reported at <http://scenes.uchicago.edu/cch/cchExtendedAnalysis.docx>.
 10. In focusing here on the links between scenes and economic growth, we in no way endorse the proposition that economic standards are the only or primary measure of the value of scenes. Scenes have their own autonomous standards of value that evaluate economic standards; scenes also contribute to arenas beyond the economic, such as neighbourhood cohesion or political mobilization. For a study of scenes as one symbolic resource among others, see Silver and Clark (2009).
 11. <http://www.urbanophile.com/2010/01/29/midwest-miscellany-26/> (accessed 13 March 2011).
 12. Thus the US Post Office lists these post boxes as 'zip codes', but the Census Bureau drops these and uninhabited areas like forests. One consequence of this, and the fact that actual zip codes are not static nor bounded within a single county or state, is that the Census Bureau uses the label 'Zip Code Tabulation Areas (ZCTAs)' to contrast with the US Postal Service's official Zone Improvement Plan (ZIP) code. At the same time, the branch of the Census Bureau responsible for reporting data on the type and number of businesses in a given location (that is, the CBP data) includes about 10000 more ZCTAs than the Census of Population. This is a major case of a partially 'truncated' data file that we had to address, generated by the disparity between the Census Bizzip data ($N =$ nearly 35000) and Census of Population data

($N = 28000$). While many of our zip code items are from the Census, we retain the term zip code rather than ZCTA to ease communication with those unfamiliar with the distinction. Officially the Census Bureau claims there is no relationship between the two, but in practice the fact that we use only ZCTAs eliminates possible confusion regarding overlapping geographies.

13. This scenes formulation dovetails with the two sorts of innovation identified by Galenson (2007): youthful brilliance and elderly synthesis. Similarly, we are more sensitive to these personalistic elements embedded even in large cities from the nearby strong case of Chicago. The Catholic (especially Irish) tradition legitimating such local ties makes Chicago and theorists exposed to it more sensitive to these neighbourly elements than those in other cities (such as New York, Los Angeles or Paris) where advocates of other urban theories are more numerous. See the debates involving Michael Dear, Michael Moore, John Mollenkopf, Dennis Judd, Terry Clark and others in Clark (2009).
14. Our earlier discussion of more communitarian scenes analysed differential effects of separate dimensions of communitarian scenes, such as local authenticity, neighbourly theatricality and traditional legitimacy. The present discussion analyses the single factor score that combines these.

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