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Cultural economic development in three Massachusetts communities: policy process and impact

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CULTURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN
THREE MASSACHUSETTS MUNICIPALITIES:
POLICY PROCESS AND IMPACT

A dissertation presented

by

Richard G. Maloney Jr.

to

The Law, Policy and Society Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

In the field of

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Boston, Massachusetts
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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Cities and towns currently face a difficult challenge: residents demand improved services while local tax revenues and state aid have declined in a weak economy. To address this problem, local leaders attempt to design effective economic development policies that leverage unique community strengths. Recently, the idea that the cultural industries can play an important role in local economic development has taken hold in many communities around the country. However, the current literature – while filled with anecdotal indications of success – offers little empirical evidence to indicate where cultural economic development policies can be effective or practical information to assist local officials and other community leaders in implementing and sustaining an effective policy.

This exploratory qualitative study examines the process through which three mid-sized Massachusetts' municipalities – Barnstable, Gloucester and Fitchburg – established and implemented cultural economic development policies using funding provided by the Massachusetts Cultural Council's Adams Arts program for the Creative Economy. Three questions were explored: 1) why were cultural economic development policies enacted in Barnstable (Hyannis), Gloucester, and Fitchburg; 2) What elements contributed to the development and implementation of the cultural economic development policies in each of the case study communities; and 3) Were these policies successful, as determined by respondent perception or other measures, in increasing economic development in each community? To

answer these questions, data from nineteen interviews with local leaders was collected and analyzed.

The research reveals several factors were present in each community that enabled the development and implementation of a cultural economic development policy. These factors include: a significant number of creative assets; a small core of dedicated, informed, well-connected local leaders; sustained funding and technical support from the Massachusetts Cultural Council; the presence of an effective intermediary organization; a strong partnership between local leaders in the public, nonprofit, and (occasionally) private sector; and the participation of local government. The success of these policies was mixed. While leaders in each community claimed they were successful (several quality of life goals appear to have been achieved and Barnstable measured some economic growth), the lack of systematic evaluation procedures made these assertions difficult to verify. While these policies have been in effect for five years or less and are sustained by fairly low levels of funding, the existing data indicate these communities have not achieved their stated economic development goals.

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DEDICATION

For Michele, I could not have done this without you. What a surprise. You took a chance (or 30) and look what happened. You are such a very special addition to my life.

To my children, Teddy, Caty, Matthew: words cannot describe how lucky I am to have wonderful children like you.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

“Urban policy in the late twentieth century is now inseparable from cultural policy”¹ – Ken Worpole (1991, p. 143)

Leveraging the economic power of the arts and cultural industries as part of a local economic development or revitalization strategy is an idea that has slowly gained supporters in the United States during the past 25 years. While the origins of cultural economic development can be traced to the late 1970s (Rosentraub, 2010) – and some writers argue that the economic effects of cultural production have always been recognized in urban communities (Kotkin, 2000; Mumford, 1961) – the idea seems to have recently reached a tipping point. Changes in the structure of local economies, the wider dissemination of the work of a small group of academics and consultants writing about culture and creativity,² and increased attention from the media³ have combined to create a greater interest in cultural economic development policy.

While the idea that the arts and culture sector can contribute and even drive the economic revitalization of a community has become increasingly popular, there is still much that is unknown about how and why this occurs. Cities and states have pursued sectoral economic development strategies since the 1980s, in many cases focusing on the information technology or biotechnology sectors (Fitzgerald, 2010). Adopting this sectoral approach, several municipalities have successfully implemented economic development policies targeting the arts and culture

¹ Ken Worpole is a Senior Professor at the Cities Institute, London Metropolitan University.

² See Florida (2002, 2005, 2008) on the United States and Landry (2000, 2006, 2008) on England.

³ A sampling of success stories include: “Council, Grant Support Creative Economy,” iBerkshires.com, 8/2/07; “Raise the Art Tax,” Downeast.com, 6/3/09; “The Paducah Effect” Next American City, fall 2007.

sector.⁴ However, it remains unclear if these efforts are effective, sustainable over the long term, or can be recreated elsewhere.

In order to successfully pursue a sectoral strategy, municipalities must accurately assess their economic strengths and weaknesses while also considering a variety of national and global factors including growth trends, the organization of production and supply chains, the changing nature of the sector, and the job skills required (Fitzgerald, 2010). Municipalities can struggle to complete this complex analysis and that struggle may lead to ineffective decisions. Fitzgerald (2010, p.13) observes “Just as all cities can’t become biotechnology centers, not all cities, regardless of their commitment to sustainability or climate change, will become players in any green economic sectors.” This statement can be applied equally to municipalities interested in cultural economic development strategies. Since each community possesses a specific set of economic strengths (and weaknesses), reflexively embracing the “hot” economic development approach is a questionable strategy.

The Problem

Municipal leaders want to know if their investment in economic development is having the desired effect. This is not surprising given limited community resources. While a statistical analysis of economic indicators can provide information regarding the *results* of economic development policies, it does not explain *how* and *why* these policies were initially established (McDonough, 2007, p.16). While data regarding outcomes is a crucial tool to aid in policy evaluation, it is often not immediately available. This is the challenge facing communities that

⁴ Several communities have received positive press coverage about their cultural economic development efforts. A sampling of these communities includes Lowell, MA, North Adams, MA, Portland, ME, and Paducah, KY.

want to evaluate their cultural economic development efforts: virtually all of them have been implemented in the past five years and, as a result, the necessary data are simply not available. This is especially a concern when working with the arts and culture sector, since frequently the available economic data are incomplete and/or unclear. As local leaders are under great pressure to propose effective policies, there is a need to better understand the cultural economic development policy decision-making process so that municipalities can realistically assess their ability to pursue this strategy.

In this study, I explore the cultural economic development policy process in three Massachusetts municipalities – Barnstable, Gloucester, and Fitchburg – to better understand *what* is happening, *why* it is happening, and *how* the process works, with an eye towards improving the future effectiveness of both the policy-making and policy management process. This study respects the complexity of the arts and culture sector by employing an interdisciplinary approach that frames the research at the intersection of public policy and sociology. To answer the three research questions – what factors led the leaders of three Massachusetts’ communities decide to establish cultural economic development policies; what was the process that culminated in the creation of the cultural economic development policies in these municipalities; and have the local cultural economic development policies achieved the expected outcomes of the state program that funded them – I conducted 19 interviews of leaders in the cultural community and the public sector.

Interdisciplinary Approaches to Arts and Cultural Policy

While the fields of public policy and sociology (among others) are considered distinct disciplines with their own specific approaches and procedures, the interdisciplinary nature of

urban studies accommodates a wide range of approaches that are rooted in sociology and policy analysis. Andranovich and Riposa (1993, p. 4) state that, “the diversity in... (research)... topics is enhanced by the diversity in disciplinary foci represented by researchers doing urban research... Each discipline brings its own disciplinary strengths (and weaknesses) to bear on defining the focus of the inquiry.”

The number of research paradigms used to examine cultural issues is also very large. Every social science discipline contains a subdiscipline devoted to culture.⁵ In addition, culture is personal and therefore interpretive. Therefore, it may be difficult for a researcher to prove one has discovered something of importance. At the community level, there may be several layers of culture operating at the same time – the cultural products themselves, the town culture, the organizational culture (of government, businesses, and local nonprofit cultural institutions), and the ethnic cultures of the residents. All of these elements may combine to create a sense of place which could impact a researcher’s ability to generalize his or her findings from one cultural environment to another.

The applied fields of public administration and arts administration have benefited from “borrowing” and building on the knowledge developed in other fields. In public administration, most of the theories and techniques have been drawn from the fields of regional planning, political science, economics, sociology, administrative law, and business management. Degree programs were offered as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, but they rapidly increased in popularity after the Depression.⁶

⁵ Examples include: cultural sociology, cultural policy, cultural economics, cultural history, cultural anthropology. In the legal area, there is a subfield called art law.

⁶ The leading journal in the public administration field – *Public Administration Review* – was founded in 1940.

The field of arts administration became established in response to the explosive growth that occurred in the cultural sector from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s. This growth, which was triggered in part by the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 1965, dramatically increased the need for well-trained professional managers.⁷ Arts administration borrows its intellectual content from the fields of business management, economics, public policy, law, sociology, education, and non-profit management.

Each of these fields generates research informed by its own perspective, and as each perspective is frequently a combination of several others, it can be a challenging task to integrate these various perspectives into a coherent whole.

Cultural Policy Research

In part, due to its limited presence at the national level in the United States, there is a tendency to overlook the arts and culture as an area of significant policy research. By comparison, cultural policy debates in many European countries can make the evening news. It then comes as no surprise that the work of European academics is well represented in this field.⁸

As the efforts of the American cultural policy community have focused on examining national level issues, cultural policies enacted at the state and local levels have received far less

⁷ While there is some debate regarding which school offered the “first” graduate program in arts administration in the United States, it appears that University of Wisconsin (Madison) and UCLA were both in the process of organizing programs in 1968. Interestingly enough, while Wisconsin’s masters program formally began enrolling students in 1969, they actually had one student enrolled in an interdisciplinary PhD in Arts Administration in 1968. The PhD was awarded by the business school – which to this day houses their Arts Administration program as well.

⁸ The top journal devoted to reporting developments in cultural policy is the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. It is published by the Center for Cultural Policy Studies at the University of Warwick (UK).

attention from scholars. This is unfortunate because subnational cultural policy can have a significant impact on states and municipalities (Schuster, 2002).⁹

Since there is little consensus regarding the exact nature of cultural policy in the United States, there is no true doctoral training available in this area.¹⁰ Therefore, researchers working in this field, particularly in the United States, have received their training in a variety of disciplines. Political science, economics, and sociology are fairly common, while English literature, history, public administration, and philosophy are represented less frequently. Critic, novelist, and cultural historian Raymond Williams (1983, p. 87) famously declared that “Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language.” Given the wide range of academic disciplines engaged in exploring cultural questions, an interdisciplinary approach has much to offer.

Defining Cultural Policy

The epigraph at the beginning of this chapter seems fairly straightforward and perhaps to British readers it is. The term is much less familiar to an American audience even though the results of deliberate cultural policy decisions are all around us. They are just sometimes difficult to identify.

While the definition of cultural policy can differ slightly from country to country, the editors of the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* state that it “is understood as the

⁹ One reason for this is the total money contributed to the arts by all the states is much larger than the amount awarded by the National Endowment for the Arts. This is not surprising given there are 50 states.

¹⁰ The Ohio State University offers the option to concentrate in Arts Policy and Administration in its Arts Education doctoral program. Several Universities in Europe offer a doctoral degree in Cultural Policy (Warwick and city Universities in the UK). I do not include in this group the related field of “cultural studies” which is traditionally associated with European Universities and is grounded in critical theory. These scholars are interested in explaining how a particular cultural phenomenon relates to social class, nationality, ideology, race, or gender.

promotion or prohibition of cultural practices and values by governments, corporations, other institutions and individuals.”¹¹ This very broad definition encompasses a variety of actions, many of which might not be immediately considered cultural. For example, an examination of the cultural policy literature in the United States reveals that much of it addresses issues such as copyright, technology, historic preservation, trade, diplomacy, and tourism (Bradford, et al., 2000). These national level concerns could easily come under the heading of economic, technology, or trade policy. As a result, many agencies throughout the federal government establish policies that have cultural elements even though the cultural aspects of these policies are seldom identified as cultural policies.

Unlike many other countries, the United States does not have a “secretary of state for culture” or a Ministry of Culture that employs cultural policy analysts (Chong, 2010, p. 3). The federal, state, and local governments all establish separate cultural policies that address their particular priorities. Adding to the problem, the lingering impact of the “culture wars” of the 1990s (Bolton, 1992; Weems, 1999) and the widespread media coverage of several art “scandals” during that period can give the impression that cultural policy addresses matters related only to artistic freedom, censorship, and government funding (Rothfield, 2001; Weems, 1999).

Defining Cultural Economic Development

Like cultural policy, there is no standard definition of cultural economic development; however, there are at least two thoughtful attempts. The state of Michigan’s Department of History, Arts and Libraries declares that, “Cultural economic development means leveraging our

¹¹ www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/10286632.asp

creative talent, heritage and cultural assets to stimulate, support and enhance economic growth and build community prosperity. It can emerge from community planning or occur serendipitously. Cultural economic development shares economic development's strategies, complexity, structure, and protocols; utilizes resources drawn from both the for-profit and non-profit portions of the cultural sector; and is driven by all aspects of culture including heritage, arts, sense of place and environment.”¹² In contrast, the Urban Institute defines culturally based economic development more narrowly as “activities intended to promote increased market participation among traditional artists and arts organizations, as well as other arts and cultural organizations, such as historic sites, museums, theaters, and art galleries” (Walker, Jackson, & Rosenstein, 2003, p. 16).

The Michigan definition, with its generous outline, more closely approximates the colloquial way in which policy makers, who are less attuned generally (particularly at state and local levels) to academic distinctions, understand and employ the term. As I discuss in Chapter Seven, local leaders in the three communities employ a very broad definition of cultural economic development, therefore, the Michigan definition informs this study.

The New Paradigm

New initiatives that spur economic revitalization are of great interest today in light of the economic pressures facing municipalities that grapple with a combination of soaring costs of local service provision, an increased demand for those same services, and falling housing prices resulting in reduced property tax revenue. With the publication of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida (2002) proposed a new framework for understanding the connection

¹² www.michigan.gov/documents/hal_ced_strategy_144333_7.pdf, p. 8. Retrieved March 1, 2010.

between place, people, and economic growth that immediately caught the attention of government officials and cultural leaders. While not the first report to discuss the economic effects of culture, Florida's book had greater impact because it targeted the general public instead of policy experts and art world insiders.¹³ Perhaps most importantly, his work shifted the focus of discussion from the arts *contributing* to the local economy (the arts should be encouraged) to the arts *driving* the local economy (municipalities should try to attract artists and other creative workers as a development strategy).

Briefly, Florida recommended that local leaders, in essence, compete by encouraging mobile, young, white collar knowledge workers – his “creative class” – to relocate to their respective communities. Artists and arts administrators are members of the core creative class who work in the cultural industries (this term will be discussed in Chapter Two). A vibrant cultural community increases the attractiveness of a place, thereby attracting other creative class professionals who work in other creative industries (i.e., technology, bio tech, law). The subsequent growth of these creative industries, and the high-paying jobs they provide, quickly produces economic growth in the community.

The arts community quickly rushed to embrace Florida's ideas. He has spoken at many arts conferences (including one hosted by the Massachusetts Cultural Council in 2003) and served as a consultant in several communities. Florida has published several additional books that expand and adapt his original ideas (Florida 2004, 2005, 2007).

However, not everyone is enamored of his work. Several prominent scholars have criticized his work for its methodological shortcomings (Glazer, 2004; Holman and Faricy, 2009;

¹³ Reports about the economic effects of the arts were published by New England Foundation for the Arts in 1997, the New England Council in 2000 and 2001, and the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, all prior to the release of *The Rise of the Creative Class*.

Malanga, 2004; Markusen, 2006), while others have suggested a perceived insensitivity to social justice concerns such as the potential for gentrification (Zukin, 2010). Despite the controversy surrounding his work, which seems to have grown in intensity since his recent move to Toronto, his ideas remain popular and he is probably the most recognized expert in cultural economic development today.¹⁴

Despite these concerns, many state and local arts organizations have embraced the idea that a vibrant cultural community can help attract young, educated professionals to their community. They see this as an opportunity to connect leaders in the art world to local policy makers. The sense is that the cultural industries have finally earned a seat at the table. Consulting efforts led by Florida and other experts (such as Charles Landry in the UK and Mt. Auburn Associates of Cambridge, MA) have found eager audiences as they encourage communities here and abroad to invest in the cultural industries as a local growth strategy.

But questions remain. Florida's work remains controversial. Many Americans are not particularly familiar with the arts and some of their experiences have not been positive. Is it possible that cultural economic development is simply a newer version of the urban economic development process that finds local real estate concerns and businesses owners working to shape local economic development policies to suit their purposes? Is it simply "just another smoke screen for making money, now with arts organizations as valued 'coalition' partners" (Logan & Molotch, 2007, p. xx)?

The Significance of this Study

¹⁴ While initially being embraced by his new hometown of Toronto, Florida's presence has recently provoked protest from community activists who believe that municipalities that implement his recommendations will quickly gentrify (<http://creativeclassstruggle.wordpress.com>. Retrieved March 10, 2010).

There are changes occurring in the relationship between the cultural sector and the economy that are vital to understand. The cultural industries are growing rapidly in both size and share of the economy in a number of major cities throughout the world (London is an excellent example). Cultural geographer Allen Scott (2000, p. 2) claims the cultural industries and the economy are slowly “converging” and that this is “one of the distinguishing characteristics of contemporary urbanization processes in general.” The significance of this convergence is that “the cultural economy is coming to the fore as one of the most dynamic frontiers of capitalism at the dawn of the twenty-first century (Scott, p. 3)...[with the result that]...the culture generating capabilities of cities are being harnessed to productive purposes, creating new kinds of localized competitive advantages with major employment and income enhancing effects” (Scott, p. 14). Far from being an important concern to only large global cities, this cultural competitive advantage exists in places like New England where “a relatively higher concentration of creative enterprises and creative workers in a geographic area yields a competitive edge by elevating the area’s quality of life and improving its ability to attract economic activity” (DeNatale & Wassall, 2007, p. 6). Due to the importance of this issue to the economic future of our municipalities, it is vital to better understand how local government can successfully engage with this process.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter Two creates a context for the study by defining several key terms in use by economic development professionals and art leaders today and discusses the challenges that arise when researchers use different definitions. I will identify the differences between “creative” and “cultural” industries and discuss the implications this has for economic development practice.

Chapter Three comprises a brief history of the relationship between government and the arts, a review of three theories of economic development and how they apply to cultural economic development, and a survey of the literature that addresses cultural economic development, including economic impact studies. In Chapter Four, I present the research design and methodology of the study including my research questions: 1) why were cultural economic development policies enacted in Barnstable (Hyannis), Gloucester, and Fitchburg; 2) What elements contributed to the development and implementation of the cultural economic development policies in each of the case study communities; and 3) Were these policies successful, as determined by respondent perception or other measures, in increasing economic development in each community? The chapter also discusses the community selection process, the interview protocol, and describes the role of the researcher. The Appendix to Chapter 4 describes the Massachusetts Cultural Council's John and Abigail Adams Arts program for the creative economy and provides a brief history of the three communities, their economic development goals as stated in their 2009 Adams Arts Program application, and data concerning the amount of cultural activity in their respective communities. Chapters Five, Six, and Seven presents my synthesis of the responses of the interviewees in the three communities to answer the three research questions. And finally, Chapter Eight presents a fuller analysis of the data and discusses the implications of the findings.

The appendixes include a chart containing a summary of the definitions of the cultural and creative industries, the interview questions, the names and titles of the respondents, and some quantitative financial data collected regarding nonprofit cultural institutions located in the three communities and the surrounding areas.

Chapter 2 – Defining the Cultural/Creative Industries

“Culture, like God and politics, is everywhere” – Gilbert Adair (1992, p. 12)

This chapter examines the origins and evolution of the concept of cultural economic development. First, I will describe the attempts of cultural policy scholars (typically trained in philosophy, media studies, sociology or cultural studies) to conceptualize the idea of the cultural industries. The idea that culture and business can be combined to create the “cultural industries” has interesting philosophical and political overtones that concerned early scholars. Then I will describe various efforts to define the cultural industries and their more recent manifestation, the creative industries and discuss whether such industries can be considered economic drivers in the development context.

Culture Industry

The terms “cultural industries” and “creative industries” have multiple definitions that have evolved over time, and consequently have had an impact on the development of cultural economic development policy today.

Like the word “culture,” the term “cultural industries” is also difficult to define. As a result, scholars have debated for some time about which industries make up the cultural industries. Without an agreed-upon definition, it is difficult to compare policies and/or assess their impact. An important task facing cultural policy scholars is creating an international agreement on what comprises the cultural economy and developing comparative data collection and measurements. (Pratt, 2008, p. 46).

The first use of the term “culture industry” was perhaps made by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer in 1947 (Adorno 2002), although it first appeared in mimeograph form in 1944 (Steinhert 2003, p. 20). Adorno (1903-1969) was a sociologist, philosopher, and musicologist whose concept of the culture industry was informed by a Marxist analysis.¹⁵ While today the term is considered simply descriptive, Adorno used it pejoratively to refer to the mass commoditization of high culture (serious music, high art, and literature). To Adorno (2002) the culture industry was perceived to be inherently negative for two reasons. First, it damaged both fine and popular art by merging them, thus destroying the seriousness of high art and the utility of low arts as a counterweight to elitism; and second, it demanded conformity and discouraged creative thinking and individualism (p. 104). According to Adorno (2002), this conformity could lead to the standardization of art and could have far-reaching political and social consequences.¹⁶ Deeply impacted by the events of World War II¹⁷ and the apparent failing of reason to create a better world, Adorno saw a threat to democracy in the new standardized, commodified forms of culture becoming available in the 1940s and 1950s. This homogenization of culture would create a public that was desensitized to quality cultural offerings and reduce the public’s ability to, in essence, think critically, thereby reducing its ability to resist fascism.¹⁸ The end result is that the culture industries damage both the arts and society instead of improving them.

Adorno also believed that attempts to manage culture would damage it. This is an important point as the cultural organizations and cultural policy initiatives of today operate under

¹⁵ See also Benjamin (2008) and the works of other members of the “Frankfurt School” (Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Eric Fromm) who were associated with the Institute for Social Research, which was affiliated with the University of Frankfurt.

¹⁶ Arguments against the effects of “standardization” are still popular in the 21st century although they are no longer applied to the arts. See Ritzer (2007) author of *The McDonaldization of Society 5* and journalist and social activist Naomi Klein (2000), author of *No Logo*, regarding her rejection of the concept of “super brands.”

¹⁷ As Adorno was of Jewish descent, he lost his right to teach in German Universities.

¹⁸ Hammer (2005, p.49) claims that “the experience of fascism is the great political trauma to which Adorno keeps returning.”

the assumption that government can successfully “manage” culture to some extent. Put another way, as Edward Steuermann once formulated it, the more that is done for culture, the worse it fares. This line of thinking has not vanished. Adherents could point to the turbulent history of the National Endowment for the Arts as proof that the arts and government are not effective partners (Kammen, 2007). It is also possible that a local leader’s personal beliefs about the arts may prove an important factor in determining which communities adopt cultural economic development policies or what cultural components are included.¹⁹ Objections to government involvement in the arts could be raised for at least two reasons. One, philosophically one does not believe that government should or can effectively be involved with the arts; and two, one does not approve of the cultural projects the government has chosen to support.²⁰ While these broad philosophical issues are still debated, the participants in these conversations tend to be academics, not community leaders. Consequently, the questions they raise resonate more at the national level than the local.

Cultural Industries

Later culture researchers were not as concerned with the philosophical or political implications of the merger of culture and industry nor did they agree with Adorno’s negative

¹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu (1984, p. 1) observed that “whereas the ideology of charisma regards taste in legitimate culture as a gift of nature, scientific observation shows that cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education: surveys establish that all cultural practices (museum visits, concert –going, reading etc.), and preferences in literature, painting or music, are closely linked to education level (measured by qualifications or length of schooling) and secondarily to social origin.”

²⁰ I would argue that the essays about culture, particularly *Culture and Anarchy* by English poet, critic, and educator Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) found sympathetic ears among the founders of the National Endowment of the Arts. Arnold espoused the neo-platonic belief that there was an “ideal culture” consisting of the “best” works. The public would engage with these works and in doing so they would be uplifted. Adorno (2006, p. 5) states that, “culture being the pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world.” While this understanding of culture is no longer the dominant paradigm, the essentially modernism/postmodernism debate continues today (see Bloom, 1988) and the debate surrounding the idea of the “great books” curriculum (see Beam, 2009 for a recent example).

conclusions. Affiliated with the disciplines of communications, sociology, and media studies, they believed the culture industries played an important role in society. New ideas about the role of government and the nature of nonprofit funding hastened the inclusion of the popular arts into cultural policy planning.

Technological innovations in the latter half of the 20th century had a major impact on the production, delivery, and storage of art. Interest in the intersection of culture and business gained momentum when French media and communications scholars in the 1980s changed the term “culture industry” to “cultural industries” to reflect their belief that the cultural industries were more complex than previously believed and should not be considered a single entity.

(Anheier & Isar, 2008, p. 44)

As the concept of the culture industry was being reconsidered so were the traditional beliefs about the benefits of high culture and the liabilities of popular culture (Levine, 1988; Gans, 1999). While Adorno rejected popular culture on political and philosophical grounds, scholars who emerged during the 1960s and 1970s began to reexamine popular culture from an intellectual and aesthetic perspective. As the availability and variety of popular culture products grew and disposable income increased, popular culture became increasingly difficult to ignore. As the idea that the fine arts were intrinsically good and the popular arts were bad waned, the concept of the cultural industries began to expand to include commercial industries – film, broadcasting, publishing, and music recording and distribution – that developed popular culture products (Cunningham, 2005, p. 284). Gradually, the popular arts became an acceptable topic for academic study. Today, cultural policy makers fully accept that commercial cultural businesses (producing popular cultural products) and nonprofit cultural organizations (producing fine art products) are both important parts of the cultural industries.

In Europe, scholars trained in communications, critical theory, and semiotics proposed a new way to conceptualize the cultural industries. Hesmondhalgh (2007), who defines art as “symbolic creativity” and artists as “symbol creators,” emphasizes the cultural industries’ role in the communicating meaning through texts, including television (cable and satellite, too), radio, the cinema, newspaper, magazine, and book publishing, the music recording and publishing industries, advertising, and the performing arts. Scott (2000) makes a similar argument, stating that the cultural industries include those sectors that are involved in the production of images, symbols, and messages (p. ix).

Other European sources undertake a more list-making approach to defining the cultural industries. Landry’s (2000, pp. 272-3) definition is the broadest of all and includes: visual arts (painting, sculpture, graphic arts); crafts; performing arts (traditional, dance, new forms); mime; cabaret; music (opera/classical, jazz, popular); audio-visual (film, TV, video-corporate, photography); multimedia; publishing (books, newspapers/magazines); fashion (designer, mass); general design; and industrial design. This list-making approach is reflected in some official reports. A report on the state of cultural policy in European cities defines the cultural industries as including architecture, design, art, art facilities, art and book shops, production and distribution of newspapers, media industries, advertising companies, popular music distribution, amusement establishments, entertainment, and recreation, but it does not provide an intellectual framework to explain why such activities should or should not be on the list (Eurocult 21 Integrated Report, 2005, p. 27).

While all of these scholarly efforts toward category determination are perhaps somewhat idiosyncratic, it is important to note that while they are overlapping they are not infinitely broad. Indeed, Wyszomirski (2008, p. 204) points out that employing the term culture in its fullest

anthropological sense, meaning a whole way of life that includes its material, intellectual and spiritual aspects, would prove problematic as it results in a definition that encompasses religion, sports, and language—virtually all symbolic or meaningful human activities. Therefore, it is important to thoughtfully consider these distinctions to avoid arriving at a definition that is so overly broad as to be non-descriptive.

Creative Industries

The creative industries are, in essence, an expanded version of the cultural industries. The additional element is that it includes a variety of industries that do not produce cultural products. Specifically, industries where employees engage in creative work to develop intellectually oriented products that have economic value. The intellectual property industries and other closely related industries are at the heart of this new term. Similar to the cultural industries, the term creative industries is not consistently defined or used and the process to define them has been called contentious (Howkins, 2001; Malanga, 2004).

An early taxonomy by Caves (2000, p. vii) is quite similar to other scholars' definitions of the cultural industries with the addition of "toys and games." It consists of products or services that contain "a substantial element of artistic or creative endeavor," such as "goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or entertainment value." Industries that fit this definition are: book and magazine publishing, the visual arts (painting, sculpture), the performing arts (theatre, opera, concerts, dance), sound recordings, cinema and TV films, fashion, and toys and games (Caves, 2000, p. 1).

John Howkins (2001) is one the first European authors to define the creative industries. He identifies 15 core creative industries: advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion,

film, music, performing arts, publishing, R and D, software, toys and games, TV and radio, video games (p. 116). These industries produce what he calls “creative products” which he defines as “a good or service that results from creativity and has economic value” (p. x) These products consist of both goods and services, and in many cases are intangible; that is, they exist due to intellectual property laws (p. xi). The four creative industries that together constitute the creative economy are the copyright, trademark, patent, and design industries.

Hartley (2005, p. 5) reflects the English cultural studies/communications approach described earlier and offers a definition that includes the medium of delivery and the consumer. He writes that the creative industries are “the conceptual and practical convergence of the Creative Arts (individual talent) with Cultural Industries (mass scale), in the context of New Media Technologies (ICTs) within a New Knowledge Economy, for the use of newly Interactive Citizen-Consumers.” More specifically, he argues that the creative industries concept combines and transforms two older terms: creative arts and cultural industries. He argues this transformation is important because, by bringing culture into contact with industry, there is the opportunity to weaken the historic cultural dichotomies (elite/mass, art/entertainment, sponsored/commercial) that have limited creative thinking in cultural policy (p. 6).” Like other English authors cited earlier, his thinking is informed by the rejection of Adorno (2002) and extols the liberating effects of high culture’s engagement with popular culture. The high culture/popular culture dichotomy, while still lingering in the United States, resonates more strongly in Europe due to Europe’s history of state cultural patronage and the lingering effects of a more rigidly defined class system.

Which term do you choose?

Because communities have to decide which elements to include in their cultural economic development policies, they may look to scholars provide clear definitions. Unfortunately, doing so may not provide the clarity sought; in part, because the two options – cultural industries and creative industries – can be organized around the premise that the cultural industries are associated with production and the creative industries are associated with innovation. The former emphasizes the production of cultural goods as a valuable contribution to society while the later emphasizes the role of intellectual innovation as an economic driver (DeNatale & Wassall, 2007, p. 5). The distinction between the two terms hinges on different interpretations of the word creative, where it serves as “shorthand for cultural expression on one hand, and intellectual invention on the other” (DeNatale & Wassall, p. 5). While DeNatale and Wassall offer the most succinct analysis of the differences between the content of the two terms, I propose a slight modification that includes the European idea of art as meaning-making. In essence, the cultural industries create societal value through the production of cultural products that are imbued with social meaning while the creative industries create economic value through the production of products that are intellectual in nature and based on ideas and innovation.

By establishing clearer definitions it is possible to better understand the linking of culture to industry. However, this understanding may not drive policy-making itself. A local leader does not ask “what would Adorno think” as she debates which policies to include in her next economic development plan or request for funding. In addition, policy makers’ options are constrained by the physical, human, cultural, and financial resources at their disposal; therefore, they are not always able to take advantage of all the possibilities described in the literature. In the end, it is important for local policy makers to be aware of the differences between the terms

because they reflect two different approaches to thinking about and supporting culture in a community.

Examining actual policies implemented in local communities can produce a broad understanding of the way community leaders perceive the terms. Perhaps the true efficacy of these definitional exercises is in the subsequent scholarly review of the impacts and effectiveness of using culture as a tool of economic development policy-making.

Can the Cultural Industries Revitalize a City?

While many communities have embraced cultural economic development, there is still a fair amount of debate surrounding the type of contributions the cultural industries make to the local economy. Scholarly opinion is divided between those who argue the cultural industries can make a demonstrable economic contribution and those who claim they contribute only by supporting the creation of a positive business environment or improving quality of life.

Qui (as cited in McNulty et al., 1985, p. 50) argues the arts may create a positive economic “backdrop,” but their true value lies in changing the city’s image by making the city more attractive. This will encourage more private investment, attract tourists, and generate “community pride and spirit,” which will encourage additional development. Bluestone, Stevenson, and Williams (2008, p. 156) do not even go that far, arguing that while the local cultural industries may provide important amenities for educated professionals, this is secondary to the important work of encouraging business development and job growth. McNulty, et al (1985, pp. 49-50) maintain that sizable, direct net economic benefits from the arts are relatively unlikely because most cities lack necessary key structural elements (for example, density of cultural activity or cultural assets). Stewart (2008, p. 113, 115) is even more direct, emphasizing

nonprofit art institutions are cost centers that cannot compete with true engines of urban revitalization.

In contrast, other experts suggest that culture can be at the center of redevelopment efforts. International cultural policy and urban planning consultant Charles Landry (2004, p. 4) and Canadian cultural policy expert D. Paul Schafer (2002, p. 4) argue that culture and cultural knowledge are at the heart of urban development and not simply a frill added as an afterthought. Urban planning professor and Richard Florida protégée Elizabeth Currid (2008, pp. 4-5) concurs, while adding that culture does not function like other industries, thereby making its impact difficult to ascertain. The assumption implicit in her statement is that the economic impact of the cultural industries is underestimated because the full range of their effects are difficult to capture using traditional economic measures.

While it is possible to measure a fair amount of the economic impact generated by the cultural industries, far more sophisticated empirical research is required to produce a more nuanced understanding of their full contribution to society. For example, it seems clear that in large cities the cultural industries can contribute significantly to the economy, but even in New York we do not understand how much. How large do cities have to be for the cultural industries to become a potent source of economic growth? Is there a cultural density tipping point?

Since the time of Adorno, political, economic, and technological changes have so altered the world that his objections about the nature of the cultural industries can no longer be sustained. The balance of scholarly opinion indicates that the cultural industries can be supported through public policy making and government intervention and that culture can play a role in economic development planning. Moving forward, the challenge is to discover the most effective ways to accomplish this goal without disrupting the delicate ecosystem of the arts. To

this end, this study examines cultural economic development policies in three mid-sized communities to better understand the process through which they were established and implemented.

Chapter 3 – Literature Review

“Our vibrant and creative arts and culture environment encourages innovation in our city and helps us attract and retain the kind of workers who stimulate economic growth. Creativity and the work being done by creative people in the business community pays huge dividends for San Diego and gives us a competitive edge in economic development.” – Mayor Jerry Sanders²¹

While cultural economic development is a fairly recent tool used by municipal leaders to revitalize their respective communities, economic development as a discipline has a long history. In this chapter, I present four distinct elements: a brief history of the relationship between government and the arts; a brief history of regional economic development strategies; an examination of specific cultural economic development strategies including a review of Richard Florida’s creative class theory; and the literature addressing the ability of government to direct the cultural economic development process, followed by a series of observations regarding the challenges facing researchers who attempt to measure the impact of these policies.

In order to better understand the development and effectiveness of local cultural economic development policies, it is vital to understand how they relate to traditional theories of economic development. While culture can be examined through a variety of disciplinary lenses (see chapter one), if local leaders and policy makers want to claim it can contribute to economic development efforts, then it is necessary to frame research in relation to the body of work discussing economic development practice. The discussion that follows provides a foundation to develop the research questions.

²¹ www.sandiego.gov/arts-culture/pdf/economicimpactrpt.pdf. Retrieved March 1, 2010.

Economic development efforts can reflect a particular political agenda (Gourevitch, 2008²²; Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002). Community leaders who want to implement cultural economic development initiatives should be aware that the arts are not value neutral. While major art controversies of the mid-1990s – culminating in the turbulent “culture wars” – have to a large degree subsided, there is still disagreement concerning the role of the arts in society (crucial or ancillary), and what constitutes “good art” (opera, a rap music concert, or something else entirely). These issues become increasingly important when the government is engaged in cultural policy planning. The relationship between the arts and government in the United States has a long history of tension and misunderstanding (Kammen, 2007). As such, it is appropriate to very briefly examine this relationship.

Government and the Arts

While many communities in Europe have embraced cultural economic development during the past twenty years (Bianchini, 1993; Kennedy, 2004; Roodhouse, 2008), the United States has been slower to respond to this trend. This may be due in part to the fact that the relationship between government (particularly at the national level) and the arts has always been somewhat strained (Levy, 1997).

There are several political and philosophical reasons why government and the arts in the United States have struggled to work together. These include: a narrow definition of “culture” (in many cases limited to “artifacts” or “texts” produced by the fine arts) that limits government

²² Annual Review of Political Science 2008 (11), 137-159
<http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053006.185507>

engagement,²³ difficulty in defining “American” culture (government should support American art – what is American art?), a tradition of restrained government intervention in matters not considered “public” by the majority (Cowen, 1998), and a lack of information and understanding about the arts and the nature of the cultural industries. As a result, government involvement in cultural matters has been viewed with varying levels of suspicion throughout American history by both politicians and the general public (Levy, 1997). Even some artists have had their doubts.²⁴

With the creation of the National Endowment of the Arts (NEA) in 1965, the arts achieved national recognition and funding which in turn spurred the development of state arts agencies, supported artists and arts organizations, and encouraged the creation of thousands of arts organizations throughout the country. While the agency grew in size and scope for many years, the resurgence of the political right and the collapse of the Soviet Union refocused political priorities in the United States and contributed to the emergence of the “culture wars” of the mid 1990s (Wyszomirski, 2008; Hyde, 2007). With the National Endowment for the Arts coming under attack from the “Republican Revolution” and its funding drastically reduced, academics (usually political scientists and economists) increasingly debated the need for a Federal presence in the arts (Alexander, 2000; Bradford et al., 2000). Arts leaders slowly realized they did not have enough data concerning the impact of the arts on society to effectively defend the NEA and they began to support efforts to collect additional information (McCulloch-

²³ “When we use the word ‘culture’ in this report, we mean those forms of human creativity that are expressed through the arts and those disciplines of the mind described as the humanities, most notably history, languages, literature, and philosophy.” *Creative America: A Report to the President* (Bradford et al., 2000, p. 72).

²⁴ Painter John Sloan once famously exclaimed, “Sure, it would be fine to have a Ministry of the Fine Arts in this country. Then we’d know where the enemy is.” Lynes, R. (1962, March 25). *The Case against Government Aid to the Arts*, *New York Times Magazine*, p. 84.

Lovell, 1998). This surge in research activity was supported by funding from several foundations and universities. However, as the economy stagnated at the beginning of the millennium, these foundations reduced their contributions which resulted in less funding for cultural policy research.²⁵ A struggling national economy helped shift political attention elsewhere, and the NEA's future became increasingly secure, although its current level of funding does not approach that of its peak years.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, as NEA funding declined, many states increased their contributions to the arts. State funding remained steady or increased leading to a slow shift in focus from the federal to the state level. Unfortunately, the economic conditions of the early 2000s caused state budgets to shrink and arts funding to decline, and while arts funding recovered somewhat in 2005-2008 (a window of opportunity for innovative state programs); it is currently in decline again.²⁶ The latest recession has had a devastating impact on the finances of artists and cultural organizations. As a result, the entire arts community is extremely worried about the future. As economic times continue to worsen post-2008, the financial realities of communities may make it even more difficult to make the case that the arts should be prioritized, never mind serve as the linchpin of needed economic development.

Regional Economic Development

Definition

In the past two decades, there has been a significant change in the definition of local economic development. The traditional definition of economic development emphasized

²⁵ After more than ten years of operation, the Center for Arts and Culture, the only independent think tank for cultural policy research in the United States, closed its doors in 2005 due to a lack of funding. Its archives are maintained by Americans for the Arts.

²⁶ www.nasaa-arts.org/publications/2009-Funding-and-Grantmaking-Report.pdf. Retrieved February 9, 2010).

economic growth and increased tax revenues, usually achieved by creating jobs and attracting new businesses. Blakely and Bradshaw (2002, p. xvi) represent this position, stating that economic development “refers to the process in which local governments or community based (neighborhood) organizations engage to stimulate or maintain business activity and/or employment.” However, Fitzgerald and Leigh’s (2002) definition, published in the same year, represents another approach, as it expresses a concern for the needs of local residents, social justice, and sustainability. They define economic development as “preserving and raising the community's standard of living through a process of human and physical infrastructure development based on the principles of equity and sustainability (p. 3).”²⁷ Today, support for “sustainable development” has grown dramatically.

While this definition of economic development reflects the underlying premise that economic development no longer simply means economic growth, this has not always been the case. City leaders have traditionally assumed economic growth is the key to urban revitalization (Euchner & McGovern, 2003, p. 93). As a result, they tend to respond to the economic interests of the real estate and business interests, the large financial stakeholders in the city. Logan and Molotch (2007) call this phenomenon the “urban growth machine.” In order to make money, these stakeholders need property values to rise. To this end, they seek more “demand,” regardless of the type. Over time, this means “winning the railroad junction, the freeway intersection, the major league ball team, the convention center, and now the aquarium or museum and deflecting such property value-generating schemes from going elsewhere” (p. x). To accomplish this, these individuals and their associates (lawyers and bankers) use their

²⁷ See also Farrant et al., (2001, p. 7) who include raising local standards of living; and Euchner and McGovern (2003, p. 93) who suggest that economic development policies should help people become more productive.

influence to push government to support (or at least not hinder) their efforts to achieve growth for the city, and their pieces of it in particular.

Today, this type of thinking is no longer effective, especially if economic development is not simply defined as “more” of everything (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002, p. 27). The limitations of this approach are not inconsequential – as costs rise, local residents’ standard of living can decline (Logan & Molotch, 2007, p. xi; Blakely & Leigh, 2010, p. 75). The increasing popularity of cultural economic development policies is a result of this change in economic development thinking. Traditionally associated with improvements in quality of life, today local cultural industries are being recognized by planners as having the capacity to address multiple economic development objectives.

Economic Development Practice

While the recent debate over the inclusion of social justice and sustainability concerns into economic development thinking is ongoing, economic development practice has never been static. Rather, it has moved through several identifiable stages from the 1930s to the present (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002). Methods have changed, just as the economic, political, legal, and technological environment municipalities operate within is constantly changing. These changes make it unwise for a community to be content with previous success as competition is unrelenting among cities to attract new industries and firms and to retain the ones they already have (Bluestone et al., 2008, p. 486).

As not all economic development strategies are equally effective, municipalities have the difficult task of determining which ones are the best for them. Political influence, lack of local resources, and limited staffing only add to the difficulty. This can result in ineffective programs,

such as business attraction strategies supported by tax abatements and other incentives, being continued even though they infrequently generate a positive return for the community (Euchner & McGovern, 2003, pp. 104-105; Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002, pp. 12-13; Kottler et al., 1993, pp. 242-244).

A Brief History of Cultural Economic Development

A survey of the literature in the field of cultural economic development reveals an area of inquiry that is struggling to develop its identity. Arts and culture have been part of community life since the dawn of time (Mithen, 2007; Dutton, 2010), but it is only recently that we find explicit mention of culture being associated with economic policy. In the early part of the 20th century, cultural facilities were considered private business either run for profit or supported by contributions of wealthy donors (Garvin, 2002). Government played a minimal role, occasionally providing a site for a building.

Lincoln Center in New York was one of the earliest examples of the civic use of culture to generate economic development. The project, which broke ground in 1959, resulted in an enormous concentration of cultural activity which had a far larger economic impact on the community than the planners had envisioned (Garvin, 2002, p. 94). The success of this project led other cities to construct large-scale cultural development projects (the Barbican Centre in London and more recently the Guggenheim in Bilbao, Spain).

During this time, artistic success was unevenly distributed, at least in New York where in the 1960s and 1970s the fortunes of artists and small arts organizations, for a time, diverged: urban decline enabled individual artists and small arts organizations to find cheap live/work space (in SoHo), while established organizations saw declining numbers of audience members

and volunteers (Stewart, 2008, p. 109). In the 1970s, culture played a small role in urban revitalization efforts. However, while culture created a “sense of occasion and excitement,” it was not thought to produce important economic effects like the retail and dining sectors (Hannigan, 1998, p. 56).

By the 1980s, the importance of culture was increasingly recognized, and local government sought to encourage economic growth by establishing a series of cultural, arts, or entertainment districts (see Frost-Kumpf, 2001; Galligan, 2008). Hannigan (1998, pp. 56-57) claims that cultural districts encourage urban revitalization in three interrelated ways “(i) through the residential development of lofts and other premises formerly given over to industrial use; (ii) through the symbiotic development of new retail projects which help offset the pull of suburban malls and super-centers; and (iii) through the creation of a night time economy in areas which are all but deserted after dusk.” Today, while the exact number is always changing, there are over 100 cultural districts in the United States (Frost-Kumpf, 2001).

During the 1980s, public officials began to move away from traditional approaches to economic development and looked to exploit a city’s distinctive cultural assets, believing that this would give them a competitive edge over other cities by attracting new residents, tourists, and educated workers (Stewart, 2008, pp. 112-113). At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, this shift continued as cities looked to establish a more “visitor oriented” approach. The office space and convention center building boom came to an end and vacancy rates increased, businesses began to move their operations to office parks in the suburbs closer to their employees’ homes, credit dried up, and developers went bankrupt. Policy makers began to consider new approaches that focused on strengthening existing but underappreciated amenities

like the arts and culture, entertainment, historic preservation, sports, and tourism (Euchner & McGovern, 2003).

As the first decade of the new millennium draws to a close, communities have received assistance from state and local government to implement policies that support the economic effects of the cultural industries. At the beginning of the last century, this was simply unimaginable. Garvin (2002, p. 90) reflected on this change in thinking, commenting that, “cultural facilities simply were not thought in terms of their impact on the growth and development of the city. Today they must be.”

Economic Development and Culture

While communities benefit in many ways from having an active cultural sector, the focus of this section (and this study) is on their ability to generate economic growth. One assumption favored by arts administrators and many local leaders is: “the cultural industries contribute to the economic growth of municipalities.” In order to examine this assumption in relation to cultural economic development initiatives, I examine the available literature and connect it to three established economic development beliefs:

- 1) the local cultural industries produce amenities which a) attract neighboring residents to spend in the community; and b) attract firms (in other industries) and people who wish to relocate.
- 2) the cultural industries function as an export industry (i.e., exporting book, film and music production).
- 3) cultural workers relocate to a municipality leading to growth in the cultural industries, which then attracts other creative workers and industries (the Florida inspired model).²⁸

²⁸ Florida would most likely argue that communities need to attract a variety of creative class workers, not just cultural workers, to be successful. However, as workers in the cultural industries are part of Florida’s “super creative core” and this study focuses only on the cultural industries, I decided to frame the idea in this manner.

Cultural Economic Development and Local Amenities

Improving the quality and variety of local amenities is one way to encourage private investment within its borders and encourage tourism (Euchner & McGovern, 2003, pp. 108-109; Bluestone et al., 2008, p. 499). This is not a particularly recent phenomenon as cultural economist James Shanahan suggested these ideas in 1982 (Stewart, 2008, p. 112). Many cities around the country have subsequently taken this advice to heart and have renovated their existing cultural facilities or built new performing arts centers and museums (at least 71 since 1985), in large part supported by contributions from state government (\$450 million in 2001 alone) (Bluestone et al., p. 499). While attracting visitors and outside investment, these facilities also fulfill the cultural needs of the local community, thereby improving the quality of life of current residents.

Economic development policies that focus on the arts and entertainment industries, as part of a larger group of amenities including sports and tourism, have had success in many parts of the country (Euchnor & McGovern, 2003). These policies “strengthen a city’s inherent advantage as a social and cultural center, and thus as a desirable place to visit and spend money, have managed to revitalize urban cores in many places” (p. 114). Several major American cities have achieved success by establishing a comprehensive, well integrated approach that connects the arts to the waterfront, historic neighborhoods, and sports venues, to create a livable, walkable environment (p. 114).

Research supports the assumption that cultural policies focused on developing the cultural industries as an amenity – to attract new residents, to enhance the quality of life of current residents, and/or to attract visitors/tourists – can be a successful development strategy. However, how successful these policies are and under what conditions they achieve success is

still unclear. There are no studies that calculate how many residents and/or businesses have relocated to communities that have improved their cultural infrastructure. Richard Florida would be the logical researcher to undertake such a study; however, the data he uses are not available on an annual basis.²⁹ Other quantitative data may be hard to find as, historically speaking, arts and culture have never been considered an important amenity by relocating businesses (Segedy, 1997). In addition, while cultural tourism is frequently mentioned as contributing to economic growth in mid-sized communities (Smith, 2009; Hughes, 2000), there are no data or studies to support this assumption. In the end, while studies that specifically address this question have not yet been conducted, the existing literature indicates people and businesses do not relocate for cultural reasons alone.

While increasing the cultural options for local residents is not a traditional economic growth strategy (residents simply shift their spending from one local activity to another), the literature indicates this objective is often included in local economic development policies (Kemp, 2003). As the cultural industries grow, more local residents may become aware of them and increase their attendance and/or participation. While this is a positive development, it may make it harder to identify the economic growth that has occurred as a result of these policies because of the changed spending patterns of local residents. While the definition of economic development is no longer synonymous with economic growth, in these difficult economic times it may be hard to argue for local government to invest in improving local cultural amenities unless it can be demonstrated that economic growth will soon follow.

²⁹ In the 2004 paperback edition of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida indicated he updated his figures to reflect the most recently available data -- the 2000 census and 2001 Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupation and Employment Survey (Florida, 2004, p. 353). Since almost all cultural economic development initiatives in the United States were implemented after this date, his research cannot answer this question.

Culture as an Export Industry

Generating additional employment opportunities in the cultural industries is the key to their emergence as an export industry. However, unequivocal evidence supporting the notion that the arts and culture industries can generate jobs and produce economic growth is hard to find. This is perhaps not too surprising as many jobs in the arts are poorly compensated, temporary, or part-time (Lorente, 2002, p. 101). In addition, artists earn approximately 80% of the wages and are twice as likely to be unemployed as other professionals (Alper & Wassall, 2000, p. 4). As a result, a sizable number of cultural industry jobs would have to be created to generate a significant impact on the economy. Seaman (2000, p. 277) sums up the research stating there is “little evidence that the arts are a basic industry, defined as an export industry, an import substitute industry, or an industry providing services to an export industry.” In all but the largest cities it is hard to see how the cultural industries can become a significant export industry.

Richard Florida’s Sectoral Approach

Richard Florida’s work has spurred many cultural economic development efforts in the United States. His work shifts the discussion from political concerns, communications theory, matters of taste, and structural distinctions to understanding the “attraction of place” and the demographic characteristics of a set of educated workers he calls the “creative class.” Florida describes the creative class as follows: “if you are a scientist or engineer, an architect or designer, a writer, artist or musician, or if you use your creativity in your work in business, education, health care, law, or some other profession, you are a member (Florida, 2004, p. xxvii).

Florida’s creative class is broken down into two major subgroups: the “super-creative core” and “creative professionals.” The super-creative core includes: computer and

mathematical; architecture and engineering; life, physical, and social science; education, training, and library; arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media. The creative professionals subgroup contains the following occupations: management; business and financial operations; legal; health care and technical; high end sales and sales management (Florida, 2002, p. 328). He argues that the number of people in the creative class has steadily increased for the past 100 years and now stands at approximately 30% of the population of the United States making it a sizable (and growing force) in the economy. As mentioned above, Florida's definition of the creative class is very broad and, justifiably, several critics have justifiably taken him to task (see Chapter One). Markusen (2006) especially questions the underlying assumption of his model because these industries do not exhibit enough similar characteristics to be lumped together. As Florida's work is about trying to understand economic growth, it stands to reason that cities with larger numbers of creative class workers would in fact have higher growth rates than other communities. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Communities on the top of Florida's list are not the fastest-growing or best performing communities in the United States; in fact, Florida's indexes "are such poor predictors of economic performance that his top cities haven't even outperformed his bottom ones" (Malanga, 2004).

Florida argues that *place* "is the key economic and social organizing unit of our time" (2002, p. xix) and therefore, places that are able to attract the "creative class" will be better-positioned to generate economic growth in the future. He is interested in *places* and *creativity*, because "places provide the ecosystems that harness human creativity and turn it into economic value" (p. xix). In essence, he turns the traditional "jobs attract people" paradigm on its head and argues that if a community is able to attract more members of the creative class (by providing the types of amenities they desire), it will be able to successfully attract businesses that employ them

– the highly desirable fast growing, high paying, highly mobile, knowledge-based industries.

Florida believes that communities need to compete for workers instead of industries because the creative class makes its location decisions based on personal lifestyle preferences, not industry location. These lifestyle preferences include the ability to enjoy a wide range of cultural amenities.

These ideas have several interesting implications. If workers' personal lifestyle preferences influence where they relocate, then this becomes a concern of local governments.³⁰ If a community invests in expanding and improving its cultural (and recreational) amenities, Florida claims it becomes more attractive to businesses that employ a high number of educated workers.³¹ In part, he is proposing that communities produce a surplus of cultural products in order to create a comparative competitive advantage in lifestyle amenities over other communities.³² The goal is to generate enough capacity in the cultural industries to attract tourists and new businesses. At that point, the cultural industries will have become both an amenity and an export industry.³³ In essence, Florida seems to be advocating a new type of

³⁰ This assumes that young educated workers are mobile and willing to relocate. Census data from 2000 indicates this is true, however recently this has changed. A Brookings (2009) report indicates that in 2007-2008, "the overall U.S. migration rate reached its lowest point since World War II" (p. 1); specifically, young adults (aged 20-29) "showed the steepest decline in interstate migration by 2008-2009, with rates almost halving" (p. 5). If this trend continues, it would most likely limit the effectiveness of Florida's theory. www.brookings.edu/~media/files/rc/reports/2009/1209_migration_frey/1209_migration_frey.pdf Retrieved May 21, 2010.

³¹ This insight is certainly not unique to Florida. In 1988, Marlin claimed that "a good quality of life attracts good employees" (p. 39). Although Segedy (1997, p. 62) points out that "to date, no study demonstrates a clear scientific cause and effect relationship between quality of life factors and location decision making."

³² However, with low barriers to entry (it doesn't take a lot of money to start a theater company) and a variety of readily available substitute products (television and other non-arts leisure time activities), it may be difficult for small and mid-sized municipalities to maintain a sustained competitive advantage in the cultural industries.

³³ It is possible for culture to fulfill local demand, fulfill tourist demand, and to export cultural products, but they do not have to do all three. The film industry in Los Angeles is an example of culture used as a generator of cultural products for export purposes. Disneyland may attract tourist and create jobs, but it does not really serve as a local amenity (they do offer discounted tickets to encourage local residents to attend). Also, it is possible for some entertainment/cultural industries to have a negative impact on the local community. The casino industry in Atlantic City, NJ has negatively impacted the beach economy and the main street business community.

sectoral approach where the targeted sector is not an industry but the workers of the creative class.³⁴

If local leaders identify the cultural sector as a potential growth industry, they could make it the focus of a sectoral economic development strategy designed to increase the capacity of the sector. However, sectoral strategies tend to be somewhat ill-defined, which results in a wide range of initiatives being lumped together under this heading (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002, p. 39). In addition, the success of this approach relies on the creation of a strong public-private partnership and the identification of an entrepreneurial intermediary that builds relationships with businesses, government, community services, and the labor market. (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002, p. 41). Given the fragmented nature of the art world and the mixed record of government/arts relations, this could be a significant barrier to success.³⁵

Arts and cultural leaders throughout the country have embraced Florida's underlying premise that artists and cultural institutions are extremely valuable to local economies, in part, because their employees are part of his super creative core.³⁶ Therefore, a community where a large number of creative class workers are employed in local industries is poised for growth.

In fact, Florida (2004, p. xix) argues his creative capital index is a better predictor of economic growth than the traditional human capital theory (the number of people holding higher education degrees). If this is true, than attracting more artistic and creative types to live in a specific community will produce a burst of creativity which will lead to economic growth above and beyond that generated by workers with college degrees. However, according to Harvard

³⁴ Markusen (2006) does not accept the idea of a distinctive "creative class." She has done superb work examining the location decision making process of artists and the impact their presence has on communities.

³⁵ However, this may change. Agranoff and McGuire (2003, p. 2) argue that local governments increasingly need to work with nonprofit organizations and other governments to accomplish their goals.

³⁶ It is worth noting that not all employees who work for cultural institutions are engaged in "creative" work.

economist Ed Glaser, it is not true. Glaser (2004) used Florida's own data to test the concept of the creative class. The result is that, "the college variable becomes quite significant and bohemianism [the presence of artistic types] becomes irrelevant" (Glaser, 2004). The inability of Glaser to duplicate Florida's findings casts serious doubt on Florida's assertion that the presence of a large number of creative class workers is the most important factor in predicting urban growth.

Florida makes an interesting assumption about the lifestyle preferences of the creative class. He suggests they are happiest living and working in funky urban neighborhoods and are turned off by "inauthenticity."³⁷ Their cities need to be "cool" and filled with bike paths, coffee shops, bookstores and ethnic restaurants in order for them to feel truly at home.³⁸ However, given that Florida has cast his net so wide (essentially all professional workers holding a college degree are included in the creative class), is it possible that all members of this extremely diverse group desire the same things? Glaser (2004) describes a much different list of lifestyle choices made by college degree holders; they want good schools, large lots, and low taxes. Baris (2004, p. 3) cleverly observes that "while computer programmers may be able to do to work in jeans, sporting spiked hair, lawyers and investment bankers still keep Brooks Brothers in business." Do all members of the creative class make the same lifestyle choices? The simple answer is no, they do not. Florida's vision of the ideal city may be a paradise for computer programmers, but not for everyone else.

Can government intervention make a place "more cultural?"

³⁷ See Zukin (2010) for a discussion of the role of "authenticity" in urban spaces.

³⁸ Florida helped create the "cool cities" initiative in Michigan. See www.coolcities.com/main.html.

Should government attempt to promote the growth of the cultural industries? Adorno (2002) thought it was a mistake, but Currid (2008, p. 13) emphatically claims that “art and culture can be optimized through policy and government intervention.” The National Governors Association is also convinced the cultural industries can accomplish a wide range of economic development goals. In their 2008 report *Arts and the Economy: Using Arts and Culture to Stimulate State Economic Development* (National Governor’s Association Center for Best Practices, 2008), they argue that “the arts and culture related industries: improve the quality of local amenities, create jobs, increase creativity in other industries, contribute to community development goals, assist in worker training, and can attract young professionals to a particular area” (Executive Summary). Unfortunately, it is difficult to access these statements as the data they cite to support these assertions are a series of policy and programs vignettes assembled from a variety of communities around the country.

A range of general political and structural objections can be raised to reject these conclusions. Some writers claim that industries defined by “innovation” develop better when free of government intervention, and that government cannot possibly understand all the variables involved to effectively direct the process (Stangler, 2009, p. 13). History tells us that many older American cities developed in their own quirky way, regardless of government intervention, which resulted in a unique mix of unplanned assets and liabilities (Ehrlich & Dreier, 1999, p. 155). And scholars note, it can be a challenge to accomplish focused policy goals as local institutions have little authority and few resources to invest in economic planning (Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002), and just as many decisions regarding community policy occur outside city Hall as within (Rae, 2003, p. x).

Some objections to cultural economic development are related to the recent shift in thinking about the uses of the cultural industries. Phillips (2004, p. 21) notes that development professionals have utilized the arts since at least the late 1890s, traditionally in the service of improving local amenities and community aesthetics. However, only recently have they realized that investing in the cultural industries can result in “increased economic activity in terms of jobs, sales, and public revenues” (p. 21). This may in part explain why much of the research in this area consists of books and articles written by consultants (Landy, Schaefer) and consulting firms (Mt. Auburn Associates). In addition, as previously noted, acquiring a large amount of up-to-date, accurate, longitudinal data about the cultural industries at the municipal level is virtually impossible and has contributed to the lack of empirical studies in this area.

While objections cited tend to be general in nature (see above), cultural economic development policy supporters can refer to a number of anecdotal observations and individual case studies to support their position (for Europe see Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; for the United States see Kemp, 2004). To date, the data indicate that policy makers can and should engage with the cultural industries to remove barriers limiting their success, just as they would for any other significant local industry.

During the past 35 years, a body of specialized economic literature has grown that attempts to measure the economic impact of the cultural industries, typically at the state or national level. To better support the assertion that the arts play an important economic role, arts organizations, advocacy groups, and government agencies have commissioned these studies in an attempt to quantify the economic impact of the arts. These studies have been employed by advocates and others to lobby government for increased investment in the arts and to demand a seat at the table in regard to local economic decision making. While initially very popular,

majority opinion has shifted and economic impact studies have fallen out of favor as new research indicates the majority of them are methodologically flawed and as a result tend to overestimate the economic effects of the cultural industries (Seaman, 2000; Stewart, 2008, p. 115). However, these large-scale studies simply detail the current economic impact of the cultural industries on a regional, state, or national basis.³⁹ While these flaws cause the studies to overestimate the economic impact of the cultural industries, they do not have anything to say about the effectiveness of local cultural economic development policy for four reasons: 1) in almost all cases data were collected before the creation of the policies; 2) the data are not available at the municipal level; 3) they are not designed to assess the link between a specific policy and a specific outcome; and 4) they are not designed to predict future economic growth.

Conclusion

The review of the literature reveals that there is virtually no evidence to support Florida's hypotheses. However, many of his basic ideas are not controversial, and have resonated strongly with many artists, consultants, and arts advocates, possibly because many of them prefer the lifestyle amenities Florida indicates are valued by the creative class. Success stories from various communities have spread quickly in the media and popular press; therefore, it appears that cultural economic development is working and other communities do not want to be left behind. While every place has culture, turning it into an economic asset is not guaranteed. There is evidence indicating that some community-based goals have been achieved – more people on the streets, more cultural options, the downtown appears more vibrant. And in certain places

³⁹ The most recent national arts economic impact study was conducted by Americans for the Arts using 2005 data. The Adams Arts Program awarded its first grants in 2005.

economic growth has occurred in response to targeted programs (an increase in artist sales; artists and others purchasing live/work spaces in the community), although it is difficult to determine at this time if these gains can be sustained. But the current literature contains little hard evidence to support the claim that, in all but the very largest cities, the cultural industries can produce significant economic growth by becoming a sizable export industry or by encouraging a significant number of creative class workers to relocate.

Since we know so little about the long-term effects of cultural economic development, it is difficult to distill a series of best practices to create them. Given this fact, municipalities need to carefully consider the decision to invest in the cultural industries as an economic development strategy. But, how do communities decide to pursue cultural economic development? And if they do, what is the best way to proceed? This study serves to answer these questions for three communities and make a contribution to filling the gap in the literature.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

This study seeks to answer the stated research questions employing a qualitative methodology applied to a case study research design. The chapter also presents the criteria used to select the communities and the respondents, and describes the interview protocol and the role of the researcher.

In Chapter Two, I argued that the cultural industries should be defined as comprising of individuals and organizations that produce cultural goods and services and that these goods and services have imbedded social meaning. However, my research questions were not directly informed by this conclusion as this literature functioned as background material that informed my overall thought process.

In Chapter Three, three accepted economic development theories were described and their relationship to the cultural industries was also discussed. While the cultural economic development initiatives in the communities are still in the early stages of development, it is possible to determine if a community is pursuing one or more of these strategies. In other words, are these communities following accepted economic development practice? If the answer is yes, it could be assumed these communities could achieve measurable results that could be used to either adjust current policies or abandon them, whereas communities that pursue a less disciplined process of economic development may not be able to determine the success or failure of their policies. This could lead to ineffective policy decisions which squander the limited resources of local government. In addition, pursuing ineffective cultural policies could damage the credibility of the arts community and result in a backlash against the arts.

One unanswered question that emerges from a review of the literature is: “can the cultural industries contribute in a significant, measurable way to the economic growth of non-

global cities and towns, and if so, how, and under what conditions?” This gap in the literature informed the development of my research questions.

The central research questions examined in this study are as follows: 1) why were cultural economic development policies enacted in Barnstable (Hyannis), Gloucester, and Fitchburg; 2) What elements contributed to the development and implementation of the cultural economic development policies in each of the case study communities; and 3) Were these policies successful, as determined by respondent perception or other measures, in increasing economic development in each community?

The Qualitative Approach

To address these questions, I chose a qualitative research design. McNabb (2008, p. 99) claims this approach is appropriate when the researchers want to “analyze the interaction of people with problems or issues. These interactions are studied in their context and then subjectively explained by the researcher.” The purpose of my study is to provide an explanation for the actions of local policy makers. This is in keeping with one of the possible outcomes of qualitative research, which is to “provide meaning as well as description” (McNabb, p. 100). In this study, preliminary research indicated that quantitative methods would not yield results because quantitative data are not available at the local level, and the particulars of each locality had the potential to give rise to specific results. As a result, the case method is appropriate for this research because it enabled me to go “behind the scenes” and obtain in-depth information about the policy making process that would be impossible to obtain any other way.

The Case Method

The specific research design for this study is the case method. Case study research is most appropriate for gaining an in-depth understanding of a process, and in public policy, particularly to be able to make policy adjustments (Johnson (2002, p. 51).

While cultural economic development has become increasingly popular in the United States, there is still a lack of understanding about how or why it works. To avoid relying on one case study, which might be atypical (McNabb, 2008; Yin, 1999), my research design will use three cities to allow for comparisons of Gloucester, Barnstable, and Fitchburg.

While some have criticized the use of case studies for empirical research, noting their focus on description versus prediction, the subjective nature of the analysis, and the small sample size, case study research can go beyond simply exploring the phenomenon. Case study research, particularly when using two or more cases, can have explanatory power when designed and pursued with significant rigor. (Carlson and Hyde, 2003, p. 278; McNabb, 2007; Yin, 2009, p. 6).

The primary goal of this study is exploratory. In this study, I attempt to identify patterns in the respondents' answers that indicate how the cultural economic development policy process was initiated, how it was implemented and sustained, and if it was successful.

Community Selection

The Adams Arts program grant applications served as a framework for this study. This decision was informed by several assumptions. First, a community that applied for and received several grants over a period of years had established a formal cultural economic development policy. Second, the grants required different community institutions (businesses, local government, and nonprofit organizations) to work together; therefore, there was some level of

ongoing communication among the leaders of these organizations. Third, as the application required the partners to state their level of involvement (lead or partner), I could determine if local government was engaged in the process if it was listed as fulfilling either of these two functions. And fourth, people and organizations that served as partners of the initiative were required to attach their names to the grant proposal or write a letter of support. This group of local “experts” served as the original master list of possible respondents. Please see the appendix to this chapter for a description of the communities and their current cultural economic development policy goals.

Choosing the Communities

I developed the following criteria to determine which communities to examine. The community should:

1. Demonstrate an organized, sustained commitment to cultural economic development,
2. Be “mid-sized,” and
3. Include local government as either the “lead” or “partner” on the Adams Arts grant application

As cultural activities take place in every community, it is difficult to determine what constitutes being “serious” about including the cultural industries as part of their economic development planning. To solve this problem, I limited the pool of communities to those that had been awarded Adams Arts program grants from the Massachusetts Cultural Council (MCC). This served as an indicator that a community was serious about cultural economic development. To receive funding, a community has to develop a comprehensive and realistic cultural economic

development policy through the collaborative efforts of multiple agencies from the private, public, and nonprofit sectors. This proposal is then vetted by a panel of experts organized by the MCC. A successful Adams Arts grant application serves as an indicator of a municipality's interest in incorporating the cultural industries into their community's economic development strategies. To indicate a sustained, ongoing effort, I decided each municipality must have received Adams Arts grant funding at least three times, including in 2009. In 2009, the MCC awarded Adams Arts implementation grants to 29 projects.⁴⁰ Thirteen of these projects had been funded for three years or more.

As observed in Chapter Two, almost all cultural economic development policy research has focused on the role of the arts and culture in large cities and/or at the national level. Consequently, much of the interesting activity occurring at the local levels remains relatively unexplored. Therefore, I decided to focus my attention on mid-sized cities and towns (the second criterion). The term "mid-sized" is difficult to define, as community size can vary greatly from state to state. Generally speaking, my goal was to identify communities that were small enough to not have attracted to attention of other cultural policy researchers, but large enough where City Hall had the staff, expertise, and desire to establish and sustain a formal economic development plan. Another important factor was the ability to gain access to the leaders of the community. I assumed in mid-sized communities there would be a relatively small group of leaders and that I would be able to gain access to them. This would enable me to interview the most important participants in the policy process while still conducting a

⁴⁰ It is also possible to apply for a planning grant. These grants are awarded to communities that are considering creating a cultural economic development plan.

manageable number of interviews. In the end, I determined that, in Massachusetts, communities with a population of 30,000-50,000 fit this description.

Since the focus of this dissertation is local public policy making, I selected only communities that listed local government (or an office within local government) as the “lead” applicant or “partner” on its grant application. In 2009, local government was listed as the lead organization in five successful proposals and a partner in three others.⁴¹ Of these eight proposals, four fell within the determined population range – Barnstable, Fitchburg, Gloucester, and Pittsfield.⁴² I was forced to eliminate Pittsfield due to financial and time restraints; therefore, I examined Barnstable, Fitchburg, and Gloucester.

These communities are mid-sized and have made a sustained commitment to cultural economic development that local government has either participated in or led. As such, these communities might be considered atypical in comparison to other Massachusetts municipalities. However, communities from all over the state submitted proposals. The applications reveal the variety of municipalities that applied for funding (large and small; urban and rural) is remarkable. Looking at the funding list, it is impossible to identify a “typical” community that is attempting to use culture to support its economic development initiatives.

The Interview Protocol

I utilized a semi-structured interview protocol so that I could achieve a deep understanding of a particular phenomenon and to better understand what specific elements were part of the policy process that might be consistent (or different) community to community. This

⁴¹ The City of Somerville (77,479) was the lead organization in one proposal and the Cities of Cambridge (105,167), New Bedford (93,768), and Lowell (105,167) were partners in three others. All of these communities had received funding at least three times.

⁴² 2008 population estimates for these communities are: Barnstable (48,850), Gloucester (30,273), Fitchburg (40,200), and Pittsfield (42,652).

approach also enables the collection of a wide range of information and gives the researcher the opportunity to ask additional clarifying questions in a more conversational style (Johnson, 2002, pp. 90-91; Gaber & Gaber, 2007, p. 26). Topics covered in the protocol were: respondent's background, the policy process, and opportunity for all residents to receive policy benefits and participate in the policy process. I pre-tested the interview protocol by having it reviewed by two state level cultural policy experts and then conducting one practice interview. A situation early in the interviewing process presented itself that allowed me to adapt three questions. The respondents were knowledgeable about the policy process, but some had trouble expressing that knowledge during the interview. In response, I clarified the terminology and framing of the associated questions. This challenge validated my decision to utilize a semi-structured versus structured approach for the interview protocol.

I met each of the nineteen respondents at their choice of location, typically their office, home, or a local restaurant.⁴³ Interviews ranged from twenty-two minutes to one hour and forty-five minutes. Much of the difference in length can be explained by the respondent's knowledge of the topic. Two respondents who were not particularly well-informed about the local policy process had far fewer insights to offer than more connected respondents. In contrast, an experienced leader – a veteran of many press interviews and public speaking engagements – spoke in complete, clear paragraphs that were directly on point. The end result was a shorter than average, but more informative, interview.

⁴³ It was necessary to conduct one interview over the phone due to the respondent's busy travel schedule. This tactic did not produce the most effective interview, as the respondent was in between meetings. It was difficult to ask follow-up questions as I could not see the respondent's body language to gauge the timing of my questions. This resulted in the shortest interview (22 minutes). However, I was able to ask several clarifying questions via email which resulted in the collection of significant additional data. This was the only respondent I emailed to acquire additional information.

I recorded all the interviews with a digital tape recorder and stored them on my hard drive. I also took notes, primarily when I felt a respondent's answer was unclear, to remind myself to ask a clarifying question. The interviews were transcribed by a Boston University graduate student and I reviewed the transcriptions for accuracy before proceeding with the analysis. Despite the presence of the tape recorder, only one respondent exhibited any signs of nervousness during the interview. Even leading political figures in the community spoke candidly and at length on the record. In fact, most of the respondents seemed eager to participate.

Choosing the Sample

My goal was to identify a sample that included a wide range of knowledgeable insiders (see Weiss, 1994, p. 17). I used letters of support from the leaders of the lead and partner organizations that have collaborated to write the Adams Art grant proposal as my population from which to select a sample. The Barnstable FY 09 application included letters from six supporters, Gloucester's included eight, and Fitchburg's included ten. After eliminating duplicates, I identified 42 potential respondents.

I attempted to contact potential respondents using information provided in the respective grant applications. If this was out of date, I searched the Web to discover their current contact information. If that didn't work, I spoke with Meri Jenkins at the Massachusetts Cultural Council and Dan Hunter of the Massachusetts Advocates for the Arts, Sciences, and Humanities and asked if they had contact information for these individuals. Using these methods, I was able to obtain the contact information for almost everyone on the list. I was unable to acquire contact information for a handful of people on the list.

As I contacted people, I ran into some challenges. Several potential respondents had changed jobs since the application they signed was submitted. As I wanted to understand the current state of activity in each community, I did not pursue potential respondents who had moved away from the community. In these cases, I replaced that respondent with the current occupant of the position. I also employed snowball sampling to generate additional names to be certain I hadn't overlooked an important potential respondent because he or she wasn't working in the community when the grant application was submitted (see Johnson, 2002, p. 111; Weiss, 1994, p. 25). I obtained three respondents through this process.⁴⁴

As part of the IRB approval process, I created an "email invitation" which outlined the objectives of the study and requested the recipient's participation. Before I sent this email, I edited my master list taking into account the availability (some had moved out of state) and quality (I was able to determine that several potential respondents were not particularly involved in the projects) of the potential respondents. This effort resulted in thirty names. I sent my email to Hyannis first and met with the four people who responded fairly quickly. I then sent the email to Gloucester and a few weeks later to Fitchburg. I interviewed the respondents in those communities during the same time period. Finally, a fair number of people did not respond to my emails (or the follow up – although the follow up email was surprisingly effective) and a few others were so busy that it was impossible to arrange a time to meet.

While this approach may appear to be merely a convenience sample, this is not the case. Each person on the master list had expert knowledge of the community and the policy process. In addition, the respondents in each community worked for a wide range of institutions and

⁴⁴ Weiss (1994, p. 29) also points out a potential weakness of a snowball sample, stating that "for one thing, [it] will always underrepresent those who have few social contacts and will therefore underrepresent every belief and experience that is associated with having few social contacts." As the sample is drawn from a small local professional community, lack of contacts is not a problem.

served on a number of nonprofit boards, which enabled me to collect information from a variety of perspectives. In accordance with Weiss (1994, p. 21), I continued interviewing until I believed I had heard the vast majority of what people had to say to the point where the law of diminishing returns went into effect.

The Role of Theory

I was able to connect economic development theory to the cultural industries literature to inform the interview protocol and create a framework for the study.

The cultural industries literature led me to the following conclusions:

- 1) The cultural industries are primarily associated with production (creating tangible cultural objects and events).
- 2) The commercial creative industries are connected to innovation producing intellectually oriented products that have economic value (usually through trademark, patent, and copyright protection).
- 3) The intellectual property related industries generate significant economic impact, and are growth industries.
- 4) The nonprofit cultural industries produce economic effects, but the majority of the economic impact studies that are cited to support this claim are poorly constructed, making it extremely difficult to verify the extent of these effects.
- 5) The lack of comprehensive up-to-date data about the nonprofit cultural industries exacerbates the problem (some nonprofits do not file their financial statements on time and the most recent comprehensive data available are for 2007).

6) The cultural industries are growing, however, this growth does not appear to have much impact on the local economy as firm size tends to be small, and many arts jobs are part-time and poorly compensated. Therefore, communities will not achieve sizable economic growth by adding jobs in the cultural industries (contradicting Florida's sectoral theories).

The Interview Questions

The interview questions were developed to collect data to answer the three research questions (see Appendix). Following Creswell (2009, p. 183), I asked a question to get the conversation started, followed with several questions to collect data regarding the three research questions, and finished with an open-ended query for additional information. Questions one (respondent's title and position) and two (work experience) served as an ice-breaker and enabled me to learn about the background of the respondent. Questions three (policy goals), four (cultural assets), and five (primary policy actors and their roles) were created to answer research questions one and two. Questions three (policy goals), eight (policy evaluation), nine (respondent assessment of overall success), and ten (evidence of economic growth) were created to answer research question three. As the research progressed, the importance of the policy partnership and the MCC's role in facilitating these partnerships became apparent. I added questions seven and six respectively to collect additional data about these phenomena. I concluded the interview by asking about the future (question thirteen) and if the respondent had any further remarks (question fourteen).

The Researcher's Impact on the Interview Process

Analysis of qualitative data require the researcher to interpret the collected information, identifying and explaining patterns in the data. However, the data collected by the researcher have already been interpreted. The respondents filter their observations through their own experiences which result in a unique personal interpretation of events. However, at the same time the researcher's own experiences are filtering his or her perception of the data. Social scientists need to be reflexive (or self-aware) so that their own personal biases do not impact their conclusions. Reflexivity enables us to question what we "know" about the social environment given the fact that the researcher will always be part of the environment one is examining (unlike researchers in the physical sciences). To address this problem, researchers must understand how their social background shapes their understanding of their research and learn how control for these effects (Swartz, 1997, p. 272).

Seaman (2000, p. 266) observes that arts advocates naturally want to use economic research that appears to support their cause. However, particularly in reference to economic impact studies, they continue to use the information even after the research has been proved to be seriously flawed. In the long run, this has hurt the efforts of arts advocates because it soon becomes clear the arts cannot deliver the unrealistic results promised by these inaccurate studies. I am well aware of these possibilities and have kept them in mind during this process by staying focused on the actual data generated by the respondents.

Analyzing the Data

After transcribing the interviews and checking for inaccuracies, I sorted the data by question. Specifically, I created 14 separate spreadsheets (one per question) that contained the answers to each question. This enabled me to compare the answers given by members of one

community with each other as well as with the other communities. As mentioned above, I adapted my interview protocol over time to improve clarity and to elicit more detailed responses. As a result, the first respondents (primarily located in Hyannis) were asked the original questions which were more general in scope while later respondents (primarily located in Gloucester and Fitchburg) were asked slightly more detailed questions.

As the answers to each question were arrayed vertically on the page I was able to review them all as a group and begin to identify key words (codes). On another set of spreadsheets, I isolated the responses having to do with each of the key words and determined the strength of the response (all/most/some/one/none of the respondents agreed that...). This information is presented in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven while the findings generated from the data are presented in Chapter Eight.

Reliability

Transcript error and code definition drift can negatively impact the reliability of interviews (Creswell, 2009, p. 191). In order to ensure the reliability of the data, I checked the transcripts twice for mistakes such as mistaken words or phrases or misunderstood acronyms. To address the possibility that my coding standards might have shifted slightly over the course of the analysis, I compared my earliest efforts with my later ones to determine if I had applied the same standard throughout the process. Because I conducted the nineteen interviews over an intensive three-month period, code drift was less likely to occur. Further, having conducted all the interviews myself, I did not have to worry about differing definitions used by other investigators.

Validity

In a qualitative study, the possibility that the analysis or conclusions have been affected by researcher bias is quite real. I used several validity strategies suggested by Creswell (2009) to ensure the credibility of the findings. First, I identified my background to the respondents. Further, I have tried to remain aware of how my being a professional musician and music teacher, arts administrator, and college professor of arts administration for almost 20 years would influence my findings.

Another data validity strategy I used was a very simple form of triangulating – collecting data from several sources. If data collected from different sources generates similar themes, then validity is increased (Creswell, 2009, p. 191). As the Adams Art grant program required groups from different sectors to work together, my respondent list included leaders from the public, private, and nonprofit sectors. While my data does not come from widely varying sources (i.e., interviews plus newspaper reports), the respondents themselves serve in very different capacities within the community. By not limiting the sample to arts leaders, I hoped to gather a wider range of information that would give me a richer perspective on the policy process itself.

Another potential threat to validity in case study interviews is the researcher's own impact on the data collected. It became apparent that my being the interviewer impacted responses as certain responses occurred on several occasions. As a professor at Boston University, an “expert” on culture, and an older doctoral student, I was treated as a colleague or, in some cases, as a superior by the respondents. My relation to the respondents and ability to arrange interviews would likely have been different if I were “simply” a graduate student. It became apparent that I knew far more about culture and economic development, generally speaking, than most of the respondents and this fact may have impacted the interview process. It

is possible a few respondents altered their responses in an attempt to impress me or provide me the answers they thought I wanted to hear. One way I attempted to mitigate this bias was to stress with all respondents that I wanted to hear their unvarnished observations about what was occurring in their community (Weiss, 1994, p. 212). In addition, respondents were provided an emailed copy of my unsigned consent form that fully explained the purpose of the study before they agreed to meet. Still, the fact that I was asked to serve as an advisor to the community regarding culture policy in several cases suggests that I was viewed as an expert.

Analysis of the Data and Findings

In the following three chapters, I analyze the data and present my findings. I have organized the data to answer my three research questions:

- 1) What led the leaders of three Massachusetts' communities to establish cultural economic development policies?
- 2) What elements contributed to the development and implementation of the cultural economic development policies in each of the case study communities?
- 3) Were these policies successful, as determined by respondent perception or other measures, in increasing economic development in each community?

Each chapter will address one of these three research questions and present my analysis of the data for that question. As with any study, there are some possible limitations. In the following section, I address the idea of subjectivity and describe my efforts to collect data that is both reliable and valid.

Appendix to Chapter 4

Massachusetts responded to the recent economic challenges facing all major cities by turning to its significant existing stock of cultural resources. In 2004, the Massachusetts legislature established the John and Abigail Adams Arts Program for the Creative Economy. Administered by the Massachusetts Cultural Council, this program provides grant funding to communities who have created projects that employ the arts and culture to spur local economic development. The program awarded its first grants in 2005 and since that time has funded 23-48 grants each year.⁴⁵ This program, the oldest and most comprehensive in United States, has provided funding to a wide variety of cities and towns – large and small; inland and coastal; urban and rural – representing every region of the Commonwealth.

With so many municipalities applying for funding, two questions immediately come to mind. Could all of these municipalities possess a sufficient level of cultural activity to positively impact the local economy? As many of the municipalities that applied were not previously recognized as “cultural communities,” what did local leaders recognize about their respective communities that encouraged them to form the required partnerships and complete the arduous application process?⁴⁶ Reducing these questions to their basic elements reveals the underlying concern that drives this dissertation: how and why did cultural economic development happen here?

⁴⁵ From my examination of the grant applications, the MCC awarded implementation funding to 22 projects in 2005, 33 in 2006, 43 in 2007, 40 in 2008, and 40 in 2009. The total amount awarded each year (including planning and public partnership grants) is: FY05 – \$900,000; FY06 – \$1,340,175; FY07 – \$1,437,820; FY08 – \$1,375,371; FY09 – 1,270,500.

⁴⁶ In the 4th edition of *The 100 Best Art Towns in America*, Villani (2005) lists five communities in Massachusetts. They are: Great Barrington, Nantucket, North Adams, Northampton (#5), and Provincetown (#3). He ranks the top ten communities, but leaves the remaining ninety unranked. All communities on the list have a population under 100,000.

The John and Abigail Adams Arts Program

My desire to explore the cultural economic development process eventually became linked to the impact of the John and Abigail Adams Arts Program; however, I did not conceive this study to evaluate that program's effectiveness. The Adams Arts Program provided a framework through which to explore the cultural economy development process (this process will be fully described in Chapter Five). Due to its importance to my study, a description of the program and its relevant policies is in order.

The Massachusetts Cultural Council describes the program as follows:

“The John and Abigail Adams Arts Program fosters and promotes the use of cultural assets as an economic development tool. The goal of the program is to maximize the economic impact of the cultural sector in Massachusetts by funding initiatives that connect artists and cultural organizations to local and state economic development efforts, nurture new arts and cultural enterprise development, raise awareness of the Commonwealth's cultural products, and increase arts and cultural visitors to the state.” (www.massculturalcouncil.org/applications/adamsarts_faqs.html. Retrieved June 9, 2008).

The John and Abigail Adams Arts Program was created by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 2004.⁴⁷ The first grants were awarded in 2005, and the program continues to this day. Created by an act of the legislature, the text of the legislation has not been amended since it was enacted in 2005.⁴⁸ The legislation mandates several aspects of the program that are important to mention. These features include: the policy objectives; the

⁴⁷ From 1997-2003, the Massachusetts Cultural Council previously ran a cultural economic development program called the Cultural Economic Development Initiative.

⁴⁸ The full text of the legislation can be located at: www.massculturalcouncil.org/programs/adamsarts_legislation.html. Retrieved June 9, 2008.

applicants and their partners; the application process, the funding cycle, and the matching requirement.⁴⁹

For 2009, all grant applicants had to address at least one of four specific policy objectives established by the Massachusetts Cultural Council: produce new revenue; create or enhance jobs; revitalize communities; stimulate increased participation and engagement in cultural activities by residents and visitors. Nonprofit organizations based or incorporated in Massachusetts and public entities such as municipalities and economic development agencies are eligible to apply for funding. Partnerships are strongly encouraged, assuming similar economic development goals, and partners can include related for-profit businesses and other public agencies (State and federal).

Two types of grants are available: one year planning grants (up to \$10,000 - \$5,000 in 2010) and one- or two-year implementation grants (up to \$100,000 - \$75,000 in 2010). The three municipalities examined in this study have received one- or two-year implementation grants. Implementation grants have a matching funding requirement of 1:1, meaning that the local municipality must raise the same amount of funding from local sources that it is awarded from the state in order to receive the grant. In addition, priority is given to applications that demonstrate multiple sources of revenue. This condition was added to spur the formation of effective local partnerships.

Evaluation of Adams Arts Program Grants

⁴⁹ The following information in this section was obtained from the MCC website: www.massculturalcouncil.org/applications/adamsarts_faqs.html. Retrieved April 3, 2010)

While the grant recipients are required to submit a follow up report to the Massachusetts Cultural Council, there is no formal outside evaluation process that measures the effectiveness of the Adams Arts grants. However, in 2002-2003, the Massachusetts Cultural Council engaged the Center for Policy Analysis at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth to conduct an economic impact study of three communities that were awarded economic development funding from 2000-2003. The Center for Policy Analysis concluded that, “While each of the three projects were quite different, each was successful in using increased participation in cultural activity to spur local and regional economic activity.”⁵⁰

Town Descriptions

Barnstable (Hyannis)

In 2009, an Adams Arts grant for \$40,000 was awarded for “Harbor your Arts” (HyA), which is centered in Hyannis, the largest of seven villages in the Town of Barnstable.⁵¹ This project also received grant funding in 2006 (\$30,000) and 2007 (\$50,000) and 2008 (40,000).⁵² The lead organization is the Town of Barnstable. The partner organizations are: Hyannis Main Street Business Improvement District; Cape Cod Art Association; Arts Foundation of Cape Cod; Hyannis Area Chamber of Commerce; and Coastal Community Capital.

The project description is:

⁵⁰ See www.massculturalcouncil.org/news/economicdevelopment.html. Retrieved September 24, 2009.

⁵¹ The Massachusetts Cultural Council’s website indicates that in 2006, “Harbor Your Arts (HyA) drew 70,000 visitors to downtown Hyannis, helping 15 artists generate \$121,000 in sales.” This is the only mention on the website of a current project that includes economic data:
www.massculturalcouncil.org/programs/adamsarts.html.

⁵² All funding information is taken from MCC records.

The Town of Barnstable and its Partners work cooperatively to provide resources to our arts community to foster the local economy. The Harbor Your Arts initiative began with seven artist shanties and expanded to an arts-focused revitalization of downtown Hyannis. Next steps include defining a downtown Hyannis arts district with a way finding plan and additional public art to provide connectivity between the harbor, Pearl Street galleries and Main Street.

The project's economic development goals are:

A defined arts district will provide economic opportunities for artists and businesses, attract visitors and establish Hyannis as an arts destination. Harbor Your Arts (HyA) supports the local creative economy and business activity on Main Street and harbor area. Performing arts event attendance and revenues for shanty and Pearl Street artists underscores the success of these initiatives. Private investment in the area has begun to increase, further enhancing the downtown area.

Settled originally in 1639, Barnstable is located "mid-Cape" and is the commercial and transportation hub of Cape Cod.⁵³ The village of Hyannis contains the Barnstable city offices (while technically a city, Barnstable still refers to itself as a town), two important shopping districts, the historic downtown Main Street, and the Route 132 commercial district (which includes the Cape Cod Mall --the only mall on the Cape). Hyannis also has an airport, a bus terminal, and a major ferry terminal which provides access to Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. It has a large natural harbor and is an important center for boating and fishing. The Kennedys are the most famous residents and there is a statue and a museum dedicated to John F. Kennedy on Main Street in Hyannis.⁵⁴

As of 2000, Barnstable had a population of 47, 821 (the population of Hyannis was 20,097), the percentage of residents who held at least a college degree was 32.2, the percentage

⁵³ See www.capecodchamber.org/ground-transportation and www.capecodmove.com/cape-cod-area-information.asp

⁵⁴ The information for this section was obtained from the following website: www.barnstablecapecod.com/history.htm.

of non-Hispanic white people was 90.8, the percentage of persons living in poverty was 8.8, and the per capita income was \$26,413.⁵⁵ It has the largest population of any Cape Cod municipality.

As of 2007, Barnstable had 70 nonprofit cultural institutions and 29 for-profit cultural businesses (99 total organizations). The total revenue of the 20 nonprofit cultural institutions required to submit IRS form 990 (because their revenue was greater than \$25,000) was \$7,559,019. Barnstable has the greatest density of cultural activity on Cape Cod as measured by both the number cultural organizations present and the revenue generated by local nonprofit cultural institutions.⁵⁶

Gloucester

In 2009, an Adams Arts grant for \$26,000 was awarded for a project called Arts and Economic Development in Gloucester. This project also received funding in 2005 (\$30,000), 2006 (\$40,000), 2007 (\$40,000), and 2008 (\$35,000). The lead organization was the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts (seARTS), the local nonprofit arts advocacy/service organization. The partner organizations were: Cape Ann Chamber of Commerce; North of Boston Conventions and Visitor Bureau; ArtsGloucester; City of Gloucester; Cape Ann Artisans Tour; Gloucester Committee for the Arts; Gloucester New Arts Festival; and the Rocky Neck Art Colony.

The project description is:

This project provides innovative and effective economic opportunities for artists, businesses and the city by developing, sustaining, and promoting arts activities that are integrated into the business and cultural life of the city, creating and sustaining strategic partnerships, and developing a viable Cape Ann arts market.

⁵⁵ The data in this paragraph, and for the other two communities described below, is from the 2000 census.

⁵⁶ These numbers were obtained from the Culture Count website (www.culturecount.org), a cultural data project supported by the New England Foundation for the Arts, and founded and maintained by Douglas DeNatale, PhD. The data for the other two communities presented below is also from this website.

The project's economic goals are as follows:

To create sustainable arts/business collaborations, develop new audiences, showcase high-quality art, increase consumer activity in under-visited locations and businesses, boost existing cultural events, extend programming into the shoulder-months, and increase connectivity between downtown and the harbor.

Gloucester was first settled in 1623, making the oldest community in (what would eventually be called) Massachusetts. In the early 1700s, Gloucester became a significant center for shipbuilding and fishing. Gloucester's natural light and scenic location soon attracted artists, and in the late 1840s, the Rocky Neck artist colony was founded, the first of its kind in the United States. Over the years many outstanding painters and sculptors have lived and worked in Gloucester. For the past 100 years, artists and fishermen have lived and worked side by side in this working class community.⁵⁷

As of 2000, Gloucester had a population of 30,273, the percentage of residents who held at least a college degree was 27.4, the percentage of non-Hispanic white people was 96.0, the percentage of persons living in poverty was 8.8, and the per capita income was \$26,455.

As of 2007, Gloucester had 61 nonprofit cultural institutions and 38 for-profit cultural businesses (99 total organizations). The total revenue of the 16 nonprofit cultural institutions required to submit IRS form 990 was \$5,602,159. In the Cape Ann region, Gloucester has the second highest number of cultural institutions (behind Salem) and the fourth largest revenues generated by local nonprofit cultural institutions (behind Salem, Beverly, and Rockport).

Fitchburg

⁵⁷ See www.capeannhistoricalmuseum.org/history/gloucester_hist.htm and www.rockyneckartcolony.org/history.html

In 2009, an Adams Arts grant for \$18,000 was awarded for a project called REACH Fitchburg. This project also received funding in 2005 (\$35,000), and 2008 (\$6,000). The lead organization is the Fitchburg Economic Development Office. The partner organizations were: Fitchburg State College: Office of Cultural Affairs & Center Stage at Fitchburg State College; Fitchburg Access Television; Fitchburg Art Museum; the Fitchburg Cultural Alliance; the Fitchburg Historical Society; the Fitchburg Public Schools Department of Visual & Performing Arts; Fitchburg State College – Teaching American History Grant Program; Mayor Dan H. Mylott; and the Central Mass Women’s Caucus for Art.

The project description reads:

The City of Fitchburg has a collective history of more than 300 years as a cultural center in North Central Massachusetts. The intent of REACH Fitchburg project is to build on these assets to attract sustainable residential and commercial businesses by highlighting downtown Fitchburg as “Cultural Historic District” with the installation of permanent and dynamic public art projects.⁵⁸

The project’s economic development goals are:

1) Water Street Bridge Gateway: To create a “sense of place” at the entrance to downtown through a public sculpture project 2) To generate tourism and community interest in one of Fitchburg’s most unique architects, of H.M. Francis. 3) To generate revenue through the sales of artists’ work and Fitchburg Cultural Alliance at 633 Main Street “Storefront Artists.”⁵⁹

Fitchburg was initially settled in 1730 and is situated on the Nashua River. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries the paper mills, clothing, and machine and tool works factories were built and were primarily responsible for a large growth in employment and income during this time. A railroad was constructed to facilitate the movement of goods and the area began to attract many immigrants which resulted in an ethnic diversity that still exists today. One of the

⁵⁸ This quote is exactly as it appears in the grant proposal.

⁵⁹ Again, this is reprinted exactly as written.

prime industrial centers of the area, the city prospered and stately homes were built in the downtown area. However, by the mid-20th century the traditional manufacturing industries were in decline and so were the fortunes of the city. The construction of regional shopping centers in nearby communities further exacerbated economic conditions. Today, Fitchburg retains much of its rich architecture and some new manufacturing in plastics and medical devices has emerged, however many empty mills and buildings remain.⁶⁰

As of 2000, Fitchburg had a population of 39,102, the percentage of residents who held at least a college degree was 15.5, the percentage of non-Hispanic white residents was 74.7, the percentage of persons living in poverty was 15.0, and the per capita income was \$17,836.

As of 2007, Fitchburg had 34 nonprofit cultural institutions and 21 for-profit cultural businesses (55 total organizations). The total revenue of the seven nonprofit cultural institutions required to submit IRS form 990 was \$3,892,485. Fitchburg has the largest number of cultural institutions and the largest revenues generated by local nonprofit cultural institutions of any municipality in North Worcester County.

⁶⁰ The source for this section is: www.ci.fitchburg.ma.us/history.htm.

Chapter 5 –Why were cultural economic development policies enacted in Barnstable, Gloucester, and Fitchburg

Three essential factors were present that led the leaders of three Massachusetts communities to establish cultural economic development policies. These factors are: 1) MCC funding and technical support, 2) the presence of substantial cultural assets, and 3) a core of community leaders that championed the effort.

Available Funding

In this study, the primary funding used to establish these policies was awarded by the Adams Arts Program (described in detail in the Appendix to Chapter Four). While there are a few other sources of funding available to support individuals and institutions that make up the cultural industries – National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities, and local cultural council funding – the Adams Arts grant program is the only source of funding focused specifically on supporting cultural economic development initiatives. Unique among the three communities, Fitchburg received cultural economic development funding from the MCC's Cultural Economic Development program which ran from 1997-2003. In 1998 and 1999, they received \$5,000 and \$7,000 respectively to create a pamphlet that advertised the major cultural events occurring in the community. Fitchburg did not receive any additional cultural economic development money between 2000 and 2005 when it was awarded its first Adams Arts grant for a different project.

In 2005, Hyannis engaged with cultural economic development when the town built several Artist Shanties to encourage tourists to linger at the harbor exposing the work of the selected artists to more potential customers. While the effort involved only a few of the town's

artists and had a modest initial impact, it does indicate community leaders were aware of cultural economic development before they applied for Adams Arts program funding.⁶¹ Prior to 2005, driven by the personal interests of the Mayor at the time, the City of Gloucester commissioned a few works of public art.

It is clear these communities were not unfamiliar with the idea of cultural economic development before the creation of the Adams Arts grant program. Indeed, the New England Foundation for the Arts and the New England Council had written about the possibilities of cultural economic development in the late 1990s and early 2000s and the MCC, as mentioned above, previously operated a grant program to support such initiatives. However, while it is possible for communities to search for other sources of support or attempt to create a policy without funding, the Adams Arts program application process focuses and strengthens existing community interest by requires communities to set focused cultural economic development goals, to work with multiple partners from different sectors, and to commit their own resources. These factors were vital in renewing efforts in Fitchburg and Gloucester and enabling the existing initiative in Hyannis to expand dramatically. Without Adams Arts funding, these communities would not have been able to create or sustain the cultural economic development initiatives they have in place today.

The Presence of Substantial Cultural Assets

Every community has cultural assets of some kind – the cultural industries (nonprofit cultural organizations, unincorporated community organizations, and commercial businesses),

⁶¹ The Artist Shanties were built in 2005, the same year the Adams Arts Program was founded. Hyannis applied for its first Adams Arts grant in 2006.

artists, libraries, and the built heritage are common examples – and these communities are no different. These assets are not the same, as they reflect the each community’s specific economic and cultural history. However, the mere presence of local cultural assets does not explain a community’s decision to use culture as an economic development strategy – every community has cultural assets, but not every community pursues cultural economic development. Two beliefs about local cultural assets emerged from the data at the beginning of the fieldwork. The majority of the respondents believe their community’s cultural assets are significant enough to play a role in the community’s economic development plan, and to provide their community with a cultural competitive advantage over neighboring communities.

To identify the number and type of local cultural assets, some communities conduct a cultural audit. This is a sound strategy, as conducting community and economic base surveys is a traditional first step in developing an economic development plan (Morgan, England, & Pellissero, 2007, p. 136). Several years ago, Hyannis surveyed their artist population to better understand their community and economic needs. I am unaware of any efforts by the other two communities to map their cultural assets. This may seem somewhat surprising, but virtually all the respondents indicated they were well aware of their community’s cultural assets.

Cultural Assets in the Three Communities

In Fitchburg, the most frequently mentioned cultural assets were outdoor amenities (the river and the new park –where they hold cultural events), followed by cultural institutions (the galleries, the theater, the performing arts groups, the museum, the library, the historical society), the historic architecture of the downtown business district, the presence of local artists, and

Fitchburg State College. Less frequently mentioned were: the Fitchburg Cultural Alliance, Rollstone Studios, and tourism.

Most respondents stated that thinking about culture and cultural institutions as economic (versus community) assets is a fairly new approach for the community. And while several cultural businesses have recently sprung up on Main St. (Rollstone Studios, an independent bookstore, a design store), people indicated that most residents did not yet associate the city with culture. However, with the establishment of these cultural businesses and Fitchburg State College's increasing commitment to the arts, that perception may slowly be changing as suggested by a local government employee and long time resident who exclaimed: "it's kind of cool, all of this art going on in downtown Fitchburg – who would have thunk! That's not Fitchburg's thing!" However, while attitudes have started to change, this is by no means universal. The quote highlights a phenomenon unique to Fitchburg: while the number of cultural assets and events has visibly increased during the past few years, the community as a whole has not become more aware of the arts or possibly, even more concerning for local leadership, does not choose to embrace them.

In Gloucester, the most frequently stated community cultural assets were: a long history of artists and art making in the community,⁶² strong cultural institutions, a community of living artists, the "setting" (natural beauty – water, light), and the WPA murals.⁶³ Less frequently cited were: the vacation community, tourism, the fishing community, a feeling of "tolerance," the high cost of living (making it difficult for young artists to live there), City government, and

⁶² Fitz Henry Lane, Winslow Homer, and William Morris Hunt began the Rocky Neck Artists Colony. By the 1930s, John Sloan, Stuart Davis, Milton Avery, Marsden Hartley, and Edward Hopper were all living and/or working in Gloucester

⁶³ From 1934-1942 the Works Progress Administration (WPA) commissioned artists to paint murals in communities throughout the United States. Frequently, these murals appeared in post offices. In Gloucester, there is a wonderful collection of these works in City Hall, many painted by Charles Allen Winter in the mid-to-late 1930s.

seARTS, the local art service organization (Society for the Encouragement of the Arts). One public sector employee articulated a common sentiment about Gloucester: “there’s a real love for the arts here, almost from every sector.”

The municipality is particularly strong in the visual arts. This is not surprising given its coastal location and long history of famous resident painters. Gloucester is somewhat unique in that it possesses a significant fishing industry and faces several traditional urban challenges (below average public school system and relatively high unemployment) while also being the home to a wide variety of galleries, museums, and the oldest artist colony in the United States. These two different sets of assets – fishing and art – are both central to Gloucester’s identity, as is the tension between them.

While there are plenty of arts institutions, historically they do not always work together well. For many years the largest museum in town, the Cape Ann Historical Association (now called the Cape Ann Museum) appeared unwilling to work with the community or with other arts organizations. Under its new director that has changed and the museum has become more welcoming – increasing its hours and its engagement with the community, and cooperating with other arts institutions. This change has been welcomed by arts leaders. The City is interested in supporting the cultural sector, but lack of resources has relegated it to a supporting role. In addition, several respondents indicated the City’s own cultural advisory board (Committee for the Arts) had been unable to convince the City to take action. While seARTS would be expected to direct cultural advocacy efforts and is the lead applicant on the community’s Adams Arts grant application, poor management, understaffing, and a lack of consensus regarding its mission have severely limited its effectiveness over the years. Clearly there are substantial cultural assets

present in Gloucester. The continuing challenge facing local leaders is how to effectively work together to better leverage these assets to achieve defined economic development goals.

In Barnstable, the most frequently cited community cultural assets were: the large number of artists, the Cape “identity” (it has long been associated with the visual arts), physical amenities (water, light), tourism, and being the transportation hub of Cape Cod. Less frequently cited were: history (maritime and the Kennedys), the downtown, local government and private businesses that “get it” in regard to the arts, and ease of collaboration due to the small number of local cultural leaders. One public sector employee described some of the town’s assets as follows:

“It’s known for its legacy with the Kennedys and that rich history there – a rich maritime history, everything from whaling to shipbuilding – so I think that that contributes to the charm and the uniqueness of Hyannis that we have. I think that downtown – it’s walkable, what they’ve done in the last five years to fix it up and to make it safe and to have everything within walking distance contributes also, as opposed maybe to some of these other towns that you can’t get from one end to the other on foot and enjoy. And you have the water... [and] a small artist colony, growing.”

There is significant awareness of community cultural assets in Hyannis. As tourism is a major local industry, the community is experienced in identifying local assets that can be leveraged to bring new money into the community. The presence of a large number of local artists also helps keep culture on the community’s agenda. In addition, local cultural leaders have developed relationships with each other, the business community, and city officials as they have worked together to create tourism initiatives. These relationships are deep and long standing and proved to be critically important during the cultural economic development policy process. In addition, the town (the lead applicant) has committed significant administrative and financial resources and town officials are engaged in and familiar with the arts world. This was

the only community where the conversation included the best practices of gallery management – and the respondents were local government employees!

Determining Cultural Strength and Density

While it comes as no surprise that each respondent believes his or her community possesses significant cultural assets, it seems impossible to believe that every community is above average. However, since almost all cultural assets consist of people and institutions, it is possible to count them and compare one community to another. Do Fitchburg, Barnstable, and Gloucester really possess a significant number of cultural assets, more significant than their neighbors? To answer this question, I developed a rough measure of cultural “strength” and cultural “density” that could be applied to each community. To create these indicators, I gathered financial data about local nonprofit cultural institutions to roughly estimate the economic size of the cultural industries in each community.⁶⁴ In order to accomplish this, I examined the financial data contained in each cultural institution’s IRS 990 forms. Nonprofit organizations that have yearly revenues in excess of \$25,000 must report financial information (revenues, assets, liabilities and much more) to the IRS using form 990.⁶⁵ Data for every cultural institution in Massachusetts (that is required to file) has been organized by municipality and

⁶⁴ While this data does not include financial data of for-profit cultural organizations, this is not a serious limitation, as the significant economic generators in the commercial area (commercial theater, record companies, film studios, publishing houses) tend to be located in major cities.

⁶⁵ Institutions that do not generate revenue in excess of \$25,000 file a different form that does not require detailed financial information; therefore, it is impossible to include these organizations in the analysis. As the revenue generated by these organizations is so small, it seems unlikely they would employ paid administrative staff and, therefore, would not make a significant economic contribution to the community. At www.guidestar.org, it is possible to view the 990 of any cultural organization that is required to file. The income of local artists is also difficult to estimate due to the limitations of census data. In addition, it seems unlikely that artists (perhaps barring those who reside in New York City) exhibit only in the community where they live.

made available through the website www.CultureCount.org, which is sponsored by the New England Foundation for the Arts.

To access cultural strength, I created two indicators. The first expresses the amount of revenue generated by local nonprofit cultural organizations on a per capita basis. This figure is reported as “cultural revenue per person.” The second is calculated by dividing the total number of arts organizations in the community by population. This figure includes organizations that are not required to file Form 990 allowing this indicator to capture additional signs of cultural activity. This measure is expressed as the number of people per arts organization.

The first indicator is designed to provide a measure of the money flowing into arts organizations in relation to their population. I used total revenues because this, for the most part, indicates money spent in the community (ticket sales, rentals, gift shop purchases, contributions), whereas expenses would also include payment to artists, administrators, and vendors who live outside the community. Although in practice, expenditures and revenues are typically closely aligned in nonprofit organizations -- or they tend to go out of business. The total revenue of all 990 filing organizations can be used to compare one community with another to determine which ones have more revenue generated by cultural institutions and which have less.

The second measure reports the total number of cultural institutions in the community (for-profit and nonprofit) in relation to population and captures the “density” of cultural institutions in the community. The two indicators provide a quick snapshot of the economic size and density of the cultural industries in a municipality and therefore, enable the comparison of one community with another.

An additional factor must be noted. During the summer months, the local populations of Gloucester and Barnstable double and triple, due to the presence of vacationers, while

Fitchburg's population remains steady. In both these communities a percentage of the homes are owned by summer residents. As a result, the local population swells and the sales of cultural products and services increase appreciably. Therefore, the amount of culture consumed is greater than what might normally have been expected, given the size of the year round population. In the appropriate tables, I have indicated the percentage of vacation homes in each community as indicated on the culturecount.org website.

While communities that pursue cultural economic development strategies possess significant cultural assets (Kemp, 2004), the literature does not indicate the number, size, or type of cultural assets required to produce economic growth. Given that 2007 IRS data are the most recent financial information available regarding nonprofit cultural institutions and the initiatives began in 2005 or 2006, it is not possible to conclude that any of the economic data reflected in these figures is a result of these policies. Additionally, it is not possible to use the data presented below to fill this gap in the literature. This information can be used to make a rough determination of current cultural industry strength and the consistency of the data facilitate the comparison of one community with another.

Barnstable

Barnstable is ranked 10th in number of institutions per person and 11th in revenue collected per person (Tables 1 and 2), but its overall cultural revenues and total number of cultural organizations is the largest on the Cape (Table 3). There are several factors that may explain this somewhat unusual result. Barnstable has the second lowest percentage of vacation homes, but the largest year round population on the Cape. As a result, while tripling its population during the summer, it does not experience the same percentage increase as other Cape

communities.⁶⁶ The additional purchasing power of these summer residents enables a very small vacation community to sustain a larger number of cultural institutions than might be expected. While Barnstable does not enjoy the largest percentage summer population increase on the Cape, its summer population does increase dramatically to 120,000 making it by far the largest community on the Cape. The sheer size of the community enables its cultural organizations to generate the most revenue of any Cape community (Table 5). In addition, the cultural revenues generated in Barnstable are greater than any other Cape community and it has by far the largest number of cultural organizations and the largest number of 990 filing organizations (organizations that produce more economic effects than non-filing organizations). This indicates there is a substantial amount of revenue generating cultural activity occurring in Barnstable, more in fact, than any other town on the Cape. While other communities may claim to have a larger density of culture per capita, the overall size of the cultural community in Barnstable combined with its large year-round population make it a significant provider of cultural experiences. Given this data, the respondents have accurately observed that Barnstable's cultural industries are economically vibrant. Combined with its central Cape location, its many transportation options, large year-round population, experience in tourism management, and committed effective local government that has linked arts initiatives to downtown development, Barnstable appears to have the tools necessary to achieve economic growth in its cultural industries and possibly in local retail business.

⁶⁶ Provincetown is an excellent example of this phenomenon. Its population increases tenfold from just over 3,000 to 30,000.

Table 1:

Community	# people per institution	% of vacation homes
Provincetown	73.00	46.99%
Wellfleet	161.71	64.23%
Truro	173.92	60.84%
Chatham	184.03	46.67%
Eastham	272.65	52.27%
Orleans	288.23	34.61%
Mashpee	392.30	33.00%
Harwich	399.55	37.97%
Falmouth	441.35	28.00%
BARNSTABLE	483.04	18.73%
Brewster	504.70	40.33%
Sandwich	610.18	13.42%
Dennis	638.92	42.72%
Bourne	693.37	19.29%
Yarmouth	826.90	27.40%

Table 2:

Community	arts institution revenue per person	% of vacation homes
Provincetown	\$1,312.07	46.99%
Wellfleet	\$899.80	64.23%
Chatham	\$574.76	46.67%
Truro	\$459.78	60.84%
Sandwich	\$371.49	13.42%
Brewster	\$244.89	40.33%
Falmouth	\$203.37	28.00%
Orleans	\$180.13	34.61%
BARNSTABLE	\$158.07	18.73%
Dennis	\$107.07	42.72%
Yarmouth	\$99.57	27.40%
Harwich	\$60.87	37.97%
Bourne	\$46.53	19.29%
Mashpee	\$42.85	33.00%
Eastham	not reported	52.27%

Table 3:

Cape Cod communities	Total # of cultural institutions	# of 990 filing institutions (2007)	Total Revenue (2007)
BARNSTABLE	99	20	\$7,559,019
Sandwich	33	10	\$7,480,421
Falmouth	74	16	\$6,642,066
Provincetown	47	9	\$4,501,710
Chatham	36	10	\$3,807,754
Wellfleet	17	3	\$2,473,557
Brewster	20	5	\$2,471,880
Yarmouth	30	6	\$2,469,967
Dennis	25	7	\$1,710,215
Orleans	22	4	\$1,142,202
Truro	12	6	\$959,556
Bourne	27	3	\$871,126
Harwich	31	5	\$753,971
Mashpee	33	3	\$554,748
Eastham	20	< 3	Not reported

Gloucester

Gloucester's cultural strength relative to its neighbors is complex. While the cultural industries in Gloucester are significant, the larger communities of Beverly and Salem possess several major cultural institutions that generate more total revenue (Table 4). In addition, nearby Rockport with its small population, numerous summer tourists, charming downtown, and large chamber music festival has significant cultural strength. While Gloucester does not possess a major flagship cultural institution, it does have a large number of smaller ones. In fact, Gloucester has the largest number of Form 990 filing institutions on the North Shore and the second largest number of total organizations (Table 4). As a result, its cultural density (number of people per institution) is quite high (Table 5), although its revenue per person is in the middle range (Table 6). This indicates that Gloucester, despite its relatively small population, is home to a great deal of cultural activity, but does not possess the largest-sized cultural institutions that

could serve as a regional cultural draw. As a result, it is not the cultural leader on the North Shore. These factors might possibility limit Gloucester’s ability to substantially increase the revenue generated by its cultural industries.

Table 4:

North Shore communities	Total # of cultural institutions	# of 990 filing institutions (2007)	Total Revenue (2007)
Salem	105	11	\$70,647,865
Beverly	69	8	\$66,154,600
Rockport	31	5	\$7,673,893
GLOUCESTER	99	16	\$5,602,159
Peabody	47	6	\$1,463,877
Marblehead	47	8	\$1,262,586
Wenham	9	3	\$821,012
Essex	8	3	\$370,941
Ipswich	27	4	\$326,300
Danvers	34	3	\$304,627
Hamilton	15	< 3	Not reported
Manchester	13	< 3	Not reported
Middleton	8	< 3	Not reported
Nahant	11	< 3	Not reported
Swampscott	20	< 3	Not reported
Topsfield	16	< 3	Not reported

Table 5:

Community	# people per institution	% of vacation homes
Rockport	250.55	13.09%
GLOUCESTER	305.79	6.88%
Nahant	330.18	1.64%
Salem	384.83	0.40%
Topsfield	393.81	0.84%
Manchester	402.15	4.64%
Essex	408.38	6.15%
Marblehead	433.55	1.80%
Ipswich	481.00	3.34%
Wenham	493.33	0.76%
Hamilton	554.33	3.82%
Beverly	577.71	0.77%
Swampscott	720.60	2.12%

Danvers	741.53	0.51%
Middleton	968.00	0.43%
Peabody	1024.02	0.32%

Table 6:

Community	arts institution revenue per person	% of vacation homes
Salem	\$1,748.41	0.40%
Beverly	\$1,659.59	0.77%
Rockport	\$988.01	13.09%
GLOUCESTER	\$185.05	6.88%
Wenham	\$184.91	0.76%
Essex	\$113.04	6.15%
Marblehead	\$61.96	1.80%
Peabody	\$30.42	0.32%
Ipswich	\$25.13	3.34%
Danvers	\$12.08	0.51%
Hamilton	not reported	3.82%
Manchester	not reported	4.64%
Middleton	not reported	0.43%
Nahant	not reported	1.64%
Swampscott	not reported	2.12%
Topsfield	not reported	0.84%

Fitchburg

While the presence of cultural industries may not be the first thing that comes to mind when one thinks of Fitchburg, its cultural organizations generate almost twice the revenue of the nearest municipality and it contains more arts organizations than any other community in its region (Table 9). It lags behind only Shirley in terms of revenue generated per person. This result is a byproduct of Shirley's extremely small population⁶⁷ (Table 8). However, Shirley is not near the top in terms of cultural density (Table 7).

⁶⁷ In this indicator, the presence of even one mid-sized cultural organization in a small community can make a large difference in the numbers.

The number of cultural organizations present in the community and the revenue they generate clearly indicate that Fitchburg is the cultural leader in its region. However, it has fewer cultural organizations than you would expect to find in a community its size, especially one that is pursuing culture an economic development strategy (Appendix 5, Figure 10). This could be considered either a positive (the cultural sector is somewhat underdeveloped and can accommodate expansion) or a negative (the community is already supporting all the culture it desires or can afford). It is impossible to know which idea is correct by considering only the numbers. Regardless, due to its cultural leader status, Fitchburg can and does attract cultural resources and audience members from neighboring communities.

Table 7:

Community	# people per institution	% of vacation homes
Ashby	167.35	1.09%
Harvard	199.37	3.10%
Shirley	374.88	0.74%
Ashburnham	426.62	9.39%
Groton	433.95	1.59%
Princeton	479.00	0.92%
Ayer	485.80	0.41%
Westminster	493.36	3.16%
Lunenburg	494.79	1.72%
Sterling	558.23	0.99%
FITCHBURG	710.95	0.24%
Lancaster	711.82	1.77%
Townsend	836.18	0.69%
Pepperell	1114.20	0.31%
Leominster	1251.61	0.23%

Table 8:

Community	arts institution revenue per person	% of vacation homes
Shirley	\$108.68	0.74%
FITCHBURG	\$99.55	0.24%
Harvard	\$63.98	3.10%
Leominster	\$41.16	0.23%
Ayer	\$22.88	0.41%
Ashburnham	not reported	9.39%
Ashby	not reported	1.09%
Groton	not reported	1.59%
Lancaster	not reported	1.77%
Lunenburg	not reported	1.72%
Pepperell	not reported	0.31%
Princeton	not reported	0.92%
Sterling	not reported	0.99%
Townsend	not reported	0.69%
Westminster	not reported	3.16%

Table 9:

North Worcester County communities	Total # of cultural institutions	# of 990 filing institutions (2007)	Total Revenue (2007)
FITCHBURG	55	7	\$3,892,485
Leominster	33	5	\$1,699,915
Shirley	17	3	\$692,624
Harvard	30	4	\$382,689
Ayer	15	3	\$166,751
Ashburnham	13	< 3	Not reported
Ashby	7	< 3	Not reported
Groton	22	< 3	Not reported
Lancaster	11	< 3	Not reported
Lunenburg	19	< 3	Not reported
Pepperell	10	< 3	Not reported
Princeton	7	< 3	Not reported
Sterling	13	< 3	Not reported
Townsend	11	< 3	Not reported
Westminster	14	< 3	Not reported

A Core of Community Leaders Championing the Effort

The third factor is the presence of a small core of inspired and committed champions who possess significant community knowledge, work experience, personal networks, education, and have resided in the community for many years. Given the nature of the data, it is impossible to determine which of these factors is crucial and which are incidental (or even which are missing); however, it is clear that many of the respondents are part of this core group of leaders and they possess a very similar set of background characteristics (see Table 10).

Table 10

Length of residence	
Born there or 20+ years	74%
10 – 20 years	11%
5 – 10 years	11%
Never before lived there	5%
Education level	
Graduate degree or higher	63%
Bachelor’s degree	32%
Associate’s degree	5%
Gender	
Female	68%
Male	32%
Race	
White	95%
Non-white	5%
Years of experience in field	
20+ years	74%
10 – 20 years	16%
Less than 10 years	11%
Career concentration	
One sector only	89%
More than one sector	11%

This core group was repeatedly identified by respondents as the instigators and/or champions of the cultural economic development policy process. These leaders, primarily associated with the cultural community and local government, were highly skilled, possessing significant experience in at least one of the following areas: art, education, cultural/public management, community development, tourism, urban planning. While some local business leaders participated, most notably in Fitchburg and Hyannis, their involvement began after the idea had gained some momentum.

In Hyannis, early leadership was provided by a former assistant town manager who, alerted to an opportunity to engage with the cultural community, expanded on the idea and used his position to quickly involve leading members of the cultural community and other town employees in planning an initial cultural economic development project. Using only existing town administrative and fiscal resources, the Artist Shanties were quickly constructed and placed near the harbor. The early success of this project sparked ideas for additional cultural economic development projects, several of which have been implemented, while others are still in the planning phases.

In Fitchburg, several well-connected people who worked as arts educators, community leaders, and college employees decided to work together to write the Adams Arts grant application. As previously mentioned, Fitchburg received cultural economic development money from the Massachusetts Cultural Council in 1997 and 1998, but no more funds were forthcoming until they received their first Adams Arts program grant in 2005. Focused on increasing cultural tourism, these initial efforts were sustained for another two to three years by other community resources, after which time they faded away. When funding became available

again in 2005, at least two of the local leaders engaged in the previous efforts were part of the group that wrote the Adams Arts grant proposal.

In Gloucester, the community-wide effort to create a new Harbor plan by 2000⁶⁸ enabled several cultural leaders to participate in a community planning process for the first time. A local artist and cultural administrator, who previously worked with cultural programming at the city level in another community, stepped forward and with two or three other cultural leaders began the planning process. They lobbied the Mayor to form an official committee for the arts and personally funded a cultural economic development study (after the City withdrew its support due to a lack of funds) to demonstrate the impact of Gloucester's cultural industries on the local economy. However, support from the City waned as other local concerns competed for attention (the needs of fishing community, the financial position of the City). A small group of experienced, committed community and cultural leaders worked hard to create something, but efforts stalled as City leaders focused on other concerns and seARTS was unable to lead the process. However, the idea had been planted, and when the Adams Arts program funding became available in 2005, this group of local leaders mobilized to apply.

⁶⁸ The plan was completed in 2001.

Chapter 6 - The Elements of the Policy Process

Four elements present in each community were responsible for the development and implementation of the local cultural economic development policy. They are: 1) a vibrant partnership consisting of leaders of community and cultural organizations and local government, 2) an intermediary organization (either government or a local arts service organization), 3) local government, and 4) funding and technical support provided by the Massachusetts Cultural Council. In reviewing the data, these four elements were consistently mentioned by virtually all the respondents as being crucial to the process. There are two additional actors that were present in two of the three communities: a college in Fitchburg (Fitchburg State College) and Hyannis (Cape Cod Community College) and the local press in Hyannis and Fitchburg. It is difficult to state definitively the impact of these two elements as they were not present in all three communities and their participation was different in each community. Therefore, I did not include them in my list of factors. Further research is needed to more fully explore their role.

These communities are aware of their cultural heritage. During the past 10-15 years they have explored small programs that link the arts to community development objectives such as public art and, in the case of Fitchburg, to tourism. However, it was this specific combination of elements that triggered the creation of these specific cultural economic development policies.

Vibrant Community Partnerships

Of all these elements, the most important internal element is the creation of a vibrant, sustained partnership among cultural institutions, community leaders, and local government. While there was some variation from community to community, the partnerships were similarly constituted and faced similar challenges.

Loose partnerships of community leaders, cultural leaders, local government administrators and elected officials existed in these communities prior to the creation of the Adams Arts program in 2005. The small number of individuals involved and the easy access to town and city administrators and officials contributed to the formation of these partnerships. However, as each leader was fully occupied running his or her respective institution they did not have the opportunity to work together on a consistent basis. The Adams Arts program requirement that organizations partner to create a formal cultural economic development policy was the catalyst for these groups and individuals to come together in a sustained and purposeful manner. The respondents indicated that the process of creating a policy, applying for funding, and then implementing the policy upon receipt of the funding, increased the bonds between the various players in each community.

The members of the partnership vary depending on the type of cultural assets that exist in each community, but these partnerships included: college administrators, arts administrators, community leaders, arts educators and school administrators, government employees working in economic development or urban planning, elected officials, and chamber of commerce executives. In Hyannis, where the town was the lead applicant, the partnership was driven and sustained by town administrators. In Fitchburg, where the lead applicant was the city economic development office, the partnership was driven by a small group of community and cultural leaders supported by the mayor. Although the economic development office is listed as the lead applicant, the office has been restructured and downsized, leaving it incapable of driving the process. In Gloucester, where seARTS was the lead applicant, the partnership was driven by a few strong cultural leaders with minimal support from the city. While seARTS was very

involved in the partnership, administrative, fiscal, and strategic challenges limited its ability to drive the process.

Since many different individuals and groups can influence which policies become part of the “formal” policy agenda (Kingdon, 2003, p. 16), it is important to understand the people who participate in the policy process and their affiliations. In the following section, I identify more specifically the members of the partnerships and what they did to create the cultural economic development policies enacted in Hyannis, Gloucester, and Fitchburg.

The policy partnerships consisted of individuals from the public and nonprofit sectors with occasional representation from the private sector or, more frequently, from nonprofit organizations that represent the private sector (i.e., chambers of commerce, business improvement districts). While extremely underrepresented, most of the respondents indicated that business leaders could (and should) play a larger role in the policy process. In Fitchburg, one local developer sponsored a monthly cultural evening in the downtown area that was held at a building he owned. This event capitalized on the energy generated by the previously established city sponsored monthly cultural evening, which has struggled recently due to lack of support from the city. In Gloucester, leaders in the private sector (unless they served on a nonprofit board) did not seem to have participated in the process. At the other end of the spectrum, the Hyannis Main Street Business Improvement District has worked with the city on cultural programming initiatives and the local chamber of commerce participated in the process from the beginning.

Members of the Partnership in Fitchburg

In Fitchburg, the most important actors in the cultural economic development process are leaders at: Fitchburg State College, the Fitchburg Cultural Alliance (the local arts service organization – but its effectiveness is hampered due to lack of funding and administrative support), the Massachusetts Cultural Council, and leaders of the local cultural industries and the public schools. Some of the leaders participated in the tourism/place marketing initiative that received funding from the previous MCC cultural economic development program, and knew how to write a successful grant. When the new funding program was announced, they were able to connect with people at the college, city government, and the public schools, and quickly organize a partnership to develop a new initiative.

The college plays a crucial role in supporting cultural economic development in Fitchburg. Possessing a strong cultural events office, experienced staff, and an undergraduate program in theater and a graduate program in arts education, the college is increasingly committed to working with the community to improve the quality of life of local residents. As the town has grown more “cultural,” it has become easier to attract quality students and faculty members. The college realizes it is connected to the city and must work together if the college is going to achieve its goals. However, the college has a multifaceted agenda, and improving relations with the city is only one objective. It also faces multiple financial challenges including declining funding from the state, therefore, it is not the driver of this process.

Positive coverage of proposed policy initiatives in the local press can increase attendance at local cultural events and support the idea that the community is a vibrant, successful place. However, the major local paper (The Sentinel and Enterprise) is not considered a supporter of Fitchburg’s cultural economic development efforts. The paper prefers to focus on the sensational or negative aspects of community life – in the words of one respondent, their philosophy is, “if it

bleeds, it leads.” In response, a new newspaper (Fitchburg Pride) was started that presents a more positive picture of life in Fitchburg, and since then “public pride has grown.” Respondents speculate that the editors at the Sentinel see the community as a depressed mill town and do not recognize the recent changes that have occurred. However, they also state they have not been in close contact with the paper and believe that has limited their ability to impact local thinking. The data is too limited to allow for additional speculation concerning the lack of support from the Sentinel.

Cultural institutions are engaged as well, but it is the individual leaders of these institutions and their willingness to devote time and energy to this effort that makes the difference. Senior level employees in the school system, the college, and community organizations consistently stated that the lack of financial and administrative resources limited their ability to adequately support their cultural economic development efforts. While there are many committed people involved, they struggle to coordinate and sustain their efforts. One cultural leader summed up the situation in Fitchburg as follows: “As any arts institution...if you’re in a place like Fitchburg, you struggle.”

Members of the Partnership in Hyannis

The partnership is complex and ongoing, with different organizations contributing their particular strengths to the project. One town official described how the partnership began:

Everyone I reached out to was very receptive to partnering. We went up with the right people, too. I mean, I went to Arts Foundation because they’re the only regional arts that we have on the Cape, and right away they were supportive and helpful...and the Cape Cod Art Association...everyone. I think the partnerships helped us leverage [additional support]. They helped with the marketing, and they reached out to their membership base...whether it was the Chamber or the BID or the arts groups, you know, everybody helped out....We had a much farther reach than we would have had if we had been doing

it just through the municipality. We needed that; I mean, they've got artist memberships, so that was really important.

Local respondents indicated that the partnership was very collaborative and has continued to meet regularly despite changing personnel. A town official describes how the partnership worked.

Our partners were heavily involved with the whole process. Every decision was made as a collective decision between the partnerships. As far as spearheading what direction we were going in, or ideas, like when we added the performing arts, all of our partners were equally involved in having a say in that decision. That being said, when we were working with the galleries, when we opened up the gallery, the Arts Foundation had a strength for knowing the protocol for setting up a gallery and knowing how that's going to work. They did help us with that, because they had the expertise in that area. They helped us design the protocol for setting up a co-op, they hired the Volunteer Lawyers for the Arts, and we brought in other people for specific tasks, but as far as the overall program, I think everybody was equally involved, but yeah, there were people who did specialized things.... I think we had a great mix, and everyone brought something to the table that was needed.

The local press was perceived to be very supportive and ran stories about the new activities, although one respondent noted in passing that it took the Cape Cod Times (the largest paper on the Cape) much longer to get on board. While the media was also not a supporter in Fitchburg, the outcome was different in Hyannis. The data do not reveal anything definitive about why this was the case, however, it is likely the town officials in Hyannis are in contact with the press on a more regular basis than the local cultural leaders in Fitchburg who support their community's cultural economic development efforts after work on a volunteer basis. These ongoing relationships may have eventually enabled Hyannis to attract the attention of the paper. As the newspaper coverage in Hyannis increased, "the excitement grew" according to a town employee. The data do not indicate how the excitement grew as a result of the coverage or how often the project was mentioned in the paper.

County level assistance was also forthcoming and perceived as extremely valuable as it provided funding and marketing support. Local chambers of commerce were also involved and their participation was also considered important. Unlike in Fitchburg, the local college – Cape Cod Community College (6,500 students) – was not considered part of the partnership, although town officials planned to make overtures to specific faculty members teaching in the arts in the near future.

It was frequently mentioned that the Cape possesses a singular “identity.” For some residents, the idea of going “off Cape” does not easily occur to them. The sense that “we are all in this together” was expressed as a reason why partnerships have been relatively easy to develop and sustain. This feeling of unity certainly seems possible in a community where local leaders’ economic interests overlap; however, it is unlikely that this sensibility extends to the entire Cape.

Members of the Partnership in Gloucester

While there was a general consensus about the importance of a few actors --leaders of cultural institutions and other community leaders, the tourism agency (although the agency is now essentially dormant as the only employee was laid off), the Massachusetts Cultural Council, while a few others also mentioned the Chamber of Commerce and local artists – there was substantial disagreement about the effectiveness of the participation of the city, the local arts service organization seARTS (Society for the Encouragement of the Arts), and the mayor’s Committee for the Arts. Most respondents stated the participation of these three institutions was vital, but they were not always able to contribute effectively as they have been hampered by a lack of resources, distracted by other pressing concerns, and disagreed over strategic objectives.

This has clearly had a negative impact on the cultural economic development policy process in Gloucester.

While respondents identified the cultural industries as a vital part of their community, they also indicated that the commercial fishing industry was a large part of Gloucester's identity and competed with culture for resources and community attention. This dual focus gives the town an unusual identity where high art types and working class people mingle on a daily basis.⁶⁹ While all the respondents noted that both industries are a vital part of Gloucester's identity and should be supported, several respondents indicated there is tension between the fishing industry and the cultural industries, usually in regard to the allotment of scarce resources. The fishing industry is facing even tougher regulations as additional catch restrictions went into effect in June 2010. The industry has aggressively advocated for itself and for increased investment in the harbor (which is occurring) and local government has been very sensitive to their concerns. Several respondents stated the fishing industry had received more than enough support and it was time for the city to invest in the arts. While the city is determined to maintain this dual identity, it does not seem possible to support both industries effectively while at the same time coping with declining local revenues. To this end, the city runs the risk of "museumification," where a place is so associated with its past achievements (which attract visitors), that it is afraid to change for fear of losing its identity (and income), and gradually loses its vitality. While city government won't give up, and the respondents did not directly ask them to, the unspoken thoughts are clear – commercial fishing represents the past. Fishing is not a

⁶⁹ Provincetown also has this same structure to some extent, but the culture and tourism industries are far more dominant today than the commercial fishing industry.

growth industry, and focusing too many political, financial, and community resources on sustaining it will limit Gloucester's ability to create its future.

Role of Art Service Organizations

Intermediary organizations played an important role in each community by helping to establish the policy partnership, facilitating communication between the partners, and advocating for the arts. In each community, the intermediary organization functioned somewhat differently.

In Gloucester, local cultural leaders came together to found seARTS (the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts) around 2003 in an effort to obtain an economic development grant offered by the MCC. When the grant funding was cut, the leaders decided to keep working together and formalized the organization. Today, seARTS articulates a focused vision of support, research, advocacy, and communication – traditional activities for an arts service organization – however, its early years were marked by conflict and indecision among its opinionated leaders as they struggled to define the specific role the organization should play in the community. Specifically, some people believed the organization should limit its activities to advocating for the arts and artists while others believed they should create and present events. This internal conflict alienated several early board members and supporters. When combined with a lack of paid administrative staff, these issues limited the ability of the organization to be truly effective in facilitating the cultural economic development process.

Founded in 1978, the Fitchburg Cultural Alliance initially served as a forum for artists and interested members of the community to meet and talk. Today, the Alliance operates a gallery space on Main Street where eight artists have studio space, and works to engage the community in all manner of cultural activity. These events include the highly successful “Kidz

Partypalooza” which features games, theatrical performances, activities, and food at Riverfront Park, and the annual downtown “Paint-in” where 25 juried artists set up around town and paint different parts of the city to stimulate a sense of civic pride.

In recent years, the Alliance has benefited from the stewardship of a small group of committed volunteers who are leaders in the Fitchburg cultural community. While the organization has facilitated the cultural economic development policy process fairly effectively, the lack of paid administrative staff has increasingly limited its ability to build on its successes.

Located in Barnstable, the Arts Foundation of Cape Cod serves as the primary arts advocacy organization for the entire Cape. However, as town government was the lead applicant and was able to assume the role of intermediary in this community, the Arts Foundation provided marketing support and advised the town on artistic matters. Due to local government’s previous engagement with cultural organizations, artists, and local businesses in support of tourism initiatives, effective lines of communication were already established. Therefore, the local arts service organization was not required to help establish those connections. As the lead applicant, the town has used its financial and administrative resources (paying for and building the Shanties), planning expertise (creating the Walkway to the Sea), and marketing resources (installing signage on local roads indicating the location of the Shanties and the Walkway) to support the various initiatives of the Harbor your Arts program. Representatives of town government participate in local meetings about the project and take the lead in planning new initiatives (like the soon to be established arts district). The Arts Foundation contributed in a more limited fashion than arts advocacy organizations in Gloucester and Fitchburg, however, its artistic advisory role was crucial. Town administrators are not artists. Art advocacy organizations, with their deep understanding of the local art scene, can help build trust between

artists and local government by providing a professional point of contact through which to engage the art community. As artists tend to be “suspicious” when approached by local government (according to an artist and cultural administrator in Gloucester), it is important not to overlook this specialized function.

Role of Local Government

Where local government is involved in the partnership, it can play a significant role because it can provide three types of services: “hard” services (funding, zoning, signage, and infrastructure improvements); “soft” services (providing meeting space, marketing, sending email blasts, having government employees and officials attend meetings, speaking about the importance of the arts, listening to the community);⁷⁰ and providing its seal of approval.

Hard services are necessary to support major cultural activities and building projects and will always be important tools to support economic development projects. However, soft services are also important and become even more so during challenging financial times since, according to the data, city agendas tend to shrink to focus on the traditional concerns facing their communities. As soft services typically do not require much funding to implement and they are not usually articulated in the budget, they are easier to sustain when the attention of city leadership is drawn elsewhere. The importance of the third service (providing a seal of approval) is often overlooked. By simply acknowledging that meaningful cultural activities are in process, local government lends credibility to the effort. In this way, government signals to the community that local leaders think this idea of using culture to promote development has merit and needs to be taken seriously. Likewise, winning an Adams Arts Program grant sends a signal

⁷⁰ I am putting my own spin on the terms “hard” and “soft” power that were originally coined by Joseph Nye (2005).

to local government, other community leaders, and potential partners that the proposed policies have proven acceptable to a state-level body of experts. This indicator of credibility can attract additional support from other local organizations and funders and convince skeptical bystanders to engage.⁷¹

While many Adams Arts Program grants do not involve local government as either the lead applicant or a partner, the data collected in these three communities indicates that the active participation of local government makes the policy process more effective.

Fitchburg

The city's economic development office served as the lead applicant for their Adams Arts Program application and city leadership seems committed. However, due to political and economic concerns it has been uneven in its support of the resulting initiatives. Several respondents indicated that, politically, a unified economic development vision is lacking due to a difference of opinion between long time Fitchburg residents and newer arrivals. While the data are too limited to be certain, city employees and cultural leaders tend to advocate for increased cultural and outdoor amenities while the city council (dominated by long time residents) favors approaches that are rooted in Fitchburg's industrial past. The idea that the city council was "pessimistic" and refused to see the positive things occurring in the community was articulated by several respondents.

The city has found it difficult to sustain its commitment to cultural economic development due to staff reductions. At least two recently eliminated positions dealt with local

⁷¹ In arts administration, we have traditionally remarked that being awarded a National Endowment for the Art (NEA) grant is akin to receiving the Good Housekeeping "seal of approval" for its ability to leverage additional funding and recognition.

economic development concerns. One cultural leader remarked, “from the beginning I think the city was more involved, because they did have a partially paid position [in economic development]...and now that’s not there. So, now, we’re sort of on our own.”

The young mayor’s overall vision for the future of the city is bold and well informed. However, in regard to cultural economic development, local community and cultural leaders do not have the resources to sustain their efforts without additional support from the city. Unfortunately, with the downsizing of the economic development office (the lead partner) and the overall economic challenges facing the city, this support seems unlikely to arrive.

Hyannis

In Hyannis, the most important factor that contributed to the successful development of a cultural economic development initiative is town government, specifically, its leaders, its resources, and its ability to bring all participating parties together. The actual partnership – consisting of town government, the business improvement district, nonprofit cultural institutions, artists, an arts advocacy organization, and a chamber of commerce – was considered the next important factor. A town official explained in detail the importance of partnering and the roles of the various partners.

The Town was the lead partner, the Growth Management Department, because they physically had to deal with the regulations, the shanties [artist shacks the town built and placed on the boardwalk next to the harbor] were right there. I think each person brought to the table a different strength....We had a group of artists to draw from. The Arts Foundation touched upon a lot of arts and cultural activities throughout the whole Cape....the [former] Assistant Town Manager in the Town of Barnstable got very enthusiastic about the concept, just used some of the power... they used DPW workers to help build things [the shanties] and they had town property where they could locate the shanties.... the town’s been a huge partner in securing the site and working on some of the infrastructure issues of waste water, parking, traffic control. And the private sector wants to raise the money to build the performing arts center.... In my view, across the

country, some of the best projects can move forward when you've got the government and the private sector each leveraging what they do best to get a shared vision accomplished, and I think that the artist shanties are kind of a microcosm of that.

The partnership in Hyannis is particularly notable for the specific nature of the each partner's contribution to the project. The Adams Arts Program requires partnering organizations to indicate what they will contribute to the project. In Gloucester and Fitchburg the statements are very brief – one to two sentences – and in some cases, the partners do not contribute anything that increases the chance that the project will be successfully implemented. In Hyannis, the statements are longer and more specific. Each organization knows exactly what it contributes to the project. For example, in Hyannis's 2009 Adams Arts Program application, the role of the Arts Foundation of Cape Cod includes: establishing benchmarks to determine artist co-op success, provide marketing support, assist in the jury process for co-op and summer shanties, and offering artist trainings. In Fitchburg, the local historical society describes its role as: providing information about the history of Fitchburg. This is essentially an abbreviated mission statement. It says nothing about how this organization contributes to the proposed cultural economic development project.

Gloucester

Currently, city government does not take an active role in supporting cultural economic development initiatives. In the past, the city has sponsored public art events, established the mayor's Committee for the Arts, and publicly indicated its support, however recent financial troubles have caused it to curtail even these limited efforts. A cultural leader (and former government leader) reflected on the city's role:

I will tell you that I don't think the city per se has ever made a huge contribution to pushing the arts and culture. I think they jump on bandwagons, but I've never seen real initiative come from the city committee [for the arts]....I don't remember any city people being involved in their committee, unless I was the city person. I thought I was there as somebody more interested in culture and the community....The tourism department [was involved] before it got disbanded, they tried to publicize what was happening [in the arts].

One cultural leader was bemused that the city seemed to encourage “generic” (the respondent's word) commercial economic activity in the harbor, but did not recognize arts organizations that showcased the unique qualities of Gloucester. The respondent concludes, “as a matter of fact, with all the harbor planning that goes on, there's very little attention paid to the arts and culture.” While there is a lot of pride in the history of artistic accomplishments in the city, there is an underlying sentiment in city government and in many parts of the community that fishing is a “real” or “serious” industry and is consequently more important than the cultural industries. The city currently finds itself in a very difficult financial situation facing many infrastructure challenges and declining state support. In the State of the City report released on April 9, 2008, Mayor Carolyn Kirk announced that for the foreseeable future “the city is doing less with less,”⁷² however, “as the immediate crises fade, my administration will ramp up on economic development” including in the “cultural economy” category, “artist live/work space (p. 76).” However, some respondents seemed resigned that these changes would not be forthcoming in the near future and this would, in fact, damage current efforts.

In Gloucester, the city must be a more active partner if the arts are going to play a larger role in the local economy. The local cultural organizations simply achieve this goal unassisted. However, the well-organized representatives of the commercial fishing industry have the

⁷² www.ci.gloucester.ma.us/localpages/mayor/state-of-city-2008.pdf?&MMN_position=437, p 44.

attention of local government officials and, given the weak economy and the challenges facing the fishing industry, that seems unlikely to change in the near future.

Massachusetts Cultural Council

The funding provided by the Massachusetts Cultural Council has been an enormous catalyst for action. In the words of one respondent: “we wouldn’t be doing this without them, it’s as simple as that.” While this finding is not surprising, this was not the entire story. Many respondents discussed the additional services MCC provided and the impact these services had on the success of their efforts. These services included: assistance during the application process, multiple site visits by MCC staff, facilitating meetings, facilitating planning efforts, and sponsoring management, finance, and planning workshops attended by cultural leaders, city employees and elected officials. As cultural economic development is a relatively new endeavor which brings together town officials (who often do not know much about the arts), and cultural leaders and artists (who often do not know much about politics or management), the MCC was able to facilitate communication between these groups and help them move forward. In particular, respondents in Gloucester and Fitchburg indicated they received significant guidance from the MCC and these additional services enabled them prepare stronger applications and develop more robust projects. In fact, on two occasions after completing an interview the respondent indicated that an MCC staffer was visiting the community that week.

Supporting the Partnerships

In the process of asking about the roles of the particular actors, it immediately became clear that the Massachusetts Cultural Council played a larger and more complex role than simply

serving as the provider of funding for cultural economic development projects. As more respondents began to mention the additional services provided by the MCC, such as technical and meeting support (I have indicated these responses above), I decided to include a specific question in the interview protocol and asked the later respondents the following: Did the MCC offer you technical assistance as well as financial – helping facilitate meetings, planning, etc? How important was this to your efforts? The data suggest the additional services provided by the MCC did in fact positively contribute to the success of the initial launch of these endeavors.

In Gloucester, one cultural leader had this to say.

The state had a fairly direct role in pulling the group together, and it was patient, it took years. And each time we'd see [MCC employee], there'd be a progress report: "You're doing great, and in another couple of months I'd like to send another facilitating group down to work on this and this and this." We were groomed to receive the grant. There was no doubt about that. I think it would have been really interesting had you been in a community where there were two groups working on it simultaneously [laughs], because they never had any strong support from the city. The Mayor's assistant never came in to say: "Let's plan this because this is going to be a good target for us down the road."

In Fitchburg, a cultural leader described some of the benefits of working with staff members from the MCC and expressed the belief, expressed frequently in Gloucester as well, that local government did not do enough to support the process:

[MCC employee] has come out a couple of times. [He/she] came out when we were raising funds for the Riverfront Park, and met a lot in small encounters, talking about the impact of cultural economic development. [He/she] is coming out next week as we look at what we've done and where we want to go next. We have not had [him/her] come out to facilitate a citywide Town Hall discussion...I think [the main cultural leaders] probably should sit down with all of these [MCC facilitators] and have many Town Hall meetings. I guess we don't have the passion for [meetings]. It's our weakness. And nobody in the city – it's not like the Mayor's office has stepped forward and said, "Hey – we'd like to help you out with that: we'd like to have this meeting for you. Or [city employee] said "hey, we'd like to have this meeting for you." Or, the Council saying, "come on in and meet with us, we'd like to know." So I would say it's one of the things that holds us back.

In Hyannis, the importance of MCC technical support was not mentioned as frequently. While respondents in Gloucester and Fitchburg often indicated their need for assistance in organizing and meeting facilitation, those concerns did not seem to be present in Hyannis. This observation may reflect local leaders experience in developing effective collaborations. They simply did not need this type of assistance on a regular basis.

Several respondents remarked that it was not easy to work together and they credit MCC staffers for helping them work through their differences. A cultural leader and former government employee described this situation: “[The MCC staff member] stayed with it. I’m not exactly sure about that, but I know it was rough going at the beginning. So yes, I do think that [the staff member] has been effective in Gloucester, to the extent that Gloucester will allow [him/her] to be.” Another respondent, a city employee, stated, “I guess I have to credit government for the Mass Cultural Council. Another person I’d like to credit is [an MCC staff member], for coming out here from the state level, to actively support the arts. I think there are a lot of individuals here who responded to that.”

The ability to sustain a level of collaboration necessary to effect change (and to meet the requirement of the Adams Arts grant) has been challenging as well. The over-reliance on volunteer administrators is a constant challenge, particularly in Gloucester and Fitchburg. In Hyannis, the majority of the work is completed by paid staff working either for the town or a local nonprofit organization. A city employee in Gloucester expresses concern for the future:

I do know it’s been hard to have a structure without staffing. Everyone these days knows how wonderful volunteers are – and they are – but without staff, there’s just too many people working too many jobs to really have the time to put in the legwork, unless they’re retired, or home with kids, perhaps. I know seARTS has suffered a little bit, because people get burned out. I mean, how often can you volunteer?

Concluding Analysis

Developing cultural economic development policy is a collective activity. It can involve professionals who work for government, cultural organizations, chambers of commerce, public schools, private businesses, and colleges. Local leaders who work for these organizations volunteer after hours to participate in this process. Over time, they can become overwhelmed and exhausted, which can jeopardize the effectiveness of the partnership. In these communities, partnerships were successfully established and initiatives were created, but many leaders stated they were working too hard. Several respondents mentioned they had recently curtailed their efforts because they were exhausted and frustrated with the pace of progress. Others wondered when the next generation of leaders would emerge to help them survive. Without vibrant community leadership, these initiatives cannot be sustained. Therefore, it is crucial that communities find better ways to identify potential leaders and mentor them into positions of authority and provide better training and support for the ones they already have.

Chapter 7 - Measuring Success

A public policy is successful when its stated goals have been achieved to a reasonable degree (Bardach, 2009, p. 26). However, evaluating cultural economic development policies can be challenging because the data required to make such a determination are often fragmentary or unavailable at the local level, and local policy actors (who in large measure consist of non-profit organizations and their employees or volunteers) often lack the training or tools necessary to make such evaluations. Even the governmental actors included in the case studies took inconsistent approaches (if any) to the task of evaluation. In the case study communities, a lack of clarity regarding the specific goals of the policies added another layer of complexity. The disconnect between the goals stated in a community's Adams Program grant application and the goals as understood by respondents or as articulated in materials related to the various economic development policies or projects indicate a lack of consistency of understanding and purpose, which added to the difficulty of determining whether a particular cultural economic development policy had succeeded or not.

In this chapter, I accomplish three objectives. First, I describe in detail the goals of the policies as understood by the respondents and argue that community leaders are attempting to pursue a much broader range of economic development goals than those described in their Adams Arts grant proposals. These goals, while seemingly informed by the current broader definition of economic development (Fitzgerald, 2010), are in fact broader still and encompass several community development objectives that are not focused directly on increasing economic growth. I propose this "objective drift" has occurred because local leaders, on average, have less understanding of traditional economic development tools and techniques and far more

experience in pursuing community development goals. Second, I describe the policy evaluation methods employed in each community and discuss their effectiveness. Third, I present the respondents' perceptions of the effectiveness of their community's policies and submit that local leaders consider a policy successful when it simply appears to be operating as planned and that this is not an indication of economic growth.

Achieving Policy Goals as a Measure of Success

In the Adams Arts Program application, each municipality specified its economic development goals in three sentences (these goals were listed in Chapter Four). As almost all the respondents participated in the grant writing process, I began the interview with a discussion of the policy goals.

This section describes the policy goals for each community as indicated by the respondents. Below, each goal is described and is followed by an evaluation of the community's effectiveness in achieving that goal.

Goal: Attracting Young Professionals (Knowledge Workers)

Today, attracting and retaining young knowledge workers is frequently mentioned as an important urban economic development strategy. Encouraging and sustaining a vibrant cultural scene is viewed by many as one way to attract them. This observation emerged during the course of the fieldwork. As a consequence, I was unable to ask the earliest respondents in Hyannis about this idea.

The data show that virtually everyone is aware of the idea of attempting to attract knowledge workers – some respondents referred to them as the creative class and mentioned

Richard Florida by name – and most respondents indicated it was an important goal for their community. However, almost all doubt their community is doing enough to achieve this goal.

In Fitchburg and Gloucester, culture is viewed as one of several elements that can attract knowledge workers, but is not considered the most important one (outdoor amenities are mentioned more frequently). While respondents in both communities indicate this is an important local economic development goal, no one believed there was a specific initiative underway to achieve this goal. While Fitchburg has quietly taken steps to address this issue through other projects (cleaning up the water and the park to enable more outdoor recreation opportunities, and bringing more art downtown to create a livelier center), both communities face several limiting factors that make achieving this goal extremely difficult. These include: the lack of specific strategies supported by sufficient funding to achieve this goal, struggling public school systems that worry potential residents, the lack of an existing group of young professionals in the area, and the sense that these communities are not particularly welcoming to newcomers.

In Fitchburg, a community leader and former government employee related this anecdote as an example of how the community was not truly serious about its desire to attract knowledge workers:

One night we had an event and a young single man came, he was from India... so I sat and talked to him for a bit. He said, "I don't understand your city. I am so happy to get a job... [but] how could this city close the library? What kind of a city is this, that your library isn't accessible all of the time? I can't go to the library during the day, I'm working. I can go on the weekend, I can go at night, but it's not open."

Local leaders in both communities understand that young knowledge workers may be interested in a different set of local amenities than long time current residents; however, they are not certain which of them to cultivate. It is extremely doubtful that increasing the hours at the

local library would encourage additional young knowledge workers to relocate. As the respondents did not fall into this category themselves, it may be more difficult for them to articulate a more coherent strategy or to put this goal near the top of their economic development agenda.⁷³

Goal: Branding

The marketing concept of “branding” as applied to communities has become increasingly popular. While traditionally thought of as a tool used by corporations to establish and sustain an identity that sets them apart from their competitors, this approach is also used by economic development professionals (Schultz, 2004). Building on community strengths, a brand “is a town’s calling card – it can put a town on a map and keep it there for all the world to see” (Schultz, p. 101). However, branding a community can be complex and time-consuming, and consultants are often employed to guide the process.

In both Gloucester and Fitchburg, establishing a city brand is very important and the arts and culture are considered a part of each community’s identity. However, bringing the local leaders together to create the brand and agreeing exactly how important local cultural industries are to a community’s identity is an ongoing challenge. For Gloucester, the dual identity of art and fishing is a long established tradition, but the city struggles to establish a vision that addresses both of these pieces equally. In contrast, Fitchburg as a whole does not yet believe the cultural industries are part of its core identity. In Fitchburg, a college employee confirmed that

⁷³ I did not ask the respondents how old they were, but I would estimate the age range to be 50-70, with one exception.

branding was a goal of the city citing a group of business people called Focus on Fitchburg that had formed to brand the city. However, a city employee is concerned:

I think that's probably one of the things we're trying to articulate in some of the grant applications. I don't think it's beyond the realm of possibility, but I'm not sure that it's necessarily achievable. But I'm surprised we've achieved as much as we have.

In Gloucester, a cultural leader commented, "I don't think that the average citizen thinks of [branding the city through culture] right now. I think it's thought of as a future opportunity. But I think that if you live in Gloucester, you're aware that there's a lot of art around." An artist and cultural leader remarked, "branding was talked about a lot [at meetings], and it probably still is. I think the fishermen are doing it. I always look at the fishermen; I think they have more experience at this." And finally, a city employee commented:

I'd love to have a brand. We just hired economic development consultants [to look at branding]. Gloucester's tricky, because we're so much about our waterfront and fishing, but whenever we look at what we are, particularly, arts and maritime skills are the two that come out. The city is branded on those two.

In Barnstable, it is clear the arts and branding are at the center of community development efforts. One town employee stated that branding the town as an arts location was an "integral part" of the 2007 town comprehensive plan. A chamber of commerce employee expanded on this, saying "I think the short-term, and long-term goal as well certainly, was the branding of that part of the Cape [Hyannis] as an artist colony, a destination for arts and culture, putting more product on the street that people could have access to, and showcasing artists."

However, Hyannis has several challenges to overcome before it is perceived by non-residents as a culture-centered community. As the largest municipality on the Cape it has what several respondents describe as "city problems," including a large, urban poor population, a

struggling public school system, persistent crime, and drug addiction. In addition, while cultural programs are in place and the community participates in and supports the efforts, more overall coordination is required to establish the culture brand. A town employee described the process:

I think that Hyannis has a terrible perception and that's what part of this whole program is, as well. You know, the downtown – we always joke about, you know, the big city of Hyannis. But it has a negative reputation....It's not Cape-y enough....[to] create it as a true destination.... This year's priorities are tying all of these separate art initiatives together. Individually, nothing is really distinguishing them, and that's key, for marketing Hyannis as a destination, and in going back to what we said where that's important with the branding. So that's our short-term goal, to come up with something that unifies everything together and has people really understand.

To further these efforts, programs are being added and long-range plans have been developed that tie the arts to other local historic and physical amenities. While the current momentum behind its Harbor your Arts program and the support of town leadership gives Hyannis the best chance of the three communities in achieving the goal of using culture to establish a new identity for the community. However, I think they will not be completely successful, as Hyannis is surrounded by communities that already have deep cultural connections and it will be extremely hard for the town to reduce its association with the mall, the airport, and the ferry.

Goal: Cultural Tourism

All the respondents claimed that cultural tourism is an important part of the economic development strategy in their respective communities. However, the creation and execution of specific programs to promote cultural tourism are in different stages of development in each community.

Perhaps mostly recognized as the summer home of the Kennedy family, Hyannis has an established tourism infrastructure in place and wants to capture a greater share of the traffic (and money) that passes through its borders on the way to other Cape and island destinations. Adding additional cultural activities during the shoulder seasons when traditional outdoor Cape activities are less available is one aspect of this strategy. While I do not know if this has been successful, the idea behind it is if people stay longer they will spend more money. A town employee explained that economic development and cultural tourism are a “natural fit....The whole idea was to promote arts and cultural activities to stimulate activity; hopefully to get people to stick around longer, instead of just getting back into their cars and leaving. [The artist shanties are] one block from our Main Street in Hyannis, so we’ve got all our stores and restaurants there, and it just seemed like a really great fit to do that.”

In Gloucester, using cultural tourism as an economic development strategy is definitely on the agenda. Gloucester is one of a few municipalities in Massachusetts to attract the film industry, serving as the setting for *Blown Away* (1993), *The Perfect Storm* (1999), and *Moonlight Mile* (2001). Unfortunately, due to the recent economic downturn, the city eliminated its tourism position leaving the possibility of expanding or even maintaining previous initiatives in this area in doubt. However, while Gloucester clearly recognizes the value of cultural tourism there was a repeated concern that too much tourism will damage the character of the city. While concerns such as difficulty in coordinating efforts, establishing leadership, and securing adequate funding for cultural tourism initiatives were mentioned, two sets of tension-filled relationships define Gloucester’s relationship to cultural tourism: the fishing versus tourism/cultural industries, and those who want the city to change versus those who want it to stay the same. This second tension appears to be rooted in the feeling that increased tourism could result in gentrification

and/or damage the close-knit nature of the community. While residents struggle with these concerns, local leaders recognize that cultural tourists are particularly valuable to Gloucester: “cultural tourism is when people come in and they really get the ambience of where we are as opposed to coming to visit a beach or to go to a museum....[Gloucester] is the kind of place that if you spend a little time around it, it really grows on you and cultural tourism seems really appropriate.” Regardless of the fit, the lack of city support of tourism efforts will limit the ability of the community to achieve this goal.

In Fitchburg, the city has a specific strategy regarding cultural tourism. The city wants to promote local artists and encourage local residents to purchase their creations. However, the city has been unable to drive this effort having recently eliminated its dedicated economic development position and its downtown coordinator. Without an administrative presence in city hall it has been difficult to coordinate tourism efforts. Specifically, the city wants to connect outdoor recreation and cultural tourism through use of old mill buildings, outdoor recreation, hiking trails, and eventually kayaking and biking. A city official stated that “all of those [plans] feed into cultural tourism, and we think that goes hand-in-hand with the traditional visiting art museums [and] opening up cafes...[as well as]... “creating a market for locally produced cultural goods.” While it is difficult to move forward decisively at the moment, cultural tourism appears to be firmly on the agenda.

All three communities face challenges in further developing cultural tourism as cultural economic development strategy. However, this may be the best goal to pursue to achieve significant economic growth as it attracts new money from outside the community. By identifying and capitalizing on a unique asset(s), a community can establish a sustainable advantage over neighboring communities. Hyannis is the most organized and professional; while Fitchburg has

a unique set of assets to exploit (the river, the park, historic buildings) and committed local leadership. Gloucester has its long association with culture to build on, but its internal divisions, resistance to change, and lack of city support leave cultural tourism efforts unsupported and, as a consequence, unrealized.

Goal: Encouraging More Artists to Move to the Community

Encouraging artists to move into the community is a stated goal in Barnstable and Fitchburg. In Gloucester, it is more of an unspoken goal as it is assumed that artists live there, as they always have.

In Fitchburg, the city, the college, and local leaders want to bring new artists to town and to find better ways to support the ones already living there. However, there is some debate about how to accomplish this goal. There are old mill buildings that could accommodate artist lofts, but there is uncertainty about how this resource can be developed efficiently. A town employee outlined the difficulty in developing artist lofts: cheap rents bring in artists but “are a [deterrent] to having a developer come in and put some money into these buildings – the construction costs aren’t much cheaper here.”

The college is committed to encouraging artists to visit and relocate, but the small size and location of the city combined with the lack of an existing artist community are seen as barriers to achieving this goal. A town official noted that Fitchburg lacks critical mass. “We don’t have a direct connection between talent and self-sustainability for that talent...it’s not just about bringing people who are artists by profession here, it’s about figuring out how to get the backyard/basement/ garage artists into the forefront, and building upon what is already here.”

While Gloucester is known for attracting artists in the past, there isn't any specific effort in place, by the city or others, to do that today. Respondents were undecided if this should be a formal policy goal. A city employee commented that while Gloucester has always been "a natural magnet for artists [with] the mix of light and the working waterfront," he/she was unclear what role the city should play in attracting artists to the community. The employee noted that while discussion concerning this issue was ongoing, no specific proposal had been put forward.

Some younger artists have moved to Gloucester because of the cheap rents and the proximity to Boston by commuter rail, however costs have risen recently and it is therefore unlikely this trend will continue. Local leaders recognize that rising rents are a challenge and there is interest in developing additional artist housing, but so far the political will is lacking to address this problem. And finally, there is the feeling that Gloucester's sense of itself reflects its famous past, not its present condition. In the words of one arts administrator, "Gloucester's image as an arts community is based on all the dead artists." Regardless of its history, attracting younger artists to move to Gloucester is not a current cultural economic development goal. A lack of attention to this issue will become a serious problem for the community shortly as the older generation of artists raised in the 1960s retires. It will be difficult to remain an active arts community without a sufficient number of local artists.

Barnstable has a fairly large community of artists living in the area. For example, the Cape Cod Arts Association – located in Hyannis and an original partner of the Hyannis Harbor your Arts shanty project – became involved because the town was looking to contact local artists, and the Association represented over 600 of them. Attracting more artists to relocate to Hyannis is a policy goal because they are perceived to generate additional revenue for the community. A town employee explained that "If I can bring in those artists, and I can create that artists' colony,

then it works itself backwards, people will come, people will shop here, people will spend their dollars...it will help all of the downtown establishments.”

Rising rents and the lack of exhibition space have caused artists to leave Hyannis in the past. The artist shanty program was an attempt by town government to address, in part, this problem. A Hyannis town employee confirmed that artists were struggling to find jobs that proved stable wages and “when we gave [artists] the affordable place to sell, they were thrilled, because they didn’t have many opportunities. We have a lot of galleries, but it’s difficult to get in.”

The three communities believe that attracting more artists to relocate within their borders could produce economic benefits. However, their abilities to accomplish this goal differ remarkably. Although Gloucester considers itself an artist friendly environment, it has too many other pressing concerns to formally address this issue. However, as increasing government regulation has seriously impacted their other major industry, it seems wise for local leaders to develop a greater understanding of the role artists play in the community, as the common assumption that a significant number of artists will always live in Gloucester may not prove to be true in the future. In Fitchburg, the desire to attract artists is there, but an effective strategy to accomplish this goal is not. As there is not presently a significant market for the work of local artists and potential artist loft space remains undeveloped, it will remain a challenge. Hyannis possesses a large group of local artists and they are surrounded by many more in nearby communities. Local leadership has implemented specific strategies – selling work at the artist shanties, creating artist work space, supporting new galleries – and their long experience working with artists has taught them what to do. If it is able to sustain its investment in the arts

and side step the negative perceptions of the community, it seem poised to increase its share of local artists.

Goal: Attracting more People to the Downtown Business District

Utilizing additional cultural activity to generate increased foot traffic in the downtown business district was a stated goal in each community.

Fitchburg

In Fitchburg, while this goal has not been completely realized, several businesses and cultural organizations have recently opened on Main Street. The creation of a park, the clean up of the Nashua River and increased outdoor cultural programming has caught the attention of business owners and developers. A college administrator confirmed the goal and described its success in advancing economic development in Fitchburg:

It's been a goal of the city for ten or fifteen years. If you drove through downtown now, you'd see a lot of vacant spaces, but what's opened has been two art galleries; the Fitchburg Historical Society moved down there; we just opened up [the College's] Center for Professional Studies right there on Main Street [near] the train station. We made a commitment to the city that we would [move something to] Main Street, and we just opened that a month ago. Many of us are trying to get the downtown area bustling again, and where it bustles is art galleries, theater (there's a new theater company coming in), retail spaces, Rollstone Congregational Church is downtown, they have an arts series that people attend, so I think that if the downtown is going to blossom, it isn't going to be the retail businesses that reestablish it like it was 50 years ago, it's going to be the cultural programs.

One of the main reasons people are returning to the downtown area is to participate in the many new cultural events that are being offered. While these achievements are notable, success will be short-lived if the city does not grasp the important role the arts have played in these

efforts and take steps to ensure the health of these organizations. The respondents across the board already understand this issue. A cultural leader and former city employee remarked:

The cultural assets should be polished up so well that they bring people. [The city has] to be sure that the streets are clean, and make sure there are some visible police officers, even if it's just for show (there are safety concerns, it's subtle). I think we have to keep doing it, and doing more. I think if we don't continue to do it, that it will slide, because there isn't anything else that's [attracting people downtown] outside of the College.

This idea was expressed succinctly by another respondent: "if the downtown's going to become alive again, it's going to be the cultural programs that make it happen, not the retail businesses."

The ability of the community to sustain its current level of activity in a difficult economy remains in doubt. The lack of adequate administrative support to sustain and grow these initiatives appears to be a serious limiting factor. A cultural leader noted that although the mayor's office had been instrumental in supporting the policies, "we have seen it makes a significant difference to the initiatives that have stayed and the activities that have stayed, if there is someone dedicated....we see that as the next logical step."

There is an additional challenge as well in the city's perception of itself. While developers and other community insiders sense how Fitchburg is changing, that knowledge has not spread throughout the rest of the community. This could be the hardest hurdle to overcome.

A city official described the problem:

We're fighting a few things at the same time: we're fighting [residents'] lack of knowledge of the types of arts and culture assets that we have in the area; we're also fighting the perception of the downtown area: "There's nothing in the downtown!" or maybe "Downtown isn't safe!" If we're cultivating arts & culture downtown, but people don't want to come there, then we're sort of fighting two things at once.

While Fitchburg is working hard to address this goal, and achieving significant success, it is unlikely that cultural programming alone will revitalize the downtown area. While people

may come downtown to visit Rollstone Studios, there must be additional opportunities for local residents and nearby visitors to spend their money in Fitchburg. The cultural organizations on Main Street must grow larger and achieve some financial stability in order to be function as an anchor or a magnet that attracts other cultural organizations and commercial businesses. As a large number of Fitchburg residents may not be very familiar with the arts, significantly increasing the number of attendees at local cultural events could be a particular challenge.

Gloucester

Using the arts to attracting people downtown is also an important goal in Gloucester, but one that proceeds without support from the city. While the cultural community has been involved in these efforts, local restaurant and business owners have independently organized their own events designed to attract people downtown to patronize their establishments. Local businesses owners seem to be the driving force behind using community events, particularly large block parties, to attract people downtown. With Gloucester's deep historical connections to culture, it is not surprising that the city's business owners are aware of the community's cultural offerings. A former elected official comments:

I think the larger corporations like Varian and Gorton's, over the years, ...have been good supporters of the arts, and have supported the performing arts...The downtown businesses, with very few exceptions I think have been [supporters of the arts]. There are a lot of personal supporters of the arts. From a business standpoint, I think the feeling is, "anything that draws good people downtown is good," and art has done that.

However, while more people are coming downtown to attend events, it is hard to find evidence that this has encouraged the establishment of new businesses (one of Gloucester's Adams Arts Program economic development goals). While a high-end martini bar, established

two years ago, came to Gloucester because of the community's association with culture, some respondents expressed frustration at the pace of development:

[The fact that not many new businesses have opened] bothers me, because the [Adams Arts Program] money comes couched in the idea, "Let's put artists together to restore the economy," and I haven't seen that happen [here] like it happened in New Bedford, like it happened in Pittsfield.

As in Fitchburg, Gloucester struggles to achieve a sort of critical mass of culture where the perception of available interesting activities drives increasing numbers of people to the downtown to spend money. If this occurred, then local businesses (and cultural organizations) would achieve increased revenues and, eventually, have to grow (or diversify) to meet the increased demand. Unfortunately, it seems that local businesses have taken matters into their own hands and are creating their own events instead of partnering with cultural organizations. This could indicate that local cultural organizations do not have the ability to create these events or do not recognize their importance to the local business community.

Hyannis

In Hyannis, attracting people to the downtown business district was an integral part of the city's plan for culture. There is also evidence this increased foot traffic has had a positive effect on artists' wages, which is reflected in data collected by town government. This data convinced additional artists to participate in the Artist Shanty project. Again, town government led the process of establishing this goal and creating a strategy to achieve it (the Walkway to the Sea).

A town employee explained.

It's part of the renaissance strategy for downtown Hyannis to create an artist culture, a destination that's highly identified with arts, and a vehicle to bring people – new customers – downtown, [bringing] new life to the main city of Cape Cod, and I think it's

worked really, really well. If the policy was to improve the quality of life downtown and create a destination, that policy's working.

The success of the "Walkway to the Sea" project, which directs foot traffic from the harbor to the Main Street shopping district, has encouraged developers and the local Business Improvement District to further develop additional arts spaces so the entire area between the harbor and Main Street will eventually become a formal arts district. This process has been well orchestrated by town government and is a major part of their economic development plan. Another town employee emphasized this goal and stated that "the purpose is economic revitalization focused on downtown revitalization. They created a growth incentive zone, streamlined the permitting process to enable businesses mixed-use to come in, and then they realized that part of that process would be to further economic development, to push our arts and culture component."

Goal: Improving Quality of Life

In Fitchburg, using arts and cultural activities and events to improve the quality of life of residents is important to the city, but due to fiscal limitations this goal is only pursued as a byproduct of the downtown redevelopment efforts. It is clearly an important goal of the college and local cultural leaders. A college official explained their approach.

It's a policy of the city and it's a policy of the college: part of our mission at the university is to help the city and the area. And our Center Stage program is [designed to] help the people in the area and improve their quality of life.... We work very closely with [the city] to bring classical music to this area....That does improve the quality of life.

In addition, cultural institutions have held several exhibitions and developed programs to encourage "pride of place." While the city has not directly participated in this process, city

leaders would most likely argue that their efforts to clean up the river and the park and support the preservation of the historic downtown contributes to an increased quality of life for Fitchburg residents. This concept is very loosely connected to economic development and is more frequently associated with community development objectives. However, it addresses some elements that connect to economic development – providing an open welcoming feel, the sense that a community is vibrant and there are interesting things to do, it is safe and well run. A Fitchburg cultural leader noted:

You know, arts and culture don't necessarily pay somebody's rent, but I think that there's a certain spirit of what arts and culture bring to a city – a kind of lifestyle, or appreciation, welcoming people to gather as a community. I think [the] arts do that so well. I think without that, we lose a sense of who we are...I think it does enhance everyone's quality of life, and I think it's important.

In Gloucester, while most respondents indicated using culture to improve local quality of life was important, there appears to be no organized effort to achieve this goal. A few cultural organizations (the library, the symphony) seem committed to the idea, but local government is not particularly involved. A city employee observed:

I think [improving quality of life is] what the free concerts are all about. I also love in city hall [that] we have some really neat events in the corridors [and] auditorium itself, and it's a beautiful venue, it's full of WPA murals.... The library's been very proactive that way – their gallery out front – and when you go in the lobby, it always has a new show every month. And they have held a lot of symposiums, and those are all free, so that contributes a lot to the quality of life for people who live here.

In Hyannis, quality of life concerns are a vital part of the community's agenda. In fact, this objective is articulated in the town's comprehensive plan. A chamber of commerce executive described the community's position:

What we used to think of as non-traditional [economic development goals are] now becoming more mainstream. If you improve the quality of life in your community

because you showcase your cultural assets, you value your culture and your arts, that creates a better sense of place, that creates community pride, and that creates people looking at your community in a new way, and maybe investing in it in a new way.

Improving local quality of life as an economic development strategy is a relatively new idea. While the three communities are aware the concept, only Hyannis has articulated it as a goal. Fitchburg and Gloucester sense that this might be important, but they simply do not have the resources or the will to create a specific strategy to achieve this objective. Attempting to evaluate local efforts to improve local quality of life as an economic development strategy is extremely challenging. As these goals can be wide ranging and/or “fuzzy” in their conception or design (i.e., creating an increased sense of community), it is very difficult to connect the results of a specific initiative to economic data. Funders and communities may eventually lose their patience with economic development policies that cannot demonstrate their ability to promote economic growth in some way.

Evaluation Procedures

While it is a challenge to understand which policy goals communities are actually pursuing (and to what degree), it is perhaps even more difficult to determine if these policy goals have been achieved. Every MCC grant application requires the submission of a proposed evaluation plan to determine if the funded organization has accomplished its stated goals. However, when queried about the details of their evaluation plan, most respondents acknowledged they did not have a formal process, citing the difficulty of accurately measuring the economic impact of culture in a community. In addition, cultural economic development is only one of many initiatives occurring in a community simultaneously; therefore it is extremely

difficult to isolate its effects given limited administrative and fiscal resources. However, there were several informal techniques that the majority of respondents indicated were used in their communities. These included: audience counting, observing traffic in the downtown area, checking to see if sales of art had increased, surveying artists, and asking local retailers if sales had improved when cultural events were taking place. All of the respondents agreed that proving the effectiveness of their programs was crucial for obtaining continued or increased support and many of them indicated a desire to collect hard data about the impact of their policies as it would enable them to advocate more effectively for the arts in the future.

Hyannis

In Hyannis, town government uses simple quantitative measures to track the impact of the artist shanties and the effect of cultural events on the sales of local merchants. However, this was not without its difficulties:

They are trying to develop a more accurate matrix to do that. Currently, the way it's measured is "head-counting." There's really, I don't think, an effective means to measure; you're never going to get a straight answer from those merchants on Thursday night art walks if you ask them how their cash registers rang, they're not going to tell you, because they're going to tell you that it's terrible every night. So, currently, to answer the question, it's just by visually seeing how many more people over these last few years, how many people attend the concerts. We track through our artists that are in the shanties: they have to fill out revenue reports, so we can measure year-to-year an increase in sales, and what they're bringing in each week, and how they did overall. –
Town employee

Town officials are also trying to find a way to determine if tourism (and sales) have increased on Main Street as a result of the Artist Shanties. However, as indicated in the above quote, business owners may not particularly be inclined to provide accurate information regarding their sales to town representatives. Private development has increased as several abandoned

homes have been purchased and remodeled into galleries and artist workspace (at least one of them by the town itself). It is possible to examine changes in home values and property taxes in the areas where these policies are in place; however, it does not seem likely these measures are being used as none of the respondents mentioned them. A chamber of commerce executive confided that “just in the perception value...I think they’ve done that [succeeded] with this project... people are buying it, and receiving it and accepting it – that’s pretty impressive.”

Fitchburg

In Fitchburg, a city employee indicated that he/she struggled with the idea of evaluation in general and with the overall question of whether the cultural economic development policies had actually been successful, despite seeing visible change in the composition of storefronts on Main Street. However, others in Fitchburg had a much clearer idea how to evaluate what was happening. For example, one city official pointed to specific effectiveness measures that were being applied. “Each grant dictates something specific...[M]easurements in terms of the number of events, the number of people, how far away they come from, the dollars that they spend, the amount of partners they bring to the table.” Overall, however, there was no evidence that the city or any other institution in Fitchburg had undertaken a systematic analysis of whether the stated policy goals had been achieved or whether the use of culture had resulted in any improvement in the city’s economy.

Gloucester

None of the Gloucester respondents indicated that the town had used any kind of consistent measurement tools to gauge the effectiveness of their policies. In fact, taking a rough

head count of attendance at cultural events may have been the only evaluation measure in use. A former elected official stated, “I can’t tell you numbers other than that how many thousands of people, how many money went in and out, I can’t tell you the ripple effect, but I can tell you the restaurants that don’t usually have people coming in and out in February and March have people coming in from Boston, anecdotal stuff, and my gut says that’s as good as it gets.” While evaluation methodologies might consist of tools as simple as conducting a poll of local businesses, there is no evidence that Gloucester or any of the non-profit policy actors in the community has undertaken a systematic measurement of effectiveness of any of the policies enacted to date.⁷⁴

Given the limited results of current evaluation methods and a lack of understanding regarding which measurement techniques would be effective, there is an opportunity for developing effective evaluation tools that has yet to be undertaken. Clearly, polling of businesses, working with the local chamber of commerce to collect data, measurement of revenues of businesses in areas in which cultural activities have increased (before and after implementation of the policy), and other simple measurement tools could be easily implemented in any of the case study communities. It is unclear from the interviews why such approaches were not undertaken on a consistent basis.

While these measures can help evaluate the general effectiveness of programs (i.e., did they accomplish their objectives), some communities present these outcome measures as indicators of economic growth. Specifically, there is a tendency to report increased revenues over time – for example, artist shanty revenues increased by 53% from 2005 to 2008⁷⁵ – as proof that economic

⁷⁴ While Gloucester has struggled tremendously with policy evaluation in the past, they recently contracted the Center for Policy Analysis at University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth to evaluate their 2008/2009 project.

⁷⁵ Figures are from Barnstable’s 2009 Adams Arts Program application.

growth has occurred during this period. This indicates nothing of the kind. There is no attempt to put these numbers into context or to connect them with the costs associated with production. If shanty revenues are being propped up by state subsidies to local government, this is simply a transfer of funds and not an indication of economic growth.

Respondent Perception of Success

Hyannis

In Hyannis, the respondents indicate that the policies have been a huge success and point to several accomplishments to support their claim. These include: the artist shanties program, creating the “Walkway to the Sea” (which links the waterfront and the shanties to Main Street), the outdoor performing arts series, purchasing and renovating live/work artist spaces, and the ongoing development of the cultural district. There are certainly more opportunities for artists to sell work and town figures indicate that artists are selling more work at the shanties than in the past and a large number of people are visiting the harbor. A town employee remarked “I chatted with some of the artists, and just their energy, and their level of excitement and enthusiasm, and to be a part of that. ...The artists are excited about that, and that world is talking. ...economically, which is the bottom line....It’s been a huge success.”

However, not every initiative has been successful. The town has struggled when assisting in the development of downtown art galleries (the town is “not in the business of opening galleries, and we shouldn’t be, really”) and in creating sustainable artist live/work spaces. In the latter example, town leaders underestimated how artists’ lack of business acumen and retail business experience (doing the books, running a business, keeping regular hours) would negatively impact the endeavor. Also, while considered generally supportive, a few

restaurant owners complained about the placement of the artist shanties because they claimed they blocked their view of the water (the town later moved two of them). A town employee, in relating this example, considered this to be very short sighted of them given the increase in restaurant business generated by the visitors to the artist shanties.

While there are many examples of successfully completed projects and artist sales figures and visitor numbers have grown, it is difficult to truly determine the success of Hyannis's efforts. However, I have several concerns. The artists are required to work very long hours in the shanties for the entire summer (although recently the town has allowed artists to share a shanty or to work only a week or two) and some have refused to apply as the schedule does not allow them enough down time to create new work. The most successful artists in town (whose work sells for the most money) have quality gallery representation and would not need or want to participate in this program. While the artist selection process is juried for quality, the work cannot be priced too high or it will reduce the number of impulse purchases. In addition, the work cannot be too big or cumbersome or it will be impossible to carry. Assuming the shanties have increased the income earned by the participating artists, the total sales of \$122,592 (2008) generated by 15 artists is not enough to produce significant economic growth in the community. In 2009, Barnstable indicated in its Adams Arts Program application that it would contribute \$114,920 in cash and \$55,905 in in-kind staff support to support this program (partnering organizations contribute additional funds). Given the amount of this contribution, the town would have to generate a significant amount of new revenue to realize an appreciable return on its investment. The difficulty in isolating the actual effects of these policies from the activity that would have occurred without their presence and then calculating the economic growth

generated highlights the challenge local leaders, state officials, and researchers face in determining their effectiveness.

Fitchburg

In Fitchburg, there have been a few noticeable successes – an increase in the number of cultural events, cultural institutions moving downtown, increased participation of the college – but several major challenges remain. A major impediment is that the entire community is not behind the effort, particularly the city council who seem rooted to the past (they are “like rocks sitting there” stated one respondent). Lack of administrative and financial support from the city is also a limiting factor; however, the city appears to be pursuing a deliberate “slow and steady” approach as it attempts, in a weak economy, to meet the many needs of the community.

Local leaders are concerned that many Fitchburg residents have not had enough previous exposure to the arts to demand additional cultural activities. This could significantly limit the success of these policies. A college administrator explains:

It’s been successful, but it’s also been a struggle....it’s been a success because I’ve seen two or three more galleries open up, people getting very interested in this, so I think it’s been quite successful. On the other hand, it’s been challenging. As I sit here you don’t have to sell me on the value of “what are the [benefits of] cultural experiences?” You get a budget cut, and the first thing that people want to do is to cut the arts. And so, I say to myself, “Well, if we’ve made that much of an impact, why all of a sudden would we do away with that now?” If it’s the football team or the art museum, the football team would probably win. That’s the nature of the city. But I do think we’re successful.

Finally, some respondents mentioned a deep sense of pessimism that seems to exist in the community, which, as previously mentioned, has been reinforced by the major local newspaper’s focus on reporting negative events. This is difficult to corroborate, but at the very least there is a

perceived tension between the older, long- time residents and younger, more recent arrivals. This has, in the words of one respondent, “prevented us from hitting the tipping point.”

Gloucester

As in Fitchburg, the success of cultural economic development policies is mixed. SeARTS’s commitment to inform the community about the increased level of cultural activities has encouraged more people to come downtown. The business community is surviving and “innovative people, many of them with artistic bents” have started a few small businesses. The artists in town have also begun to develop a sense of community. However, it is clear the community has not accomplished what it planned and the pace of change has been slow. City support ebbs and flows with the changing economic fortunes of the community. It has also been difficult to sustain an effective partnership comprising artists, cultural institutions, seARTS, and the business community.

Additional Observations about Success

In this section, I make several observations about elements present in the communities that affect the ease or difficulty of implementing cultural economic development policies.

Working with Artists

Several respondents in Gloucester and Hyannis indicated that visual artists (only visual artists were mentioned) in these communities had less experience running a business or a nonprofit organization and, as a result, it was more challenging to work with them in a group setting. In Gloucester, two respondents mentioned that visual artists who participated in the

policy process were: younger than the rest of the group, did not attend meetings as often as the others, dropped out more frequently, and offered less useful suggestions. Another respondent described them as “suspicious.” These respondents surmised that artists felt less engaged because they may have been impatient with the slow pace of the process. One frustrated respondent in Hyannis noted that while they screened artists to determine the quality of their work they should have screened them for their ability to get along with each other and with other members of the community. While this sentiment was not observed in Fitchburg – the visual artist recently selected to design a significant piece of public art was praised by several respondents – this finding does suggest that community leaders may have to pay closer attention to the needs of visual artists as they may have spent less time working in groups than other community leaders and may be less familiar with the idea of consensus building and the often very deliberate process this requires.

Community Mindset

A fascinating idea was raised in Fitchburg that needs further investigation. During the past several years local leaders have produced many successful cultural events, supported cultural businesses opening downtown, and supported local infrastructure improvements (refurbished a park, cleaned up the river, reduced crime). However, respondents indicated they were frustrated that local residents, many of whom had taken part in the large cultural festivals held downtown, were often heard to remark that nothing ever happened in the city and that Fitchburg was unsafe. The respondents indicated that change was happening everywhere in the community, but many residents simply didn’t seem to notice. One respondent wondered if it was possible that the city itself could be depressed! However, it is possible in communities that do

not possess a history of cultural engagement or that are coping with the decline of a traditional primary industry; that there naturally will be resistance to the idea of cultural economic development.⁷⁶ A hidden challenge facing these communities may be finding a way to help residents cope with change.

Lack of Shared Vision

Several respondents in Fitchburg remarked there was tension between the vision of the new administration, which has embraced many new approaches (which the cultural community supports), and the traditional way of doing business as represented by the City Council. In Gloucester, there is long standing disagreement between the fishing industry and culture industries and the different futures they represent. Respondents in both Gloucester and Fitchburg remarked that people who have lived in the community for almost 20 years can still be perceived as relative newcomers. Generally speaking, the sense was that older residents were more comfortable with pursuing the same types of activities they always had while newer residents were more open to change. This lack of a unified vision increases the chance that cultural economic development policies meet with opposition.

This concern was not present in Hyannis. The community is unified in its belief that tourism is its economic engine and that the cultural industries can play a large role in supporting tourism initiatives. Respondents did not report any tension between long time residents and more recent arrivals. As Hyannis is located on Cape Cod, a major vacation and retirement area,

⁷⁶ The idea that the Massachusetts Museum of Modern Art (Mass MoCA) could serve as an engine of local economic growth was greeted with great skepticism by the residents of North Adams, MA.

it is possible that long time residents come into frequent contact with many people who are visiting or have recently moved to town and, therefore, may be more comfortable welcoming new people into the community as they see so many arrive each year.

Concluding Comments

The respondents in the three communities indicated that pursuing virtually all the wide assortment of policy goals described above was the objective of their cultural economic development strategy. However, the respondents' own statements indicate their ability to achieve them all is simply not possible. While Hyannis appears to be more adaptable, all three communities should consider refocusing their efforts on a limited set of achievable objectives.

However, there may be a factor that partially explains this phenomenon. I interviewed community leaders from only the public and nonprofit sectors. During this process, a common sensibility emerged that clearly informs their thinking – they love their community and they love the arts. It was particularly strong among nonprofit leaders probably because they worked on these initiatives on a volunteer basis. In their free time they devoted, in some cases, hundreds of hours to help sustain these projects. These leaders want to change their communities for the better. They are motivated to act by their sense of civic responsibility, not a desire to make money. As they are extremely familiar with community development processes and far less experienced in designing economic development policies, they tend to focus on the “softer” economic development goals. As a result, they instinctively gravitate towards evaluation methods that measure the impact these policies have on the community versus ones that critically assess their effectiveness at generating economic growth.

Looking back to the discussion in Chapter Two regarding the difference between the cultural industries and the creative industries, these community leaders clearly see themselves as working in the cultural industries. This is not surprising as the cultural industries produce cultural products that are imbued with social meaning. These leaders embrace this definition as they donate their time to create cultural projects that have a positive social impact on their community. For example, in Fitchburg they used Adams Arts funding to hire a public artist to create a sculpture to be placed on the bridge leading to the city center that includes elements that represent and celebrate its industrial past and serves to welcome people to the city (Water Street Bridge Gateway). If community leaders were solely focused on generating new economic growth, they would be better served using the money to encourage a video game company to move to town.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions

In this chapter, I summarize the strengths and weaknesses of the initiatives in each community and suggest possible outcomes. Next, I discuss the success of the economic development elements of the policies. I also present several tentative findings that require additional research to substantiate and address the generalizability of my findings.

Policy Integration

Fitchburg, Hyannis, and Gloucester are at different points in the cultural economic development policy process. Hyannis's policies are fully integrated into the community while Gloucester's and Fitchburg's are not, although each in slightly different ways. I suggest that a policy is fully integrated when it has achieved broad acceptance, almost to the point where it feels like it has always been in effect.

Hyannis has created a unified economic development strategy built around culture and tourism. The policy partnership that developed and sustained these initiatives is broad, experienced and effective. Local leaders are committed to the process and continuously expanding its mandate. The community has a number of significant cultural assets that it is leveraging to generate revenue. Management of the project is achieved through the efforts of full time professional town employees and local nonprofit leaders, backed by the authority of town government. The community supports the effort, attends the events, and purchases cultural products. While Barnstable has not always been associated with significant cultural activity and faces some traditional urban problems, a certain level of momentum has been attained and it seems virtually certain these initiatives will continue into the future.

In Gloucester, the cultural policies are not integrated into the community. There is an active partnership driven by committed leaders. However, the effectiveness of this partnership is questionable. The city is struggling financially and cannot lead these efforts. The local arts service organization should take over, but it hasn't had the administrative capacity or focus to become the driving force behind the project. Culture has always been part of the fabric of Gloucester. However, respect for history can also be impediment to future success when it manifests as a resistance to change. The community is unable to fully embrace this initiative as it feels obligated to support both the cultural and fishing industries. If it could coordinate its efforts, receive more support from the city, and get the community to rally behind this initiative, the process could move forward. However, at this time it does not seem likely it will happen in the near future.

In Fitchburg, the cultural policies are currently not integrated into the community. While there are remarkable efforts being undertaken by a talented group of committed leaders, there are many hurdles yet to overcome. The local media has not been a strong supporter, limiting their efforts to letting people know what is happening in the community. The policy partnership needs to include members from the local business community and the chamber. Local government is suffering financially and cannot provide the necessary leadership, and the Fitchburg Cultural Alliance does not have any paid staff, limiting its ability to lead the process. Local government has provided some bold leadership and there is an interesting vision in place for the community ("Fun and Fit in Fitchburg"). While the college is actively supporting all these efforts, there is a general sense of, in the words of one respondent, "pessimism" that permeates the city. The community is fairly traditional and does not welcome change easily. Unlike in Gloucester, the arts are not yet part of the fabric of the community. While there are many cultural assets in the

community, residents are not used to recognizing them as such. As a long-time manufacturing community, Fitchburg's leaders face a long period of re-educating their residents to better understand and appreciate their local cultural assets before they can achieve the cultural economic development goals they have articulated. Meanwhile, the initiative will move forward although it will most likely be a slow and frustrating experience.

The Policies

As discussed in Chapter Three, the economic development literature suggests that cultural economic development policies can encourage the production of cultural goods and services that can satisfy local need (non economic growth producing), attract tourists and encourage people and business to relocate, and serve as an export industry (shipping products to other parts of the country or world). It is also possible that communities may attempt to use culture as a sectoral strategy by investing in their local cultural industries to create a competitive advantage in culture that is difficult for other municipalities to duplicate. Given these parameters, have the cultural economic development policies in these three communities produced evidence of significant, measurable economic growth? While almost all the respondents would respond with an unqualified yes, this research indicates the answer is most likely no. The answer is not simply no, for two reasons: the policies contain a mixture of economic and non-economic goals; and the results are evaluated using tools that do not actually assess economic growth, thereby making it almost impossible to determine what has occurred in a community.

However, it is possible a few economic activities can most likely be attributed to these policies. In Fitchburg, a private developer recently invested in converting a building he has

owned for many years into condos. Respondents claimed he said there was enough now going on downtown that he would be able to attract buyers. In addition, a bookstore and a design store also moved in downtown. In Gloucester, a handful of small businesses have opened allegedly in response to increased cultural activity downtown. In Hyannis, a few private buyers have purchased properties near the downtown and converted them into studios, and several new galleries have opened. While these examples are somewhat compelling (and Hyannis claims its policies are responsible for an increase in private investment in the area), they do not indicate a sustained pattern of economic growth.

Perhaps then the fault lies with the policies themselves. As discussed earlier, community leaders tend to merge economic and community development objectives together making them difficult to evaluate. For example, Fitchburg indicates in its 2009 application that it wants to raise artist's incomes through the sales of their works (economic) while also creating a sense of place through commissioning a piece of public art (community). For the later objective, it is almost impossible to establish that this initiative generated any type of economic growth.

In addition, the large number of goals this study determines communities are attempting to achieve suggests the goals included in their respective Adams Arts Program applications serve more as guidelines than specific objectives to be pursued. For example, according to the respondents, cultural tourism is an important economic development goal in all three communities. However, only Fitchburg and Hyannis list tourism (or "attract visitors") as a cultural economic development goal in their Adams Arts Program applications and only Hyannis has articulated a strategy to achieve this goal.

Tentative Findings That Require Further Investigation

This study has answered several questions and raised many others. The findings below are only partially supported by the data and require further research to determine if they play an ongoing role in the policy process.

The Role of the Media

The local press may play an important part in shaping a community's understanding and eventual acceptance or rejection of cultural economic development initiatives. In Hyannis, the local press was immediately supportive of these initiatives, while support from the regional press came later. In Fitchburg, the press did not report on the new cultural initiatives that were being implemented in the community. The role of the media was not mentioned in Gloucester. Respondents in Fitchburg and Hyannis believed the media did impact their work and were attempting to establish a better relationship with the local press. More data is required to determine the type of impact the media can have on the creation of cultural economic development policies and their successful implementation.

The Local Public School System

While respondents were not asked about their local public school system, the quality of local schools was frequently raised by them during the course of the interviews. While the public schools were never mentioned in Hyannis, in both Fitchburg and Gloucester, the below average quality of the local public schools was seen as an impediment to economic growth. In Gloucester, as the schools were frequently in the news for the wrong reasons, they took valuable airtime away from the arts, and monopolized the time of local government officials. In Fitchburg, the poor quality of the public schools was seen as a hindrance to local leaders' efforts

to encourage young, educated professionals to relocate to the city. In addition, faculty members at Fitchburg State tended to live in the surrounding communities to avoid sending their children to the Fitchburg schools. In fact, this situation was considered a serious impediment to faculty recruitment efforts. The poor quality of the local public schools in Fitchburg and Gloucester may also limit the ability of both communities to attract industries that require highly educated workers, but this possibility was not raised by the respondents. As the quality of the public schools in Barnstable is also below average, it is interesting that the topic did not come up during the interviews. Further study is needed to determine the significance of this finding.

The Role of a College

In Fitchburg, the college has played a major role in the cultural economic development process. Yet in Hyannis, the Cape Cod Community College (CCCC) is not even included in the partnership. While these institutions are distinctly different – Fitchburg State College offers a wide range of undergraduate and graduate degrees while CCCC offers an Associates degree – there are many similarities as well. Both schools are similar in size, reside within a community pursuing cultural economic development being studied, and receive funding from the state. In Fitchburg, the college has a clear vision about its connection to the community and what it wants to accomplish as an institution. As the Cape Cod Community College never appeared in any document related to cultural economic development, I did not interview anyone associated with the college. Several years ago Gloucester officials were in discussion with a major University to relocate its art school to the city. Those plans eventually fell through, but there are several prominent members of the community who believe that attracting a college to the city is the

missing piece that would enable cultural economic development (and other initiatives) to succeed.

Available data only allow us to suggest that a college can be a great ally in pursuing cultural economic development policies, but more research is required to determine exactly how a college can best participate in the cultural economic development policy process.

Generalizability

Quantitative researchers examine a phenomenon that exists in a small statistically significant sample of a population then use their findings to explain how this phenomenon affects the remainder of the population. In contrast, the goal of researchers employing the case method is to explain a phenomenon that occurs in a small sample in order to understand what makes that particular situation unique rather than to extrapolate generally. If this is true, can the findings of three case studies provide insight into the cultural economic development policy process in other communities?

Whyte (2008) and Currid (2008) claim the results of research conducted in New York City has implications for other cities. Whyte (2008, p. 23) states that “people are not all that different. Given the elements of a center – high pedestrian volume, concentration, and mixture of activities – people in one city tend to respond like people in another.” Likewise Currid (2008, pp. 10-11) argues that, with respect to the cultural industries, “the patterns exhibited within [New York City’s] geography are not entirely unique – they are indicative of basic dynamics that occur in urban economies, and particularly in regards to how creativity manifests itself.” However, both of these statements are too general to suggest any definitive conclusions. More specifically, Weiss (1994, p. 32) asserts that it is possible to generalize from case study research, but only

when conditions are closely related to those in the original study. Following Weiss, I believe my findings will offer insight into the cultural economic development policy process in similarly-sized communities that face many of the same underlying economic and political challenges as the communities in this study.

Concluding Comments

This study has determined it is very difficult for medium-sized communities that have received Adams Arts Program grants to achieve traditional economic development outcomes (export income, job creation) although it is likely some economic activity has been generated. However, the benefits generated by these grants will probably spillover into neighboring communities, making these policies even more difficult to evaluate. In addition, the new income generated by these programs will, in many cases, be the result of spending displaced from neighboring communities. If this is true, is it possible to justify a state economic development policy that incentivizes communities to, essentially, steal resources from each other? If economic activity is simply moved around the state from community to community, is this policy simply another example of arts advocates using new, unproven arguments (baby Mozart, creative class) to justify subsidies?

In considering the findings, several additional questions present themselves. I selected communities where local government was a participant in the grant process. The findings indicated government played an important role regardless of its level of engagement. It would be interesting to examine the role local government played in grant communities where it was not listed as a participant. Are these programs as effective?

And finally, would the process and outcomes have differed if the communities selected were larger or smaller? I suspect that as the communities grew in size, the number of local leaders involved would increase. This could make it harder for them to develop and maintain the close relationships in evidence in these three communities. This could have a dramatic impact on the process or perhaps another means of communication emerges to take its place and the partnership continues relatively unaffected.

While I have attempted to accurately describe and analyze the cultural economic development process in these three communities, I am aware that it may not be possible to capture all the subtleties in one small study. Hall (1998), reflecting on his Herculean effort to understand how the world's most creative cities have come into being, claimed that even after he took every possible variable into account there was still something missing in his analysis. He defined this as "serendipity." In his words, "people meet, people talk, people listen to each other's music and each other's words, dance each other's dances, and take in each other's thoughts. And so, by accidents of geography, sparks may be struck and something new comes out of the encounter" (p. 21). While I am certain serendipity occurs in midsized municipalities as well, I believe the result of the policy process in these communities is no accident, but rather that result of the factors I have discovered and explicated through the case studies.

Appendix 1 The Cultural and Creative Industries-- Definitions

Cultural Industries

	Cunningham (in Hartley, 2005)	Hesmondhalgh (2007)	EuroCult21 (2005)	Barker (2003)	Evans (2001)	Landry (2000)	Hartley (2005)
Television (including cable and satellite)	Y	Y		Y			
Broadcasting							Y
Radio	Y	Y					
Cinema and film	Y	Y		Y			
Audio-Visual (including corporate video and photography)						Y	Y
Industrial Design						Y	
Multimedia						Y	
Media industries			Y				
Consumer electronics		N					
Music recording and publishing	Y	Y		Y		Y	
Production and distribution of music			Y	Y		Y	
Music (plus jazz and popular)						Y	Y
Cabaret						Y	
Mime						Y	
Performing arts		Y				Y	Y
Entertainment			Y				
Advertising		Y		Y		N	
Fashion		N					
Architecture			Y				
Design			Y			Y	
Crafts						Y	Y
Heritage sites and monuments					Y		
Cultural Tourism					Y		
Festivals, events, and visitor attractions					Y		
Amusement establishments			Y				
Recreation			Y				
Art Facilities			Y				
Arts and cultural venues					Y		Y
Visual arts, museums, and galleries							Y
Art and book shops			Y				
Literature							Y
Production and distribution of newspapers			Y				
Libraries							Y
Arts education							Y

Cultural Industries Definitions

Hesmondhalgh	2007	cultural industries: primary aim is to communicate to an audience, to create texts
Scott	2000	cultural economy: represented by a series of manufacturing and service sectors that are involved...in the production of images, symbols, and messages
Barker	2003	cultural industries lend glamour to cities, bringing direct employment
Hartley	2005	cultural industries: defined by public policy and funding (museums and galleries, visual arts & crafts, arts education, broadcasting and film, music, performing arts, literature, and libraries)

Creative Industries Categories

	Howkins (2001)	Caves (2000)
Advertising	Y	
Architecture	Y	
Art	Y	Y (visual arts: painting, sculpture)
Crafts	Y	
Design	Y	
Fashion	Y	Y
Film	Y	Y (Cinema and Television)
Music	Y	Y (Sound Recording)
Performing arts	Y	Y (Theatre, Opera, Concerts, Dance)
Publishing	Y	Y (Books and Magazines)
Research and Development	Y	
Software	Y	
Toys and Games	Y	Y
Television and Radio	Y	
Video Games	Y	

Definitions of the Creative Industries

Caves	2000	The product or service contains a substantial element of artistic or creative endeavor
DeNatale & Wassall	2007	Cultural industries are associated with production and creative industries are associated with innovation; Cultural industries emphasize production of cultural goods and services as a valuable contributor to society; Creative Industries emphasize the role of intellectual innovation as an economic driver of particular value during periods of societal transition
Hartley	2005	Creative industries are the conceptual and practical convergence of the Creative Arts with Cultural Industries in the context of New Media Technologies within a New Knowledge Economy for the use of newly Interactive citizen-Consumers. Creative Industries combines Creative Arts and Cultural Industries. Activities are assigned to one of five categories: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Creative Industries 2. Copyright Industries 3. Content Industries 4. Cultural Industries (defined by public policy and funding) 5. Digital Content
Howkins	2001	Copyright; Trademark; Patent; Design

Appendix 2

Revised Interview Questions

- 1) What is your title and position?
- 2) How long have you held this position? How long have you worked for this organization? What positions have you held prior to this?
- 3) Describe the cultural economic development policies your community proposed in the previous three years? Do they include the following areas, and if so, describe the policies?

Cultural Tourism

Bringing More Artists to the Community

Selling More Work by Artists

Attracting more people to the Downtown Business District

Branding the city

Improving the Quality of Life of Residents

Attracting young knowledge workers

Other reasons

- 4) Does your community possess any specific characteristics that influenced your decision to support the proposed policies? If so, please state these characteristics in order of importance to your decision making process.

History of art in the community

Physical assets (light, water)

A community of artists is present

Strong cultural institutions are present

A strong group of arts supporters are present

Other

5) Who were the primary actors engaged in establishing these policies, what roles did they play, and how important were they?

Individuals

Cultural institutions

Local government

State government

Local cultural councils

National government

Local businesses

Local College

Local Media

6) Did the MCC offer you technical assistance as well as financial – helping facilitate meetings, planning, etc? How important was this to your efforts?

7) You had to create a group of people from different sectors of the community in order to apply for the MCC grant. Did this group help you achieve your goals? Has this group continue to meet?

8) How does your community measure or plan to measure the impact of its cultural economic development policies?

9) To date, overall how successful have your policies been? If possible, describe which aspects of your policies have been the most (and least) effective?

10) Are you aware of any businesses that have relocated to this community because of these policies? Are you aware of any economic growth that can be directly attributed to these policies?

11) Have there been any challenges in making the benefits of your cultural economic development policies available to all residents regardless of their economic status, race, ethnicity, or level of education?

12) Have leaders of underserved and/or minority communities been involved in the cultural economic development policy process and, if so, what is their role?

13) If you wanted to take cultural economic development “to the next level” in your community, what would you do?

14) Do you have any other comments and/or observations?

Appendix 3 – Cultural Strength Indicators for Three Regions

Community	Total # of cultural institutions	# of 990 filing institutions (2007)	Total Revenue (2007)
Salem	105	11	\$70,647,865
Beverly	69	8	\$66,154,500
Rockport	31	5	\$7,673,893
Town of BARNSTABLE	99	20	\$7,559,019
Sandwich	33	10	\$7,480,421
Falmouth	74	16	\$6,642,066
GLOUCESTER	99	16	\$5,602,159
Provincetown	47	9	\$4,501,710
FITCHBURG	55	7	\$3,892,485
Chatham	36	10	\$3,807,754
Wellfleet	17	3	\$2,473,557
Brewster	20	5	\$2,471,880
Yarmouth	30	6	\$2,469,967
Dennis	25	7	\$1,710,215
Leominster	33	5	\$1,699,915
Peabody	47	6	\$1,463,877
Marblehead	47	8	\$1,262,586
Orleans	22	4	\$1,142,202
Truro	12	6	\$959,556
Bourne	27	3	\$871,126
Wenham	9	3	\$821,012
Harwich	31	5	\$753,971
Shirley	17	3	\$692,624
Mashpee	33	3	\$554,748
Harvard	30	4	\$382,689
Essex	8	3	\$370,941
Ipswich	27	4	\$326,300
Danvers	34	3	\$304,627
Ayer	15	3	\$166,751
Ashburnham	13	< 3	Not reported
Ashby	7	< 3	Not reported
Eastham	20	< 3	Not reported
Groton	22	< 3	Not reported
Hamilton	15	< 3	Not reported
Lancaster	11	< 3	Not reported
Lunenburg	19	< 3	Not reported
Manchester	13	< 3	Not reported
Middleton	8	< 3	Not reported
Nahant	11	< 3	Not reported
Pepperell	10	< 3	Not reported
Princeton	7	< 3	Not reported
Sterling	13	< 3	Not reported
Swampscott	20	< 3	Not reported
Topsfield	16	< 3	Not reported

Townsend	11	< 3	Not reported
Westminster	14	< 3	Not reported

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