

Scenes: Social Contexts in an Age of Contingency*

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Scenes: Social Contexts in an Age of Contingency

Abstract

This paper develops an innovative social science concept, "scenes," to complement urban class, race and gender studies. Scenes grow more important in a less industrial, more expressively-

oriented and contingent society where traditional constraints fall and self-motivated action around consumption, leisure, and amenities is a more important feature of social cohesiveness and interaction. The scenes concept furthers previous atomistic approaches to cultural amenities by analyzing unique combinations and networks of amenities. Scenes contextualize the individual through amenities and consumption-based expressions of shared sensibilities as to what is right, beautiful, and genuine. This framework adds to concepts like neighborhood, place, and work by specifying 15 dimensions of the urban “scenescape”: 5 of legitimacy, 5 of theatricality, and 5 of authenticity. Like neighborhood, place, and work, scenes reduce anomie, but, because of their focus on consumption and the use of specific amenities, they are more consistent with today's ethos of contingency, moving beyond traditional ideas of the fundamental power of social, family, and occupational background. The authors introduce a new amenities-focused database to measure and analyze scenes and their 15 dimensions for each of some 40,000 U.S. zip codes. They illustrate the framework by applying it to one distinct type of scene, bohemia, and analyze its position in the broader social system using the scenes database and framework.

SCENES: SOCIAL CONTEXTS IN AN AGE OF CONTINGENCY

1. The Salience of Scenes: Culture and Urban Attractiveness

Sociology and Culture. Since the 1970s, many sociologists have played down culture and voluntarism, arguing that “structure” constrains agency. Class domination, racial discrimination, gender and age hierarchies, and economic constraints have been systematically documented. These are important contributions. Unfortunately, over time, they have led to professional neglect of culture, leisure, consumption, amenities, and, underlying these, values, norms, and the dynamics of voluntary activity. Such topics have often been left to journalists, cultural critics, and some historians. Geographers and some sociologists have recently discussed the concept of place or space, but usually very loosely. Post-modernists shook a finger at a rising individualistic subjectivism. Ironically, in the years when sociologists stressed these economic and other constraints, economists began to study cultural activity systematically under the heading of “amenities.” Defining them broadly as “non-market transactions” (Glaeser, 2000), economists have built many models that include amenities. However, they have largely assumed that individuals act in isolation and that each amenity (e.g. restaurant or museum) can similarly be analyzed atomistically. We propose a framework that joins the amenities work from economics with core social and cultural processes from sociology. Some sociologists have noted similar gaps and begun to fill them with useful work, such as Steinmetz (1999) who notes a cultural turn in historical sociology, Molotch (2003) in stressing consumption, Wimmer (2002) in conceptualizing ethnicity as cultural compromise, and Harding (2005) in measuring cultural impacts in urban poverty contexts. We propose joining this (renewed) concern for culture with a

more systematic concept of space and place, and incorporating amenities to construct a new analytical framework around the scene.

Cities and Culture. This turn to a conception of culture as rooted in distinct places and spaces dovetails with a shift in urban development research, which in the last decade has increasingly stressed culture as attracting “high human capital individuals” whose innovations drive economic development (Glaeser, Kolko & Saiz, 2001; Florida, 2002; Clark, 2004; Markusen, Schrock & Cameron, 2004). A vibrant artistic community, thriving music and theater, lively restaurants, beautiful buildings, fine schools, libraries, and museums contribute to a better local “quality of life.” In increasingly post-industrial societies, it is claimed, where labor-intensive production is giving way to knowledge- and information-intensive production (Sacco and Blessi, 2006), more individuals have more time to enjoy the “amenities of life” (Fogel, 2000). Cities are quickly becoming centers of consumption rather than production (Glaeser, 2001), and culture and tourism are gaining momentum, adding intangible value to what is there and restructuring the existing stock of capital as the knowledge economy expands. But these simple formulations raise many questions.

Earlier urban development theorists did not explore the specifics of culture and amenities. Economists (like Roback, 1982) pioneered by conceptualizing culture as part of “amenities” and adding amenities to urban research, long before most other social scientists. But typically they did so by adding some climate-related amenities like humidity or clean air and studying their impact on land value (Zelenev, 2004 reviews this tradition). Amenities were important to urban economists if they increased land value, but the process of how and why was largely ignored. Some Continental economists (e.g. Santagata, 2004; Sacco, 2006) write about cultural districts, extending industrial district ideas, but these, as in some more Marxian studies of consumption

(cf. Zukin, 2006 study of lofts in N.Y), tend to see culture and consumption as largely driven by broad economic changes, most notably “post-industrialism” (Inglehart, 1990), downplaying culture and politics. Florida (2002) suggests that street life and bicycling, rather than opera and bowling, attract creative class people who favor multi-tasking and autonomy. More generally, there has been a shift from mass culture criticism to question the distinctiveness of broad divisions like “high” vs. “low” culture, “formal” vs. “informal,” “elite” vs. “popular,” or “passive” vs. “participatory” as meaningful dimensions to capture cultural experiences (e.g. Peterson, 1996; Abbing, 2005).

Thus, in both sociology in general and urban studies in particular, translating cultural value -- theoretically and practically -- into specifics has been difficult because “culture” is a diffuse concept. It includes the traditional “high arts” of opera, Shakespearean theater, and classical symphonies.¹ Does it also include “local,” “authentic” items like Chicago blues or Carolina barbecue? How about experimental, innovative art like avant-garde galleries, cutting edge theater, and novel architectural forms? Does it extend as far as adding an aesthetic perspective to more standard items: street level culture, beachfront entertainment, arts and crafts fairs?² These “definitional” issues invoke distinct paradigms and can shape competing priorities for policymakers, to invest in or ignore. Class, race, gender, neighborhood, and political culture in turn invoke competing criteria for theory, ideology, and policy allocation debates by political leaders, foundation officials, public intellectuals, and an urban populace increasingly divided along moral in addition to class axes (Sharp, 2005).

Complicating these issues of “high” and “low” is the fact that cultural activity involves more than “the arts” -- it not only transcends traditional oppositions between “elite” and “popular;” it expresses different styles of life and their distinctive moods. And culture is more

than the “cultural industry” or “cultural districts,” because cultural amenities are not only, or even mainly, sites of economic activity; cultural amenities do generate jobs and economic development, but they do so (at least in part) because they provide places where people can express their styles of life. Culture is not disembodied; cultural products exist in geographic spaces, ecologically distributed across neighborhoods, cities, regions, and nations. Distinct urban cultures may emerge spontaneously in response to citizens’ lifestyles, but private and public actors also seek to produce them intentionally; they are both top-down and bottom-up. How can we theorize and analyze such a diffuse set of phenomena? New conceptual and empirical resources are needed.

Enter “scenes.” As settings structuring shared cultural consumption, scenes provide a new conceptual fulcrum for cultural analysis. They provide forms of social belonging attuned to the demands of a culture in which individuals increasingly define themselves less by primordial attachments to home or family background or class and more contingently and expressively, in terms of lifestyle and sensibility.³ Scenes contextualize the contingent expressions of selfhood, just as neighborhoods and family contextualize residence and heredity, and occupations contextualize achievement and work. By articulating the concept of scene, developing techniques for measurement, and showing how impacts of scenes vary across urban contexts, we lay out a research program that injects culture into urban studies. Below we detail a new concept of scene that can operationally locate and calibrate impacts of culture in urban contexts.

2. What is a Scene?: The “Situated” Character of Urban Culture⁴

Social Consumption, Culture, and Territory. The arts in particular and consumption in general occupy an important place in recent studies of urban development (Markusen, Shrock,

and Cameron, 2003; Markusen and King, 2003; Glaeser, 2001; Clark, 2004, ch.3, ch. 7; Molotch, 2003). Yet these rarely specify how distinct types of arts and amenities differentially affect urban change. Nor do they identify contexts within which arts and amenities are embedded -- not to mention the effects of geographically (and temporally) varying combinations of artistic sensibilities, degrees of differentiation in aesthetic and ethical aspirations, and density of cultural experience. What they lack is a conception of cultural consumption as a socially structured activity that can come in varying forms and degrees. "Scene" brings these missing dimensions of quality and context into focus.

Omitting the way different scenes define quality and context is a major oversight, for these define what artists do and who consumes their art, which amenities are deemed attractive or shunned, which consumption modes are nurtured or vilified. In poetry scenes, for example, academic and "slam" poets usually avoid each other (see Yanovsky, Van Driel, & Kass, 1999). While both are engaged in similar artistic activities, they do not think of themselves as belonging to one scene since they define quality differently. Similarly, punk musicians and opera singers -- all artists -- move in different circles, eat at different restaurants, and attract different audiences seeking different experiences.⁵ Moreover, combinations of individual amenities transform their meanings: a tattoo parlor by a water pipe store and modernist art gallery is different from a tattoo parlor by a motorcycle shop, gun shop, biker bar, and civil war reenactment society. Each is an affirmation of some sense of transgression, but its meaning changes through combinations -- from Avant-garde to Don't Tread on Me.

The concept of scene brings these key notions of quality and context into view. The cultural life of a city is not defined by its aggregate number of arts organizations or cultural amenities. How they cluster into scenes must be addressed because these clusters constitute

"specific cultural settings." These settings are structured according to (1) value orientations through which people confer meanings onto acts of shared cultural consumption, (2) which are organized in specific forms according to relations of attraction, repulsion, or complementariness, and (3) are expressed in concrete places, events, and moments that are situated in specific spaces and times.

-- Insert Table 1 --

For instance, the character of a place changes in the course of a day: by day, it might be a place to walk, to visit old or new monuments, to shop or celebrate conventions; at night, though, it transforms into a space to drink, to dance, and talk from dusk to dawn.

Scenes involve distinctive forms of inhabiting the city (by actors) and reading the city (by analysts); scenes generate meaningful social spaces of consumption rather than of work and residence.⁶ What matters are the CDs one listens to (jazz or indie pop, say), the types of foods and restaurants one enjoys (barbecue or fusion, for example), the clothes one buys and wears (leather or African print), and more. These are not necessarily determined by how creative one's job is: we prefer to disaggregate occupations Florida calls "creative." His creative class is not a homogenous consumption block -- teachers, engineers, lawyers, programmers, and agents do not listen to the same music or go to the same restaurants; jobs weakly predict how people play; consumption groups and occupation groups need not align (Markusen, 2006). That one values a colleague's drive at work does not mean that one welcomes him to the barber shop scene or country line dance. Nor is one's consumption and leisure activity determined by ascriptive, particularistic ties of kinship and neighborhood: a younger brother deep into the vegan punk scene need not share this interest with his older brother, and within the scene their shared blood

or heritage may not bring status to the older brother. More important for the scene is sharing and expressing the right sensibilities as to what counts as right, beautiful, and genuine.

-- Insert Table 2 --

It is, of course, possible to view social life from all three perspectives. Overlaps can generate considerable strains and productive tensions,⁷ and advocates of one perspective often reduce the others to their own.⁸ A full study of the place of the scene in the broader social system would need to map out the potential interactions between scenes, families, and work -- not to mention politics and religion. Nevertheless, what is clear is that scenes mark a space in which consumption can become a shareable and meaningful activity, and that the dynamics of this general process merit study in their own terms so that we can develop more systematic theories of consumption as social practice. Thus, because scenes have not yet been analyzed as seriously as industrial areas or neighborhoods, before joining these various levels, we first focus on scenes per se.

3. Recognizing Scenes: Towards Systematic and Comparative Analysis of Urban Cultural Life

Others have noted that assessing urban attractiveness requires studying the mix of amenities, built environment, and people (Florida, 2006; Lloyd, 2006; Scott, 2000; and others). This has typically turned researchers toward ethnography (Lloyd, 2006) or anecdote (Florida, 2002).⁹ We do not deny the validity of these techniques, and employ them elsewhere. But codifying and measuring our core concepts permits placing individual cases in broader context. The concept of scene, consistent with the phenomenological character of ethnographic approaches, permits theorizing the internal character of urban cultural spaces in terms of the

qualities participants deem *valuable* and the *holistic networks* within which any single cultural amenity is located. Scenes are here conceived as systems within which different types of cultural consumption are endowed with social meaning, scenes make consumption shareable (from coffee to café) and meaningful (your music matters). If scenes exist, they can be recognized and measured -- but largely in terms of consumption as expressive-symbolic practice. How, then, do we know what sort of scene exists in a given place? Our proposal is to contrast the forms of meaning generated by and embodied in clusters of urban amenities. We focus on three broad evaluative dimensions structuring the settings of cultural consumption: legitimacy, theatricality, and authenticity. Scenes provide their members a sense of how it is right to consume (legitimacy), how to look and be looked at while consuming (theatricality), and how to be genuine while consuming (authenticity). We treat the affirmation, negation, and degree of these dimensions (or, more specifically, their sub-dimensions) as core elements which combine following the rules comprising the grammar of scenes.

We can elaborate these three dimensions as follows:

Theatricality. The very word “scene” implies a chance to see and be seen. Scenes structure the theatricality of social consumption, shaping the bearing and manners of their members. Participants seek the essentially social pleasure of beautifully performing a role or a part, or of watching others do so. This is the pleasure of *appearances*, the way we display ourselves to others and see their images in turn. Examples of theatricality at work in scenes include:

- Standing on the red carpet at Cannes gazing at the stars going by.
- Going to the opera in a gown or white tie and tails.
- Watching a performance artist pierce his skin.
- Showing off one’s neatly trimmed lawn to the neighbors.
- Jumping onto a raised platform to dance in front of a crowd at a rave.

Authenticity. Scenes, even highly theatrical ones, may also be defined by the extent to which they affirm the rootedness of a cultural experience; scenes structure the authenticity of social consumption, affirming or reshaping the primordial allegiances of their members. Participants seek the pleasure of having a common sense of what makes for a real or genuine experience. This is the pleasure of *identity*, the affirmation of who we are at bottom and what it means to be genuine and real rather than fake and phony. Examples of authenticity at work in scenes include:

- Listening to the blues in the Checkerboard Lounge, birthplace of the Chicago blues.
- Recognizing the twang of Appalachia in the Stanley Bros.' Voices.
- Not attending a Britney Spears show because she is a corporate creation.
- Feeling the pulse of Germania at Bayreuth.
- Genuinely letting go of rationality at a yoga class.

Legitimacy. Scenes, in addition to their theatricality and authenticity, also may be defined by a judgment about what is right and wrong, how one ought to live; scenes structure the legitimacy of social consumption, shaping the beliefs and intentions of their members. Participants seek the pleasure of a common sense of being in the right or rejecting those in the wrong. This is the pleasure of *a good will*, intending to act on what one takes to be valid beliefs. Examples of legitimacy at work in scenes include:

- Sharing in the stability and assurance of hearing Mozart performed in the Vienna State Opera as you believe it was earlier.
- Attending educational exhibitions because you believe that it increases brain functioning.
- Savoring the democratic implications of a crafts fair.
- Enjoying hearing a jazz musician play something only he could have improvised at that particular moment.
- Watching a Chicago Bulls game not because you are from Chicago but because of the charismatic aura of Michael Jordan.¹⁰

-- Insert Table 3 --

Specifying these three broad dimensions of “scenicness” is already an important development. It allows us to move beyond a uni-dimensional approach that would focus only on performance or identity or moral concerns or a simple report on local scenes, such as Chicago Blues or 5th Avenue Shopping. Scenes combine all three dimensions, as, for example, a vegan punk scene does by combining displays of transgression with moral concern for the ethical treatment of all sentient beings and the affirmation of rationality as the basis of reality. Another scene could combine similar elements differently.¹¹

These broad dimensions, however, need to be further specified. While, due to their internal structure, it is essential to include the evaluative dimensions in analysis of scenes, as analysts we need to specify determinate standards according to which various scenes interpret

the meaning of theatricality, authenticity, and legitimacy -- standards that both sharpen the concepts and provide for systematic comparison. We have thus developed five sub-dimensions of each of the three broader dimensions. Time and space preclude detailed elaboration, but they draw on many traditions, including Max Weber, Robert Bellah, Daniel Elazar, Erving Goffman, Charles Taylor, G.W.F. Hegel, Martin Heidegger, Immanuel Kant, and others.¹² For now we simply catalog the 15 in Table 4:

-- Insert Table 4 --

Each sub-dimension may be affirmed or denied by a scene. Examples: *resistance* to corporate authenticity or *destruction* of tradition gives certain scenes their meaning.¹³

This conceptual structure allows us to recognize specific “empirical scenes” as combinations of the dimensions of cultural consumption. A given scene may promote a sense of self-expressive legitimacy, transgressive theatricality, local authenticity, anti-rational authenticity, and anti-corporate authenticity -- this combination we call a “bohemian scene” (more below). Another area might promote neighborly theatricality, traditional legitimacy, and local authenticity -- a more “communitarian scene.” Our conceptual apparatus focuses on the meaning of these distinct sets of values created by different combinations of the core 15. One can then analyze and interpret combinations and with far more richness and subtlety than by simply counting individual amenities or actors or producing case studies in splendid isolation.

-- Insert Table 5 --

This analytical framework or “grammar of scenes” lays the ground for systematic and comparative analysis of embedded urban culture. Research may proceed from inductive and deductive points of view, and both intensive and extensive research strategies (of individual cases or large Ns). Inductively, the empirical distribution and levels of the 15 dimensions can

generate a ‘*scene profile*’ for neighborhoods, cities or metropolitan areas. Deductively, the framework helps specify ‘*theoretical ideal-typical scenes*’ by *ex-ante* defined combinations of sub-dimensions, against which empirical scenes can be measured. For example, the darkened sub-dimensions in Table 5 could represent the theoretical definition of a “bohemian scene” (negative values in italics).¹⁴

4. Measuring Scenes: Clustering Individual Amenities into Meaningful Scenes

How can we retain the holistic perspective common to ethnographies yet overcome the parochialism of individual cases? And how to transcend the historic barriers to subtlety, which led many comparative researchers simply to count individual amenities? Joining our grammar of scenes with our scenes-oriented data-base (partially!) overcomes these intellectual barriers. Questions about the power of (different forms of) cultural attractiveness in relation to other more traditional developmental factors (income, cost of living, etc.) can then be posed and tested. But how to do so empirically? By systematically scoring the meanings of distinct physical spaces of cultural consumption. Operationally a scene is *a specific cluster of amenities* constituted by the ensemble of meanings or value orientations offered to the potential consumer. By scoring the value orientations of individual amenities, coding individual amenities in our database on each of the 15 sub-dimensions with a 5-point scale,¹⁵ analyzing how they combine in distinct territories (neighborhood, city, MSA, region...), we capture distinct cultural experiences of separate territories.¹⁶ In our framework, the “*analytical units*” are the 15 sub-dimensions measured for every amenity in a territory; these dimensions are the minimal analytical components of the scenes approach. By contrast, the “amenity” (like a restaurant or museum) is the “*observational unit*.” Our analysis is not oriented to “count” amenities, but to comprehend the substantive

meanings implicit in them. The “cultural life” of cities is the focus, not the components or size of the “cultural, leisure or tourist industry.”¹⁷

Critical are the specific amenities in the analysis. They must meet at least two minimal criteria. First an amenity should provide a clear opportunity for cultural consumption; a meaningful experience rather than a routine interchange of goods and services (a gas station is not included, while a gourmet café is). Second, the amenity should be potentially present across all territories under analysis in approximately similar form; local users should be able to reveal their preferences by patronizing a shoe store or Thai restaurant if they choose. But in other localities if citizens prefer Catfish Restaurants, the local market should not prohibit a Catfish Restaurant from emerging. The amenities, such as these types of restaurants, should be linked with similar meanings among potential cultural consumers, “functionally equivalent” in terms of cultural consumption. Standardized amenities such as Starbucks and McDonalds meet this criterion relatively straightforwardly; less standardized amenities are more difficult, like cultural centers (which offer diverse activities) or restaurants (which differ by cuisine and price).¹⁸

Since there is no systematic database of all possible amenities across U.S. cities that could guarantee these two minimal conditions, as a starting point we have assembled a unified national database of amenities from previous existing sources, where the agency constructing each variable has ideally been sensitive to these criteria, such as the Yellow Pages or U.S. Census which report restaurants by type. By using mainly U.S. national data sources this maximizes coverage of potential amenities (varieties of types) and territories (minimal units, as zip codes), and limits definitional ambiguity.¹⁹ Our data-base includes hundreds of arts and cultural amenities such as types of theaters, bookstores, dance companies, jazz clubs, museums, gospel choirs, poetry centers, liberal arts colleges, etc. It covers all U.S. metro areas and rural zip

codes, some 40,000 zip codes. Levels and changes in more traditional factors such as schools, crime, housing prices, racial and class demographics, etc., are analyzed to measure their relative contributions to various scenes. No such massive and comprehensive database has previously been generated. Gathering such information into one place allows us and others to ask more subtle questions about culture in urban development and to provide more powerful answers than previously possible.

Each of the hundreds of amenities was coded from high to low on each of the 15 scene dimensions. Hence the analysis can “travel empirically” from the “observational unit” -- individual amenities -- to the “minimal analytical unit”-- the 15 scenes dimensions. An average score for each dimension can then applied to any territory from a zip code or higher. This analytical profile permits analysis of cultural consumption as a situated social phenomenon using the criteria above: (1) meanings and value orientations, (2) interconnected in a holistic way, and (3) situated in space and time.

To compare scenes, we created a “performance index” for each territory by (1) multiplying the number of amenities of a given type in a zip code by that amenity-type’s score, and then summing the results for each of the 15 sub-dimensions. Each zip code receives a score for each sub-dimension indicating that zip code’s total output of the values associated with each sub-dimension. We then (2) divide this result for each zip code by the total number of amenities in the zip code. A “scene-profile” thus exits for each U.S. zip code based on the zip code’s average scores across the 15 types of legitimacy, theatricality, and authenticity. The limits of this measure are legion, and other measures are no doubt possible and necessary. But these profiles generate powerful results, as a systematic empirical measure of the “cultural life of cities”... as scenes. We are providing our raw data and indexes to others pursuing other lines of analysis.

5. Analyzing Scenes: Validation by “Scenescapes” Analysis

What picture of the American scenscape emerges from these profiles? Do our measures provide a valid proxy of the “cultural life of cities”? Since there are no similar measures to contrast our proposal against using “construct-validity” (convergent or divergent),²⁰ we initially pursue validation by “face validity” (are theoretical concepts and measures adequate to the judgements of researchers or to previous knowledge, do the scenes measures discriminate among different cultural contexts that are well documented by previous literature?) and “hypothesis validity” (can the measure illuminate theoretical relationships,²¹ are the scenes measurements confirmed by the “culture and cities” literature?).

5.1. Basic Descriptive Insights: Confirming Expectations of Regional and Urban Cultural Life by Cross-Territorial Comparisons

Simple statistical analysis of our measures of scenes helps to document the cultural variations among different regions, cities, and local contexts

-- Insert Figure 1 --

We have pursued many descriptive analyses for face validity and more. Some brief examples: Scenes in the Northeast and West score higher on individual self-expression for their legitimation, while those in the South and Midwest lean on traditionalistic legitimacy. Scenes in the South and Midwest offer displays of neighborly theatricality, while Northeastern and especially Western scenes manifest more transgression. These fit common views. A similar clear example: we tabulated glamour for each Los Angeles zip code, and found Hollywood zip scores near-highest and Watts scores near-lowest. These regional differences are striking, as they at once confirm that our methods yield results consistent with broad expectations from other sources, and identify cultural contexts varying within an emerging more expressively oriented

consumer society. Equally striking are variations among New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles as widely discussed global centers identified with the new economy, where rents, education, arts and culture, technology jobs, and young people are rapidly increasing (Gyourko, 2004; Cortright, 2001; Currid, 2006). Yet each of these three cities highlights these changes in strikingly different ways: from the clustering of finance in downtown New York (Sassen, 2001) to Mayor Richard Daley's enthusiastic embrace of culture and aesthetics as central to urban policy (Clark, forthcoming) and Wicker Park as a powerful Neo-Bohemian neighborhood (Lloyd, 2006), to the individualism, fragmentation, and image-building that lead some to name Los Angeles as ground zero of the post-modern age (Dear, 1981). Critical differences appear in Figure 2.

-- **Insert Figure 2 (a)** --

-- **Insert Figure 2 (b)** --

Compared to all U.S. zip codes (scored 0), scenes in these three cities are legitimated more by individual self-expression and utility than by tradition and egalitarianism; they encourage transgression, glamour, and formal codes more than neighborliness; and they root identities in rational calculation, the state, and corporation more than in local culture. Broadly, "urbanism as a way of life" (Wirth, 2004; Simmel, 1971) continues in the late modern city, as more abstract, formal, distanced social relations are linked with heightened individualism and weaker primordial ties. But the three cities also show striking differences. Los Angeles scenes are defined much more by individual self-expression and glamour. New York scenes more strongly affirm that identity is based in the power of reason and stamp of the corporate brand; they legitimate themselves by appeals to efficiency and material success, and promote the formal theatricality of the business suit and opera company. In Chicago -- "the city of neighborhoods" -- scenes are the most neighborly, traditionalistic, and egalitarian of the three. This all has much

face validity and is consistent with recent urban scholarship. These data are simply the first to document these patterns so systematically.

Perhaps even more striking than these differences in levels are different *relations* among the sub-dimensions of scenes in the three cities. Figure 3 shows correlations *within* New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles of charismatic legitimacy by zip code and Figure 4 shows correlates of self-expressive individualism scores with selected sub-dimensions.

-- **Insert Figure 3** --

-- **Insert Figure 4** --

Strikingly, in Chicago, amenities that legitimate practices by charismatic authority correlate strongly with amenities that support a sense of neighborliness and appeal to equality. By contrast, in New York City and Los Angeles, the more charismatic scenes are more individually self-expressive and glamorously theatrical. In Chicago, scenes high on individual self-expression also show a sense of corporate identity (the fabulously post-modern Millennium Park was built with massive corporate donations). Further, self-expression in Chicago is less strongly opposed to local roots and abstract reasoning, and less tied to transgressiveness and glamorousness. In New York and Los Angeles, zip codes high on self-expressive individualism also tend to show more transgression and glamour, less rootedness in the local, less faith in reason, and more hostility to corporate culture. The scenes of these cities channel the power of charisma in different directions, some into individualism and transgression, others into the local neighborhood -- there is no single track for The City of the Future, but multiple scenes structuring alternative responses to a social life more attuned to cultural consumption.

5.2 Theoretical Elaborations: How Scene Analysis Reframes Bohemia

Our scene framework and data can strengthen and reframe past analyses which omit scene-like considerations. We are pursuing many lines ourselves and offer our data to others. For this paper we focus on bohemia, as it has been widely used in recent urban work. David Brooks (2000, 2004) labeled a new style, a “Bobo” orientation which joins 1960s bohemian values with 1980s bourgeois budgets, as illustrated by President Bill Clinton. Brooks subtly describes several cases, especially Bobo cities like Burlington, Vermont and Bethesda, Maryland. Richard Florida (2002) used Brooks’ Bobos as his core concept, but retitled it the “Creative Class” at the publisher’s suggestion; the book relies less on “class” and more on Bobo-like tolerance, which Florida holds is a or the key driver of urban innovation. Richard Lloyd (2006) builds on these but makes the strongest case for a more literal bohemia as an urban dynamic: disagreeing with Brooks and Florida who stress Bobo moderation, Lloyd claims that creativity requires breaking eggs, challenging authority, for innovation -- in all spheres of life. Thus his “neo-bohemia” is closer to nineteenth and early twentieth century classic bohemias. As a *New York Times* journalist, Brooks claims to do only “comic book sociology,” and offers only subtle anecdotes as evidence. Lloyd’s evidence is an ethnography of Chicago’s Wicker Park neighborhood. Like Brooks, he relies on sensitive portrayal and anecdote, and does not seek to locate his case by comparison with others. Florida also tells dramatic stories to illustrate his points, but his prime systematic measures of bohemian tolerance are the percent of gays and artists in a metro area. He correlates these with patents and other innovation measures, but Clark’s (2004) reanalysis suggests that gays were largely spurious, and education was a more important indicator of creativity.

How does our scenes approach recast bohemian analyses? The classic statements of Murger, Balzac, and Baudelaire, used Paris, Greenwich Village, and Haight-Ashbury as the loci

classici. (Neo-)Bohemia is increasingly built into the fabric of the post-industrial political economy (Florida, Brooks, Lloyd and others), as a testing ground for new styles and patterns of consumption, analogous to that of scientific and technological research on the side of production (Campbell, 1989), and a defining half of the modern spirit (Grana & Grana, 1990). Our scenes approach provides more precise tools to capture and reframe these ideas. As Murger, Balzac, and Baudelaire suggested, an ideal-typical Bohemian scene has a distinct shape.²² We build on such past discussions but can be more precise using our 15 sub-dimensions, as shown in Table 6.

-- Insert Table 6 --

Defined thus, a scene is more Bohemian if it exhibits resistance to traditional legitimacy, affirms individual self-expression, eschews utilitarianism, values charisma, promotes (slightly) a form of elitism (Baudelaire's "aristocracy of dandies"), encourages members to keep their distance, promotes transforming oneself into an exhibition, values fighting the mainstream, affirms attending to the local (Balzac's intense interest in Parisian neighborhoods), encourages identification with primordial ethnic roots, attacks the abstract state, discourages corporate culture, and attacks the authenticity of reason (Rimbaud's "systematic derangement of all the senses"). Scenes whose profiles are closer to this ideal-type receive a higher score on our Bohemian Index (measured as the value distance from the "bliss point" defined by Table 6²³), so that a high score is more distant from Bohemian bliss. This is analogous to policy distance analyses in voting (e.g. Riker & Ordeshook, 1973: ch. 11). Yes, there is room for debate on this and any characterization of Bohemia. In practice, the index identifies many neighborhoods which others cite as distinctly Bohemian: in Chicago, the highest scoring neighborhoods include Bucktown, Wicker Park, and Logan Square, all commonly perceived as Bohemian, and studied by Lloyd (2006).

Where are the more Bohemian American scenes? Analyzing our Bohemian Score as dependent variable in a regression including all U.S. zip codes provides insight.

-- Insert Table 7 --

Bohemias are stronger in locations with larger populations, increasing populations, more retirees, higher income, fewer residents with graduate and professional degrees, increasing numbers of college graduates, more crime, and fewer non-whites. Baby boomers, youth, and Democratic voting (in both simple correlations and regression coefficients) are not significant; nor are change in income, retirees, youth population, and baby boomers.²⁴

Comment on these results: First, bohemian scenes are stronger in areas with higher crime rates. The “established” or “bourgeois” theory that crime indicates social disorganization and anomie, and “would repel most residents” may hold in a Disney Heaven scene, but does not in a Bohemian scene, which inverts this anti-crime value. Our finding confirms the River Styx theme from Baudelaire to Lloyd. While Baudelaire noted “the magic” in “murky corners of old cities,”²⁵ Lloyd (2006: 78) stresses that “the manifest dangers of the neighborhood coincide with the bohemian disposition to value the drama of living on the edge.”

A second set of important findings concerns age. Florida and Lloyd both stress the youthful nature of their neo-bohemias, but we find that retirees are *more* numerous in bohemias while youth are *not*. These results suggest that youth does not hold any monopoly on bohemian living. “Youth” is an ambiguous signifier; it does not necessarily translate into edgy creativity – there are “square” and “establishment” and many other types of youth. What seems to matter more is how various contexts channel and transform the energy of youth. Moreover, there may be a particularly strong connection between bohemias and what we have elsewhere termed the “grey creative class.” Indeed, attention to older individuals committed to the aesthetic and ethical

sensibilities of Bohemia may be key to understanding many social and urban institutions that perpetuate Bohemian ideals: exclusive attention to “the young and the restless” leaves out older persons who are cosmopolitan, cultured, creative in what they want to do, and support.²⁶ Their density and commitment to a city or neighborhood can make a serious difference, especially for cultural activities that depend on charitable contributions -- they volunteer time and sit on boards that raise funds for the amenities which in turn attract the young.

Third, the finding that voting patterns are not significantly connected with Bohemian neighborhoods suggests that whatever sense of political legitimacy and activism Bohemias create often operates outside of standard notions of parties. The Red and Blue map is too simple. To understand how scenes generate political identification -- in cafes, poetry groups, punk clubs, and galleries -- it is necessary to move past models building heavily on party voting.

We find more when we repeat the same basic analysis of zip codes within the three largest cities. The main finding in Figure 5 is that in Chicago the percent of college graduates increases in more Bohemian zip codes; this same effect is insignificant in LA and New York. The common explanation for such dynamics is cost or income, but these Bohemian results hold strong after we control income and the other variables in the model.

-- **Insert Figure 5** --

Interpretation? Bohemia is no silver-bullet for urban development. In Chicago, the Neo-Bohemian thesis that artist neighborhoods fuse with innovative young people to meet the needs of the new culture-driven economy is empirically supported. However, the thesis demands contextualization, as such Bohemian neighborhoods are *not* significant attractors of the college educated in New York and Los Angeles. In New York, zip codes with 25-34 year-olds seem sharply distinct from bohemian neighborhoods. Moreover, in New York, both college graduates

and 25-34-year-olds reside in zip code scenes that feature corporate authenticity ($r=.326$ and $.238$, respectively), while both groups are declining in more corporate-authenticated scenes in Chicago and Los Angeles. Los Angeles contrasts most with the “neo-Bohemia leads to growth thesis,” since college grads in L.A. increase more in higher income zip codes and with more young persons. Related: glamorous scenes in L.A. attract the young and educated more strongly than in the other cities ($r=.493$ vs. $.32$ in Chicago and $.17$ in N.Y).²⁷ Perhaps the unique ways that Chicago (as shown in Figures 3 and 4) combines individual self-expression with utilitarian legitimacy and corporate authenticity make it more likely for its Bohemians to become “useful labor” (Lloyd, 2006). These strong results document the power of local scenes in transforming simpler national patterns. By pointing to specific differences in both levels and dynamics of scenes across three major cities, scene analysis helps cultural analysts become more conscious of the multiple institutional and other mechanisms that join to create specific types of scenes. We do not claim definitive answers to any single substantive question, but we do suggest that scene analysis offers a more coherent approach that should complement other types of analysis.

6. A Scenes-Based Program for Cultural Policy and Urban Studies

The above discussion suggests a promising direction for future work. Leisure and consumption are increasing over the long term of the last century, if not always the short term. These bring, as Nobel economist Robert Fogel (2000) suggests, a heightened concern for questions about what life is about that cuts across class divisions. The above results show that there is much room for disagreement about how to ask and answer such broad questions, differences intertwined with the spatial composition of cultural amenities. If Fogel is right that, in a society where leisure time has massively risen, “non-material” or “spiritual” goods and

inequalities are increasingly becoming key drivers of social change (as Inglehart 1990 and others stress), then differences over *which* spiritual goods and how to *arrange* them will become increasingly central social and policy questions. Scenes-based research suggests one way to address this more precisely.

The above descriptive statistics thus address broader concerns. There is little use in speaking of *the* coming of the creative class or *the* rise of Neo-Bohemia in flexible capitalism or *the* advent of omnivorous cultural consumption among the new elite or *the* transformation to a knowledge economy or *the* transition to post-industrialism. Accepting these as important general trends, the more critical and sensitive question then becomes the *concrete* one about *which* creativity (and where), *which* Bohemianism (and where) and so on. The scene within which any of these processes occurs not only shapes the direction toward which they move; it helps to define what it means to be creative or Bohemian or omnivorous or knowledgeable or beyond industry, and so to pursue the goals associated with those terms. These are not clear uncontested concepts, as was illustrated by the positive and negative takes on crime in Bohemian and non-Bohemian scenes. As leisure and consumption increase in salience, disputes over how to answer questions of the sort captured in our 15 scenes dimensions are likely to become more salient, sometimes as new points of conflict.

These observations suggest eight axial points of a scenes-based agenda for urban and cultural policy studies:

1. *Conceptualize the city as pluralistic, diverse, filled with competing subcultures.*
Government typically acts in distinct policy arenas like housing or culture which differ, just like neighborhoods. We see the world more as an ecology of games and scenes than as a monolithic unity.
2. *Identify growth dynamics of distinct scenes* (bohemia vs. NASCAR scenes, etc.).
Identify scenes with neighborhoods (via zip codes etc.). Invest in key amenities to make each scene more vital, relying on its impact on the specific, local scenscape.

3. *No city represents the nation or the world.* There is no Middletown. Disputing Michael Dear's claim that L.A. is "the city of the future," our more culturally relativistic perspective suggests instead: No one city is The Future.
4. In addition to production, *feature consumption*.
5. *Culturally strong neighborhoods remain separate from the workplace.* Chicago's remarkably rich neighborhoods differ from the European social democratic tradition, where workers would reside in homes built near their factories, and social life was more driven by production. Explore the implications of such work/home contexts as they transform scene dynamics.
6. *Multiple research methods* -- use in depth cases, oral history, ethnography, content analysis, archival history, voting, interviews of leaders, qualitative, quantitative, and more.
7. *Include the metro area.* Think not solely of a single metropolitan government, but look for cooperative, voluntary civic and intergovernmental patterns, some built from specific agreements among local governments and private contracting groups, others involving citizen values that lead them to prefer one location over another.
8. Connect *global* changes in many urban dynamics with *local* interpretations of those changes. Theorizing more precisely about multiple levels of socio-economic processes -- from global to metro to zip code -- can lead to more precise operational models which methods like Hierarchical Linear Modeling can help assess and calibrate.

All of these require elaboration. The effort of this paper has been to show how the concept and reality of scenes provide a new, powerful tool to help do so. We have argued that the concept of scene gives meaningful social form to consumption, introduced a framework of scenes as combinations of three broad dimensions (legitimacy, theatricality, and authenticity), and shown data and methods that can calibrate these dimensions and their dynamics with widely existing data. Our concepts and our data can be fruitfully merged with other approaches to enhance the power of each. This scenes framework shows concretely how the American scenscape is rich and diverse, one best understand through analyzing specific regional, metro, and neighborhood variation in types and combinations of cultural amenities and values, rather than driven primarily by economics or fragmentation or universal self-realization. The above

examples offer the foundations for a new scenes-based paradigm for cultural policy and urban studies, one that puts “culture” into cultural policy.

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¹ See DiMaggio, 1982 for a class-based analysis of high art consumption in nineteenth-century Boston.

² Mayor James Norquist of Milwaukee, who started tearing down freeways in his city to promote street life (Norquist, 1998), is perhaps the most dramatic example of a public official seriously committed to recreating the vital street life praised by Jane Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961).

³ See Joas, 2004 for more on the importance of the concept of contingency for the diagnosis of the present age.

⁴ The concept of scene is not totally new. It has been used loosely by art and music critics for decades. It has been used to trace national theaters and other activities in modernization processes (Irwin, 1977; Blum, 2003); as niches for urban belonging in the metropolis that do not require nostalgia for the pre-modern village (Straw, 2002); or linked to "youth" as a specific phase of the life-course (Hitzler, 2005). While useful statements, these do not present scenes as an analytical tool for both comprehensive and specific analysis of cultural consumption.

⁵ Though, of course, some audiences enjoy going to punk concerts on Friday and Don Giovanni on Saturday -- this is not, however, because of some vague love of "the arts" or of the "consumptive life" but in part we suggest, since such individuals are comfortable moving across

multiple scenes, a trait associated with larger urban areas and high cultural differentiation, which in turn fosters the scene dimension of “urbanity,” as is elaborated in our related work.

⁶ In their original mission statement, Starbucks saw this more clearly than most social scientists, as they sought to “become a third place for people to congregate beyond work or the home.”

⁷ There is no doubt that the emergence of scenes as an increasingly important social formation generates new social strains, just as the differentiation of production and residence has and continues to do. Analysis of the interchanges and interpenetrations among scene, family, work, politics, and religion is an important subject of our further theoretical and empirical research.

⁸ From the perspective of work and class, the experiences in scenes are commonly interpreted as promoting or not the interests of different classes -- elite art for the elite class, mass art for the non-elite, both judged by how they block or support the dominating or emancipatory interests of classes, depending on where one stands (Bourdieu, 1984; Dimaggio, 1982 a). From the perspective of the residential neighborhood, the looser, more transient glue that holds a scene together seems to offer short-term commitment, shallow friendships, and anomie, unlike the warm ties of classic neighborhoods (Wirth, 2004; Sennett, 1998). From the scene perspective, the job one holds and place one lives are subordinated to the dreams one can imagine (Florida, 2002; Brooks, 2000; Clark, 2003).

⁹ This move is understandable, as the data to study such questions have often simply been unavailable or hard to acquire. This is hardly surprising, given that the cultural sector has traditionally been subdivided: those interested in opera or ballet have not considered restaurants or bookstores, while others exploring football or country music have ignored museums and jazz clubs. Omitting these associated key elements of a scene, however, has meant that past estimates of how amenities have an impact on urban development have been misspecified, statistically

biased by omission of key variables. We thus propose adding combinations of these interrelated amenities to assess their joint impacts.

¹⁰ This example demonstrates how a single indicator can be linked with different sub-dimensions: Michael Jordan could easily support both a sense of *local authenticity* and *charismatic legitimacy*. For Chicagoans, Jordan's Bulls affirmed a shared civic identity in a way that outsiders can appreciate but not actualize. At the same time, basketball fans from anywhere could take pleasure in standing in awe of Jordan's unique, non-repeatable aura -- their amazement legitimated by the value of charisma. The Chicago basketball scene supports both, and part of the exciting tension that defines the scene involves learning to maneuver among these complementary and competing elements.

¹¹ This model is admittedly static, as we choose to begin with structure before incorporating change into the theory. Clearly, further empirical and theoretical research into the temporal structure of scenes is necessary. Blum (2003) offers some initial insights into how some scenes incorporate a sense of their own temporality, but a full theory must account for differences in how scenes organize the experience of time, from the "structural nostalgia" (Lloyd, 2006) of Bohemia to the progressivism of environmental scenes to the perpetual moment embodied in some beach scenes and beyond.

¹² A more detailed discussion of all 15 dimensions is available upon request, and at www.fau.org.

¹³ Scenes may indeed include other important dimensions; these are not meant to be exhaustive or deductively complete. But their analytic power is evidenced in practice below by the empirical window they open onto recognizable patterns of cultural consumption. We draw on international

theorists and examples to make explicit cross-national variations, but mainly use U.S. quantitative data due to accessibility.

¹⁴ We have elsewhere identified 12 ideal-typical scenes like Disney Heaven, Bobo's Paradise, Black is Beautiful, that variously combine the 15 sub-dimensions. See www.fau.org.

¹⁵ The coding process required many details and fine judgments reported elsewhere; see <http://home.uchicago.edu/~hotzet/tutorial>.

¹⁷ This operational option does not preclude the possibility of applying the same framework to non-physical amenities like "cultural events": regular annual celebrations, festival, fairs, bike rallies....

¹⁷ In comparative analysis it is critical to define the "theoretical unit" to be compared, because the result should make reference to this unit, not to the unit used to observe or/and measure the analytical properties intended to be studied (cf. Przeworski and Teune on "levels of analysis" vs. "level of observation" (1970: 49-50)). In cross-national or cross-city analysis, the analyst has to transcend names of the city or country and interpret the analytical meaning they represent (Przeworski, 1987). Our grammar of scenes follows a similar logic.

¹⁸ Although different observational units have to be used, the researcher should guarantee the "functional equivalence" of indicators and indexes used in comparisons, that is they should measure the same phenomenon (Van Deth, 1998). Of course no two amenities, like restaurants, are ever identical. Here, the flexibility recommendation by Kaple et al. (1996) about databases on arts organizations is helpful, paying attention to different organizational missions.

¹⁹ We have combined data from the UDAO database of the Urban Institute, online Yellow Pages, the Census of Economic Activity, and dozens more. Details on amenities included here can be

found at www.fau.org. In selecting these we were sensitive to considerations of feasibility and cost-efficiency as in (Kaple et al. (1996).

²⁰According to Webber (1990: 18-19) construct-validity could be shown by "convergent validity" (correlation with other measures of the same concept -- construct) or by "divergent validity" (not too high correlations with measures of other concepts).

²¹ Webber also indicates other forms of validity: "predictive validity" (forecasts about events external to the study correspond to actual events) and "semantic validity" (persons familiar with the languages and text examine the units' place in the same category and agree they belong together) (Webber, 1990: 18-22).

²² See Grana and Grana (1990) for a collection of classic essays on Bohemia.

²³ Operationally, we subtract the distance of each zip code on each of the 15 dimensions from the Bohemian "bliss point" defined in Table 6. We then aggregate these 15 distances and take the reciprocal score.

²⁴ Though change in income and change in 25-34 year olds are significant at the .01 level, and change in 18-24 year olds is significant at the .05 level (all negative).

²⁵ Lloyd cites the complete verse: "In murky corners of old cities where/everything – horror too – is magical,/ I study, servile to my moods, the odd/and charming refuse of humanity."

²⁶ A paper called "The Grey Creative Class: Why it is Critical for Cities and Culture," is in draft, and is available from the authors on request.

²⁷ It also may be worth noting that, while in N.Y. and L.A., youth and education tend to point in the same direction (both groups tend to rise in relation to the same dimensions), in Chicago the two often point in different directions (educated are rising in Chicago's glamorous scenes, but youth are declining).

TABLES

Table # 1: Scenes as cultural settings

Meaning (value orientations) (quality)	Expressed through cultural consumption	Scenes stress a specific cluster of meanings and experiences that make sense out of an individual's cultural consumption. They are based on value orientations that specify appropriate acts of cultural consumption.
Structured (contextuality)	Embeddedness	Scenes establish some relations of attraction, repulsion or complementariness among different combinations of meanings and value orientations.
Situated (contextuality)	Space and time	Scenes are places, moments, events... that delineate, in space and time, opportunities for specific acts of cultural consumption , that is, opportunities to feel experiences.

Table 2 contrasts the scene with neighborhood and industrial/commercial areas

Space	Scene	Neighborhood	Industrial/Commercial areas
Goal	Experiences	Necessities	Works, products
Agent	Consumer	Resident	Producer
Physical Units	Amenities	Homes/Apartments	Firms
Basis of social bond	Ideals	Being born and raised nearby, long local residence, ethnicity, heritage	Work / production relations
Normative Pattern	Symbolic-Expressive	Ascriptive-Particularistic	Achievement-Universalistic

Table 3: Three Dimensions of Scenes. Provides an overview of how dimensions define varying conceptions of w

Dimension	Aim	Activity
Legitimacy	Right Intention, Good Will (e.g. believing that equality is good)	Submission to/prohibitions (e.g. tradition)
Theatricality	Beautiful Performance (e.g. shining in the hottest clothes of the season)	Being seen to fit (e.g. putting on a bar)
Authenticity	Being Rooted (e.g. feeling like a Real American)	Realization of a Eastern European ethnicity by pla

Table 4: Sub-Dimensions of Scenes

Theatricality	Authenticity	Legitimacy
Transgressive	Local	Traditionalistic
Neighborly	Ethic	Self-Expressive
Glamorous	National-State	Charismatic
Exhibitionistic	Corporate	Egalitarian
Formal	Rational	Utilitarian

Table 5 lays out the overall analytic movement that connects the concept of scene to a system of social action (shared consumption) to value dimensions orienting that system to their sub-dimensions and back to determinate scenes.

Concept	Action System	Aims of action	Substance of action	Value Orientations	
				Dimensions	Sub-dimensions
SCENE	CULTURAL CONSUMPTION	Feeling right	Intentions, wills	LEGITIMACY	<u>Tradition</u>
					Self-expression
					<u>Charisma</u>
		Feeling Beautiful	Behavior, manners	THEATRICALITY	<u>Utilitarian</u>
					<u>Egalitarian</u>
					<u>Neighborliness</u>
		Feeling real	Identity	AUTHENTICITY	Transgression
					Exhibition
					Glamor
					Formal
					Local
					Ethnic
					State
					Corporate
					Rational

Table 6: Ideal-Typical Bohemia

Traditionalistic	Self-Expressive	Utilitarian	Charismatic	Egalitarian	Neighborly	Formal	Glamorous	Exhibitionistic	Transgressive	Local	Ethnic	State	Corporate	Rational
2	5	1	4	2	2	3	3	4	5	4	4	2	1	2

a) Note to Table 6: 1 is negative, 3 is neutral, and 5 is positive

Table 7: Bohemia as Dependant Variable: National Regression Results

Independent Variables	Standardized Coefficients Beta
% 18-24 year old (1990)	-0.003 (-0.292)
Change in % 18-24 (2000/90)	-0.018* (-2.155)
% 25-34 year old (1990)	-0.035* (-2.307)
Change in % 25-34 year old (2000/90)	-0.027** (-2.647)
% Non-White (1990)	-0.086*** (-10.139)
Change in % Non-White (2000/90)	-0.001 (-0.155)
% Baby Boomers (1990)	0.021 (1.212)
Change in % Baby Boomers (2000/90)	0 (0.001)
% Retiree (1990)	0.046*** (3.766)
Change in % retiree (2000/90)	0.016 (1.594)
Total Population in 1990	0.209*** (24.982)
Population change 2000/1990, logged	0.061*** (8.571)
Vote cast for president, % democratic 1992	-0.006 (-0.717)
Crime rate (1998)	0.027*** (3.422)
% College graduate (1990)	0.009 (0.597)
Change in % college graduate (2000/1990)	0.036*** (4.397)
% graduate/profession degree (1990)	-0.061** (-2.826)
Difference in % Prof/Grad degree 2000/1990	0.023 (1.467)
Per capita income (1990)	0.064*** 4.636
Change in per capita income (2000/90)	-0.022** (-2.738)

a t statistics are reported in parentheses

b * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, and *** $p < .001$ (tests are two-tailed)

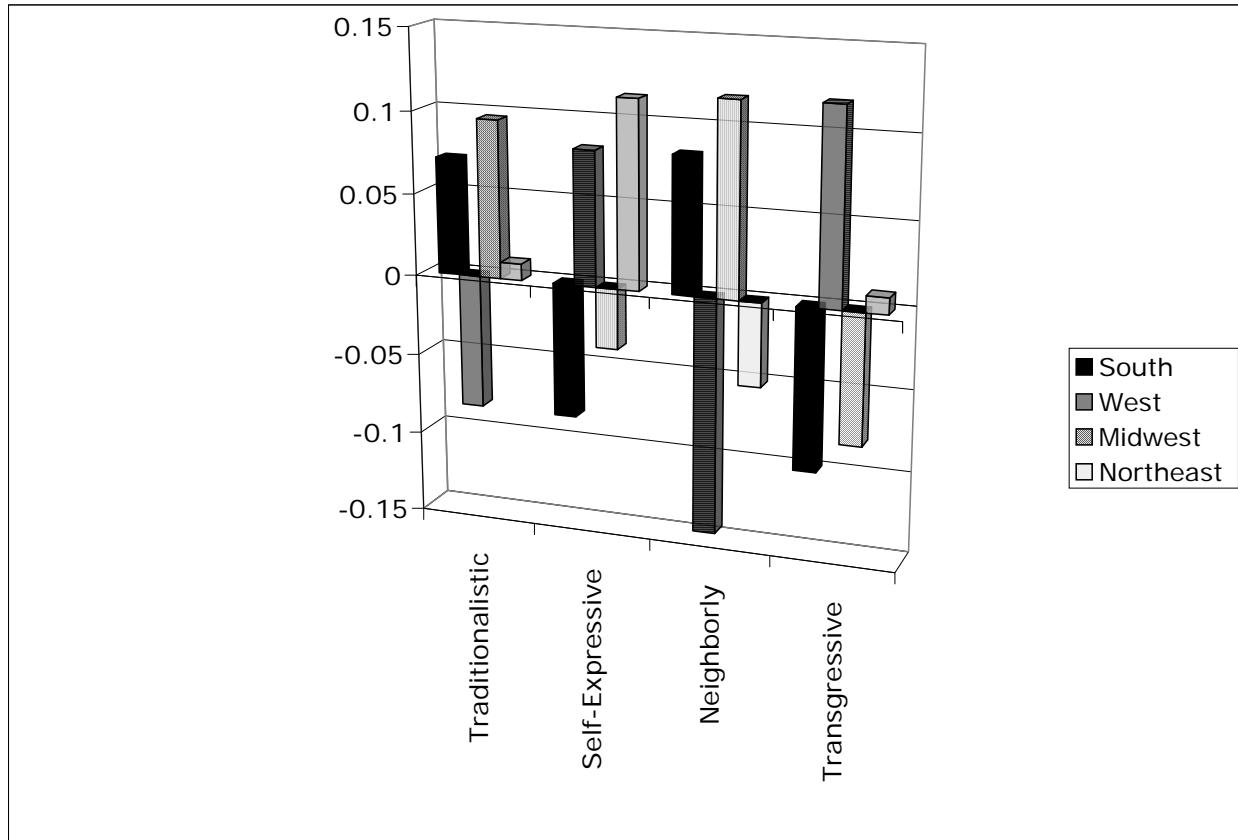
c Dependent Variable: Bohemian Index

d Adj R2: .053

For the regression model, we included both level and change measures for a number of standard variables in the literature. Including so many independent variables raises the possibility of statistical bias generated by multi-collinearity. We omitted any variables with intercorrelations (Pearson r 's) over .5 and then substituted the omitted variables in alternative specifications to look for consistent results. We applied log transformations to a few skewed variables like population size. Some variables still show high kurtosis scores, mainly generated, it seems, by a higher concentration of amenities in metropolitan areas. This is compounded by the fact that the U.S. Census omits many zip codes due to confidentiality concerns. We are currently conducting further statistical analyses to determine the extent to which these distributional biases affect results.

FIGURES

Figure #1: Regional Variation in Scenes



These are simple correlations, Pearson r 's, of dummy variables of the four major US regions with the 15 sub-dimensions. Each zip code is assigned 1 if it is within the region, and 0 if it is not.

Figure 2 (a): Urban Variation in Scenes

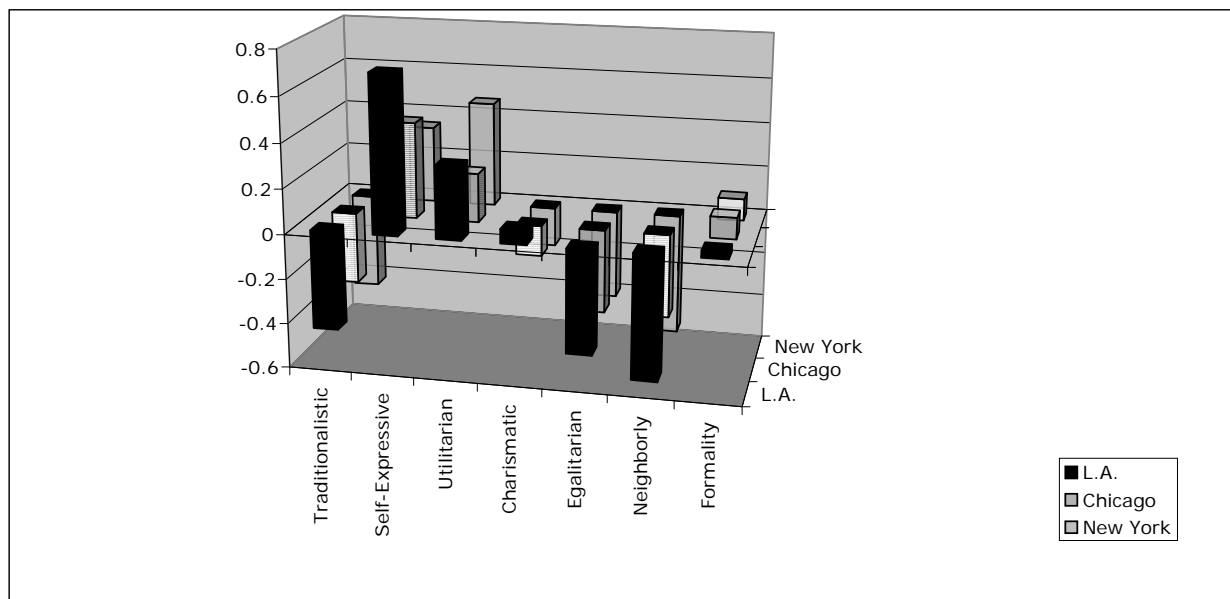
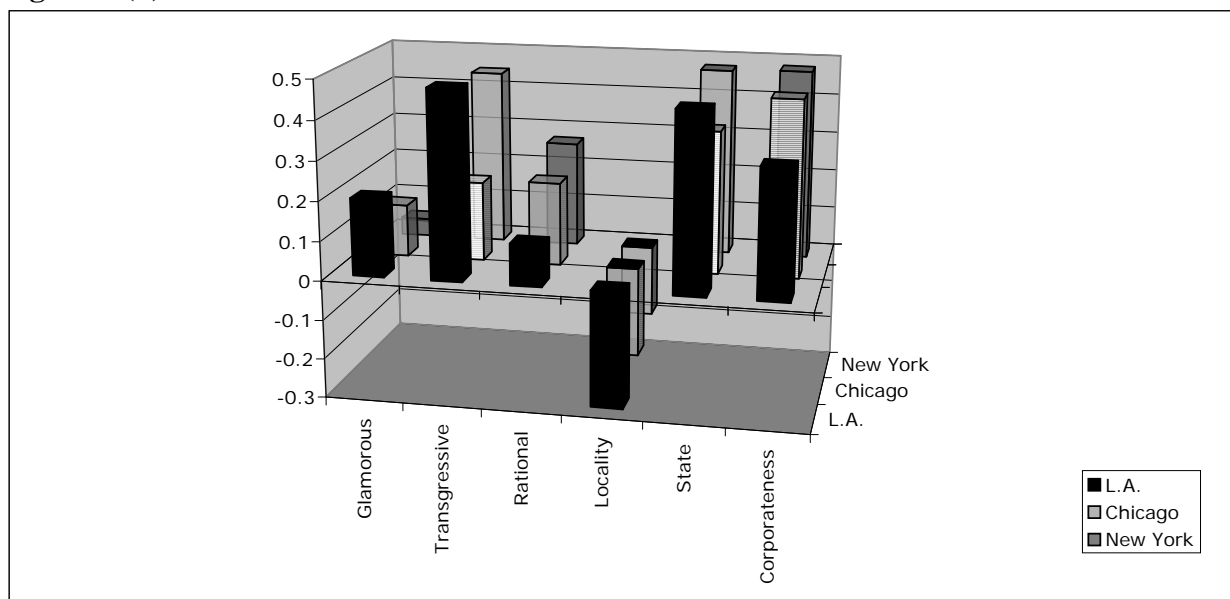


Figure 2 (b): Urban Variation in Scenes



These are z-scores means of performance scores (like Traditionalistic) of all zip codes within each of the county areas overlapping these three cities: Los Angeles County, Cook County, and the five county boroughs of New York.

Figure 3: Correlations with Charismatic Legitimacy in N.Y., Chicago, and L.A.

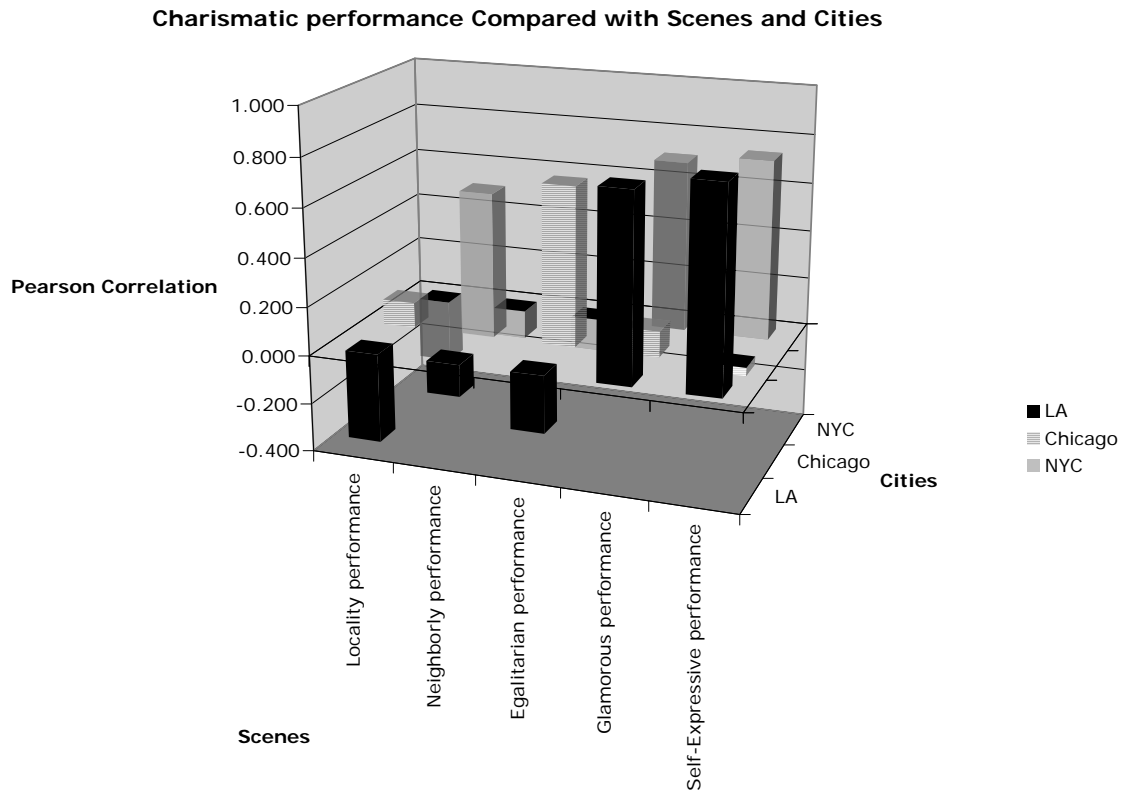


Figure 4: Correlations of selected dimensions with Self-Expressive Individualism in N.Y., Chicago, and L.A.

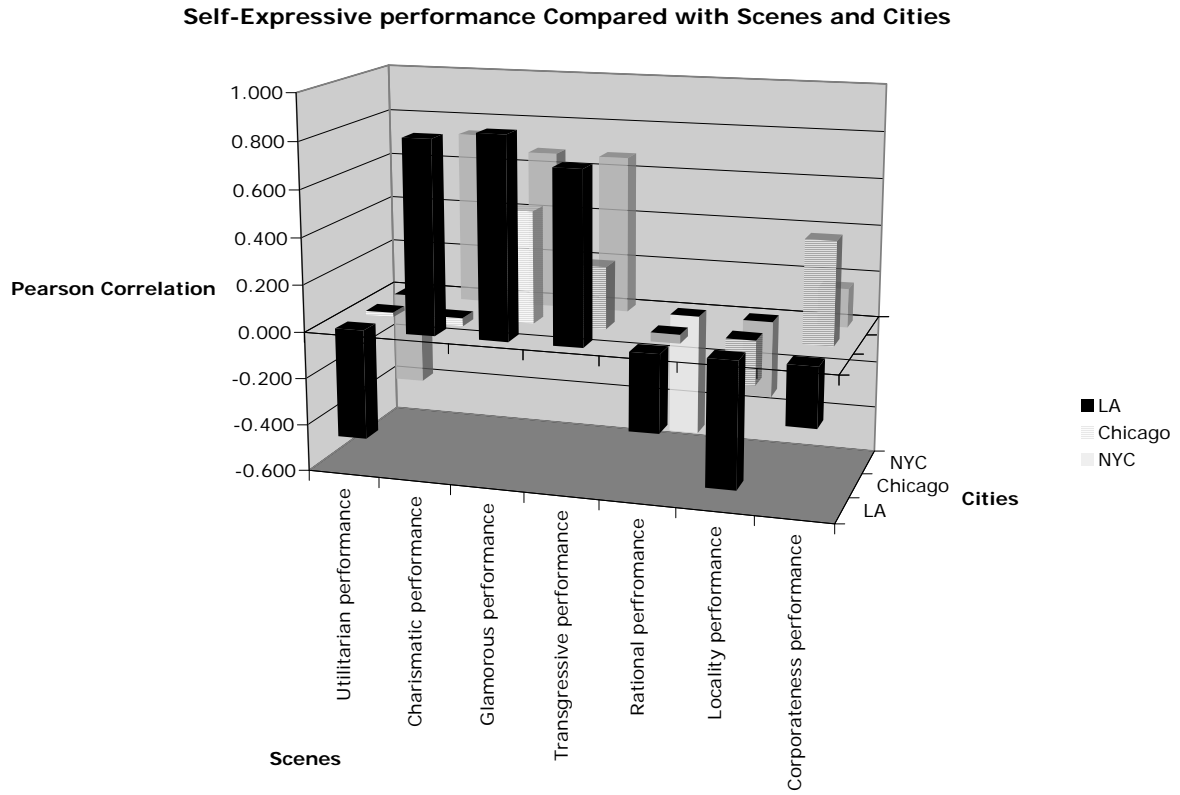


Figure 5: College Grads Increasing in Chicago Bohemias more than in L.A., not in NY

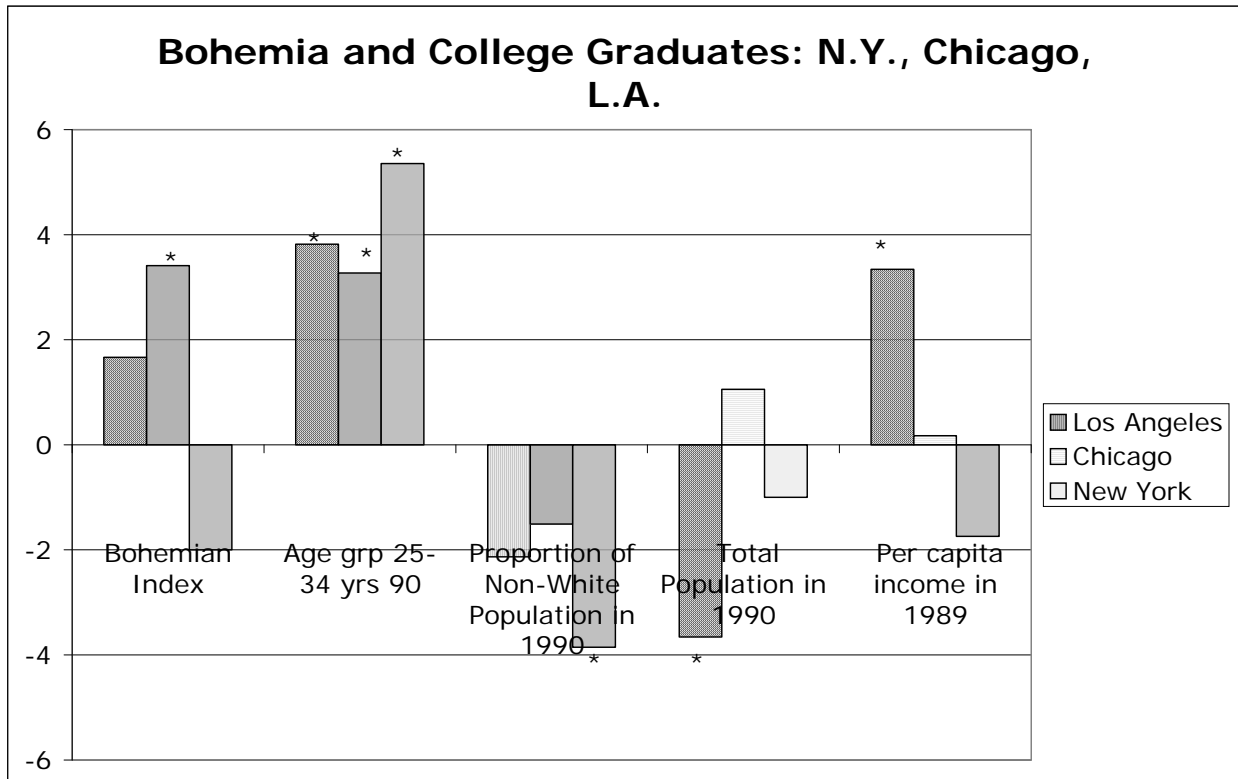


Figure 5 summarizes regression results within New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Change in college graduate share of the population is the dependent variable and the Bohemian Index, 25-34 yr old population, non-white population, total population, and per capita income are independent variables. The beta coefficient appears as the height of each bar; starred variables are significant at the .05 level.

Because the N of zipcodes is much smaller in these city-level regressions, we reduced the number of independent variables from the model in Table 7. Despite stronger intercorrelations among the city-level independent variables than in the national model, results stay generally similar. Namely, bohemia is significant within Chicago but not in L.A. and N.Y. It is also important to note that the adjusted R2's are higher in the L.A. (.27) and N.Y (.24) models than in the Chicago model (.07), again illustrating Chicago's distinctive urban dynamics