Cultural Development in Creative Communities

Bill Bulick with Carol Coletta, Colin Jackson, Andrew Taylor, and Steven Wolff

Introduction

The spectacular success of Richard Florida's book, The Rise of the Creative Class, has yielded a tremendous opportunity for the cultural sector. Civic leaders around the country are rushing to develop new economic development strategies to build creative capital, and many are taking a fresh look at how cultural development contributes to authentic, vibrant, creative—and economically successful—communities. The buzz is understandable, given the allure of high-tech enterprise and the troubled state of the economy.

Richard Florida was a keynote speaker at the 2003 Americans for the Arts annual convention in Portland—rising star among the so-dubbed creative cities. Several cultural leaders, including the authors of this Monograph, also attended Florida’s Memphis Summit this May and worked with him to develop the Memphis Manifesto. We are collaborating on this Monograph in order to both reflect and stimulate thinking about this topic. More research and analysis, in addition to trial projects, are urgently needed.

The real opportunity is for the cultural community, itself, to claim leadership in fleshing out strategies to develop creative capital for our communities.

We want to begin by stressing one of the most important themes of the new thinking about creative cities: authenticity. It is apparent that successful cities, large and small, have become so by identifying and strengthening the very characteristics that distinguish them from other places. Specific strategies and examples from communities will be cited in this Monograph, but we warn against a cookie cutter approach. Each community must find its own unique path to vibrancy and success.
Creative capital—new ideas and innovations, new designs, new ways of working and playing—is the fuel for the 21st century economic engine. Talented individuals in the broadly defined creative industries, Florida’s creative class, will be the key factor in creating and sustaining globally competitive enterprises—not the availability of raw materials or access to markets, as was formerly the case. Traditional regional economic development strategies—making land available, building infrastructure, and offering tax incentives to attract corporations and their jobs—must be supplanted or augmented by new strategies to attract and retain talented individuals and their creative enterprise.2

Florida says it is the quality of place, the presence of jobs, and the lifestyle options available which are attracting the creative class to certain cities such as San Francisco, Boston, Chicago, and Austin, and enabling them to develop flourishing, dynamic economies.

Florida cites three “T”s as factors in attracting creative talent to a region:

- **Talent**: Creative talent wants to be where other smart, creative people are, in a thick labor market with lots of opportunities and lots of interesting ways to interact with other talented people.

- **Technology**: Cities should have an already high capacity for technological innovation and the presence of major research universities from which knowledge can be translated into enterprise via the availability of venture capital.

- **Tolerance**: Talent is attracted to places that are cosmopolitan, inclusive, open minded, and culturally creative. Florida uses three indices—“bohemian,” gay, and “foreign born”—to calibrate community tolerance.

Other economic development theorists’ work also stresses the qualities of place that confer regional advantage in attracting talent. Mary Jo Waits and Joe Cortright are two who presented their research at the Memphis Summit.

Mary Joe Waits3 identifies a mix of inherited and created features that make regions attractive. Inherited features include climate, the natural environment, and population. Created features include open space, unique urban amenities, vibrant street life, live music venues, top-notch entertainment and restaurants, accessible airports, and research universities. It is clear that cities now have the opportunity to build their own futures with smart investments in these created features.

Research by economist Joe Cortright indicates that regions exhibit distinctive behaviors that can influence the patterns and extent of economic activity.4 He asserts that there is economic opportunity in difference—and with the proliferation of national and international chains and brands, our communities are suffering from a dearth of difference. Cortright’s ongoing research suggests that the 25 to 34-year old population is only increasing in a small number of cities. Some of the cities gaining most are those with a distinctive vibe such as Austin and Portland.

The history of community cultural development is rich with linkages between the arts and place making, economic development, and community building.5 Notable examples include:

- **Cultural District Development**: Numerous cities, from Tucson to Pittsburgh, have invested heavily in cultural facilities, infrastructure,
signage, and marketing to develop vibrant districts as powerful economic engines for their communities.

- **Economic Impact Studies.** From early studies citing a “multiplier” effect in spending associated with attendance at cultural events to the much more sophisticated “input/output” studies that track spending, jobs, and tax receipts, this linkage has proven to be a powerful advocacy and partnership building tool. It is now widely accepted that corporate and employee location decisions are significantly influenced by the strength of the local cultural sector. Recent research (see bibliography) points towards the need for more nuanced and systemic approaches to tracking the impact of the arts.

- **Economics of Amenity and Livability.** Over 25 years of work under these banners has yielded a long list of economic development and community building strategies encompassing cultural planning, urban design, cultural districts, cultural tourism, etc.

Several recent studies and initiatives in the community cultural development field have further underscored the interconnections between culture and vital, creative, successful cities.

- **The Great Cities Simulator,** developed by Cultural Initiatives Silicon Valley uses the software tools of the high-tech sector to underscore the two-way linkages between cultural strategies and business and technological innovation, workforce development, overall community vitality, and other factors.

- **The Informal Arts: Finding cohesion, capacity and other cultural benefits in unexpected places** is one of many recent studies (see bibliography) demonstrating how the presence of and participation in cultural activity help to build social and civic capital in neighborhoods.

- **The Artistic Dividend: The Arts’ Hidden Contributions to Regional Development** moves beyond traditional economic impact models that focus on cultural spending to explore additional synergies between cultural activity and regional economic performance.

**Portland, Oregon: A Case Study**

Portland ranked very high on many of the “creativity” indices cited by Florida, and 16th overall, and is rapidly gaining ground. It is now in the top ten cities nationally, and first among its West Coast neighbors, in attracting young adults. As such it provides a compelling case study of the factors—including a burgeoning cultural scene—which interweave in communities that are attracting talent and building creative economies. The following descriptions are based on observations, interviews, and conversations with cultural and community leaders.

First, the cultural attributes that contribute to Portland’s distinctiveness and vibrancy:

- **Variety.** Portland has developed a larger and more diverse mix of cultural organizations, artists, and cultural projects than any like-size city and many much larger ones. There is an especially large number of mid-sized and smaller organizations—several dozen—encompassing gritty, avant garde theatre, film, video and new media, new music, contemporary dance, performance art, poetry slams, chamber music, etc. Many are barely clawing out an existence and need more support but they add enormous range, interest, and quality to the cultural scene.

- **Diversity.** The large number of established and visible ethnic organizations belies Portland’s “white bread” image and helps to presage and celebrate the demographic changes that are rapidly reshaping the city—and its tolerance for differences.

- **Live.** The music scene is robust and diverse. On any night of the week, dozens of clubs offer top quality local and touring talent spanning every musical genre. Two monthly gallery walks overflow into surrounding sidewalks throughout the city. Live music and festivals are featured every weekend during the summer in the city’s two large parks as well as neighborhood and regional parks.
• **Contemporary.** Dozens of artists of all disciplines are making and eagerly presenting art. And audiences are eager for the new and novel.

• **Ubiquitous.** Portland’s public art program—one of the earliest, largest, and most innovative—has, literally, changed the face of the built environment and provided enormous opportunities for artists. It can be seen throughout the city.

• **Still Growing.** From just a few “mainstays” in the early 1990s to more than 50 and counting, the gallery scene has exploded, offering a diverse range of opportunities for individual artists to exhibit and engage the public with new work. The number of arts organizations and artists has continued to increase dramatically, even during the economic downturn.14

Looking more deeply, there are defining characteristics of Portland’s cultural scene that make it particularly attractive to creatives and which illustrate approaches that other cities may wish to consider. These emblematic features have to do with boundary crossing, definitions of culture, and the promotion of inter-connections.

• Numerous organizations promote multidiscipline or cross discipline artistic expression—fomenting collaborations and new ways of thinking—and marketing geared to attracting younger audiences. This is occurring across the cultural spectrum from the Oregon Symphony’s multi-discipline Nerve Ending concerts to the Portland Institute for Contemporary Arts’ stunning new international TBA Festival, to small “guerilla” organizations taking over huge industrial warehouses for genre-breaking exhibitions, installations, and performance art, to a new design festival, PDX DNA.

• Informal arts activities thrive: temporary public art installations, gallery walks, street festivals (including a growing network of farmers markets which integrate performance and impromptu exhibits), and many arts spaces that sponsor project based collaborations.

• There is a blur between nonprofit and commercial creative industries and this creates many opportunities. Encouraged by long standing public policy and practices, architectural firms routinely utilize artists on their design teams. Other creative service industries such as design firms, film companies, and advertising agencies regularly tap artists, actors, and musicians for creative input along the spectrum from product development to marketing. It is not a coincidence that many nonprofit arts organizations have also included examples of industrial design in exhibitions.

• Many creative service industry professionals lead double lives as creatives on both sides of the commercial/nonprofit boundary: a world-class software engineer who dances in a contemporary dance troupe; an advertising copywriter who also writes and performs for a contemporary theatre company; or a leading marketing consultant who composes and performs new music. Portland is teeming with such examples.

• The imperative of creativity has yielded a climate in which individual artists are now routinely asked to be on civic planning task forces reaching far beyond culture to economic development, urban design, tourism, and other issues.

• This boundary crossing makes for culturally rich districts and neighborhoods where creative service companies exist side by side with artist studios, galleries, restaurants, nonprofit performance spaces, and night clubs—several have emerged, with and without formal support—over the last decade. Symbiotic relationships abound and contribute to a lively, ever changing street scene.

Creatives eschew boundaries. They want multiple opportunities and entry points across the spectrum of the creative sector—lots of ways to be involved and interact with other creatives in seeking expressive outlets and interesting experiences. Portland offers ample opportunity.
politics, community development, planning, and in the cultural scene. Access and participation are easy and welcomed. Coffee houses and cafes—the meeting places of creatives—are ubiquitous. New organizations, coalitions, and movements—from political action committees to environmental coalitions, social justice organizations, and cultural entities—are constantly springing up.

There is much that may be learned from Portland's experience, which includes examples of long-standing cultural development practices as well as new ones addressing the imperatives of the creative economy. One overarching lesson is that Portland's success was not built overnight. It has taken at least 25 years for the combination of inherited and created features to “gel” as a vibrant welcome mat for the “creative class.” This is long term, day in and day out work.

Our research, experience, and dialogue suggest the following cultural development and planning strategies that we offer as “food for thought” as communities chart their creative futures. We stress again that each community must build from its own unique characteristics and circumstances.

Creative Policy, Leadership, and Planning

- The current climate suggests a very broad definition of culture that encompasses and seeks to build bridges among the nonprofit arts, commercial creative industries, the “high” and “low” arts, formal institutions, informal cultural activity, history, heritage, and other sectors. Specific initiatives may bridge between two or more partners. Broader community cultural planning should include leaders from all of these sectors. Community asset mapping must encompass this breadth in order to ferret out nodes and catalysts of cultural vibrancy, synergy, and impact.
Local cultural leaders have worked hard over the last two decades to bring the arts and culture to community planning and goal setting tables. Creative city thinking yields an opportunity to take the lead in convening community leaders to discuss linkages among culture, economic development, and other community building initiatives. This is an opportunity to involve emerging leaders—especially visionary, out of the box thinkers—and build their stake and impact in the community.

Involve artists and other creatives in civic decision-making by placing them in leadership positions on a wide variety of civic advisory commissions and boards.

Support Creativity

- Develop funding for project-based creative work of individuals and informal groups that work beyond the territory of traditional nonprofit corporations. “Open source” software is the analogy: creatives wish to develop new structures and identity as well as new content.
- Provide funding to support artists’ entrepreneurial activities, including collaborations with commercial creative enterprises and efforts to “export” their work.
- Support projects which build on unique and diverse community attributes and promote community engagement such as:
  - Artists-in-residence in the community;
  - Projects which document community history and culture such as story/oral history projects and visual chronicles;
  - Showcases of local crafts, folk, traditional, and ethnic arts;
  - Temporary, community-based public art projects;
  - Recording and marketing of local music and other cultural expression; and
  - Arts and civic dialogue projects.
- Explore new funding mechanisms such as the social venture capital model, which promotes investment of human as well as financial resources behind creative enterprises, and thus builds multi-dimensional capacity.

A creative city must offer a mix of employment opportunities for artists and other creatives, who often sustain their livelihood from multiple sources including the typical creative outlets as well as teaching, fellowships, commissions, and consulting gigs.

Creative Connections

- Spur interconnections between the nonprofit and commercial arts. Sponsor forums to connect artists of different disciplines and with other sectors such as web and product design, media, advertising, etc. Create bridges between the formal and informal arts, large institutions and smaller organizations, and projects.
- Form and/or support creative networks that enable the exchange of information and ideas, training in business practices and marketing, access to capital, and interconnections between commercial and nonprofit enterprise. These may also address a critical need—umbrella organizations or collaboratives that can provide access to adequate, affordable health insurance and care.
- Promote international and inter-community exchanges to stimulate creative thinking and build the cultural import/export economy.
- Integrate institutions of higher learning and their arts programs and other departments into the broader community cultural ecosystem.
- Support alternative publications, web-based resources, e-zines, listservs, etc., which connect people and spur collaboration, participation, and information sharing. Web and media strategies can also be used during cultural planning to leverage dialogue out into the community as never before.
- A new economic/marketing model for selling tickets and engaging consumers in the arts is needed as buying patterns shift away from traditional subscription series and static programs. Evidence suggests that the arts are competing with an increasingly broader array of “experiences” and a more spontaneous ticket buyer. New strategies will include encouraging small social groups, facilitating access to information and easing ticket purchase, expanding the notion of what a single cultural event is (to include the entire...
experience), and recognizing that programming and program delivery need to respond to changes in the consumer marketplace.

Creative Places

- Promote the adaptive reuse of buildings to house creative enterprises from the arts to advertising so that performance spaces, offices, galleries, studios, live/work spaces, cafes, incubators for cultural organizations, and start-up ventures can co-exist and cross pollinate.

- Major cultural facilities must also be re-thought—and, in some cases, rebuilt. They can either be forbidding monoliths or vibrant civic spaces that contribute to a sense of place. Programming as well as architecture can “turn them inside out,” connect them to their neighborhoods, and welcome the public in.

- Develop districts and neighborhoods—Cultural Empowerment Zones—as creative service/cultural/entertainment magnets and breeding grounds for collaboration. Mechanisms and incentives should be developed to enable artists and other creatives to build sweat equity. They are often priced out of such districts as property values rise.

- Create design and development guidelines and incentives which spur creativity and which leverage the distinctive features of neighborhoods and communities. Encourage design processes that explore new solutions to the economics of development and accommodate mixed uses that include the arts and artists.

- Take it to the streets! Use urban spaces in new and different ways, such as closing streets for fairs, festivals, and farmers markets. Festivals can reflect a diversity of people and thought that makes your community unique and interesting—from youth culture to ethnic to fringe.

- Cultural crossovers add vibrancy. For example, food culture is critical to a city’s vitality—a diverse and sophisticated mix of restaurants is a calling card for tourists and people considering moving there. Restaurants and cafes are also important partners in cultural activity from festivals to benefits and, of course, as meeting places for creative exchange.

Build Creativity

- Communities can and must grow their own creatives by investing in opportunities—formal and informal, in school and afterschool—for youth to learn, grow, and create. Communities must also give youth a reason to stay by promoting creative industries and career ladders for young people, such as internships, job shadows, and training opportunities.

- In-school arts education must be preserved and strengthened both to grow the next generation of creatives and to build strong schools that will attract and retain creatives’ families now. Magnet schools can make magnet neighborhoods!

- Create opportunities for lifelong learning and participation in the arts and culture. Keep your community creative by providing multiple access points and inspiration to creatives of all ages.

Cultural leaders cannot and should not work on all of these fronts at once, but should focus efforts on tipping point opportunities to move the creative community agenda forward with vigorous leadership and collaborations—especially with economic development agencies and business groups.

Richard Florida’s over-riding message is that cities must be talent magnets to succeed in today’s knowledge economy. To succeed, they must attract and retain young mobile professionals who make up the knowledge workforce. The U.S. Census Bureau’s 2000 Current Population Survey shows that in 1999, 34 percent of 20 to 29-year-olds and 22 percent of 30 to 34-year-olds moved, making these demographics the most mobile in our society. Yet, few civic or cultural decision-makers focus on the needs and interests of this age group.

A new style of civic organization has emerged in cities across the country formed by young creatives and professionals to make their cities more appealing to people like themselves. They go by many names—Flux (Pittsburgh), M pact (Memphis), Young Professionals (many cities), Metropolis (St. Louis)—but they are pursuing common agendas to change their cities into more dynamic, creative places with new plans,
new projects, new partnerships, and new promotion. There is a tremendous opportunity for the cultural sector to co-found and/or work with such organizations to “brand” their community as a haven for creatives.

The cultural planning processes that we have employed must, themselves, evolve to become more inclusive and truly creative. Visionary thinking is needed and can be sparked by giving artists and other creatives lead, not token, roles in the process. Assets inventorying and needs assessment should encompass the broad range of cultural activity we have identified and focus in on elements which contribute to the distinctive local character of communities. Further research is needed on collaborations with commercial enterprise and the arts sector’s contribution to regional business recruitment, innovation, productivity, and output.

defining out existing institutions, audiences, and supporters.

Any community’s cultural ecosystem must have a range and diversity of activity and inspiration—from large arts organizations to street festivals, world-class artists to amateurs—for the arts, culture, and creativity to survive and thrive. Synergies abound on both the production and consumption sides of the equation, yielding the career paths, audience choices, and support systems that are needed for the whole system to thrive. It is the fine-grained texture of culture and the rich and varied tapestry of cultural activity that contribute to community vibrancy and identity. Support for a broad continuum of culture in our communities with a necessarily long-term and systemic approach flows easily from the logic of creative city thinking.

D
oes this new perspective imply a cultural revolution in which street festivals must displace symphonies as barometers of community vibrancy and success? Some have already noted a dark side to the positioning opportunity engendered by Florida’s book: conflicts among major institutions and cultural facilities, small arts organizations, individual artists, and the formal and informal arts as each vies for a piece of this new—or re-made—pie.

This struggle is not new to the cultural development field. Our definition of culture has steadily broadened as the field—including major institutions—has reached out to informal, participatory, neighborhood, and community-based arts to embrace them as vital components of a local cultural ecosystem. Audience research suggests that cultural consumers aren’t very interested in boundaries either, but freely graze as cultural omnivores among a range of choices from country music to opera, bead work to Cézanne, experimental film to the latest DVDs. As we broaden the definition of cultural activity there is no need—and, in fact, great harm—in

www.AmericansForTheArts.org
they may stay and continue to invest their talent and creativity. The arts have always been a pathway to further civic involvement because they create bridges to other critical community concerns from urban design and neighborhood revitalization to youth development, education, and the environment. Young creatives can be lured into existing civic organizations and will also create new organizations of their own, such as the ones mentioned above.

The work of Florida, Cortright, and others has focused tremendous attention on the 25 to 34-year old cohort, but they do not ignore the older creatives—nor should we. Indeed, the post 50 “boomer” generation not only helped to lay the foundations of our communities’ cultural sectors (and much else) but also will continue to provide a large proportion of audiences, funding, and creative energy for decades to come.

The opportunity for our field is to broaden our definitions of culture, maximize participation and engagement, develop a climate that encourages creativity among all citizens, and channel that creativity towards building—and sustaining—our communities. Here is a chance to forge ties that bind, among formerly disparate community interests and among generations.

We have noted a golden positioning opportunity—and numerous strategies—for cultural leaders to align with the creative economy movement sparked by Richard Florida and others. In addressing this opportunity, we bring together decades of community cultural development experience with the latest analysis of factors driving regional economic success. This represents an important extension of the arguments for the instrumental value of the arts that our field has developed over the last 25 years in response to shifting public opinion, societal values, and government policy. It may also yield an opportunity to bridge these instrumental arguments with a potent case for the intrinsic value of the arts. Unlike cultural tourism, economic multipliers, and other arguments for the value of the arts, this analysis also respects art and artists for their intrinsic worth. A city rich in art making and art sharing will be an attractive, adaptive, and competitive community positioned to prosper in the twenty first century.

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Steven A. Wolff, CMC, is the founding principal of AMS Planning & Research Corp. For more than 20 years, he has provided counsel to leading arts and entertainment enterprises in the planning and development of facilities, innovative institutional initiatives, and arts market and consumer research.
Bibliography


The Creative City: a plan of action, Cincinnati Tomorrow. www.cincinnatitomorrow.com


Social Impact of the Arts—findings from a number of related studies conducted by the University of Pennsylvania on the presence of cultural activity in neighborhoods, social cohesion, and revitalization in Philadelphia, Chicago, Atlanta, and San Francisco—are available at www.ssw.upenn.edu/SIAP.


Ellis, Adrian, Valuing Culture, background paper for the Valuing Culture conference hosted by Demos, AEA Consulting, the National Theatre, and the National Gallery in London, UK, June 17, 2003. www.demos.co.uk/media/vacupr_page269.aspx

Websites

The following sites feature ongoing dialogue and continually updated resources pertaining to the creative city/creative economy.


www.comedia.org.uk Comedia: creative thinking, cities and culture is a U.K. site founded by Charles Landry, renowned specialist in strategic policy development, the economics of innovation, and city futures.

www.creativeclass.org Richard Florida Creativity Group

www.creativetampabay.com Creative TampaBay was developed as an ongoing forum and resource by a grass roots movement to make Tampa Bay more attractive to creative workers.
Memphis Manifesto document, background on participants, links, etc.

A report and blueprint for investment from Creative Economy Initiative of New England, a partnership among business, cultural, government and education leaders, is available online.

www.memphismanifesto.com
www.nefa.org/projinit/createecon/index.html

Newtopia is a web-based magazine that examines how our politics and policies are reflected in our arts, government, and humanities, and features a regular column on the creative economy.

www.smartcityradio.com

Smart City is a syndicated public radio interview program hosted and produced by Manifesto Summit organizer Carol Coletta.

1 Full text and descriptions of the Summit process can be found at www.memphismanifesto.com.
3 Morrison Institute for Public Policy, an affiliate of Arizona State University, has conducted extensive economic development research. www.morrisoninstitute.org
5 The Americans for the Arts Winston-Salem Arts Convocation in 1999 gathered local arts leaders from around the country to reflect and report on the once and future role of local arts entities in community building. A summary report is available at www.AmericansForTheArts.org.
6 The recent study released by Americans for the Arts, Arts & Economic Prosperity: The Economic Impact of Nonprofit Arts Organizations and Their Audiences, is available at www.AmericansForTheArts.org.
7 Partners for Livable Communities has been a notable leader and can be reached at www.livable.com.
8 Cultural Initiative Silicon Valley, San Jose, CA; 408.283.7000; www.ci-sv.org
9 The study is available on the Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College website at http://artspolicy.colum.edu/Research%20Brief.pdf.
10 Markusen, Ann and David A. King, Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota. www.hhh.umn.edu/projects/prie/pub.htm
11 Cortright, Joe. Research not yet published.
12 A December 1, 2002, Oregonian article by Randy Gragg, “Destination PDX: A Youth Culture Convergence,” evokes the scene well. Conversations occurred with: Ethan Seltzer, director, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Portland State University; Kim Stafford, poet/author; Congressman Earl Blumenauer, founder, Congressional Livability Caucus; Ron Paul, cultural liaison, Portland Planning Bureau; Kristy Edmunds, founder, Portland Institute of Contemporary Art; and many others.
13 Recent analysis by George Thorn and Nello McDaniel for The Capital Initiative affirms the large number, variety, and quality of cultural organizations in comparison to other communities.
14 The number of applications for funding to the Regional Arts and Culture Council increased from 116 in 1990 to 316 in 2002, likely an accurate indicator for the growth of arts organizations but limited as a proxy for the explosion of informal and project based activities, which may or may not apply for public funding.
16 Searching for Portland’s soul, the young creative class, why they come, why they stay interviews conducted by leap strategies. www.leapstrategy.com
17 A recent study about classical music consumers noted “subscription marketing is a conundrum for orchestras and an increasingly dysfunctional marketing paradigm….” Over two thirds of subscribers are over 65 and less than ten percent of “uninitiated prospects” are likely to subscribe. Classical Music Consumer Segmentation Study: How Americans relate to classical music and their local orchestras, Audience Insight LLC, April 2003, ISBN 0-9740748-0-2. Funded by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation and developed by Audience Insight LLC, the research affiliate of AMS Planning & Research Corp..
19 The Knight Foundation study (see note 17) and others have exposed this phenomenon.
20 The Memphis Manifesto text can be found at www.memphismanifesto.com.
21 The growing sustainability movement—another hot topic for civic leaders—would seem our natural ally. Its grounding ecosystemic imperative to seek balance between the economy, environment, and social equity is complementary to the ethos of cultural development we are expounding and to Floridas creative economy thesis. Ethan Seltzer refers to the potential interconnection of the sustainability and creative cities movements in his paper, Competing for Talent, presented at the 2002 conference of the American Collegiate Schools of Planning in Baltimore, Maryland.