

Scenes and Consumption:

Social Contexts in an Age of Contingency

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Abstract

We propose adding the scene to the core repertoire of social science concepts, complementing class, race, gender, and others. Why? Scenes grow more important in a post-industrial society where traditional constraints fall and self-motivated action around consumption, leisure, and amenities are increasingly key drivers of much else. These processes have often been analyzed with an implicit psychologism. The scene framework extends concepts like neighborhood and place to specify 15 dimensions of legitimacy, theatricality, and authenticity. Scenes, like neighborhood and work, contextualize the individual; they reduce anomie, but are still consistent with an ethos of reflexivity and contingency—as they are independent of primordial attachment to social and family background. We introduce a new database to measure and analyze these 15 dimensions for each of some 40,000 US zip codes. To illustrate, bohemia is reframed as a distinct scene, and some features of its position in the broader social system are analyzed using this framework.

The Saliency of Scenes: Culture and Urban Attractiveness

Sociology and Culture. Since the 1970s many sociologists have played down cultural and individual action, stressing “structure” as constraining individual choice. Class domination, racial discrimination, gender and age hierarchies, and economic constraints have been systematically documented. These are important contributions.

Unfortunately, over time, they led to professional neglect of culture, leisure, consumption, amenities, and underlying these, individualistic choice dynamics. Such topics were 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 (Gyourko and XX

1990s), 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 (2007)** 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 has in the last decade increasingly stressed culture as attracting “high human capital individuals” whose innovations drive regional economic development (Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz 2001; Florida, 2002; Clark 2004; Markusen, Schrock and 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, 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 (Sacco and Blessi 2006). But these simple formulations raise many questions.

The 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 them to urban research, long before most other social scientists. But typically they did so by adding some gingival 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 hard, first because

“culture” is a diffuse concept. It includes the traditional “high arts” of opera, Shakespearean theater, and classical symphonies¹. 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 activities, farmers’ markets, bike paths, arts and crafts fairs²? 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 into theory, ideology, and policy allocation debates by political leaders, foundation officials, public intellectuals, and an urban populace increasingly divided along moral 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’ life-styles, 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, in terms of lifestyle and sensibility³. Scenes contextualize the contingent, 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 cultural policy. Below we detail a new concept of scene that can operationally locate, measure, and calibrate impacts of culture in urban contexts.

DAN_ why # TWO just below and no caps; does this fit ASR style? Where is #1? The headings / caps are inconsistent some are caps other not.

2. What is a scene?: The ‘situated’ character of urban culture: social consumption, culture and territory⁴

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, *Morality in an Age of Contingency*, for more on the importance of the concept of contingency.

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,

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), and (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, and 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 experiences⁵. 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 cultural consumption, (2) which are organized in specific forms according to relations of attraction, repulsion, or complementarity, and (3) are expressed in concrete places, events, and moments that are situated in specific spaces and times.

Table # 1 Scenes as cultural settings

Meaning (value	Expressed through cultural	Scenes stress a specific cluster of meanings and experiences that make sense out of an individual's
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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 (Hizler,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".

orientations) (quality)	consumption	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.

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 residence⁶. What matters are the CD's 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 (cf. Prospero DS to Emily: I think I provided at some point a Markusen paper to use instead). 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.

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

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."

Normative Pattern	Symbolic- Expressive	Ascriptive- Particularistic	Achievement- Universalistic
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It is of course possible to view social life from all three perspectives. Overlaps can generate considerable strains and productive tensions⁷, and advocates of one perspective often reduce the others to their own⁸. 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 make consumption into 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 a social practice. Thus, because scenes have not yet been analyzed as seriously as industrial areas or neighborhoods, before joining these three various levels, we first focus on scenes per se.

3. Recognizing Scenes: towards a systematic and comparative analysis of city 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, and employ them [“as” added to line 4 of Nietzsche note by tnc- hard to see]

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. If the older brother form the above example were, say, in an intellectual, Nietzsche-reading scene, he and his younger brother may clash, as the Nietzscheans could view wearing leather as an expression of their will to power. Such conflicts can certainly spill over into home life. But scenes also present opportunities: the older brother may recognize in his younger brother’s commitment to veganism as a form of discipline and commitment not evident in his school work. Scenes add another dimension to the typical, post-Parsonian contrast between achievement and ascriptive normative patterns.

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 City as Ent Machine is OK NOT SURE WHICH YEAR).

⁹ This move is understandable, as the data to study such questions have often simply been unavailable or hard to acquire. Therefore, until now, answers to questions about the role of the arts and culture in social life have been hard to come by, because, despite the lip-service paid to creative industries by urban development scholars, there has been very little empirically-based research focusing on how culture more broadly writ – encompassing both the non-profit and the for-profit arts, as well as entertainment, sports, and recreation -- contributes to urban development. Where researchers have turned to comparative, cross-urban data in studies of amenity impacts on urban development, they have done so in a piecemeal way (Glaeser on live performances, Markusen on artists). 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.

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 ~~they~~ 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 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, shaping 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 Jordan¹⁰.

Table #3: Three Dimensions of Scenes. This table provides an overview of how these dimensions define varying conceptions of what scenes aim for, what activities they promote, and what substances they shape.

Dimension	Aim	Activity	Substance (what is worked on, shaped)
Legitimacy	Right Intention, Good Will (e.g. believing that equality is good)	Submission to/Rejection of imperatives and prohibitions (e.g. accepting or rejecting tradition)	Will, intention to act (e.g.. beliefs held about the authority of tradition)
Theatricality	Beautiful Performance (e.g. shining in the hottest clothes of the season)	Being seen to fit into patterns of self-display (e.g. putting on leather when going to a biker bar)	behavior, manners (e.g. posture, bearing, distance, at a party)
Authenticity	Being Rooted (e.g. feeling like a Real)	Realization of an underlying reality	Identity (e.g.. primordial)

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.

	American)	(e.g. Eastern European Jews actualizing their ethnicity by playing Klezmer)	allegiance to nation, ethnicity, locality, etc.)
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Specifying these three broad dimensions of “scenicness” is already an important contribution. 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.

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 can provide the 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 others¹¹. For now we simply catalog the 15 in Table 4:

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

Each sub-dimension may be affirmed or denied by a scene. Examples: *resistance* to corporate authenticity or *destruction* of tradition gives certain scenes their meaning¹². The Appendix lists several examples.

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-

¹¹ A more detailed discussion of all 15 dimensions is available upon request, and at www.fau.org.

¹² 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 US quantitative data due to accessibility.

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.

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>
					<u>Utilitarian</u>
					<u>Egalitarian</u>
		Feeling Beautiful	Behavior, manners	THEATRICALITY	<u>Neighborliness</u>
					Transgression
					Exhibition
					Glamor
		Feeling real	Identity	AUTHENTICITY	<i>Local</i>
					Ethnic
					State
Corporate					
					Rational

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)¹³.

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

¹³ We have elsewhere identified 12 ideal-typical scenes like Disney Heaven, Bobo's Paradise, Black is Beautiful, that variously combine the 15 subdimensions. See www.fauj.org.

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 scale¹⁴, analyzing how they combine in distinct territories (neighborhood, city, MSA, region...), we capture distinct cultural experiences of separate territories¹⁵. [NUMBER is lost in the Notes.] 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'*¹⁶.

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)¹⁷.

¹⁴ The coding process required many details and fine judgments reported elsewhere; see

<http://home.uchicago.edu/~hotzet/tutorial>

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,

¹⁶ Doing comparative analysis 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. This is the crucial difference that Przeworski and Teune establish between *'levels of analysis'* and *'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. This makes explicit an important criterion for comparative analysis, even if different observational units are used: the researcher must identify the *'functional equivalence'* of indicators and indexes to make comparisons, that is, they must measure the same phenomena (Van Deth 1998). Scoring individual amenities on the 15-subdimensions creates a *'functional equivalence'* of scene components; hence they become conceptually comparable units for comparative analysis (across-cities, across-time, etc....)

¹⁷ 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

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 US Census which report restaurants by type. By using mainly US national data sources this maximizes coverage of potential amenities (varieties of types) and territories (minimal units, as zip codes), and limits definitional ambiguity¹⁸. 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 amenity 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.

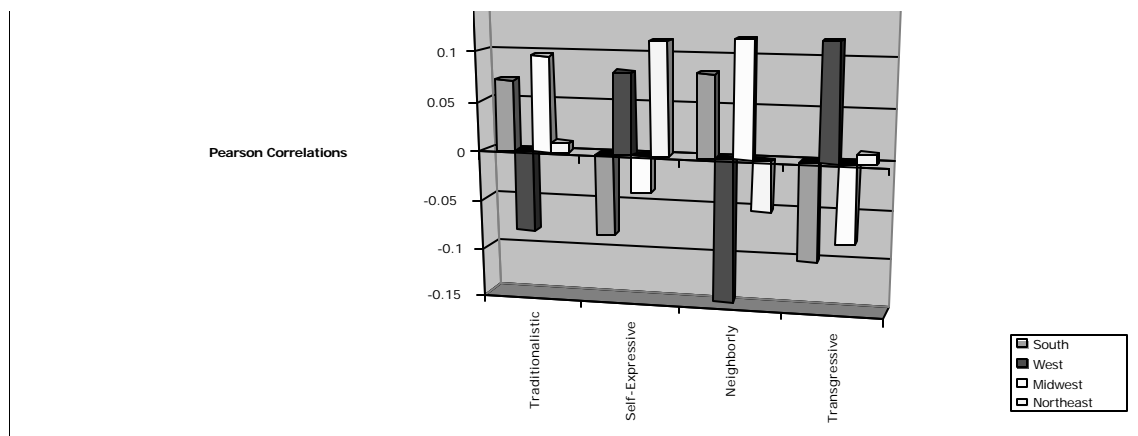
To compare scenes, we created a “performance index” for each territory by (1) multiplying the number of amenities of a given type in a zip code by that amenity-type’s score, and then summing the results for each of the 15 sub-dimensions. Each zip code receives a score for each sub-dimension indicating 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 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 scenescape emerges from these profiles? Do our measures provide a valid proxy of the ‘cultural life of cities’? Since there are no similar measures

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.

¹⁸ We have combined data from the UDAO database of the Urban Institute, online Yellow Pages, the Census of Economic Activity, and dozens more. Examples of amenities included here are in the Appendix. In selecting these we were sensitive to considerations of feasibility and cost-efficiency as in (Kaple et al. (1996).



to contrast our proposal against using ‘construct-validity’ (convergent or divergent)¹⁹, 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,²⁰ 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

Do our measures of scenes reflect expected cultural variations among different regions, cities and local contexts? Yes, some simple statistical analysis helps document this point.

Figure #1: Regional Variation in Scenes

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

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. We have pursued many descriptive analyses for face validity and more. One brief example: we tabulated glamor for each Los Angeles zip code, and found Hollywood zip scores 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 post-industrial knowledge economy.

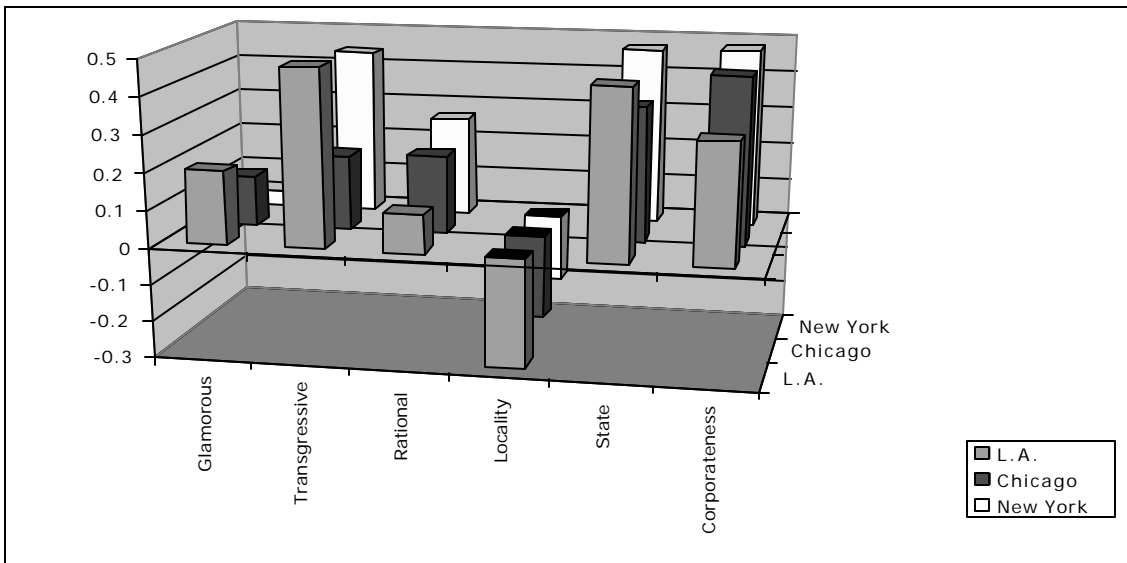
Equally striking are urban variations. We focus on New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles as widely discussed global centers identified with the new economy, where

According 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).

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).

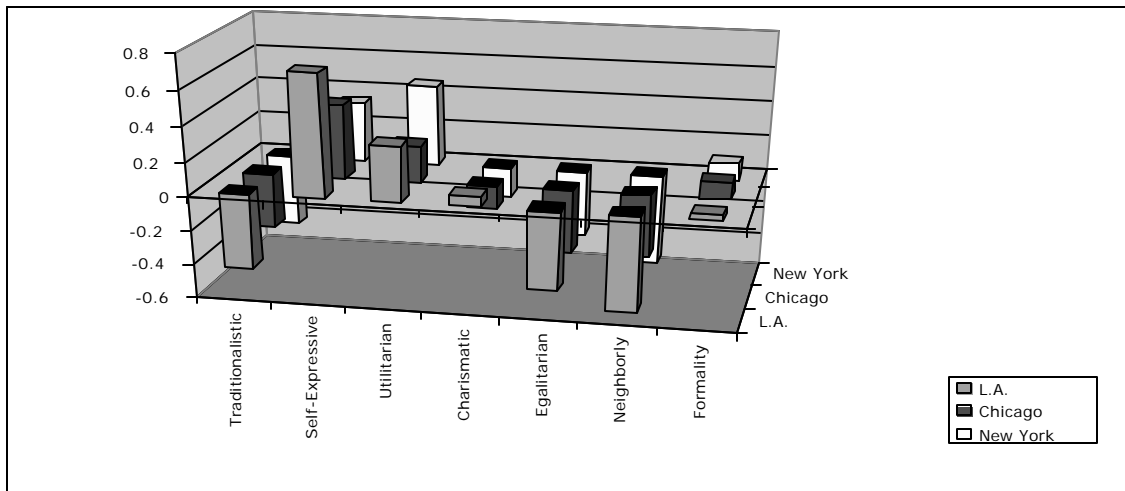
rents, education, arts and culture, technology jobs, and young people are rapidly increasing (Gyorko 2004, Cortright, Currid 2006). Yet, each of these three cities highlights these changes in strikingly different ways: from the clustering of finance in downtown New York (Sassen 2001) to Major Richard Daley's enthusiastic embrace of culture and aesthetics as central to urban policy (Clark 2007 Trees and Real Violins **NOT SURE WHAT YEAR**) 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.

Figure 2: Urban Variation in Scenes (1)



Note: These are z-score 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 2: Urban Variation in Scenes (2)



Compared to all US 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, glamor, 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 glamor. 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.

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

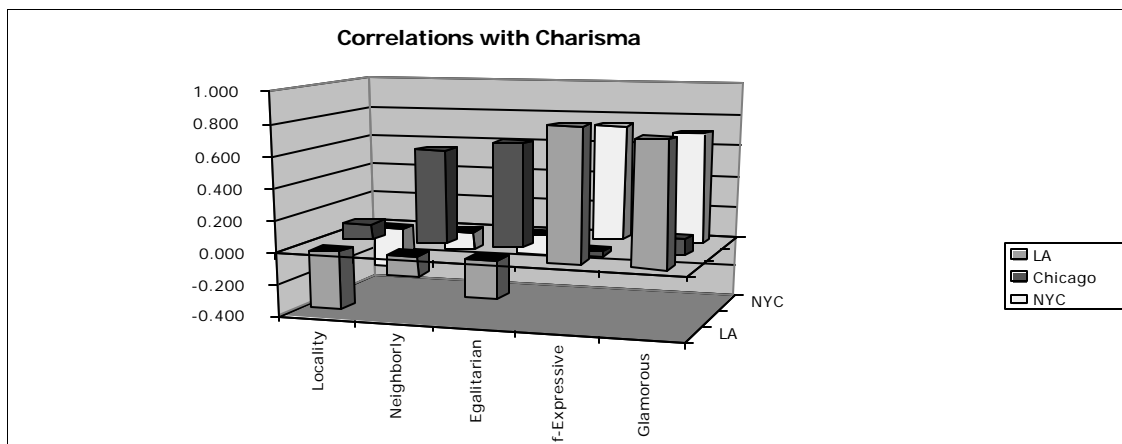
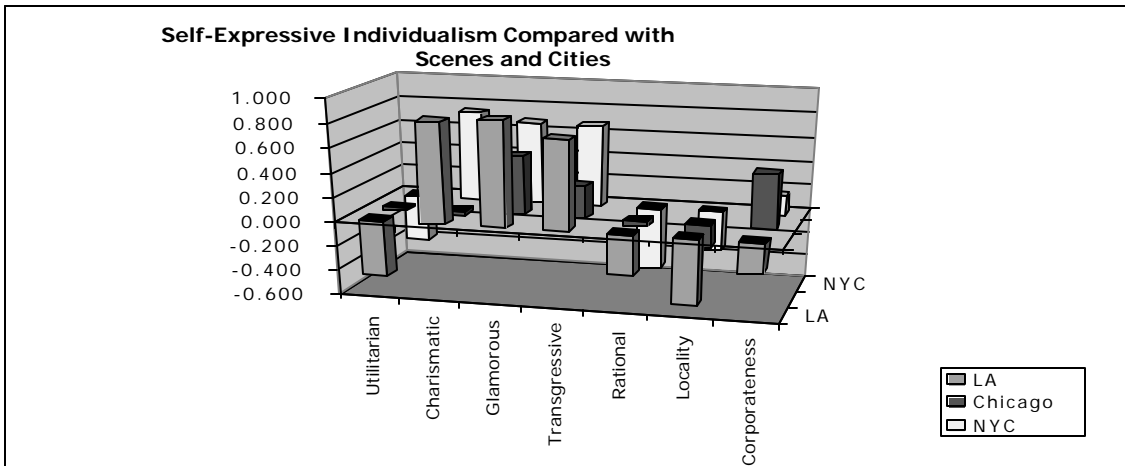


Chart 4: Correlations of selected dimensions with Self-Expressive Individualism in N.Y., Chicago, and L.A.



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 glamor, 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 Bobos **Paradise Drive**) 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 areas. Thus his “neo-bohemia” is closer to nineteenth and early twentieth century classic bohemia. 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 (2004) suggests that gays were largely spurious, and education more important.

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).

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 shape²¹. We build on such past discussions but can be more precise using our 15 sub-dimensions, as shown in Table 6.

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

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

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

²¹ See Grana for a collection of classic essays on Bohemia (DS: Emily, it is called “Bohemia”)

value distance from the “bliss point” defined by Table 6²²), so that a high score is more distant from Bohemian bliss. This is analogous to policy distance analyses in voting (e.g. Riker and 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.

Figure #6: Bohemia as Dependant Variable: National Regression Results

Independent Variables	Standardized Coefficients Beta	T	Sig.
(Constant)		37.597	0
Proportion of Age Group 18-24 resident in 1990	-0.003	-0.292	0.771
Difference in proportion of 18-24 residents 2000/90	-0.018	-2.155	0.031
Age grp 25-34 yrs 90	-0.035	-2.307	0.021
Difference in proportion of 25-34 residents 2000/90	-0.027	-2.647	0.008
Proportion of Non-White Population in 1990	-0.086	-10.139	0
Difference in proportion of NonWhite Pop 2000/90	-0.001	-0.155	0.877
Proportion of Baby Boomers in 1990	0.021	1.212	0.225
Difference in proportion of Baby Boomers 2000/90	0	0.001	0.999
Proportion of Retirees in 1990	0.046	3.766	0
Difference in Prop of Retirees 2000/90	0.016	1.594	0.111
Total Population in 1990	0.209	24.982	0
Population change 2000/1990, logged (LNCHPOP)	0.061	8.571	0
VOTE CAST FOR PRESIDENT, PERCENT DEMOCRATIC 1992	-0.006	-0.717	0.474
1999 Crime rate B6-crm06	0.027	3.422	0.001
proportion of college grads 1990	0.009	0.597	0.55
Difference in Proportion of College Grads 2000/1990	0.036	4.397	0
proportion of grad/prof degree 1990	-0.061	-2.826	0.005
Difference in Prof/Grad School Grads 2000/1990	0.023	1.467	0.142
Per capita income in 1989	0.064	4.636	0
Change in per capita income 1999/1989	-0.022	-2.738	0.006
Adj R2: .053			
	Dependent Variable: Bohemian		

²² 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 distance and take the reciprocal score.

Index

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.

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,”²³ 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, but that bohemias may include 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 support²⁴. Their density and commitment to a city or neighborhood can make a serious difference, especially for cultural activities that depend on charitable contributions – they 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 7 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

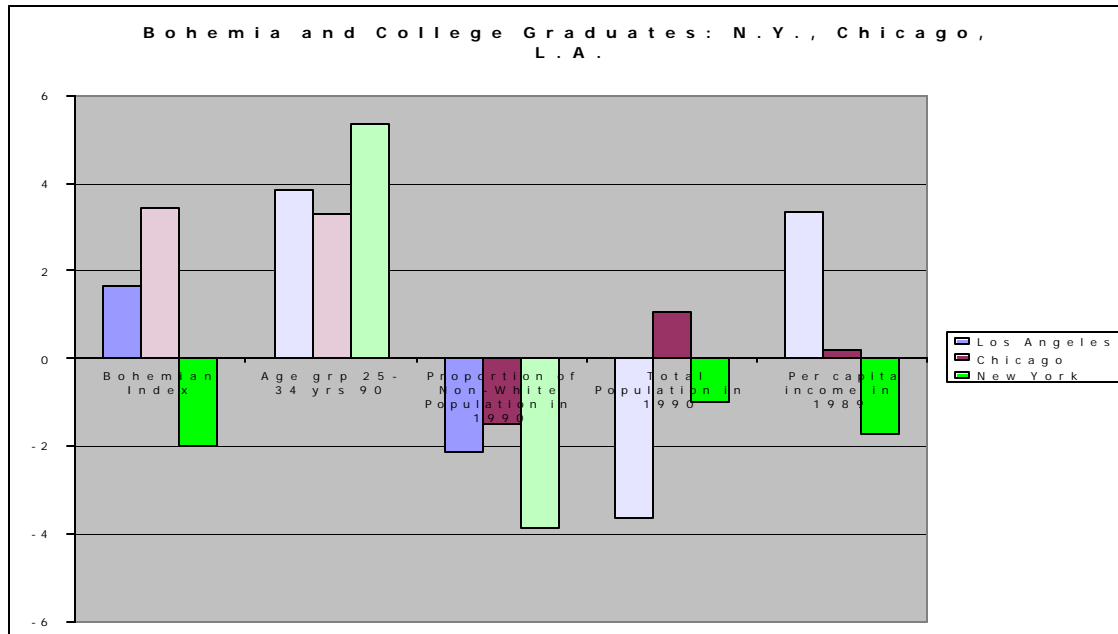
²³ Lloyd cites the complete verse: “In murky corners of old cities where/everything – horror too – is magical,/ I study, servile to my moods, the odd/and charming refuse of humanity.”

²⁴ 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.

Bohemian results hold strong after we control income and the other variables in the model.

Figure #7 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; variables with horizontal lines are significant at the .05 level.²⁵

Figure #7: College Grads Increasing in Chicago Bohemias more than in L.A., not in NY



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 LA 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 cites ($r=.493$ vs. $.32$ in Chicago and $.17$ in

²⁵ 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 #6. 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.

N.Y.)²⁶. 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

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 *The fourth great awaking* book) 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, 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

²⁶ 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).

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 zipcodes 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 LA 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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Sample indicators of the 15 sub-dimensions (not exhaustive).

Sub-Dimension	Positive Indicators	Negative Indicators
Transgressive Theatricality	Tattoo parlors, piercing salons, modern dance, casinos, adult entertainment, sex shops, leather stores	Catholic churches, religious organizations, offices of lawyers, professional organizations, elementary schools, golf courses, family clothing stores
Glamorous Theatricality	movie openings, design schools, TV and movie production, art galleries, interior design firms, beauty salons, advertising firms, fine art	warehouse stores, convenience stores, race tracks, scientific R & D, bowling centers, convents/monasteries, country

	dealers/galleries, department stores, opera companies, private golf clubs, fine dining restaurants, designer clothing, custom jewelry stores	music clubs, bible stores
Exhibitionistic Theatricality	Hair and tanning salons, nightclubs, opera, parades, fitness centers, nail and skin care services, fashion shows/industry, sidewalk restaurants	wilderness preserves, scientific R & D, convents, offices of lawyers, business associations
Formal Theatricality	Symphony orchestra concerts, formal wear, opera, ballet, dinner theater, business and secretarial schools, management training, offices of lawyers, private clubs, martial arts clubs, equestrian, gourmet restaurants	recreational/vacation camps, amusement parks, fast food restaurants, nature parks, fishing lakes and ponds, cafes, vintage and used clothing, carnivals, body piercing,
Neighborly Theatricality	community centers, street fairs, pubs, bowling alleys, bed and breakfast inns, religious organizations, community organizations, business organizations, bakeries, florists, county fairs and festivals, sports clubs	warehouse clubs and superstores, department stores, fast-food restaurants,
Local Authenticity	Local restaurants, farmers markets, community theatre, independent bookstores, independent music stores, historical sites, bed and breakfast inns, spectator sports, souvenir stores, antiques and collectibles, film festivals, county fairs and festivals	Warehouse clubs and superstores, human rights organizations, casinos, computer systems, design, and related services, convenience stores, fast food
Ethnic Authenticity	Folk festivals, ethnic museums, ethnic dance, ethnic theater, ethnic restaurants, language schools, ethnic music, heritage programs	Scientific R & D, human rights orgs, scientific and technical consulting services,
Corporate Authenticity	Management consulting services, chain stores, marketing research, advertising, spectator sports, theme parks, racetracks, stadiums and arenas	human rights orgs, independent artists, independent record and clothing stores, environmental and wildlife orgs, used merchandise stores, social advocacy org, body piercing, tattoo parlors,

National-State Authenticity	political organizations, historical sites, community, emergency, and disaster relief orgs, delegations and embassies, veterans and war memorials	environment and wildlife orgs, religious orgs, colleges and universities, adult entertainment, gambling places and casinos
Rational Authenticity	R&D in physical, engineering & life sciences; Scientific R&D services; Colleges, universities & professional schools; Human rights organizations; Libraries & archives; Computer systems design & related services; planetaria	Advertising agencies; Amusement & theme parks; Musical groups & artists; Fine arts schools; magicians; yoga instruction; meditation; racetracks
Traditionalistic Legitimacy	History museums, genealogy societies, historical buildings, sites, and societies (DAR), Fine arts schools; Religious organizations (Catholic); Museums, historical sites & like institutions; opera companies; ballet; antique dealers; kosher restaurants; veterans and war memorials	R&D in physical, engineering & life sciences; Scientific R&D services; fashion houses; designer clothing and accessories; body piercing; # zines; experimental/ electronic music; modern dance;
Utilitarian Legitimacy	Technical & trade schools; Warehouse clubs & superstores; Business & secretarial schools; Management consulting services; Exam preparation & tutoring; industrial design; Chartist design	Amusement & theme parks; Fine arts schools; religious organizations; Dance companies; spectator sports; Florists; Performing arts companies; Motion picture & video exhibition
Self-Expressive Legitimacy	fashion houses and designers; body piercing; custom printed t-shirts; jazz clubs; modern dance; experimental music; Dance companies; Fine arts schools; art dealers; Musical groups & artists; Independent artists, writers & performers; Chartist design services; custom computer programming services; interior design	business and secretarial schools; business associations; offices of lawyers; scientific research centers; database and directory publishers; Catholic churches; folk arts; industrial design
Egalitarian Legitimacy	human rights orgs; junior colleges; Christian churches; social advocacy organizations; public schools; community service orgs (YMCA); salvation army; public aquariums; public tennis courts;	private golf and tennis clubs; casinos; private clubs; yacht clubs; gourmet restaurants; equestrian; cigar bars
Charismatic Legitimacy	spectator sports; motion picture theaters; Film festivals; performing arts; book stores; public relations agencies; television broadcasting; political orgs; fashion; designer	scientific R & D; wilderness refuge and nature preserves; fast food restaurants; salvation army; industrial design; physical sciences research centers; big band

	clothing and accessories; art galleries; government: executive; popular music;	
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