

MAKING CULTURE INTO MAGIC: HOW CAN IT BRING TOURISTS AND RESIDENTS?*

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I . Globalization encourages a New Political Culture (NPC), stressing individualism, egalitarianism, and new modes of governance and public administration.

II . Consumption and amenities rise in salience to individual citizens and political leaders--with more income, education, and the NPC. Culture and tourism are key parts of this transformation.

III . What makes culture magical? Scenes. Culture comes packaged with more: buildings, restaurants, and an audience; a performance can resonate only if it connects to values and concerns of the audience. We sketch 12 types of scenes like Disney Heaven and Bohemia, then 15 dimensions for interpreting like traditionalism, egalitarianism, etc.

IV . How to make culture magical? By constructing integrated components of culture and tourism. How? Collect data on many dimensions of consumption (restaurants, types of nearby shops, crime rates, and more). Codify these into types like Disney Heaven or Bohemia. Then calibrate attractive powers of each type of scene and dimension for different types of tourists or residents. To implement this program, we have developed a large data base of 40,000 US zip codes and are working with others internationally along parallel lines (in France, Italy, Britain, Germany, Japan, and Korea). This policy-linked analysis tool is more powerful than most past tourism and culture studies.

Key Words: Culture, Amenities, Post Industrial, Tourism

INTRODUCTION

My title's question is ancient. Aristotle wrote a foundational book on aesthetics. But the answers are new. Our answers come from several major studies that I summarize in four parts. My comments are brief since I hope to engage you in discussion. There are no firm answers in this area. The point of this paper is to open discussion, to consider seriously new cultural variables. But where and how much impact they have cannot yet be precisely answered.

My four general points, elaborated in each section below, are:

I . *Globalization encourages a New Political*

Culture (NPC), stressing individualism, egalitarianism, and other new modes of governance, in economics and finance, communication, politics, and consumption.

II . *Consumption and amenities rise* in salience to individual citizens and political leaders--with more income, education, and the NPC. Culture and tourism are key parts of this transformation.

III . *What makes culture magical? In a word: scenes.* Culture does not exist in isolation, but comes packaged with more: theaters need buildings, restaurants, lighting, and an audience; the performance will resonate or not depending on the how it matches the values and concerns of the audience; the values give meaning and structure to the scene. We sketch 12 types of scenes like

Disney Heaven and Bohemia, then 15 dimensions for interpreting scenes, like traditionalism, egalitarianism, etc.

IV. *How to make cultural magic work? Analyzing the specific workings of culture and tourism.* We seek to offer advice grounded in our data and analyses. How? By coding cultural activities with associated amenities (restaurants, types of nearby shops, crime rates, and more) into ideal types like Disney Heaven or Bohemia. We can then calibrate the attractive powers of each scene and cultural activities for different types of people, as tourists or residents. To implement this program, we have developed a large data base of 40,000 US zip codes and are working with others internationally along parallel lines (in France, Italy, Britain, Germany, Japan, and Korea). This policy-linked analysis tool is more powerful than most past tourism and culture studies.

I. THE NEW POLITICAL CULTURE: THE WORLD HAS CHANGED DRAMATICALLY IN THE LAST FEW DECADES.

The new “knowledge economy,” “creative class,” outsourcing combine in globalization, which operates in several domains:

* via finance and economic exchange stressed by the World Bank, Saskia Sassen, and others

* via communication: computers/broadband/internet/contracting out, detailed by Manuel Castells and Thomas Friedman in *The World is Flat*

* via politics (human rights, NGOs, and our New Political Culture)

* via a new emphasis on consumption, lifestyle, popular culture often via popular media (Hollywood, Bollywood, BBC, CNN, CDs and DVDs, iPods)

Consider just a few common themes in all four areas, then how these relate to culture.

In all four areas--of finance, communication, politics, and consumption--we see the same contours of a New Political Culture. It transcends the older debates about capitalism versus socialism, and left versus right. Instead of old conflicts of rich and poor (or in Korea the two regions) we see new, issue specific concerns, like feminism and environmental protection and many more, sometimes around internet groups. In contrast to hierarchy and tradition of the past, we see more individualism and egalitarianism, as expressed

* via free markets, small entrepreneurs, and a mobile

workforce in the economy instead of long-term careers, strong unions, and large organizations dependent on clientelist banks or state loans

* via the internet and individual communication options like iPod and personalized selections, blogs, instead of limited choice large television channels or major newspapers

* via a new focus on the citizen, on neighborhoods, on individual participation and self-generated bottom up rather than top down politics. Traditional political parties and voter turn out are in decline. Localized, issue-specific groups are growing. Decentralization is a huge theme in Korea, to move away from Seoul and from the domination of the national government. Implementation is harder, of course, but one clear institutional change is the local election of mayors. Similarly the internet has added a targeted, issue-specificity to political campaigns in Korea,

* via new types of political leaders like Korean President Roh Mu Hyun (or Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Gerhard Schroeder) who break old rules and ideological categories. (Clearly President Hyun is complex and unique.)

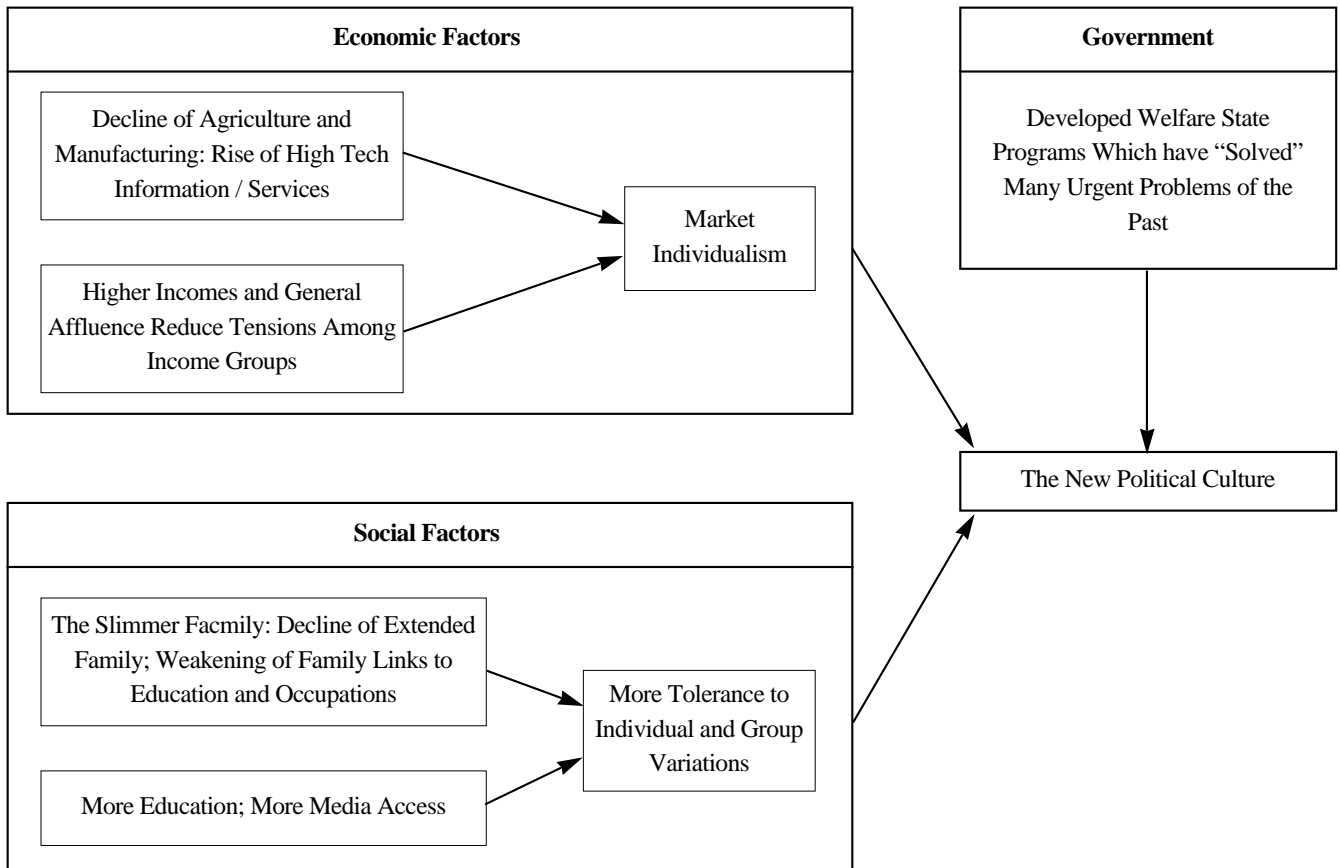
* via individualizing lifestyle, in dress, entertainment, spontaneity and volatility of choice. This same individualism which can be expressed politically is also expressed daily in people's lives, where they choose clothes, food, hats, and where to spend their time. This extends individualism to many new domains: in contrast to tourists traveling in a large group to a classic, fixed destination, or traveling to the same vacation home with your family. Instead young persons increasingly find, or search for, more uniquely personalized life styles. This is a more dramatic revolution in Asia where traditions of family responsibility and deference are much stronger than in the rest of the world. The conflicts a few years back in Korea illustrates this value conflict in action between elderly persons who were not cared for by their children, and some moved into parks as homeless, when certain localities cut subsidies for the elderly. (Korea ranks #1 of some 100 countries in the importance of “deference to parents” as an ideal trait of children (according to Korean adults; Korean young persons may disagree; data from our analysis of the World Values Survey.)

This New Political Culture is emerging around the world. We have documented its extent and change in over 15,000 cities and towns in 35 countries in the book entitled *The New Political Culture*, published in the

Korean language in 2006. The NPC is explored further in seven other books, on the decline of class politics, the rise of citizens, the emergence of new types of leaders, a case study of Chicago, and political cultures of dozens of countries in the world. See www.fau.org which includes

in the Newsletter abstracts of 50 book published by our Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation Project over the past 20 plus years.

Figure 1. Factors Driving Toward The New Political Culture



II. CONSUMPTION AND AMENITIES RISE IN SALIENCE TO INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS, GROUPS, AND POLITICAL LEADERS.

Classic concerns of work and job decline. This is not to say people work less, but a new creativity, a playfulness, an entrepreneurship has come to define the ideal workplace, such that ideal organizations like Microsoft or Google are detailed as having “campus-like creative settings”. They are the new models in business magazines like *Fortune and Business Week*. Work and leisure are no longer so isolated; leisure concerns

penetrate the workplace. Driven by more income, education, and the NPC (New Political Culture), culture and tourism are key parts of this transformation. Art is on the walls of many banks; major corporations sponsor theater, music, and public art. Political leaders sense the importance of rising arts and culture concerns among citizens and look for ways to capture these concerns: via public art, music festivals, historic preservation of neighborhoods, museums, and more. Essen Germany, Naples Italy, Bogotá Colombia, and Chicago USA are all heavy industrial cities that have dramatically transformed themselves via creative mayors and arts and

Table 1. A Core List of Elements Contrasting Post-Industrial Society with Neo-Marxist and Individualistic Concepts

Post-Industrial Concept	Neo-Marxist Concept	Individualistic Concept
Consumption	Production	Utility, preferences (more abstract)
Leisure	Jobs	Work and Amenities
Consumers	Workers	Subsets of utilities, clusters of attitudes
Home	Workplace	Individual
Women and their Families	Men and their Work	Less attention to context
Personal influence, social interaction	Social Structural Characteristics (Class, etc.)	Interaction
Citizen-focused	System-focused, e.g. capitalism, aristocracy	Individual/preferences/personality focused
Buying consumer products	Investing capital	Maximizing utility
Talking with friends to form opinions	Organizing Class Consciousness	
Informal organization; unanticipated consequences	Class Conflict	
Organizational/Management Structure	Ownership of the Means of production	
Goal displacement, cooptation, subcultures	Classe An Sich to Class Fuer Sich	
Issue-Politics; Issue Specificity	Coherent Party Program	Cognitive consistency
More Social Liberalism, e.g. new women's roles	Fiscal/Economic Policy Positions	Attitude structure
Voluntary Associations	Vanguard Party Focus	
Cross-Pressures; Role Conflict	False consciousness	Cognitive dissonance
Autonomous mass media	Class-controlled Propaganda	
Autonomous Scientific Community	Science Subordinaed to Hierarchy	
Students as Political vanguard	Proletariat moving toward revolution	
New Class	Fordism/Regulation Theory	
Knowledge/R & D, High Tech	Manufacturing products	
Rising professional	Rising global monopolies, regulated by states	
Weak unions & parties, strong individualism	Strong Unions and class-based parties	
Consumer based individ'l aesthetics	Historical Materialism	
Democratic Processes	Class Responsiveness	
Intellectuals/cultural creation	Class domination, surplus value	

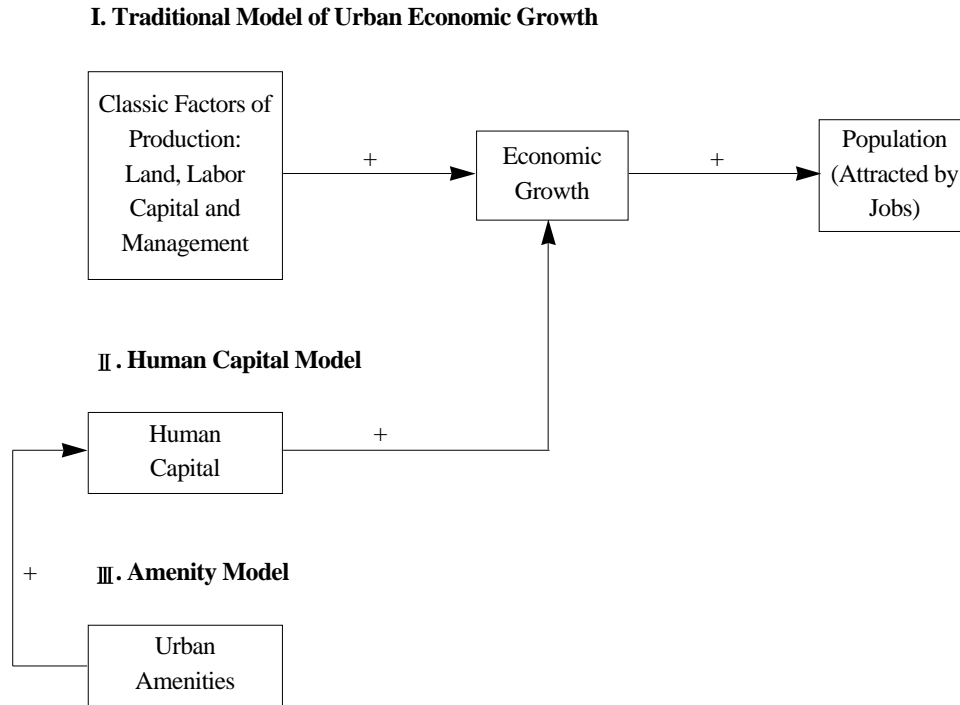
Note: Author's approximation of three classes of theories.

culture-based policies in the last decade or two. I cite these precisely as they were rapid but deep transformations by strong political leaders, not just a continuation of a long tradition, as one finds in a Paris or Beijing. We see more bookstores, internet sites, coffee shops, and all forms of cultural activities in these cities

and all over the world. Participants in our FAUI Project have documented deep change in these and other locations.

Similar trends were detailed for Korea in the 2003 *Summer International Conference on Local Culture and Development in the 21st Century* by the Korean

Figure 2.1 Three Successive Models of Urban Development



Association of Governmental Studies, encouraged by John Youl Lee. We met in Andong and listened to papers on mainly Korean local cultural activities: local festivals, exhibitions and performances, using senior volunteers, herb markets, and more. The conference included, of course, a Masked Dance ceremony, where the -- distinguished foreign visitor -- yours truly, Terry Clark was given the honor of trying to dance with the professional Masked Dancers. His poor performance generated much laughter. Much better is the conference summary, a rich 462 page report in English and Korean with conference papers. See www.kagos.net. We spent nights in a Buddhist Temple, sleeping on the floors and awakening to the gongs and prayers every few hours. The traditional temples of Andong have been complemented by a modern conference center, Confucian museum, Masked Dance workshops, and many other amenities that attract tourist/conference goers, such as the 200+ persons at our 2003 conference. It was a splendid experience.

A striking case study shows how consumption and tourism conflict with traditional growth politics. In this case, in Korea, but much could hold elsewhere. Shim

(2007) found a small mining town where the mining economy faltered and population severely declined. Local officials sought to “clean up” the town and remove dirt and other mining traditions. Then some young architects from Seoul met with local civic groups who developed the idea of creating a museum, restoring several old buildings and homes intact with their dirt to permit the tourist/visitor to see how distinctive the town and its mine had been. The local council, mayor, and national government demonstrators resisted these policies but gradually permitted them. The underlying conflict was over pursuing traditional production versus new consumption/tourism as an economic base. Whatever the outcome, the case illustrates how difficult it can be to explore and implement new cultural/tourism based drivers of development.

More generally, this rise of consumption, lifestyle, amenities, and culture is captured in emerging new theories of “post industrial society” that contrast with more traditional workplace theories of which Marxism is the most extreme. Classic individualism in its pure market form, in the tradition of Locke, Hobbes, and Adam Smith contrasts sharply in the themes of newer

theorizing, summarized in Table 1.

Our last book illustrating this transformation and extension of the New Political Culture is *The City as an Entertainment Machine* (Clark 2003), whose title stresses the new importance of entertainment, consumption and culture for cities. It lays out an analytical perspective stressing the importance of amenities as attracting persons to locations that have the most powerful amenities (schools, low crime, clean air, friends and family, restaurants, cultural facilities.)

The core argument of the book is summarized in the simple path diagram, showing how amenities are an addition to land, labor, capital, and human capital. They draw talent.

But this book and the traditions it extends treated separate amenities largely in isolation. This is normal for economists who tend to see the world atomistically. But so do many literary or cultural critics, who focus on an individual painting, or the work of theater of Shakespeare or the text of a novel or le livre comme objet. But if we instead ask persons why they visit a museum or theater, and what made the experience important or not, the answers are often much more holistic. They normally engage the lifestyle of the visitor or tourist as much as the site which the visitor or tourist was meant to see. There are many theories of aesthetics, which can be enriched by incorporating a more holistic set of elements which together comprise a scene. Andong, as I briefly described above, illustrates a powerful scene that attracted scholars and pilgrims for centuries. It is continually being renovated with clear tourist concern.

III. WHAT MAKES CULTURE MAGICAL? IN A WORD: SCENES.

Culture does not exist in isolation, but comes packaged with more. A scene is more than 1. neighborhood 2. physical structures 3. persons labeled by race, class, gender, education, etc. We include these but stress 4. the specific combinations of these and activities (like attending a concert) which join them. These four components are in turn defined by 5. the values people pursue in a scene. General values are legitimacy, defining a right or wrong way to live; theatricality, a way of seeing and being seen by others; and authenticity, as a meaningful sense of identity. We add sub-dimensions, like egalitarianism, traditionalism,

exhibitionism, localism, ethnicity, transgression, corporateness, and more. All the dimensions combine in specific ideal-types of scenes like Disney Heaven, Beaudelaire's River Styx, and Bobo's Paradise.

Though Markusen, Glaeser, and *The City as an Entertainment Machine* are at the forefront of recognizing the economic and social relevance of artistic activity, consumption, and amenities, they do not situate these within the larger constellations of shared tastes and values such activities presuppose and foster. In a word, their approaches are overly atomistic. None of the three, for example, studies how consumers' judgments about the quality of the arts and amenities they purchase and appreciate affect their decisions. Nor do they study the contexts within which arts and amenities are embedded, the ways in which the presence or absence of arts and other amenities - in different degrees of differentiation and density - shape a neighborhood or city into a lively, thriving environment (a scene!). Such locales can, and we believe, do have an overall social and economic impact far greater than measured by ticket sales, wages, or paintings sold. Quality and context are essential for cultural policy research.

Omitting these two elements is a major oversight, for quality and context define what artists do and who consumes their art, which amenities are deemed attractive and which ones are shunned, which modes of consumption are nurtured and which are vilified. In poetry, for example, academic poets and "slam" poets usually avoid each other. Though each group is engaged in artistic activity, they do not think of themselves as part of one "scene." Similarly, punk musicians and opera singers - all artists - move in different circles, eat at different restaurants, and attract different audiences seeking different experiences¹ (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, such individuals are comfortable moving across multiple scenes. This is a trait associated with larger urban areas and high cultural differentiation, which in turn fosters a set of values we call "urbanity"). The cultural life of a city is not defined by the aggregate number of arts organizations or amenities it contains. How they cluster into scenes is what we must address. Cultural policy researchers can build better theory and more usefully advise policymakers by detailing how different demographic profiles support different clusters of

amenities (different scenes) and show where a certain type of amenity (used bookstores, opera companies, small or large theaters) is under or overdeveloped relative to the residents nearby.

Here are some ideal typical scenes. The first two are portrayed more fully, the rest just briefly:

Disney Heaven: sanitary, traditional themes in the presentation, safe for children, low on crime, pornography, prostitution, and homeless. These themes suffused the debates on Times Square in NYC when Disney acquired property there. Disney asked the police to move out some of the disreputable. This coincided with Mayor Giuliani's endorsement of James Q. Wilson's broken windows theory of Crime Scenes: homeless, beggars, windshield squeegees, and drunks define an area as dangerous and signal tolerance of this behavior by local citizens and the police. This in turn encourages more crime. Measures: low crime rates, low poverty, socio-economic homogeneity, middle class (not too high or low). The rhetoric bubbled into labels like Nerdistan, Kotkin's suburban moniker. Think of family restaurants, smiling waiters, and Disneyesque staff who whisk away problems like dust. Buildings are clean and freshly painted, albeit bland. Those that are grander reflect the dreamy Hollywood vision of a European castle with smiling residents, rather than the Grimm Brothers tales or the scheming castle intrigues of Kozintsev's Russian *Hamlet* film.

Bohemia, in extremis: Baudelaire's River Styx: Walter Benjamin's hero, Baudelaire is the archetypical Parisian benchmark to "épater les bourgeois," by elevating the shocking, sensual, and improper (Baudelaire 1995; Baudelaire 1993). Benjamin's volumes (Benjamin, 1999), the Surrealist manifestos which he sought to emulate, and many later artworks calculated to shock carry on the grand bohemian tradition (see the review of bohemian studies in Lloyd 2006: esp. 47ff). Indeed such bohemianism is mainstream for many if not most artists and art schools at least in North American and Europe. Clearly not all artists are bohemians, and some bohemians blend with bourgeois, see below on Bobo Scenes. Indicators of the more hard core: avant-garde art galleries, Beat poetry cafes, high circulation of critical magazines, brothels, gentlemen's clubs, tattoo parlors, message salons, high crime rates, esp. for drugs, prostitution, percent gay residents, percent homeless, some hard core artistic occupations.

The Samurais' Licensed Quarters: To pacify

politically dangerous warriors, centuries back Japanese political leaders decreed "licensed quarters" where Samurai could drink, carouse, gamble, and enjoy Kabuki theater (which replaced female actresses with all male actors after the women were carried off the stage by the enthusiastic Samurai). Utamoro classic woodcuts depict related scenes, which inspired Impressionists, like Toulouse-Lautrec and Van Gough.

Renoir's Loge (Theater Box): Pretty people define the scene. If we generalize, this should include street crowds and more, which clearly seems important, but hard to measure with Census or other data we have found to date. The subtlety and sensitivity of defining beauty in clothes, hairstyle, and comportment is classic in television, Hollywood films, advertising, women's magazines, and reactions against them--earlier by Puritans and more recently by feminists.

LaLa Land Tinsel: The fluff, the icing on the cake, is the image here. Above and beyond the main event, like the good meal. The concept is close to Veblen's conspicuous consumption or Bourdieu's *Distinction*, illustrated by Louis XIV's "superflu, chose tres necessaire," like the Versailles fireworks.

Rossini's Tour: Every self-respecting mid-sized and large city in Italy in the early nineteenth century sought to stage an opening night in their local theater, crowned by a newly-written Rossini opera. Today Madonna and others bring wild crowds.

Wagner's Volk: "Tragedy was therefore the entry of the artwork of the folk upon the public arena of political life...tragedy flourished as long as it was inspired by the spirit of the folk." Wagner developed these ideas in five volumes before writing *The Ring*.

Brooks' Bobos: Bohemian and Bourgeois combine in Brook's *Bobos in Paradise* amalgam (Brooks, 2000), quintessentially illustrated by latte towns like Burlington, VT where latte spots offer poetry and anti-establishment politics, which attract bearded professors with worn knapsacks riding old bikes.

Black is Beautiful: Some observe that low-status black areas are defined by storefront churches and liquor stores that swamp other institutions.

Exoticism: Foreign is chic. The simple version might be an index that sums foreign restaurants X foreign art X foreign films X foreign bookstores X foreign people as local residents.

Cool Cosmopolitanism: Globalization heightens the appeal of juxtaposing multiple conflicting aesthetic criteria, like Tibetan female Buddhist monks chanting

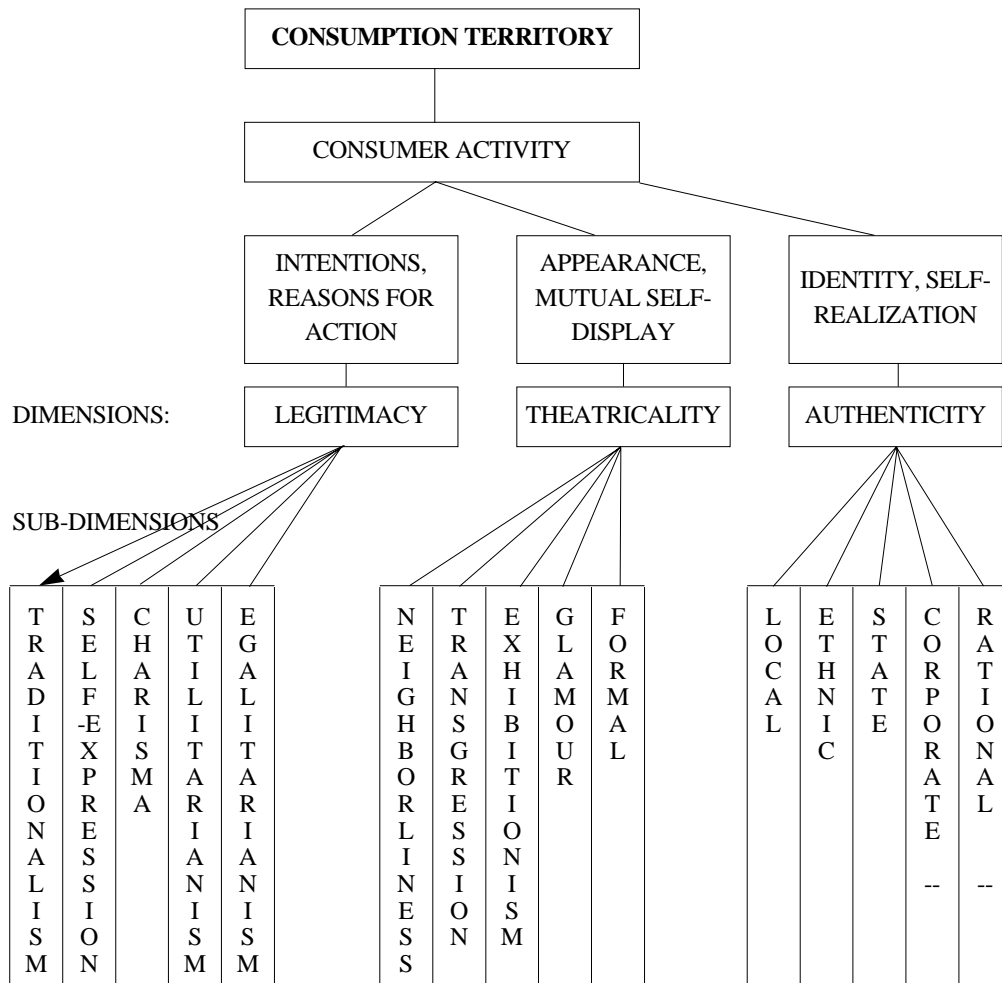
against electronic rock with ever more mixing in the studio.

Urbanity: a city or metro area that combines many of the above is more appealing to those omnivores who want to fish in the morning, lunch with sushi, beach in the afternoon, dine Moroccan, dance to Michael Jackson,

rave all night, then repent at a Pentecostal meeting next morning.

The next step we took was to identify the more general characteristics that define scenes as powerful and appealing. We added the following 15 characteristics:

Figure 3. Dimensions of Scene Analysis



IV. HOW TO MAKE CULTURAL MAGIC WORK?

How analyze the specific workings of culture and tourism? The key point is to match people with scenes. Or if you are a Ministry or Culture and Tourism Advisor or mayor, how can you refashion the components to make a scene more powerful? This is the question that

the State of Michigan has posed in the last few years, hosting a conference of over 800 persons on Cool Cities. For the Governor of Michigan this is a critical issue as the automobile industry is declining rapidly. See: <http://www.michigan.gov/coolcities>.

Our general answer is build on your strengths. If you have some old houses, put signs in front of them and offer a tour of the area. Even life-long residents of

Michigan towns (like Flint) reported that they enjoyed learning new things about their own city on the new tours. Offer prizes to localities that do things like this; they will come up with new ideas. We have done this in Urban Innovation in Illinois for over a decade (see www.fauu.org), and this past year saw many cultural and arts innovations, such as a small locality that borrowed art works to display in its schools and other public places. It thus cost almost nothing. Think of how you can extend or complement existing amenities by adding to them selectively, or enhancing them (with a sign, tour, or guide book, or featuring items in a museum), but do so while preserving authenticity. Do not stretch too far, or you will become “just” another Disneyland.

The second main point is to match specific amenities and scenes with distinct types of persons. Proper families with young children are classic fans of Disney-like attractions. Bohemian young singles, by contrast, favor Bohemian scenes, just to state the obvious. But once we move to the more subtle, it is far more difficult to link types of persons and scenes, due mainly to lack of data, esp. in countries that do not have the good luck or intelligent leadership to have a Ministry of Tourism and Culture. Just who is a “bohemian” for instance? Social background data collected by most census bureaus cannot tell us. We need more on consumption and lifestyle and values. Re tourism: Small towns in France report tourism numbers and ticket sales for movies, theaters, and concert halls. The US Census collects none of these. Collecting such data is a fundamental first step as we increasingly recognize that one of the largest industries in the world (first or third depending on accounting assumptions) is tourism. If you have some data of this sort, analyze it closely.

We seek to offer advice grounded in our data and analyses. How? By coding cultural activities along with associated amenities (restaurants, types of nearby shops, crime rates, and more) into ideal types like Disney Heaven or Bohemia, we can calibrate the attractive powers of each scene and cultural activities for different types of people, as tourists or potential residents. To implement this program, we have developed a large data base of 40,000 US zip codes and are working with others internationally along parallel lines (in France, Italy, Britain, Germany, Japan, and Korea). This policy-linked analysis tool is more powerful than most past tourism and culture studies.

Perhaps previous research has ignored questions about quality and context due to a laudable sense of

measured, scientific prudence. Indeed, the data required to study such questions have often simply been unavailable or hard to acquire. The census, for example, does not provide enough detailed information about different kinds of amenities to make many of the distinctions we propose. 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. Instead, researchers have offered anecdotal evidence (bicycle paths, Richard Florida suggests, attract the creative class), or they are limited to case-studies of particular cultural amenities (Scott 2000 for instance, on movie theatres in France or jewelers in Los Angeles), or fine-grained appreciations of a neighborhood or two (Richard Lloyd on Wicker Park) (Florida 2002, Lloyd 2006). 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 are adding combinations of these interrelated amenities to assesses their joint impacts.

In the absence of a unified national database of amenities, past research on the relationship between culture and urban development has remained primarily conjectural. To move beyond conjecture to testable hypotheses about the impact of a particular amenity on a neighborhood, city, or metropolitan area, we are creating a unified national database of amenities. It includes hundreds of arts and cultural amenities such as types of theatre, bookstores, dance companies, jazz clubs, museums, gospel choirs, poetry centers, liberal arts colleges, etc. It covers all U.S. metro areas and zip codes. The database also incorporates time-series information about other more traditional factors such as

schools, crime, housing prices, racial and class demographics, etc., against which the relative contribution of amenities must be measured. No such massive and comprehensive database has previously been generated. Gathering such information into one place will allow us and others to address questions about the role of culture in urban development in ways that have been previously impossible.

Our data files currently include about 800 items for 40,000+ US zip codes. The main sources are the US Census of economic activities (bizzip for 143 types of cultural/arts/amenity-related business activities), the Census of Population (for income, education, age, etc.), the Federal Internal Revenue Service returns for non-profits in the arts and culture areas, data from 50 state arts agencies concerning arts and culture in their states, and electronic yellow pages for several hundred sorts of activities (from restaurants to tattoo parlors) that provide the scene-context for cultural venues.

We had coders assign scores ranging from 1 to 5 on each of our 12 types of scenes (Disney Heaven, Bohemia, etc.) and 15 general dimensions (traditionalism, authenticity) for each of some 800 types of amenities (like Chinese Restaurants or art museums or tattoo parlors or research libraries). From these we count the number of amenities in our list of 800, and multiply their scores on each of the 12 scenes and 15 dimensions. These constitute their cultural attractiveness indexes. They are computed for every US zip code (N=ca. 40,000). We are analyzing how these empirical measures of scenes shift population growth (total and for college graduates, and other subgroups), land value, and tourism-related activities (as best we can identify them). As an intermediary variable, which can act as a catalyst in attracting non-artists, we analyzed growth of jobs in 143 of the arts and culture industries, as these are some of the fastest growing industries in US cities (much faster than finance in NYC or business in Chicago).

If we were in a large Ministry, we might collect data on citizens, tourists, festivals, concerts, and other data, and ask persons what attracted them to an area as tourists or to live permanently. But lacking this sort of funding, we have coded the existing data, which have become plentiful and inexpensive to assemble. Many are available over the internet. We in turn are making many of our data accessible to others on our websites.

Examples of the sorts of findings we have generated in the past are in *The City as an Entertainment Machine*. It found, for instance, in answer to the question what can

a city like Chicago do if it has a bad climate, too cold, many say? The non-intuitive answer we found: younger persons, esp. college graduates are primarily attracted by “constructed amenities” (like concerts, restaurants, juice bars, bicycle paths). The “natural amenities” like a cold climate, humidity, and nearby beaches or mountains matter little to this “young and restless,” “creative class”. By contrast the elderly and retired are more likely to move away from cold climates to locations with more “natural amenities”. Third, persons who hold more patents from the US Patent office (creative inventors) are more likely to live in locations that are strong on both constructed and natural amenities (like attractive suburbs of large metro areas in California.)

More generally to help culture become magical, try to:

1. identify niche/subgroups that match with distinct scenes where culture is central, such as anti-establishment youths who resonate to Bohemian cultural themes. This can build on surveys, ticket sales, tourism data by locality that covary with concert performances or festivals or other such cultural events. Future e. c. Efforts can build on and productively use a large-scale data effort that a Ministry of Culture and Tourism might ideally lead. France has long been a model for doing this well; the US is distinctly weak in official cultural statistics (it has no Ministry of Culture or Tourism!), although it is stronger in targeted surveys and academic and policy research. Still these are new questions everywhere. The general progress of social science theory and methods provides important tools and examples to build on.
2. detail the components of a scene that a. are basic and b. study how these can be enhanced to make the scene become more magically powerful. How? By comparing large numbers of broadly similar cultural offerings (e.g. symphony concerts, flower festivals) but analyzing which are more successful and why, especially using large-scale survey and quantitative data that include measures of the many associated components of the scene, not just the performance. Comparisons could be international as well as national, to find ideas from abroad that can enhance a cultural offering. Complement the quantitative work with case studies in depth of some world leaders.

There are examples in this direction in the Andong conference. There are case studies of festivals that

document smart ideas like using senior volunteers to enhance the festival scene.

The niche/participation direction is explored especially in the Andong paper by Jong Youl Lee "Cultural Inequality: The Case of Korea," pp. 5-14. He surveyed 287 Koreans about music, theater, movies, ballet, opera, museums, and visual arts, asking questions about attitudes, attendance, and direct participation. The main results show subtle differences across the many different forms of cultural activities. No simple pattern holds consistently across the activities--such as lower educated persons or older persons attending most or least. In this sense the theories of persons like Adorno or Bourdieu, which suggest that culture is mainly an elite phenomenon, are wrong. Lee shows important differences that match better our discussion above of "issue specificity": people are quite selective in the sorts of events they attend. For instance: Women's attendance at cultural lectures was 16.3 percent, while men's was 5.1. Music had the highest attendance rate overall, esp. by persons aged 30-40. But persons aged 20-29 were surprisingly, perhaps, the most frequent attenders of "traditional music" (13 percent), not older persons (50 to 59 were 6 percent, over 60 were 9 percent). Persons with middle income (3 to 3.99 million) most often attended music events (38 percent); this fell to 29 percent for those earning 4 to 4.99 million. In terms of occupation, there were not large differences across sectors. These patterns might become sharper if they could be combined with more data about specific cultural tastes and habits. But this is a clear illustration of a direction to pursue.

Here at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, you have the resources and potential to do what others have done, only better. I have been to Andong, and seen the future.

NOTES

* Revised from presentation to Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Seoul, Korea, July 5, 2006. Contact tnclark@uchicago.edu or www.fau.org for more information and reports.

1. For a study of how scenes such as punk, video game, anti-facism, and others define themselves against one another or overlap in Germany, especially in relation to an emerging notion of "youth culture," see Hitzler, 2005. Hitzler focuses almost exclusively on transgressive

scenes, however, and does not situate these in relation to more mainstream or high art scenes. Still his work is among the few close to ours.

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