DECENTERING NEO-BOHEMIA IN THE CREATIVE CITY: CULTURAL

MARGINALIZATION, ECONOMIC VIOLENCE, AND AN ALTERNATIVE AGENDA OF

DIVERSE CULTURAL SCENES

by

JAMES C. MURDOCH III

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

April 2018

Acknowledgements

Much has changed in my life since I began work on the first ideas for this dissertation, including the birth of my two children and, as a result, my whole outlook on life. There are several constants, however, which have ensured I stayed the course on this dissertation. First and foremost is my wife, Nyly, who consistently encouraged me to wake up early and stay up late to finish. My chair, Dr. Enid Arvidson, opened my mind to the theoretical lens that guides this dissertation in addition to always providing thoughtful guidance and support. The other members of my committee, Dr. Collen Casey and Dr. Rod Hissong, offered insightful critiques and tough, but motivating, questions that helped me to solidify my ideas and arguments. My friend and mentor, Dr. Carl Grodach, first attracted me to the University of Texas at Arlington. I stand on his shoulders in much of the work below. Dr. Terry Clark and Dr. Dan Silver and other members of the Scenes project at the University of Chicago also provided inspiration and a much-needed dataset that makes my analysis possible.

In addition to these big influences and supporters, there have also been innumerable nudges and words of encouragement that provided needed motivation. My colleagues at 2M Research, who often asked when I would finish my dissertation and how it was going. My parents, of course, who have always supported me in everything I do. Finally, numerous friends that would gently inquire, providing me a little push to keep writing.

April 11, 2018

Abstract

DECENTERING NEO-BOHEMIA IN THE CREATIVE CITY: CULTURAL

MARGINALIZATION, ECONOMIC VIOLENCE, AND AN ALTERNATIVE AGENDA OF

DIVERSE CULTURAL SCENES

James C. Murdoch III, PhD

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2018

Supervising Professor: Enid Arvidson

Creative cities policy is an approach that advocates the planned development of

consumption-oriented, mixed-use urban neighborhoods supporting artistic activity and a

vibrant nightlife to create economic benefits. The literature labels these neighborhoods

"neo-bohemia" because they combine the gritty, authentic lifestyle of bohemian artists

with a contemporary consumption culture of cafes, bars, galleries, and other arts spaces.

Many, however, critique creative cities policy, suggesting it leads to gentrification and

neighborhood commodification, and ignores the economic and cultural value of places

that are not neo-bohemian.

I apply the critical theory of J.K. Gibson-Graham (2006) to decenter the concept

of neo-bohemia in the creative city discourse and point toward an alternative framework

of cultural sustainability that promotes diverse cultural scenes. First, I review literature

that frames neo-bohemia as a hegemonic and destructive force that can promote market-

based economic success, but at the cost of gentrification, neighborhood commodification,

and the exclusion of alternative cultural and economic scenes and locales deemed

mundane, or uncultured, and unprofitable. Second, I employ structural equation modeling

and case study analysis to empirically demonstrate the arguments I present in the

literature review. Third, I advocate for an alternative framework of cultural sustainability that recognizes the nonmarket forms of economic value and supports a diverse range of cultural scenes that include, but are not limited to, neo-bohemias. I highlight the recent creative placemaking policy movement as a practical application of the cultural sustainability framework that planners, policymakers, and other stakeholders can adopt as an alternative to the creative city.

In this dissertation, I contribute to cultural policy, urban planning, geography, and sociology literatures by presenting empirical evidence that helps explain the development process of neo-bohemia. My work identifies the benefits and consequences of the promotion of neo-bohemia and informs more nuanced cultural policy. Moreover, I present theoretical justification for and an example of the implementation of a cultural sustainability framework that can benefit planning and policy practitioners seeking alternatives to the creative cities discourse.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

List of Tables

Chapter 1

Introduction

In the past several decades, advances in transportation technology and telecommunications have shifted the logic of industrial location. In the post-World War II era of "Fordism," assembly line production of standardized products reigned, and centralized urban locales such as Detroit, MI were the economic powerhouses of the modern economy (Dear 2002). Beginning in the 1980s, however, members of the "LA School" selected Los Angeles as their paradigmatic case study of a new (i.e., "Post-Fordism") form of postmodern urbanization in which the assembly line became a series of interconnected and decentralized firms of flexible production, that is, firms that produce varied products that react quickly to changes in market demand and that often rely on a temporary and subcontracted labor force (Davis 1989; Dear 2002; Scott 1998; Scott and Soja 1986; Soja 1989). Seminal works by Castells (1989) and Sassen (1991) find that much industry in this new economy, post-Fordism, is comprised of advanced services that flourish in the environment of flexible production, including the industries of telecommunications, advertising, design services, information technology, consulting, and higher education.

Other key aspects of the new economy are the qualities of its labor force. Unlike the loyal and efficient worker in the traditional economy, individuals in the new economy are rewarded for qualities such as creativity, innovation, and cultural relevance (Hutton 2004). The urban economist Richard Florida (2002b) terms this labor force, whose products are innovation and ideas, the "creative class."

The stakes are high in the new economy. Several bastions of the traditional economy, such as Detroit, were labeled "shrinking cities" and faced significant challenges of population decline, unemployment, and related issues (Audirac 2007; Martinez-

Fernandez et al. 2012). Figure 1-1 starkly demonstrates this reality. Traditional goods-producing industries, such as manufacturing, which made up nearly half of the nation's employment in 1970, accounted for only about 15 percent of employment in 2010. Education and health services, on the other hand, almost tripled their proportion of the workforce over the same period, and other advanced services also experienced large gains.
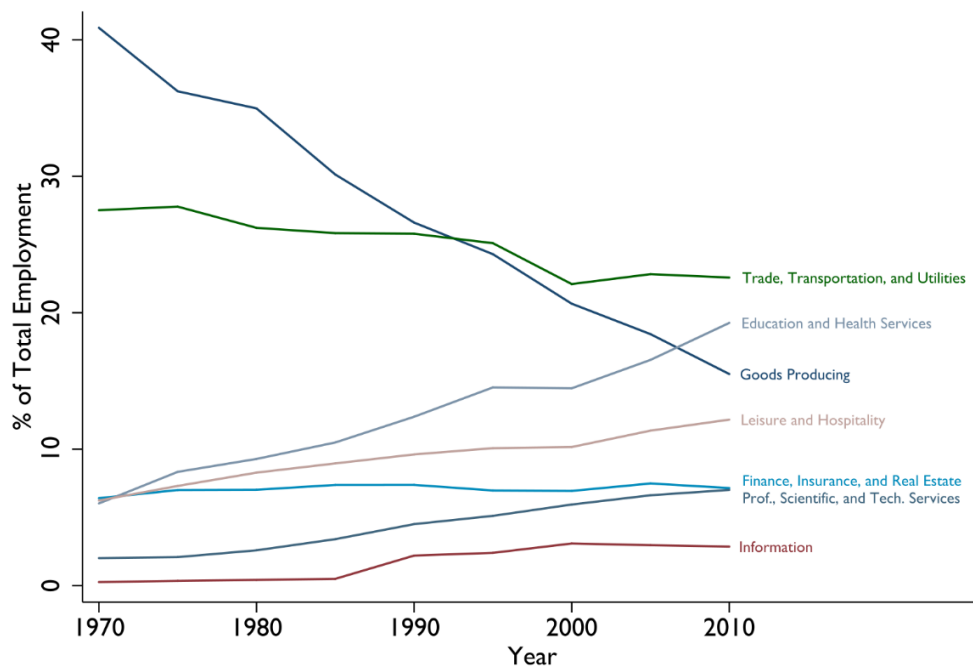
Figure 1-1. Percent of U.S. employment in various industries, 1970–2010. Data from Minnesota Population Center (Manson et al. 2017).

In addition, regions with higher proportions of the creative class have consistently outperformed others in terms of population growth, gross domestic product, income, and other measures of economic success. Figure 1-2 shows a small example of this.

Counties that had a location quotient (LQ)[1] of 1.2 or greater in the creative class industries of professional, scientific, and technical services in 2010 experienced a 90 percent average increase in population since 1970, while counties with a LQ of 1.2 or greater in traditional goods-producing industries only experienced a 44 percent increase, on average. This difference is reversed for counties with LQs that are less than 1.2. Counties that do not specialize in goods-producing industries have had much higher population growth, on average, than counties that do not specialize in professional, scientific, and technical services (79 percent compared to 56 percent). In other words, places that specialize in creative class industries tend to perform better (Florida 2012).
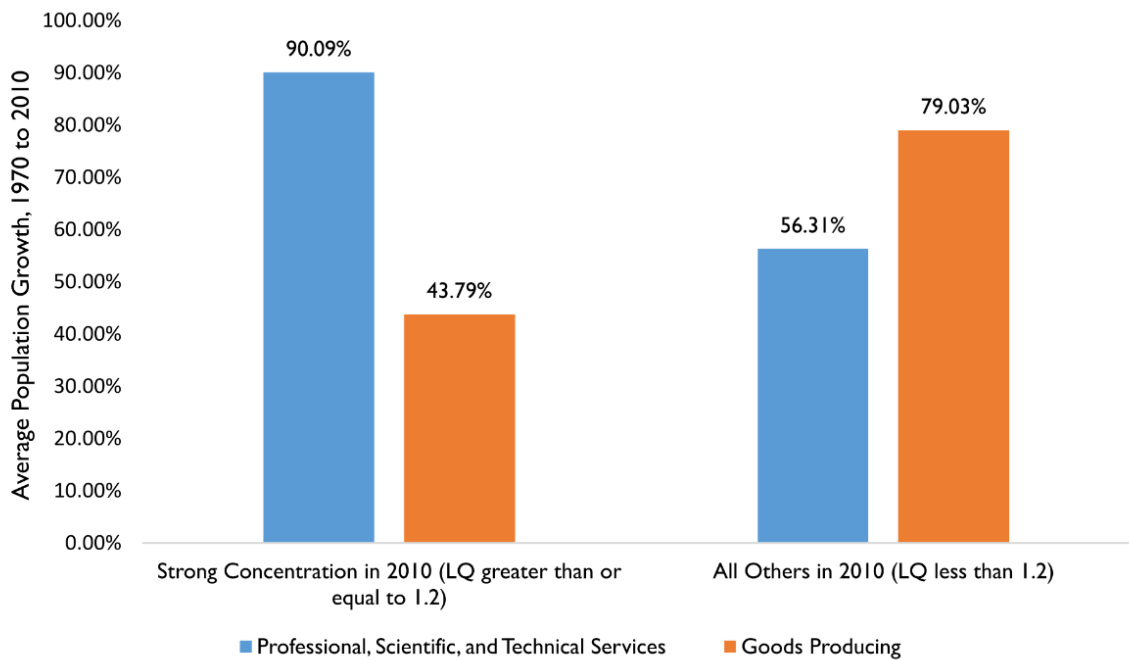
Figure 1-2. Average population growth and industry concentration in U.S. counties, $N = 3,139$. Data from 2010 County Business Patterns and Minnesota Population Center (Manson et al. 2017).

---

[1] A location quotient of 1.2 or greater means that the county has a proportion of employment in the industry that is at least 20 percent larger than the proportion in the national economy. This is a common cut-off in the economic literature.

The message for many cities and urban regions, especially by the turn of the 21st Century, was clear: embrace advanced services and the creative class or go the way of Detroit. The question of how and where to get the money to do so was and is more complex, however. Concomitant with the economic shift described above, urban development policy in the United States and other places in the West moved away from a spending- and government intervention-heavy Keynesian approach, to a free market-oriented "neoliberal" agenda of devolution of power and fiscal austerity (Harvey 2007). Cities and regions seeking the success of the new economy cannot rely on Federal funds; they must figure out a way to retain a competitive edge that ensures a healthy number of advanced services and creative class individuals seek out their locale.

The Creative City Discourse

It is within this context of economic restructuring and neoliberalism that the creative city policy discourse arose. Recognizing that the high-growth advanced services of the new economy are less tied to location based on raw materials or consumer markets, creative city policy suggests that firms in the new economy have an incentive to locate near their desired labor force, the creative class (Clark et al. 2002; Florida 2002b; Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz 2001). Rather than spending scarce resources to create incentives for businesses and new economy industries, creative city policy invests in amenities that attract the creative class.

The work of Florida (2002b) is seminal to the creative city discourse because he develops and empirically tests a theory of why the creative class locates where they do. His research points to a specific cultural scene that attracts the creative class, which he describes as an

> organic and indigenous street-level culture…that tends to cluster along streets with a multitude of small venues. These may include coffee shops, restaurants, and bars, some of which offer performances or exhibits along with food and drink; art galleries; bookstores and other

4

stores; small to mid-sized theaters for film or live performance, or both; and various hybrid spaces—like a bookstore-tearoom-little theater or gallery-studio-live music space—often in storefronts or old buildings converted from other purposes. The scene may spill out into the sidewalks, with dining tables, musicians, vendors, panhandlers, performers, and plenty of passersby at all hours of the day and night. (148-149)

Florida is not the only one to have recognized the importance of this cultural scene, however. In a case study of Chicago's Wicker Park, Lloyd (2002) describes "once derelict spaces of Chicago's industrial past [that] now house trendy restaurants, boutiques, bars, and galleries" (522). Both note that, in addition to the variety of cultural consumption amenities, neighborhoods that best represent the scene retain some degree of poverty, provide distinctive but cheap housing, house a large number of immigrants, and exude ethnic diversity (The Economist 2000). Lloyd (2002) first labeled the scene "neo-bohemia," because, like its 19th Century cousin, the scene mixes the valorization of arts and cultural activities with the grittiness of existence at the edges of urban life. Silver and Miller (2013) call this "grit as glamour"—a bohemian scene that combines self-expression, transgression, and ethnic cultural authenticity. Unlike the bohemia of the past, however, neo-bohemia also has a strong link to the new economy. Many of the residents of neo-bohemia are members of the creative class and, rather than participate in local culture as a "starving artist," they consume it through local businesses such as art galleries, tattoo parlors, and vintage clothing stores.

The main argument of the creative city policy discourse is thus relatively simple: cities and regions can transform declining, impoverished neighborhoods hit hard by the economic restructuring post-Fordism, by establishing the cultural amenities found in neo-bohemia. This attracts the creative class and allows cities and regions to reap the economic benefits that ensue. It is clear that creative city policy reflects the market-oriented context of neoliberalism; it turns the neo-bohemian cultural scene into a

commodity and instrument for economic development that caters to creative class

consumers (Currid 2009; Grodach 2010, 2012, 2013; Strom 2010).

In a recent publication, Carl Grodach (2017) sums up the creative city discourse

and its context:

> Many cities…pinned their hopes of recovery on these [advanced
> services] guided by the neoliberalism of the Reagan-Thatcher era. Their
> program of fiscal austerity and privatization encouraged local
> governments to concentrate on facilitating development over regulating
> growth. This included a focus on place image through attention to
> cultural amenities, urban design, and consumption. Urban strategies also
> attempted to capitalize on changing demographics to sell an urban
> lifestyle and generate redevelopment. (82)

Decentering Neo-Bohemia

Many recognize significant issues with the creative city policy discourse,

suggesting that, as a neoliberal policy, it ignores issues of social inequity (Evans 2009;

Gibson and Klocker 2005; Peck 2005), or that the focus on neo-bohemian culture ignores

other forms of culture, especially those found in smaller cities, suburbs, and rural areas

(Borén and Young 2013; Edensor et al. 2010). Both criticisms highlight that the

dominance of neo-bohemia, either as an economic reality or a cultural one, ignores other

realities that have equal value.

J.K. Gibson-Graham (2006) establishes a critical framework that can be used to

"decenter" a dominant concept in her book *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it).* She

uses the lens of queer theory to expose capitalism as a socially constructed discourse,

rather than an unquestionable truth of how things work. She uses the term "queer" as a

verb, as a method to critique homogenizing binaries (typically gay vs. straight, but this

could also be market vs. non-market or cultured vs. mundane) that tend to demarcate the

line between what is socially acceptable or valuable compared to what is not (Brown

2009). Gibson-Graham (2006) positions capitalism as a hegemonic discourse that

violently penetrates (rapes) all economic discourse, and marginalizes the equally prevalent nonmarket economic transactions such as cooperative economies and the "household" economy. I propose a similar argument that positions neo-bohemia as a dominant concept in cultural policy that marginalizes other forms of economic and cultural value.

Gibson-Graham's work also draws on the related philosophy of Michel Foucault (1980), which calls to attention the power-laden effects of knowledge production. In particular, Foucault (1980) argues that labeling something as a "science" or a "truth" implicitly disqualifies alternatives by framing them as "unscientific" or "false." Foucault (1980) suggests these power relations (similar to the binaries of queer theory) can be challenged by participating in a "historical archeology" that uncovers subjugated knowledge deemed unworthy by the dominant discourse. Gibson-Graham (2006) does this by pointing out the power of capitalism as a hegemonic and destructive force that is unified with the market, unable to coexist with other economic forms, and positioned as the only social reality; she then points to alternative or subjugated economic forms that are ignored, but equally valid.

In this dissertation, I adopt this approach to take on the creative city discourse. Specifically, I show how creative city policy positions neo-bohemia as the only economic and social reality, at the expense of other cultural scenes, forms of cultural expression, and non-market economic value. I argue that the promotion of neo-bohemia is justified through its importance to success in the market economy; however, it is a destructive force that can lead to neighborhood gentrification and commodification at odds with bohemian ideals. Moreover, it privileges densely populated urban centers over smaller cities and suburban locations that have different, but comparably vibrant cultural scenes and economies.

In addition to the critique, I present cultural sustainability as an alternative to the creative cities discourse. Unlike the neoliberal creative city discourse, cultural sustainability moves beyond the "grow, baby, grow" attitude of the market economy to a more ethical way of thinking that recognizes both economic and non-economic arguments for culture and the importance of diversity (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, and Healy 2013; Hawkes 2001; Nurse 2006). Under this framework, cultural planning and policy are participatory and linked to diverse community development outcomes (Grodach 2012; O'Shea 2011). The goal, as opposed the successful promotion of neo-bohemia, is support for diverse cultural scenes.

Outline of Dissertation

In Chapter 2, I review literature that describes the neoliberal logic of the promotion of neo-bohemia in the creative city and helps explain its hegemony in cultural policy. I also review literature that critiques this logic, pointing to the economic violence that neo-bohemia is associated with, including gentrification and neighborhood commodification, as well as the cultural and economic marginalization it promotes. This literature argues that neo-bohemia privileges urban locations and ignores non-urban areas, alternative forms of cultural expression, and non-marketized economic value. In Chapter 3, I describe my methodological approach, which includes structural equation modeling (SEM) and a case study of a neo-bohemian neighborhood, Georgetown, in Seattle, WA. Several hypotheses guide both the SEM and case study. These include a hypothesis that neo-bohemia is associated with gentrification and commodification in addition to success in the market economy, a hypothesis that neo-bohemia privileges urban locations over others, and a hypothesis that neo-bohemian neighborhoods themselves contain a variety of cultural scenes that creative city policy ignores and marginalizes. In Chapter 4, I present the results of the analyses, alternating between a

8

national-level, SEM approach and a localized case study. Finally, in Chapter 5 I present

an alternative cultural policy framework, which promotes cultural diversity and a localized,

context-specific approach to arts and cultural community development.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

In the following section, I discuss two streams of literature that examine neo-bohemia and the creative city discourse. The first is literature that discusses neo-bohemia in the market economy and its role in regional capitalist economies. Much of this work highlights how neo-bohemias can increase spending in the local economy, boost tourism, and bring in companies and individuals that Florida (2012) argues are most important in the economy of the 21st Century. Some criticize these arguments, suggesting that neo-bohemia and creative policy is a neoliberal policy of gentrification in disguise. Others suggest that the instrumental focus of the arts as a tool to marketize economic development inevitably leads to sanitized and inauthentic neighborhoods that are commodities sold to a set of consumers.

The second stream of literature continues the critique of neo-bohemia suggesting that its dominance in the creative city discourse marginalizes other forms of culture, especially forms of culture that exist in smaller cities, suburbs, and rural areas. Moreover, many forms of culture do not have a direct connection to the market economy, and thus authors suggest that more vernacular forms of culture are ignored, despite their non-market economic and cultural value.

The Economic Logic of Neo-Bohemia

There is extensive literature that discusses the benefits of the neo-bohemian cultural scene in a market economy. First, research led by Markusen and Schrock (2006) discusses how artists and arts activity in neo-bohemia can support local business activity and increase local and regional economic productivity. Second, Florida (2012) and others discuss the vital role neo-bohemian neighborhoods play in attracting development

through the creative class, a section of society that drives the new economy. This section reviews each of these literatures in turn.

Markusen and Schrock's (2006) seminal article coins the term the "artistic dividend" to describe the added value artists and creative industries contribute to the local economy. The authors adopt the concept of a multiplier effect from economic base theory to show how artists can benefit the economy. Artists patronize a wide range of local businesses to get the tools, supplies, and services needed to produce art works (Becker 1982). This reliance on local business produces a multiplier effect: an increase in artist employment increases spending in the local economy, which in turn increases employment to meet the expanding market. The increased employment again results in individuals spending more in the economy, and the process continues. The theory of the artistic dividend advanced by Markusen and Schrock (2006) implies that neo-bohemian neighborhoods that support large numbers of artists and cultural activity should maintain robust local economies.

Second, it is not only the spending of artists themselves, but also the spending of tourists and local visitors drawn to the neo-bohemian scene that influences economic success (Currid 2009). While arts-led tourist attraction is generally thought of in terms of flagship developments such as Chicago's Millennium Park or Bilbao's Guggenheim (Clark and Silver 2013; Plaza 2006), research shows that these larger institutions are often linked with neo-bohemian districts that are tourism hotspots themselves (Grodach 2010, 2012, 2013; Strom 2010). From this perspective, neo-bohemian places can help to advertise entire cities as destination spots for cultural tourism that adds to consumption and spending in the economy (Currid 2009). Lloyd (2002) uses Wicker Park in Chicago as an example of the cultural importance of neo-bohemia, describing how a thriving

11

music scene eventually branded the neighborhood as a cultural icon that became the setting for MTV's *The Real World* in the early 2000s.

Third, Lloyd (2002) suggests that artists and cultural consumers in neo-bohemia not only support the existing local economy, but also attract firms seeking out a creative and flexible labor force. He cites the expansive literature discussing the restructuring of the post-World War II economy away from heavy manufacturing to information industries in finance, high-tech, media, and other advanced services (Castells 1989; Sassen 1991). Lloyd (2002) suggests that these firms in the new economy make location decisions based on where their needed labor force locates rather than traditional concerns like fixed capital and transportation costs (Clark et al. 2002; Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz 2001). Artists and creative persons are valuable assets to these firms because they require innovation, creativity, critical problem solving, and other skills that artists tend to have (Markusen and Schrock 2006). Moreover, these firms often rely on temporary or contract labor that complements the bohemian ideal of autonomy (Lloyd 2002). Thus, Lloyd (2002) suggests that artists in neo-bohemia have a strong link to the postindustrial, global economy and support growth in firms that can increase employment and income.

Finally, the work of Florida (2002b; 2012) documents the importance of quality of life concerns of the creative class. Rather than choosing where to locate based solely on the availability of a job, the creative class seek out tolerant locations with cultural amenities that appeal to their taste for an urban, bohemian lifestyle (Clark 2011; Florida 2002b; Florida 2012). The art galleries, local coffee shops, and other amenities in neo-bohemian neighborhoods provide the scene that the creative class and other affluent individuals desire.

Research attempts to demonstrate the "scientificity" of the economic argument for neo-bohemia with the construction of the "bohemian index," which allows the ranking

of places in terms of degree of "bohemian-ness" and thus in terms of economic potential (Florida 2002a, 2012). Moreover, creative city discourse normalizes the concept of neo-bohemia with broad statements suggesting neo-bohemia is connected with "creative activity in general" (Florida 2002b, 58) or that neo-bohemian places are "cool" places (The Economist 2000). Thus the creative city discourse promotes a narrative in which neo-bohemian places are seen as cool, cultured, and economically successful, and non-neo-bohemian places are seen as uncool, mundane, and economic failures.

Criticisms of Neo-Bohemia

Rather than a scientific truth, however, the theory that neo-bohemian places are economically successful, while other cultural places are less successful, is a socially constructed dichotomy that the creative city discourse reinforces. Adopting the critical lens of Gibson-Graham (2006), I deconstruct this dichotomy, showing that neo-bohemia, as a part of the neoliberal creative city discourse, promotes economic success that is accompanied by gentrification and inauthentic and commodified culture. Moreover, I argue the cultural places labeled as less successful in the creative city discourse simply have economies and cultures that are different, but not worse or better, than neo-bohemia.

First, case-study work in creative cities such as Brisbane and Adelaide, Australia (Atkinson and Easthope 2009); Toronto, ON (Catugnal, Leslie, and Hii 2009); Austin, TX (McCann 2007); Baltimore, MD (Ponzini and Rossi 2010); and Milwaukee, WI (Zimmerman 2008) consistently show that creative city policy privileges concerns of economic profit and business over social concerns of inequality and poverty. Specifically, neo-bohemia is seen as disguised gentrification meant to produce economic profit by attracting the higher-income creative class (Peck 2005). As the creative class moves in to a neighborhood and the area increases in desirability, the cost of living increases and

low-income residents and even artists themselves can no longer afford to live in the neighborhood (Cameron and Coaffee 2005; Deutsche and Ryan 1984; Ley 2003; Mathews 2010). Artists and other authentic, poor old-timers are the very residents that gave the neighborhood its neo-bohemian character, and as they leave so does the area's authentic spirit (Brown-Saracino 2009).

Second, the economic success of neo-bohemia in the creative city is often capital investment in profit-oriented institutions such as big banks, chain stores, and business associations that are at odds with the transgressive, anti-corporate scene (Frenzel and Beverungen 2015; Long 2009; Zukin 2010). Reviewing Lloyd (2005), Gillette (2010) describes this process:

> The conversion in 1989 of an old sweatshop that was a shooting gallery for drug addicts to Urbus Orbis, a coffeehouse that drew together artists and young professionals, signified Wicker Park's arrival as a neo-bohemia. The closure of Urbus Orbis in 1998 and the opening of a Starbuck's two blocks away in 2001 signified how ephemeral any counterhegemonic identity could be in light of the restless search of capital for profit. (396)

The tendency of neo-bohemia to produce gentrification and attract capital investment ensures that its true form is fleeting, and once these processes reach a certain point, the result is indistinctive and mimetic development. Hannigan (2007) calls neo-bohemian neighborhoods commodities of "controlled edge" (4). He suggests that in order to make the neighborhood accessible to mainstream consumers, the elements of neo-bohemia are sanitized so that seedy second-hand clothing stores that cater to artists seeking a "good find," along with poor residents that cannot afford new clothes, become chain stores like Urban Outfitters that offer vintage, bohemian-style clothing at much higher prices. Smoke-filled coffee shops that double as open-mic spots become Starbucks. Investments in neo-bohemia simultaneously produce economic value and decline in cultural value, as authentic culture is replaced by cultural homogeneity.

Third, the framework of Gibson-Graham (2006) and Foucault (1980), especially,

suggests that the labeling of cities with a strong prevalence of neo-bohemia as cool,

culturally vibrant, and economically successful implicitly labels other places as uncool,

mundane, and in decline. The bohemian index privileges large urban centers that contain

the amenities necessary to support neo-bohemia over smaller cities, suburbs, and rural

locations (Evans and Foord 2006; Gibson 2010; Lewis and Donald 2010; Waitt and

Gibson 2009). Gans (1967) first challenged the conception of suburban places as culture-

less and homogenized, and others point to the cheap housing, natural setting, religious

institutions, and other amenities that can foster unique cultures in suburban and rural

areas (Bain 2010; Hracs 2010).

Promoting neo-bohemia as a tool for growth in the market economy ignores

culturally rich spaces of non-marketized cultural practices that

> encompass a wide range of activities that are distinguished by their
> expression of community values and their inclusion of many participants,
> in contrast to the individualized and professionalized creation or
> reproduction of art or culture by experts detached from a community
> frame of reference. (Markusen 2010, 185)

Examples of these activities include knitting groups, community theatre, church choirs,

park drum circles, community gardening, and community festivals (Crouch 2010; Edensor

et al. 2010; Milbourne 2010; Wali, Severson, and Longoni 2002).

These cultural practices not only reflect a variety of cultural scenes, which may or

may not include neo-bohemia, they are also distinguished from the more commodified

version of cultural expression that is typically found in neo-bohemia (Wali, Severson, and

Longoni 2002). In these spaces, culture exists in community economies, which, although

divorced from the capitalist market economy, do provide real economic value for people

through the sharing of resources, the strengthening of social support networks, and the

production of marketable skills (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, and Healy 2013). For

15

example, community gardens, although outside the capitalist market, provide food, the chance to form bonds of friendship with one's neighbors, and the opportunity for residents to learn valuable gardening and even farming skills.

The creative city discourse ignores non-marketized values of cultural expression such as beauty, critique, emotional insight, and the formation of identity and shared community (Edensor et al. 2010; Hawkes 2001; Markusen 2014; McCarthy et al. 2004). The creative city discourse treats cultural activity as a commodity that is valued only for profit (Gibson and Klocker 2005; Gibson and Kong 2005; Kagan and Hahn 2011; McLean 2014). A long line of research documents how the intrinsic benefits of cultural expression, especially of the more participatory forms of vernacular culture discussed above, facilitate interactions that build social connections and collective action as well as preserve local culture and identity that can, in turn, produce beneficial community development and economic outcomes (for a review see Murdoch, Grodach, and Foster 2016).

In sum, advocates of the creative city discourse position the neo-bohemian scene as the primary focus in cultural policy and promote it as a necessary step to produce needed economic productivity. A closer examination, however, reveals that rather than a benign truth, this argument serves to promote economic violence that destroys cultural authenticity through gentrification and neighborhood commodification, as well as marginalizes non-marketized forms of culture that more often occur in smaller cities and suburban and rural areas. Many places with vibrant local cultures cannot successfully adopt the current creative city policy framework, as they will lose out to cities with a greater competitive edge in the provision of neo-bohemian amenities (Evans and Foord 2006). Moreover, even those that are successful (assuming the creative cities discourse is followed) promote the neo-bohemian scene at the expense of more local, indigenous cultural scenes. This is a top-down approach to policymaking, in which

16

decision makers simply need to follow the established recipe of success, rather than work

with local populations to produce contextualized and nuanced cultural policy.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This section describes the data and methods I use to provide empirical support for the arguments made above. The analysis tests three hypotheses:

    H1. Neo-bohemia is associated with success in the market economy, but also gentrification and commodification.

    H2. Neo-bohemia is more common in urban city locations than others, including the suburbs, small towns, and rural areas.

    H3. Neo-bohemian neighborhoods contain a variety of cultural scenes.

Each hypothesis is a step toward decentering the concept of neo-bohemia in cultural policy, providing a path to an alternative narrative of cultural sustainability. With evidence for H1, I can show that the economic success of neo-bohemia accompanies gentrification, a process which displaces low-income residents and artists, as well as commodification with chain development that destroys cultural authenticity. With evidence for H2, I can point to a false assumption of the creative cities discourse: that neo-bohemian neighborhoods are the most desirable. Contexts outside of urban cities, which H2 shows are less likely to have neo-bohemian scenes, are implicitly seen as uncultured, mundane, and in economic decline and subsequently ignored in the creative cities framework. Finally, with support for H3, I crystallize my argument questioning the centrality of neo-bohemia in the creative cities discourse. Evidence for H3 shows that even within neo-bohemian neighborhoods, multiple cultures can exist that the creative cities discourse ignores, marginalizes, and even destroys.

To test these hypotheses, I apply a mixed methods approach that uses descriptive statistical analysis, geographic information systems (GIS) mapping, qualitative references to online news and other related media sources, and SEM. In the subsections

18

below I describe the data and methods used to test each hypothesis. First, however, I provide a brief justification for the SEM framework I use to measure the concept of neo-bohemia at the neighborhood level.

The SEM Framework

I use SEM to specify neo-bohemia as a latent variable that is measured by several observed indicators, which I discuss below. My measure of neo-bohemia is similar to Florida's (2002a) bohemian index and could be used to "prove" the link between neo-bohemia and economic success, as past research has done.[2] However, the measurement model I specify has several benefits that the bohemian index does not.

First, the SEM framework takes measurement error into account when operationalizing complex phenomena (Bollen 1989; Schumacker and Lomax 2010). The bohemian index is a linear combination of the hypothesized indicators, but this method assumes that the indicators perfectly measure the concept (i.e., there is no measurement error). This is quite a strong assumption; it is more likely that the indicators only approximate the concept and that there is some error that varies randomly on a case-by-case basis. The impact of this error, especially as models become quite large, is unpredictable and can often cause significant bias in estimates and thus lead to faulty inferences from the results (Bollen 1989). SEM uses latent variables, which are only approximations of complex concepts, that are measured using multiple observed indicators. This allows for the possibility of measurement error, only estimating the means

---

[2] There are several differences between my measure of bohemia and the bohemian index from Florida (2002a). The bohemian index is the location quotient of people (from the PUMS dataset) classified as bohemian (authors, designers, musicians, actors, photographers, dancers, artists, and related occupations) captured at the regional level. My measure captures amenities and demographics of neighborhoods (ZIP codes) and is a latent concept. That said, I can use the measurement model to predict a score of bohemia for each ZIP code and aggregate this up to the region level captured in the PUMS. When I do this, the correlation between my index and the bohemian index is 0.48 and statistically significant with 99.9 percent confidence. This demonstrates their similarity.

and variances of latent concepts, and also allows the researcher to construct estimates that indicate the reliability of the results (Bollen 1989).

Second, SEM allows multiple latent concepts to be related to each other through path analysis (Schumaker and Lomax 2010), while, again, accounting for measurement error. I can specify neo-bohemia as well as economic success, gentrification, and commodification as latent concepts with multiple indicators. SEM can test for indirect effects, e.g., whether neo-bohemia indirectly effects economic success through gentrification, and compare the strength of relationships between the latent concepts within the model.

<div align="center">H1 Analysis</div>

To test H1 (*neo-bohemia is associated with success in the market economy, but also gentrification and commodification*) I define an SEM that tests associations between neo-bohemian neighborhoods and neighborhood economic success, gentrification, and commodification. The SEM provides general evidence for neighborhoods across the United States. I then drill down to a single neighborhood, Georgetown in Seattle, WA, which represents a typical example of a neo-bohemian neighborhood in a large city. The case study allows a more nuanced analysis. I capture the perspectives of residents using online media sources and use descriptive statistics of Census data collected from the Minnesota Population Center's (Manson et al. 2017) National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS) to show how the neighborhood has changed over time.

To approximate the neighborhood, I use ZIP codes and ZIP code tabulation areas (ZCTAs). Zip codes are not spatial areas, but series of postal routes defined by the United States Postal Service. ZCTAs are the U.S. Census Bureau's attempt to "spatialize" ZIP codes by approximating the area the postal routes cover so that Census data can be matched to ZIP codes. While ZIP codes and ZCTAs are imperfect measures

<div align="center">20</div>

of neighborhoods and vary greatly in size depending on population density, they are the best way to estimate neighborhoods for the entire United States using the Census and cultural amenity data necessary for this analysis. The final database includes 27,404 observations corresponding to U.S. ZCTAs.

I measure neo-bohemia with a set of six distinct variables. The first variable, *transgressive*, is the number of body piercing studios, tattoo parlors, and vintage and used clothing stores per 1,000 people in the neighborhood. The second variable, *nightlife*, is the number of bars and other drinking places and nightclubs per 1,000 people in the neighborhood. The third and fourth variables, *arts* and *artists*, measure the number of art dealers, art galleries, and museums, and the number of fine arts schools and independent artists, writers, and performers per 1,000 people in the neighborhood, respectively. The fifth variable, *coffee shops*, is a measure of the number of coffee shops in per 1,000 people in the neighborhood. Finally, the sixth variable, *the cool factor*, is the average of a set of variables, which include the percent below the poverty line, racial diversity, the percent foreign-born, the inverse of the median housing value and monthly rent, and the percent of housing built before 1950.[3]

Each of these reflect established theory on the character of neo-bohemian neighborhoods. Lloyd (2002) describes the atmosphere of neo-bohemia as a mix of nightclubs, artists and cultural activity, quirky coffee houses, second-hand stores, and alternative people with lots of tattoos and body piercings that reflect a bohemian culture. The article "The Geography of Cool" in *The Economist* describes the recipe of cool,

---

[3] Four of the five variables from the 2006 ZIP code business patterns are sums of multiple amenities, and the *cool factor* variable is the average of several variables from the 2000 Census. These variables can thus be seen as latent concepts that could have their elements as indicators in a measurement model, as is the case with neo-bohemia (see the Methods subsection in this section). Instead, I define each variable as a "parcel" that is treated as a single measure in the neo-bohemia measurement model. For a justification of the parceling technique see Little et al. (2002).

bohemian neighborhoods as places with a mix of poverty, racial diversity, immigrant

populations, and cheap, distinctive housing (The Economist 2000).

The data for the variables measuring neo-bohemia come from Silver and Clark's

(2016) U.S. cultural scenes dataset, which includes publicly available data from the 2006

ZIP code business patterns (ZBP) and from the 2006 U.S. yellow pages (YP) as well as

from the 2000 Census. Table 3-1 shows the data sources for each element of neo-

bohemia and the corresponding North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS)

or Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes for each measure.

Table 3-1. Data for each indicator of neo-bohemia

	Variables	Source	NAICS/SIC Codes[a]
Transgressive	*Sum of*		
	Body piercing studios per 1,000 people	2006 YP	729979
	Tattoo parlors per 1,000 people	2006 YP	729943
	Vintage and used clothing stores per 1,000 people	2006 YP	593220; 593205
Nightlife	*Sum of*		
	Nightclubs per 1,000 people	2006 YP	581304
	Drinking establishments (alcohol) per 1,000 people	2006 ZBP	722410
Arts	*Sum of*		
	Art dealers per 1,000 people	2006 ZBP	453920
	Art museums and galleries per 1,000 people	2006 YP	841201
Artists	*Sum of*		
	Fine arts schools per 1,000 people	2006 ZBP	611610
	Independent artists, writers, and performers per 1,000 people	2006 ZBP	711510
Coffee Shops	Coffee shops per 1,000 people	2006 YP	581228
The Cool Factor[b]	*Average of*		
	Percent of people below the poverty line	2000 Census	n/a
	Racial diversity entropy score[c]	2000 Census	n/a
	Percent of people that are foreign-born	2000 Census	n/a
	Inverse of the median of the median housing value and median monthly gross rent	2000 Census	n/a
	Percent of housing built before 1950	2000 Census	n/a

[a]ZBP data use NAICS codes; YP data use SIC codes.

[b]To give each indicator a similar scale, I take the natural log of the cool factor before including it in the SEM described below.

[c]Measured as entropy index, $\sum p_i ln\left(\frac{1}{p_i}\right)$, where p_i is the proportion of the population in race/ethnicity category i (either non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian, non-Hispanic other, Hispanic, or two or more races).

In addition to neo-bohemia, I specify latent concepts of economic success,

gentrification, and neighborhood commodification. Table 3-2 shows the variables used to

measure each of the three outcomes. The indicators of the latent variables economic

success and gentrification reflect past research done by Grodach, Foster, and Murdoch

(2014, 2016). I distinguish economic success from gentrification, with indicators that

reflect positive signs of growth in a market economy without a corresponding influx of

affluent individuals that may displace current residents. These include growth in median

household income, growth in employment, growth in the percent of households above the

federal poverty line, and growth in the median housing value.

On the other hand, following the definition put forth by Kennedy and Leonard

(2001), gentrification includes indicators that are signs of an influx of affluent individuals

as well as the *potential* for low-income resident displacement. These include growth in

the percent of the population with a bachelor's degree or higher and growth in the percent

of the population in management occupations, which is measured with Standard

Occupational Classification (SOC) code 11. In addition, gentrification includes a negative

indicator, growth in the percent of the population in production, transportation, and

material moving occupations (SOC codes 51 and 53). As affluent residents move in and

lower income residents move out, these blue collar jobs are expected to decline.[4] The

indicators of gentrification and economic success are all measures of the percent growth

from 2000 to 2012, which is approximated by measuring the growth rate,

$\ln\left(\frac{y\ in\ 2008-2012}{y\ in\ 2000}\right)$, between the 2000 Census of the Population data and 2008 to 2012 5-

year estimates from the American Community Survey (ACS).

---

[4] Although change in rent is a common indicator of gentrification, it also overlaps with the definition of economic success, which includes growth in housing values. In addition, growth in housing values is a sign of economic stability that, while it can adversely affect homeowners through increases in property taxes, is much less concerning for lower-income populations. For these reasons, I do not include the change in rent as an indication of gentrification, but do include increases in housing values as indication of economic success.

Table 3-2. Indicators and data sources of outcome variables

Economic Success		Gentrification		Commodification	
Indicator	Source	Indicator	Source	Indicator	Source
Growth rate in median household income	2000 Census and 2008–2012 ACS	Growth rate in % bachelor's degree or higher	2000 Census and 2008–2012 ACS	Chain apparel stores	Reference USA
Growth rate in % households above federal poverty line	2000 Census and 2008–2012 ACS	Growth rate in % management occupations[a]	2000 Census and 2008–2012 ACS	Chain coffee shops	Reference USA
Growth rate in median housing value	2000 Census and 2008–2012 ACS	Growth rate in % production, transportation, and material moving occupations[b]	2000 Census and 2008–2012 ACS	Growth rate in commercial banking[c]	2006 and 2012 ZBP

[a]The ACS uses SOC code 11 to capture this measure.
[b]The ACS uses SOC codes 51 and 53 to capture this measure.
[c]I measure commercial banking with NAICS code 522110.

Finally, the latent variable commodification is operationalized through a set of variables that indicate a strong presence of profit-oriented, chain apparel stores and coffee shops as well as commercial banks. These indicators reflect Zukin's (2010) description of the commodification of neo-bohemian neighborhoods in New York City. She discusses the loss of mom and pop stores and other authentic cultural markers in the neighborhood of Williamsburg, replaced by Starbucks, H&M, and other brand-name chain stores as well as an influx of investment activity. I select two categories of chain stores, apparel and coffee shops, that reflect the culture of consumption Zukin (2010) describes in commodified neighborhoods. I define apparel chain stores using an article from the National Retail Federation that employs Kantar Retail's list of the most profitable retailers in the United States to determine the top retailers in the apparel industry (Schulz

2014). Similarly, I define coffee shop chains using an article from *ListDose.com* that lists the top coffee chains in the U.S (Jalan 2014).[5]

The apparel and coffee measures are the total number of all businesses in the category started in 2010 or later from the Reference USA dataset. Table 3-3 lists the company names of each retailer included in the apparel and coffee chain measures. In addition to these measures, I include a measure of growth in commercial banks per 1,000 people from the 2006 and 2012 ZBP (NAICS code 522110).

Table 3-3. Businesses included in the apparel and coffee chain store measures

Apparel Chain Stores		Coffee Chain Stores
Abercrombie & Fitch (Incl. Abercrombie Kids)	Genesco Inc	Caribou Coffee
Aeropostale (Incl. PS from Aeropostale)	H&M	Coffee Beanery
American Eagle Outfitters	Hollister Co	Dunkin' Donuts
Ann Taylor	J Crew	Gloria Jean's Coffee
Anthropologie	Justice	Peet's Coffee & Tea
Banana Republic	LOFT	Starbucks
Bath & Body Works	Lane Bryant	Tim Hortons
Catherines	Maurices	Tully's Coffee
Chico's	Ralph Lauren	
DSW	Soma Intimates	
Dress Barn	Urban Outfitters	
Express	Victoria's Secret (Incl. Pink)	
Foot Locker	White House/Black Market	
Gap (Incl. Baby Gap, Gap Kids, and Gap Body)		

Source: Reference USA Business Database.

In the SEM analysis, I also include several control variables (Table 3-4) that are hypothesized to both impact economic success, gentrification, and/or commodification and be associated with neo-bohemian neighborhoods. While the estimated effects of

---

[5] These chain coffee shops are distinguished from the coffee shop indicator of neo-bohemia, which includes all coffee shops regardless of the business type. There is only minimal overlap between these two indicators ($r = 0.28$). Moreover, removing the coffee shops as an indicator of neo-bohemia does not significantly change any of the results presented below.

these variables are not of primary interest to the argument I make, they are essential elements of the SEM because they have the potential to confound any results found for neo-bohemia if left out. In other words, the inclusion of control variables associated with neo-bohemia facilitates the determination of whether associations with economic success, gentrification, and commodification are attributable to neo-bohemian amenities or other factors that tend to be present in neo-bohemian neighborhoods.

The control variables include several demographic variables, variables that capture economic context, and variables that capture the impact of the Great Recession. The demographic and economic context measures are included based on previous research examining the importance of context to arts and cultural activity (Foster, Grodach, and Murdoch 2016; Grodach et al. 2014; Murdoch, Grodach, and Foster 2016). The final four control variables reflect a highly important issue that impacts the SEM. The analysis captures a time period that includes the Great Recession, a financial crisis that impacted the entire global economy. In the United States many, but not all, neighborhoods experienced high rates of foreclosures resulting from owners' inability to pay subprime mortgages with high interest rates, which caused a chain reaction of unpaid debt, falling housing values, unemployment, and other economic consequences that are still being felt years later. As agglomerations of amenities that are highly dependent on consumer expenditures, neo-bohemian neighborhoods may be particularly vulnerable to the effects of the Great Recession (Grodach and Seman 2013; Pratt 2009). Thus, if its effects are not accounted for, my results may underreport the influence of neo-bohemia in neighborhoods disproportionately affected by the crisis or overreport its influence in neighborhoods relatively unaffected.

Table 3-4. Control variables in SEM

Demographics	Economic Context	Great Recession
% Bachelor's degree or higher	Economic diversity, entropy[a]	Foreclosure Needs Score, 2010
% Multi-unit housing	Median household income, logged	
% Non-white	% Employment in advanced services[b]	% Persons at 80% or less of area median income, 2000
% Receiving public assistance	% Employment in cultural services[c]	
% Renter-occupied households	% Employment in production industries[d]	
% Single-mother families	% Management jobs (SOC 11)	Rate of serious delinquent mortgages, 2010
% Taking public transportation to work	% Sales and office jobs (SOC 41 and 43)	
% Walking to work	% Service jobs (SOC 31, 33, 35, 37, and 39)	Number of foreclosures in the last year, 2009–10
Population density, logged		
	% Working at home	
	% Unemployed	

Source: 2000 Census of the Population; Neighborhood Stabilization Program, Year 3.

[a] $\sum p_i ln\left(\frac{1}{p_i}\right)$, where p_i is the proportion of employment in industry category i (either production, advanced services, or cultural services).

[b]Includes the industry categories information, finance, insurance, real estate, rental and leasing, and professional, scientific, management, administrative, and waste management services (NAICS 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, and 56).

[c]Includes the industry categories arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation, and food services (NAICS 71 and 72).

[d]Includes the industry categories manufacturing, wholesale trade, transportation and warehousing, and utilities (NAICS 31, 32, 33, 42, 48, 49, and 22).

To control for the heterogeneity of the neighborhood effects of the Great Recession and its possible association with neo-bohemian neighborhoods, I include data from year 3 (2010) of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP). The measures include a foreclosure needs score, which provides a score from 1 to 20 indicating the amount of distress due to subprime loans, foreclosures, and unemployment in a neighborhood; the percent of people at or below 80 percent of the area median income; the rate of serious delinquent (delinquent for 90 or more days) mortgages; and the estimated number of foreclosures in the neighborhood in the last year, i.e., 2009–2010. Together, these variables are

indications of neighborhoods likely to be disproportionately affected by the Great Recession, and their inclusion in the model is essential to capture the effect of neo-bohemia on the outcomes regardless of the effects of the recession.

To model the data above, I utilize an SEM with several parts. First, the measurement model of neo-bohemia can be expressed with the equation

$$x = v_x + \Lambda_x \xi + \delta, \tag{1}$$

where x is the set of observed indicators (shown in Table 3-1) measuring the latent concept neo-bohemia, Λ_x is the set of coefficients that estimate the association between neo-bohemia and each observed indicator, ξ is the latent variable neo-bohemia, v_x is the set of intercepts that capture the value of each observed indicator when neo-bohemia is 0, and δ is an error term that shows the variance of each indicator that is not related to neo-bohemia. To identify the above model, the latent variable must be assigned a scale (Bollen 1989). To do so, I set the coefficient (λ_1) of the first observed indicator, *transgressive* (x_1), to 1. In other words, the latent variable neo-bohemia has the same scale as the observed variable *transgressive*.

Second, I perform an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on the control variables in Table 3-4. EFA can be used when there is no explicit theory that relates to the measures in the analysis (Bollen 1989). In my case, I am only interested in accounting for the effects of each of the control variables to obtain better estimates of the relationship between neo-bohemia and economic success, gentrification, and neighborhood commodification. I am thus not testing any specific theory about the control variables. Moreover, EFA can be used as a data reduction technique, reducing a large set of control variables to a smaller set of "factors," or latent variables. The EFA of the controls reduces

28

the set of variables to six latent variables. The results of the full SEM, which includes the control variables, are thus cleaner and easier to read.[6]

Third, I specify a measurement model for each of the latent concepts economic success, gentrification, and neighborhood commodification and a SEM that relates the concept of neo-bohemia to the three outcomes. The measurement models take the same form as the neo-bohemia model, but with different notation to differentiate between the exogenous variable neo-bohemia, and the endogenous variables economic success, gentrification, and neighborhood commodification. The measurement models for these three concepts are represented with the equation

$$y = v_y + \Lambda_y \eta + \epsilon, \tag{2}$$

where y is the set of observed indicators measuring the latent concepts in η (economic success, gentrification, and commodification), Λ_y is the set of coefficients that estimate the association between each observed indicator and each latent concept, v_y is the set of intercepts that capture the value of each indicator when each latent variable is 0, and ϵ is an error term that estimates the proportion of the variance of each observed indicator that is unexplained by the latent concept it is associated with. Again, each latent variable is identified by setting its scale and origin to be equal to one of its indicators.

Finally, the structural part of the model, which is the part that models the relationships of the latent variables, is represented with the equation

$$\eta = \mathrm{B}\eta + \Gamma\xi + \zeta, \tag{3}$$

where η is the set of three endogenous latent variables, economic success, gentrification, and neighborhood commodification; B is a matrix of coefficients that capture the effect of each endogenous variable on the other endogenous variables; ξ is set of exogenous

---

[6] The EFA is performed using the default GEOMIN rotation in Mplus and robust standard errors using the sandwich estimator; see Muthén and Muthén (1998–2012) for a description.

variables that include a latent variable measuring neo-bohemia and the EFA factors of the control variables; Γ is a matrix of coefficients that represent the estimated effect the exogenous variables on each of the endogenous latent variables; and ζ is the set of random errors.

The parameters in the above models are estimated using maximum likelihood in the statistical software Mplus (Muthén and Muthén 1998–2012). Standard errors are calculated using the Satorra-Bentler estimator, which is robust to autocorrelation, heteroskedasticity, and non-normality (Satorra and Bentler 1994). To demonstrate the validity of the models, I report several measures of model fit including the significance of the model chi-square, the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean residual (SRMR). The gold standard of model fit is an insignificant chi-square; however, the SEM literature recognizes that models can be valid with a significant chi-square if the CFI is greater than 0.9, the RMSEA is less than 0.08, and the SRMR is less than 0.05 (Little 2013; Schumacker and Lomax 2010). All models discussed below meet these standards for goodness-of-fit.

There are several limitations of both the data and the models that should be noted. As stated previously, ZIP Codes are less ideal than other measures of neighborhoods, such as Census tracts, which have a more uniform range of population size and land area. The ZBP and YP data I use to measure neo-bohemia (Table 3-1), however, are not available for other geographies. I address this issue by including measures normalized by population size, where possible.

Second, ideally, data measuring neo-bohemia would come from the year 2000 and match the control variables as well as the beginning year in the growth variables for other measures; however, the data collection effort by Silver and Clark (2016), which

makes the measurement of neo-bohemia on a national scale possible, is only available for the year 2006. There is thus the potential for noise in the results that is due to this time discrepancy. The effect of this, however, should be minimal as cases in which neo-bohemia increased significantly from 2000 to 2006 should be balanced by other neighborhoods where neo-bohemia decreased.

Third, it is possible that the SEM above does not accurately represent the relationship of neo-bohemia to economic success, gentrification, or neighborhood commodification. Omitted variable bias could happen if an important factor associated with neo-bohemia and economic success, gentrification, or neighborhood commodification is not included in the control variables. I attempt to minimize this risk by relying on past literature to define control variables and other measures included in the model. The would also happen if any of the relationships between neo-bohemia and economic success, gentrification, or neighborhood commodification are non-linear. The models, however, need only estimate associations between neo-bohemia and the other concepts, which are less likely to be impacted by non-linearity than more detailed predictions.

Finally, the SEM does not demonstrate causal relationships. Bollen (1989) suggests that causality requires three things: (1) pseudo-isolation, (2) association, and (3) direction of causation. In the SEM, I attempt pseudo-isolation, which is zero correlation between the error terms and exogenous variables, with the inclusion of control variables that rely on previous literature and intuition. Moreover, I demonstrate association with estimates of significance that are robust to autocorrelation, heteroskedasticity, and non-normality. I do not, however, show that neo-bohemia is a direct cause of economic success, gentrification, and commodification. While it is measured at an earlier time point than these three outcomes, it is possible that neo-

31

bohemia itself is an outcome of previous trends in the outcomes. Thus, all results from the SEM are estimates of association not causation.

<div align="center">H2 Analysis</div>

To test H2 (*neo-bohemia is more common in urban city locations than others, including the suburbs, small towns, and rural areas*), I estimate the measurement model for neo-bohemia specified above in six different urbanicity contexts, including large cities, mid-sized cities, small cities, suburbs, towns, and rural areas. I use an adapted version of the National Center for Education Statistics' (NCES) measure of urbanicity, which categorizes places as city, suburban, town, or rural (Murdoch 2016). Table 3-5 lists the definitions of each category.

Table 3-5. Categories of urbanicity

Category	Definition
City	ZCTA inside an urbanized area and inside a principal city[a] with a population of…
Large	at least 250,000
Midsize	at least 100,000 but less than 250,000
Small	less than 100,000
Suburb	ZCTA outside a principal city and inside an urbanized area[b]
Town	ZCTA inside an urban cluster[c]
Rural	ZCTA not in an urban cluster or urbanized area

[a]A city within a census-defined metropolitan statistical area that contains the primary population and economic center of the metro area. Metro areas can have more than one principal city.
[b]A cluster of census-defined blocks with a population of at least 50,000.
[c]A cluster of census-defined blocks with a population of at least 2,500, but less than 50,000.

To determine how ZCTAs overlap with the census geographies shown in Table 3-5, I use the Missouri Data Center's geographic correspondence engine. I estimate the measurement model in each context simultaneously and specify the large city context as the reference category. The equation for the multigroup measurement mode takes the form

$$x^{(g)} = v_x{}^{(g)} + \Lambda_x{}^{(g)}\xi^{(g)} + \delta^{(g)}, \tag{4}$$

for each group, or urbanicity context, g. The model estimates the measurement model using only the neighborhoods within the given context and produces a score which shows the difference in the mean of neo-bohemia in the given context compared to the mean in the reference category (i.e., the large city context). For example, if the score is -1, then the mean of neo-bohemia in the context is 1 point lower than the mean of neo-bohemia in a large city. The scale of the score depends on the variable used for identification of the model; however, for the purposes of this analysis, I am only interested in understanding whether the mean in each context is statistically larger or smaller than the mean in the large city context. If smaller, then there is evidence that supports H2, that neo-bohemia is more commonly found in large cities. If larger, then the evidence is contrary to what is expected given H2.

Prior to comparing means, I first test whether the measurement model of neo-bohemia is comparable across contexts. Since neo-bohemia is a latent concept captured by observed indicators, its definition depends on the model that estimates it. If the models in the different urbanicity contexts are not sufficiently similar, then making comparisons between them is meaningless. The SEM literature (e.g., Little 2013) provides guidance on how to test for invariance across groups.

First, I demonstrate *configural invariance*, which shows that the measurement model has the same pattern across all the contexts. A model with configural invariance does not constrain any parameters; all estimates can vary across the urbanicity contexts. I only test the form of the model in this step. If the model meets standard goodness-of-fit requirements cited above, then there is evidence of configural invariance.

Second, I demonstrate *weak invariance,* which shows that the latent variable neo-bohemia is the same across the groups. To specify weak invariance, I constrain all the coefficients in Λ_x to be equal across groups. Then I compare the constrained model

to the unconstrained model with configural invariance using the chi-square difference test.[7] If the test indicates no significant difference between the models, then there is sufficient evidence for weak invariance. If there is a significant difference, however, *partial weak invariance* is still a possibility. To test for that, I examine model modification indices to determine which of the equality constraints on coefficients in Λ_x can be relaxed to improve the fit of the weak invariance model. As long as only a limited number of the constraints are relaxed, there is sufficient evidence for partial weak invariance, which is sufficient for mean comparison, although less ideal (Little 2013).

Finally, I demonstrate *strong invariance*, which shows that the latent variable neo-bohemia is the same across groups and that the mean structure of neo-bohemia (specifically the measurement model intercepts) are the same across groups. To specify strong invariance, I constrain all the coefficients in Λ_x and in v_x to be equal across groups. I then compare the strong invariance model to the weak invariance model using the chi-square difference test. Again, the minimum requirement is partial strong invariance, where only a limited number of intercepts in v_x or coefficients in Λ_x can vary across groups (Little 2013). With partial strong invariance, I can compare of the means of neo-bohemia across the urbanicity contexts to test H2.

<center>H3 Analysis</center>

To test H3 (*neo-bohemian neighborhoods contain a variety of cultural scenes*), I return to the case study of the Georgetown neighborhood in Seattle, WA. I use GIS mapping and descriptive analysis of Reference USA businesses data as well as data from *Yelp* and other review sites to describe multiple cultural scenes within the neighborhood. My approach, which combines qualitative (intangible) and quantitative

---

[7] Since I use the Satorra-Bentler calculation for standard errors, a simple comparison of the difference in the model chi-squares is not valid. I use the formula specified in Satorra and Bentler (2010) to calculate the chi-square difference, which is described on the Mplus website at https://www.statmodel.com/chidiff.shtml.

(tangible) cultural data in a GIS, draws on the cultural mapping methodology. Porello et al. (2010, 2) define cultural mapping as an activity in which "cultural elements are recorded—the tangibles like galleries, craft industries, distinctive landmarks, local events and industries, as well as the intangibles like memories, personal histories, attitudes and values." With my maps I identify the variety of cultural provision within the neighborhood (Evans and Foord 2008; Martinez i Illa and Rius i Uldemolins 2011; Stern and Seifert 2010). In addition, the maps I produce are powerful and performative tools that "make visible invisible things" (Porello et al. 2010, 4) and that present complex data in simple ways that portray localized cultural knowledge (Gibson, Brenan-Horley, and Warren 2010; Redaelli 2012).

This method of cultural mapping complements the case study approach. A case study offers the opportunity to collect more detailed and rich data that allow in-depth investigation that is infeasible in other forms of analysis, including my SEM approach described above (Flyvbjerg 2011; Gerring 2004; Platt 1992). Statistical tests can confirm the relationship of one thing to another, but case studies can provide insight on how and why specific processes are connected, fleshing out theoretical relationships with empirical evidence (Flyvbjerg 2011; Gerring 2004). Similar to Porello's quote above, Platt (1992), referring to the work of the Anthony Burgess, describes this as the ability of case studies to "get beneath the surface" (21). The analysis testing H3 is thus similar to Foucault's (1980) concept of archeology; the business data and reviews I analyze are artifacts that help to uncover alternative narratives (subjugated knowledge) that define the neighborhood.

Moreover, although I only study a single neighborhood, as an archetype of a neo-bohemian neighborhood, my case study demonstrates the applicability of my theory, that neo-bohemia can coincide with economic violence and cultural marginalization, to neo-

bohemian neighborhoods in general. If the theory is valid in one context, it can be valid in others. Thus, while the SEM provides *statistical* evidence that is generalizable to neo-bohemian neighborhoods, the case study provides *analytical* evidence that is generalizable to neo-bohemian neighborhoods (Yin 2014).

I collect the present location of all businesses in the neighborhood from the Reference USA dataset. Each business is classified into 1 of 4 categories, which include Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate (FIRE); Goods Producing; Retail; and Services. Each category has several subcategories shown in Table 3-6. The table shows the industries and the corresponding 2-, 3-, or 4-digit SIC codes for each subcategory. The table also shows my thinking, based on the literature reviewed above, of how related each subcategory is to the concept of neo-bohemia. I produce maps that show the locations and number of each of the four types of business in different areas in Georgetown. Each map highlights a different cultural scene, showing the mix of establishments in the area as well as the perspective of residents and patrons on specific businesses gathered from online reviews. For each map, I also produce a bar chart that shows the percentage of establishments in each subcategory to further contrast the various locations within the neighborhood.

Table 3-6. Industry classifications for maps of neighborhood business mix in Georgetown, Seattle

Category in Map (2-digit SIC Codes)	Subcategory	Industries (2-, 3-, 4-, or 6-digit SIC Codes)	Relation to Neo-Bohemia
FIRE (60–67)	Finance	Depository Institutions (60); Non-Depository Institutions (61); Security and Commodity Brokers, Dealers, Exchanges, and Services (62); Holding and Other Investment Offices (67)	Unrelated
	Insurance	Insurance Carriers (63); Insurance Agents, Brokers, and Service (64)	Unrelated
	Real Estate	Real Estate (65)	Unrelated
Goods Producing (01–51)	Arts and Cultural Manufacturing	Textile Mill Products (22); Apparel and Other Finished Products Made from Fabrics and Similar Materials (23); Newspapers: Publishing,	Somewhat related

Category in Map (2-digit SIC Codes)	Subcategory	Industries (2-, 3-, 4-, or 6-digit SIC Codes)	Relation to Neo-Bohemia
		Or Publishing And Printing (271); Periodicals: Publishing, Or Publishing And Printing (272); Books (273); Miscellaneous Publishing (274); Screen Printing (275902); Leather and Leather Products (31); Glass (321–323); Structural Clay Products (325); Pottery and Related Products (326); Cut Stone and Stone Products (328); Nonmetallic Mineral Products, Not Elsewhere Classified (3299); Jewelry, Watches, Precious Stones, and Precious Metals (5094); Toys and Hobby Goods and Supplies (5092); Sporting and Recreational Goods and Supplies (5091); Apparel, Piece Goods, And Notions (513); Books, Periodicals, and Newspapers (5192); Paints, Varnishes, and Supplies (5198); Nondurable Goods, Not Elsewhere Classified (5199)	
	Construction Workers	Building Construction General Contractors and Operative Builders (15); Heavy Construction other than Building Construction Contractors (16)	Unrelated
	Food Manufacturing	Meat Products (201); Dairy Products (202); Canned, Frozen, And Preserved Fruits, Vegetables, and Food Specialties (203); Grain Mill Products (204); Bakery Products (205); Sugar and Confectionary Products (206); Fats and Oils (207); Bottled and Canned Soft Drinks and Carbonated Waters (2086); Flavoring Extracts and Flavoring Syrups, Not Elsewhere Classified (2087); Miscellaneous (2091, 2092, 2096–2099); Groceries and Related Products (514);	Unrelated
	Trade Workers	Special Trade Contractors (17)	Unrelated
	Transportation	Transportation (40–47)	Unrelated
	Vice Manufacturing	Malt Beverages (2082); Malt (2083); Wines, Brandy, and Brandy Spirits (2084); Distilled and Blended Liquors (2085); Tobacco Products (21); Beer, Wine, And Distilled Alcoholic Beverages (518); Tobacco and Tobacco Products (5194)	Somewhat related
	Other Manufacturing	All other SIC codes from 01–39	Unrelated
	General Wholesale Trade	All other SIC codes from 40–51	Unrelated
Retail (52–59)	Arts and Cultural Retail	Apparel and Accessory Stores (56); Used Merchandise Stores (593); Miscellaneous Shopping Goods Stores (594); Art Galleries and Related (599927, 599952, 599989, 599969, 599965, 599988,599998, 599972, 599971, 599937, 599935); Record and Prerecorded	Highly related

Category in Map (2-digit SIC Codes)	Subcategory	Industries (2-, 3-, 4-, or 6-digit SIC Codes)	Relation to Neo-Bohemia
		Tape Stores (5735); Musical Instrument Stores (5736)	
	Automotive and Gas	Automotive Dealers and Gasoline Service Stations (55)	Unrelated
	Food Retail	Food Stores (54); Eating Places (5812)	Somewhat related
	General Merchandise	General Merchandise Stores (53)	Unrelated
	Hardware and Garden	Building Materials, Hardware, Garden Supply, And Mobile Home Dealers (52)	Unrelated
	Household and Electronics	Home Furniture and Furnishings Stores (571); Household Appliance Stores (572); Radio, Television, and Consumer Electronics Stores (5731); Computer and Computer Software Stores (5734)	Unrelated
	Vice Retail	Drinking Places (5813); Liquor Stores (5921); Tobacco Stores and Stands (5993); Beer Homebrewing Equipment and Supplies (599958); Wine Makers' Equipment and Supplies (599936)	Highly related
	General Retail	All other SIC codes from 52–59	Unrelated
Services (70–89)	Advertising and Commercial Art	Advertising (731); Commercial Photography (7335); Commercial Art and Graphic Design (7336)	Somewhat related
	Arts and Cultural Services	Motion Pictures (78); Dance Studios, Schools, And Halls (791); Theatrical Producers, except Motion Picture (792); Museums and Art Galleries (841); Art Restoring (899908); Artists (899985, 899912, 899956, 899955, 899986); Musicians (899921, 899927); Poets (899943); Record Companies (899957); Sculptors (899907, 899934); Writers (899903); Photographic Studios, Portrait (7221)	Highly related
	Arts Education	Art Instruction and Schools (829919); Craft Instruction (829923); Dramatic Instruction (829925); Interior Decorating and Design Schools (829963); Knitting Instruction (829928); Music Instruction (829936, 829981, 829918, 829915, 829938, 829979); Photography Schools (829907); Pottery Instruction (829956); Cooking Schools (829924); Performing Arts Schools (829977); Fashion Schools (829946)	Somewhat related
	Health Services	Offices and Clinics (801–804); Nursing and Personal Care Facilities (805); Hospitals (806); Laboratories (807); Home Health Care Services (808); Miscellaneous (809)	Unrelated
	High Tech	Computer Programming Services (7371); Prepackaged Software (7372); Computer Integrated Systems Design (7373); Computer Processing and Data Preparation and	Somewhat related

Category in Map (2-digit SIC Codes)	Subcategory	Industries (2-, 3-, 4-, or 6-digit SIC Codes)	Relation to Neo-Bohemia
		Processing Services (7374); Information Retrieval Services (7375); Computer Facilities Management Services (7376); Computer Rental and Leasing (7377); Computer Maintenance Repair (7378); Miscellaneous (7379)	
	Membership Organizations	Business Associations (861); Professional Membership Organizations (862); Labor Unions and Similar Labor Organizations (863); Civic, Social, and Fraternal Associations (864); Political Organizations (865); Miscellaneous (869)	Unrelated
	Other Education	Educational Services (82, except Arts Education)	Unrelated
	Repair Services	Automotive Repair, Services, And Parking (75); Miscellaneous Repair Services (76)	Unrelated
	Religious Organizations	Churches, Convents, Monasteries, Religious Instruction by Religious Organizations, Shrines, and Temples (866)	Unrelated
	Social Services	Individual and Family Social Services (832); Job Training and Vocational Rehabilitation (833); Child Day Care Services (835); Residential Care (836); Miscellaneous (839)	Unrelated
	Technical Services	Legal Services (81); Engineering, Accounting, Research, Management, and Related Services (87)	Somewhat related
	General Services	All other SIC codes	Unrelated

Source: Reference USA Business Database.

Chapter 4

Results

In this chapter, I present the results of the analyses used to test the three hypotheses discussed in Chapter 3 above. I begin with the results of the neo-bohemian measurement model and a description of the Georgetown neighborhood case study. Next, I show the results of the analysis for each hypothesis. Throughout, I interpret results using the critical framework of Gibson-Graham (2006).

Setting the Stage: Neo-Bohemian Neighborhoods

Measurement Model

Figure 4-1 shows the results of the measurement model estimating neo-bohemia as a latent variable with six indicators. In the figure, the latent variable neo-bohemia has a variance of 1 and a corresponding mean of 0, indicating that the results are standardized so that each coefficient can be thought of as a correlation that can range from -1 to 1. The figure thus shows that coffee shops are the strongest indicator of neo-bohemia, with a correlation to neo-bohemia of about 0.654, followed by the transgressive measure, nightlife measure, and arts measures, which have correlations of 0.457, 0.426, and 0.395, respectively. Artists and the cool factor are weaker indicators of neo-bohemia, but still statistically significant with 99 percent confidence ($p < 0.01$).

Each indicator also has an estimated error, which shows the percentage of variance in the indicator that is unexplained by the concept neo-bohemia. For example, about 57.2 percent of the variance in coffee shops is unexplained by neo-bohemia. The figure shows that most of the indicators have large portions of unexplained variance, suggesting that each of the indicators is related to concepts other than neo-bohemia. That said, each of the indicators has a significant and positive association with neo-bohemia, as expected, and the measures of model fit show that as a group the indicators

capture the concept of neo-bohemia well. The chi-square is only statistically significant at the 90 percent confidence level ($p < 0.1$), suggesting that the model is only slightly worse than a fully saturated model that perfectly captures neo-bohemia. Moreover, the CFI (0.968), RMSEA (0.005), and SRMR (0.017) are all well within the standards of a strong model fit.

Finally, the model includes two groups of correlated errors. First, the nightlife measure and the cool factor errors have a positive and significant correlation of 0.125. This suggests that these indicators share some concept other than neo-bohemia. This is not surprising as many neighborhoods could have nightlife establishments and the poverty, racial diversity, immigrant populations, and low housing costs of the cool factor, without having the other elements of neo-bohemia. Second, I correlated the errors of artists and arts in the model; however, this model shows no significant correlation between the errors. The multiple group model, which is discussed in a later section, does show a significant correlation between these two errors in specific contexts and I thus include the correlation in this model for consistency.

In sum, the neo-bohemia measurement model results provide statistical evidence that each of the measures are valid indicators of neo-bohemia, as they are all positive and highly statistically significant. Many of them likely capture other concepts as well, but the strong model fit shows that the indicators do a good job as a group of measuring neo-bohemia. The number of coffee shops per 1,000 people appears to be the best indicator of neo-bohemia across all neighborhoods, but the nightlife, transgressive, and arts measures are also moderately strong. The artists and cool factor measures are the weakest, but still statistically significant.
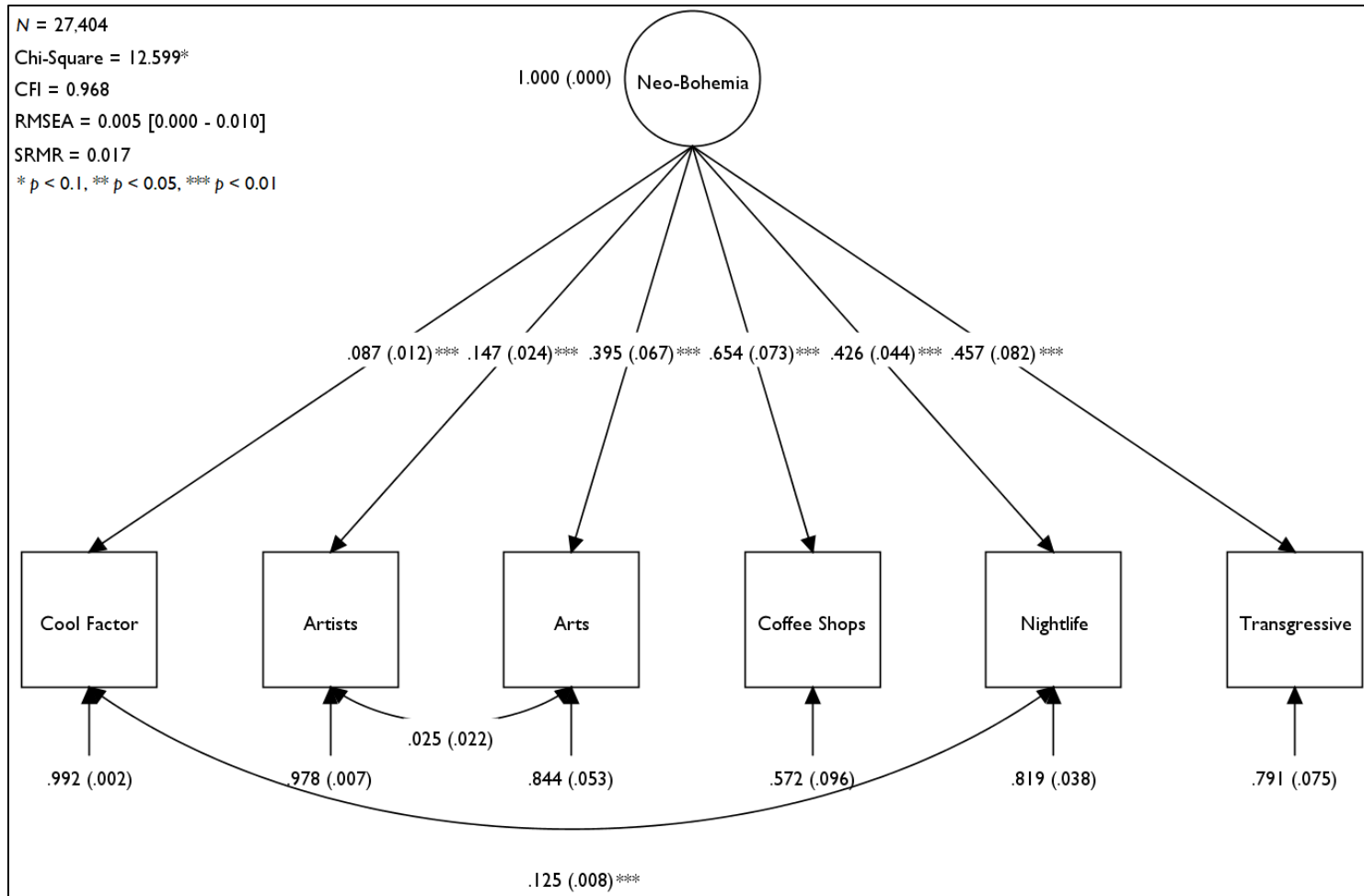
Figure 4-1. Standardized neo-bohemian measurement model results (standard errors in parentheses)

Table 4-1 shows the neighborhoods that the measurement model estimates have the highest levels of neo-bohemia. In virtually all cases, the strongest neo-bohemian neighborhoods are in the downtown areas of cities and towns, as expected. Moreover, the top urban cities (Chicago, Portland, Seattle, etc.) reflect Florida (2012) and others' work investigating the prevalence of neo-bohemia.

Table 4-1. Top 5 neo-bohemian neighborhoods in urbanicity categories

Neo-Bohemia Score	Zip Code	Area	City, State
Large Urban			
3.294	60603	Downtown	Chicago, IL
2.716	97204	Downtown	Portland, OR
2.285	98134	Industrial District	Seattle, WA
2.019	94104	Financial District	San Francisco, CA
1.704	95113	Downtown	San Jose, CA
Medium Urban			
1.786	72201	Downtown/River Market	Little Rock, AR
1.099	61602	Downtown/South	Peoria, IL
1.02	92401	Carousel/Feldheym/Stadium West	San Bernadino, CA
0.936	36602	Central Business District/North Industrial Area	Mobile, AL
0.774	6103	Downtown	Hartford, CT
Small Urban			
2.526	24011	Downtown	Roanoke, VA
1.289	17101	Downtown	Harrisburg, PA
0.946	52801	Downtown	Davenport, IA
0.8	49440	Jackson Hill/Nelson	Muskegon, MI
0.604	44702	Downtown	Canton, OH
Suburban			
0.813	55802	Downtown-Waterfront/Park Point	Duluth, MN
0.721	93921	Northwest Carmel	Carmel-By-The-Sea, CA
0.608	19474	Entire City	Skippack, PA
0.412	18087	Entire City	Trexlertown, PA
0.345	60301	Downtown	Oakpark, IL
Town			
0.804	80477	Downtown	Steamboat Springs, CO
0.794	2657	Entire Town	Provincetown, MA

Neo-Bohemia Score	Zip Code	Area	City, State
0.512	62825	Entire Town	North City, IL
0.419	96714	Entire Town	Hanalei, HI
0.379	51331	Entire Town	Arnolds Park, IA
Rural			
2.307	54211	Entire Village	Ephraim, WI
1.846	58645	Entire Town	Medora, ND
1.364	98263	Entire Town	Lyman, WA
1.114	86331	Entire Town	Jerome, AZ
0.985	16110	Entire Town	Adamsville, PA

Georgetown, Seattle, WA

The neighborhood of Georgetown sits within Seattle's industrial district, within the ZIP code of 98108. Figure 4-2 shows a map with the location of the neighborhood and the three areas in the neighborhood that I study, which include Airport Way, the Design District, and Michigan Street. Georgetown's score for neo-bohemia is only moderate; it is above but within 1 standard deviation of the mean. The numbers from the measurement model, however, are derived from amenities from the year 2006. In the past decade, Georgetown has seen significant changes, and many commentators see it as an up and coming neo-bohemian neighborhood. Food writer Dylan Joffe describes the neighborhood:

> Georgetown is a prime example of industrial chic, with hip restaurants, artsy shops, and creative residents filling in the spaces left by manufacturing companies…
> The neighborhood has a true history of grit and brick, and it has become a culinary and cultural destination over the last several years, fostering a local character that draws fans from all over town. At this point, Georgetown has more to offer than ever before, from behemoth wineries to dive bars, from high-end dining experiences to award-winning breweries. (Joffe 2017)
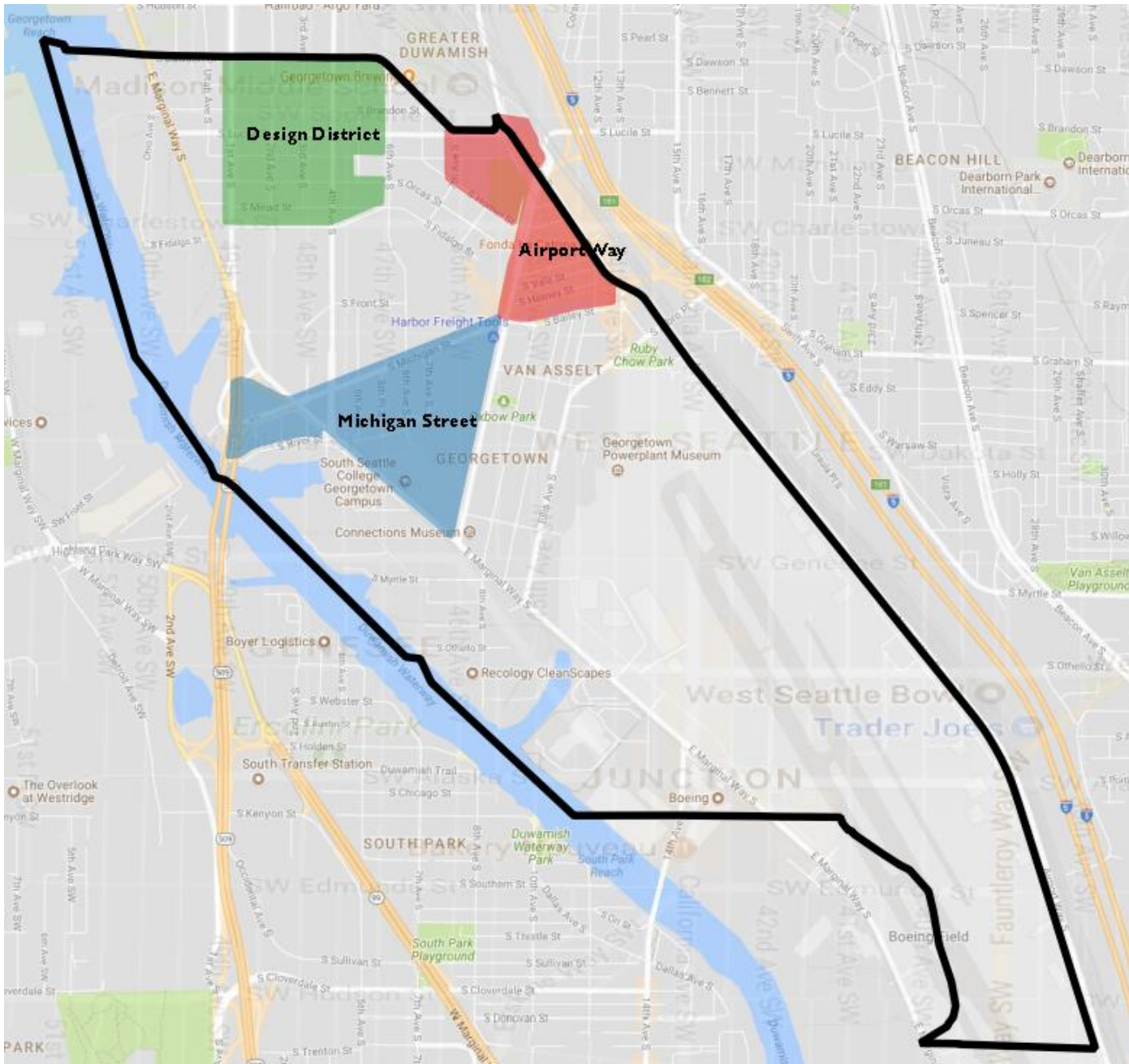
Figure 4-2. Map of Georgetown in Seattle, WA. Map produced using the Google Maps OpenLayers plugin in QGIS.

One bar/restaurant that Joffe recommends is the Georgetown Liquor Company, a 21+ "vegetarian bar" that pairs meatless dishes with craft drinks. In addition, there are vintage arcade machines and old school Atari and Nintendo consoles for patrons to play with. Georgetown also has its share of coffee shops. One that Joffe mentions is the Conservatory, a cross between a café and an arts school. Its patrons will often create and share art while they drink their beverages. Another spot is All City Coffee, which combines its coffee with hip music and artwork from local artists.

In addition to the restaurants and shops, Georgetown also contains multiple art galleries and other cultural spaces. The Georgetown Arts & Cultural Center was founded in 2007 and currently hosts 17 professional artists (Georgetown Arts & Cultural Center 2017). Many of the galleries and other cultural spaces in the community participate in the monthly Georgetown Art Attack where artists and others share their work. Photographer Tiffany Von Arnim captured the crowd at an Art Attack in the Georgetown Trailer Park Mall, which provides permanent shops in trailers as well as rentable pop-ups and table tops that offer a range of handmade art objects from local artists (Image 1).

The Georgetown neighborhood provides a mix of nightlife, arts, and the other amenities that capture neo-bohemia. Moreover, as a neighborhood with a strong industrial past, it fits nicely with Lloyd's (2002) description of neo-bohemia as a cultural scene that often springs up in declining and derelict industrial areas.

Image 1. Georgetown trailer park mall Art Attack crowd (Tiffany Von Arnim, *IMG_1159*, August 10, 2013, Flickr, accessed April 13, 2017, https://www.flickr.com/photos/tiffany98101/9482560911/in/album-72157635016960415/, CC License https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/legalcode)

Economic Violence: Gentrification and Commodification

Having set the stage, I now begin to test the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 3 above. This section tests H1, *neo-bohemia is associated with success in the market economy, but also gentrification and commodification.* Evidence supporting H1 highlights the economic and cultural violence that can follow neo-bohemia in the absence of careful planning. This is especially the case when neo-bohemia is used as the means to produce economic success through the attraction of high-income people and investment. Mirroring Gibson-Graham's (2006) assertions regarding capitalism, Peck (2005), Zukin (2010), and many others point out that a policy of economic development through neo-bohemia ignores multiple social concerns and can destroy the cultural authenticity of a place. This includes gentrification that can force out low-income populations, including artists that

47

helped to define the neo-bohemian scene, and the commodification of the neighborhood with investment in chain stores that are at best simulacra of authentic neo-bohemian amenities.

Structural Equation Models

I first test H1 with SEMs that utilize the measurement model of neo-bohemia above, along with measurement models for gentrification and commodification. The SEMs specify neo-bohemia as a latent independent variable that is associated with the latent dependent variable economic success through multiple pathways, including a direct association with economic success and indirect associations through the latent variables capturing gentrification and commodification.

Figure 4-3 shows a path diagram with the results of the first SEM. The diagram only reports the coefficients estimating associations between neo-bohemia, gentrification, commodification, and economic success, along with the coefficients estimating associations between each of the concepts and their observed indicators (for the full name of each indicator see Table 3-2). It does not report the model errors or estimated correlations between error terms, as these would decrease the readability of the model and do not lend much to the interpretation of the results. I report the full results in Appendix A.
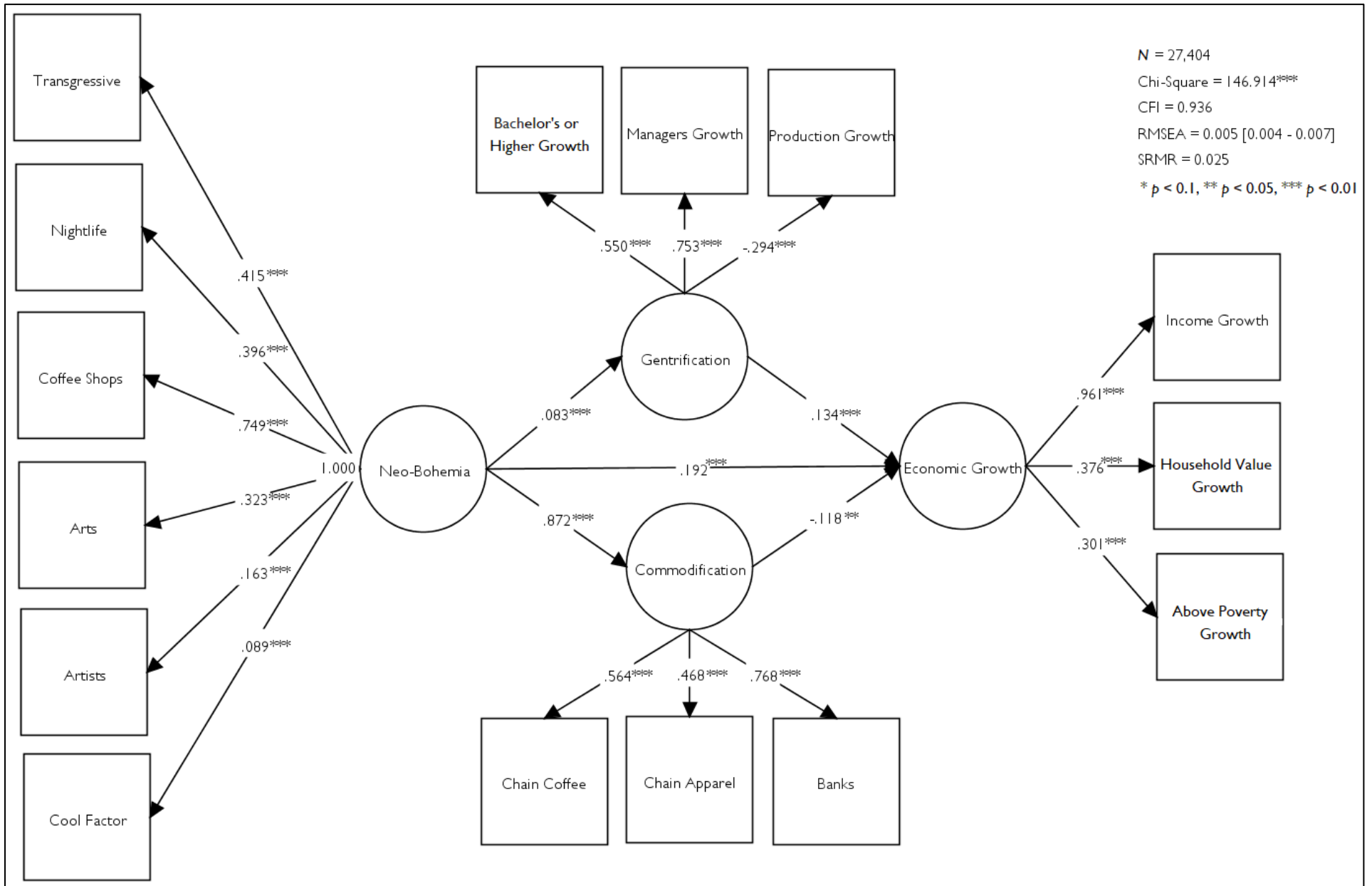
Figure 4-3. SEM showing the association between neo-bohemia, gentrification, commodification, and economic success. All estimates are standardized. Full results are in Appendix A. Full names of each observed indicator are in Table 3-2.

The results clearly show that neo-bohemia has a strong and positive association with economic success (the model estimates a standard deviation change in neo-bohemia is associated with a 0.192 change in economic success) and an indirect, positive association with economic success through gentrification. The direct association reflects Markusen and Schrock's (2006) theory of the artistic dividend, which suggests neo-bohemia should boost the local market economy. The indirect association speaks to Florida's (2012) theory that neo-bohemia promotes gentrification through the creative class, which in turn drives economic outcomes.

The strongest estimate is the positive association between neo-bohemia and commodification, which suggests neo-bohemia often results in inauthentic chain development. Moreover, commodification has a negative association with economic success, mediating the total effect of neo-bohemia on economic success. The negative association between commodification and economic success reflects established theory as well. Zukin (2010) speaks of the investment that often follows neo-bohemia and, in addition to its opposition the neo-bohemian authenticity, she suggests that its economic benefits are rarely realized within the neighborhood itself. Moreover, the chain development that measures commodification may reduce the availability of high-paying jobs in the neighborhood, ultimately stemming economic growth that benefits the neighborhood itself.

Importantly, the measurement models of each of the concepts show that all indicators are statistically significant and positive, except for the growth in production and transportation jobs, which is expected to be negative as a loss of blue collar jobs should reflect gentrification. The goodness-of-fit statistics are also well within the acceptable cutoffs, lending further validity to the model results.

The first SEM does not account for other factors that may explain away the estimated associations, however. The second SEM incorporates the control variables that are likely to confound the model results if their effects are not accounted for (see Table 3-4 for the full list). I control for these variables by specifying six latent variables that capture the combined effects of the controls.[8] Each latent variable is specified as an additional independent variable that is associated with neo-bohemia and the other latent variables in the model.

Table 4-2 shows the results of the EFA portion of the second SEM that produces the six latent variables that are used to account for the effects of the control variables. I label the first latent variable Disadvantage because it is associated with high percentages of unemployment, non-white individuals, people on public assistance, single-mother families, and persons at or below 80 percent of the area median income (AMI). It is also moderately associated with service jobs (which are typically low paying) and low median household income.

The second latent variable is in many ways the opposite of the first. Affluence is associated with higher percentages of employment in advanced services and management (which are typically high paying) and people with a bachelor's degree or higher, and lower percentages of employment in production and services and persons at 80 percent or less of the AMI. It is also associated with high median household incomes, economic diversity, and population density, as well as moderately associated with non-white populations. Affluence reflects neighborhoods with economic success, high incomes, density, and diversity.

---

[8] Alternatively, I could have included each control separately in the model as its own independent variable. I chose not to do this because this approach increases strain on the estimation of the model, increasing the likelihood of convergence issues and bad model fit.

Table 4-2. Results from EFA of control variables

Variable	Disad-vantage	Affluence	Urbanity	New Economy	Traditional Economy	Housing Crisis
% Unemployed	0.664	-0.051	-0.016	0.038	-0.079	0.026
Median household income, logged	-0.262	0.569	-0.142	-0.049	0.196	0.017
% Non-white	0.798	0.291	0.024	-0.013	0.046	0.141
% Receiving public assistance	0.758	-0.051	-0.030	-0.045	-0.079	0.009
% Renter-occupied households	0.035	-0.115	0.912	0.038	-0.071	-0.023
% Single-mother families	0.766	0.014	0.120	0.007	0.242	-0.012
% Employment in advanced services	-0.011	0.784	0.214	0.013	0.076	0.000
% Employment in cultural services	-0.030	0.010	0.002	0.988	-0.036	0.025
% Employment in production industries	-0.251	-0.549	0.021	-0.296	0.508	-0.015
% Bachelor's degree or higher	-0.032	0.925	0.063	0.058	-0.234	-0.092
% Management jobs	-0.006	0.963	0.018	-0.083	-0.483	-0.037
% Sales and office jobs	0.002	0.285	0.077	0.111	0.498	-0.023
% Taking public transportation to work	0.079	0.136	0.588	-0.081	0.026	-0.041
% Walking to work	0.025	-0.077	0.399	0.050	-0.449	-0.092
% Working from home	-0.307	0.034	0.030	-0.023	-0.621	0.043
% Service jobs	0.295	-0.369	0.045	0.497	0.055	-0.022
Population density, logged	0.038	0.400	0.449	-0.010	0.435	0.066
% Multi-unit housing	-0.255	0.061	1.045	0.002	0.031	0.031
Economic diversity	-0.018	0.338	0.168	0.032	0.218	0.013
Foreclosure needs score, 2010	0.033	-0.119	-0.008	-0.035	-0.008	0.839
% of Persons at 80% or less of AMI	0.345	-0.496	0.305	0.002	-0.023	0.043
Rate of SDMs, 2010	0.026	-0.019	0.049	0.005	-0.030	0.956
# of Foreclosure starts, 2007 to 2010	-0.027	0.261	-0.016	0.148	0.068	0.640

N = 27,404; Chi-Square = 49363.242; CFI = 0.913; RMSEA = 0.058, SRMR = 0.050.
All variables from the year 2000 unless noted otherwise. Full results are in Appendix A.

I label the third latent variable Urbanity because of its strong association with characteristics of urban neighborhoods including high percentages of renter-occupied housing, public transportation use, walking to work, and multi-unit housing, as well as high population density. In addition, there is a moderate association with employment in advanced services (which often locate in urban downtowns) and an association with the percentage of people at 80 percent or less of the AMI, which reflects the high cost of living often found in urban neighborhoods.

The fourth and fifth latent variables represent the economic context of neighborhoods in the sample. The New Economy variable captures employment in cultural services as well as typically low paying service jobs in areas such as fast food, retail, or janitorial services. This reflects the bifurcation of the new economy that Florida (2012) and others point out. Increasingly, there are a high number of high paying cultural service jobs that employ the creative class and a corresponding high number of low paying service jobs that cater to the creative class. The Traditional Economy variable, on the other hand, reflects employment in production industries and sales and office jobs, which reflect a more middle-class economy with less inequality. Note that Traditional Economy has a moderate association with median household income, while New Economy has virtually no association, reflecting the bifurcation of incomes in the new economy and the moderate, middle-class economy in the traditional economy.

I label the final latent variable Housing Crisis because it has a strong association with the foreclosure needs score, the rate of serious delinquent mortgages (SDMs), and the number foreclosure starts. This measure reflects the neighborhoods hardest hit by the Great Recession of 2009. Table 4-3 provides the six latent variables and the observed variables they each control for.

Table 4-3. Summary of latent control variables

Latent Variable	Controls the effects of…
Disadvantage	% unemployed; % non-white; % receiving public assistance; % single-mother families; % of persons at 80% or less of AMI
Affluence	Median household income, logged; % employment in advanced services; % employment in production industries (negative); % bachelor's degree or higher; % management jobs; % service jobs (negative); population density, logged; economic diversity; % of persons at 80% or less of AMI (negative)
Urbanity	% renter-occupied households; % taking public transportation to work; % walking to work; population density, logged; % multi-unit housing
New Economy	% employment in cultural services; % service jobs
Traditional Economy	% employment in production industries; % management jobs (negative); % sales and office jobs; % walking to work (negative); % working from home (negative); population density, logged
Housing Crisis	Foreclosure Needs Score, 2010; rate of SDMs, 2010; # of foreclosure starts, 2007 to 2010

All variables from the year 2000 unless noted otherwise.

Figure 4-4 and Table 4-4 shows the results of the structural portion of the second SEM that includes the control variables. Figure 4-4 shows a simplified model of the associations between neo-bohemia, gentrification, commodification, and economic success, once the controls are accounted for. The diagram shows that the direct association between neo-bohemia and economic success is no longer significant, suggesting that this finding in the previous model was mostly driven by factors found in the control measures. The indirect association with economic success through gentrification is still positive and significant, however. Moreover, the association with commodification is even stronger once controls are accounted for, while the indirect association with economic success through commodification is no longer significant.

N = 27,404
Chi-Square = 49363.242***
CFI = 0.913
RMSEA = 0.058 [0.058 - 0.059]
SRMR = 0.050
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Gentrification

.124***

.209***

Neo-Bohemia

.017

Economic Growth

1.007***

-.025
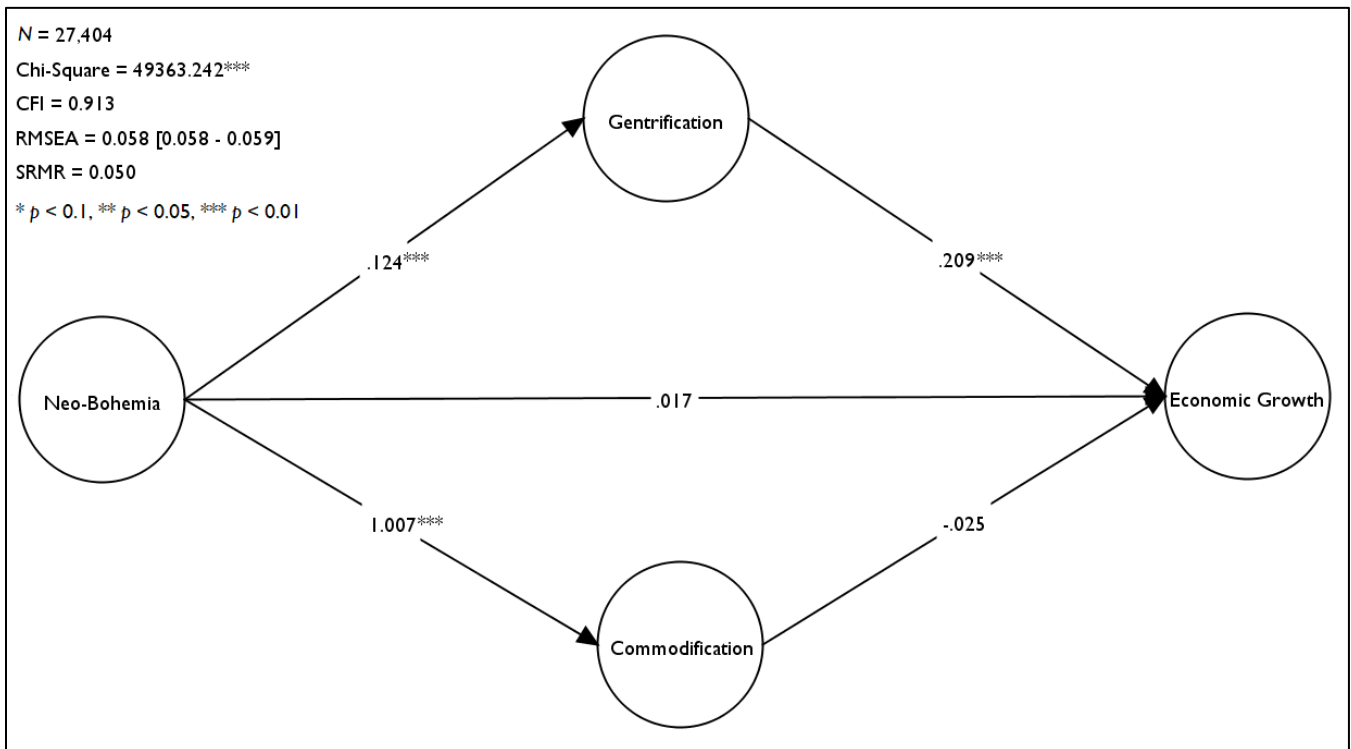
Commodification

Figure 4-4. SEM showing the association between neo-bohemia, gentrification, and commodification once the effects of control variables are accounted for. Full results are in Appendix A.

The second SEM provides very powerful support for H1. It shows that, in general, if neo-bohemia promotes economic success, it will occur within the context of gentrification that has a strong potential to displace low-income residents that often contribute to the cultural authenticity of a neighborhood. In addition, it shows a very powerful association with neighborhood commodification, which Zukin (2010) describes as the destruction of authenticity. The analysis clearly shows the potential for economic violence that can result from a top-down policy of neo-bohemia promotion, such as that espoused in the creative city discourse.

Table 4-4 provides more information on how the control variables are associated with neo-bohemia and the other concepts in the model. Since the latent variables capturing the controls and neo-bohemia are all independent variables, associations between these are expressed as correlations in the first column of the table. Associations between the latent control variables and the dependent variables economic success, gentrification, and commodification are expressed as standardized coefficients (showing the estimated change in the dependent variable associated with a one standard deviation change in the latent control) in the remaining columns. The full results for the entire second SEM are in Appendix A.

Table 4-4. SEM results showing associations between latent controls and neo-bohemia, economic success, gentrification, and commodification

Latent Control	Correlation with Neo-Bohemia	Standardized Coefficients		
		Economic Success	Gentrification	Commodification
Disadvantage	0.096***	0.117***	-0.071***	0.034***
Affluence	0.096***	0.075***	-0.160***	0.017
Urbanity	0.371***	0.000	-0.001	-0.195***
New Economy	0.282***	0.026**	-0.002	-0.174***
Traditional Economy	-0.105***	-0.398***	0.254***	0.050***
Housing Crisis	-0.099***	-0.085***	-0.091***	0.013

N = 27,404; Chi-Square = 49363.242; CFI = 0.913; RMSEA = 0.058, SRMR = 0.050.
* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.
Full results are in Appendix A.

The results in Table 4-4 show that neo-bohemia is positively associated with urbanity and the new economy and has a weak negative association with the traditional economy. This reflects theory linking new-bohemia to the jobs and industries of the new economy (Lloyd 2002; Florida 2012). In addition, neo-bohemia is weakly associated with both disadvantage and affluence, suggesting that it can occur in either context. Finally, there is some evidence that neighborhoods hardest hit by the housing crisis tend to be less neo-bohemian, but the association, while significant, is substantively weak.

Second, Table 4-4 shows that economic success is associated with both disadvantage and affluence, although more so with disadvantage. This may seem counter-intuitive; however, disadvantaged neighborhoods would be able to experience greater percentage increases in economic measures simply because they have a lower baseline. In addition, the traditional economy is strongly negatively associated with economic success, reflecting the common story of industrial decline (Castells 1989). Similarly, the housing crisis variable is negatively associated with economic success, although it is weaker than the traditional economy. Interestingly, the new economy only has a weak positive association with economic success, although it is statistically significant with 95 percent confidence.

Third, Table 4-4 shows that gentrification is positively associated with the traditional economy, while all the other controls have a negative or insignificant association with it. This speaks somewhat to literature framing gentrification as a revanchist policy that recaptures declining industrial spaces of the traditional economy for further development (e.g., Smith 1996).

Finally, Table 4-4 shows that commodification is negatively associated with both urbanity and the new economy and that it has a weak positive association with the traditional economy and disadvantage. This could show that the investment in chain

development that indicates commodification is most impactful in declining areas that are relatively inexpensive to develop and may have untapped markets. Porter (1997) makes a similar argument.

In sum, the SEM analysis capturing the association between neo-bohemia, economic success, gentrification, and commodification provides significant support for H1. Without control variables, there is support for an association between neo-bohemia and economic success in addition to its strong association with gentrification and commodification. Once controls are added, however, the results clearly show that other factors explain most of the perceived association between neo-bohemia and economic success. The model shows that it can have an indirect effect through gentrification, but this is likely to be at the expense of low-income residents and artists. In addition, both models show a strong link between neo-bohemia and commodification, suggesting that neo-bohemia is often combined with chain development that ultimately destroys cultural authenticity.

The model results have strong statistical validity. All the model fit statistics are within the common cutoffs widely accepted in the SEM literature and the results of the control variables are consistent with past literature. There is clear evidence that, in general, a creative city policy promoting the dominance of neo-bohemia can result in economic violence that displaces low-income residents and artists and produces mimetic and inauthentic chain development.

Georgetown

The SEM analysis above provides general findings for neighborhoods across the United States. The Georgetown case study narrows the focus, examining the relationship of neo-bohemia to gentrification and commodification in a specific context. Figures 4-5 and 4-6, respectively, show the trends in the median housing value and median gross

rent over the past several decades in the Georgetown neighborhood and the city of Seattle. The figures show that despite the increase in bohemian cultural amenities in Georgetown, the neighborhood has continued to maintain housing costs below the median of the city. Since 2000, the gap between the city and Georgetown in the median housing value has increased to roughly $100,000. In addition, Figure 4-7 shows that unlike housing costs, the median household income in the Georgetown neighborhood, although lower in past years, was roughly the same as the entire city by 2013. This highlights that Georgetown remains an affordable place to live and work, as incomes are likely to be similar to the rest of the city, but housing costs are likely to be lower.
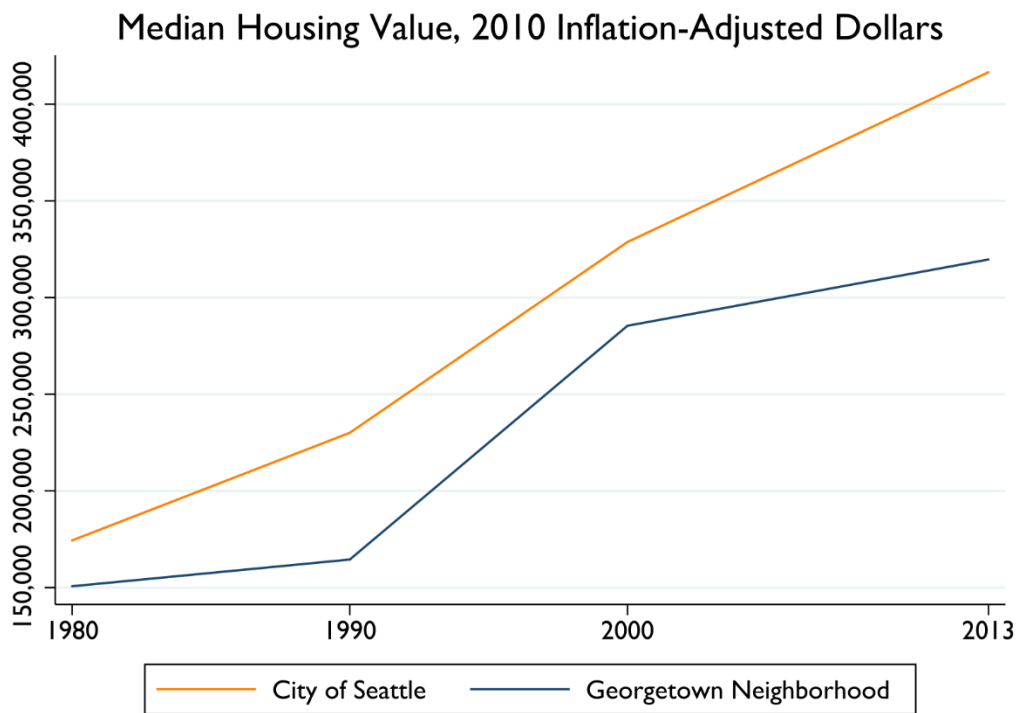
Figure 4-5. Median housing value in the city of Seattle and Georgetown neighborhood, 1980–2013. Data from Minnesota Population Center (Manesen et al. 2017). The year 2013 uses 5-year estimates from the 2011–2015 ACS.
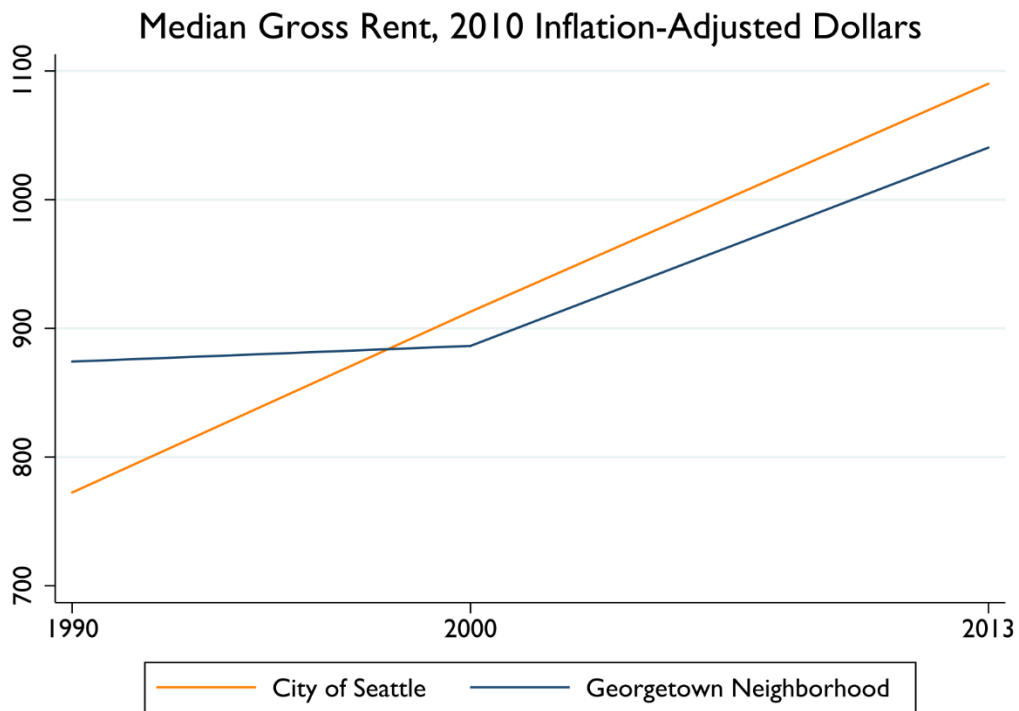
Figure 4-6. Median gross rent in the city of Seattle and Georgetown neighborhood, 1990–2013. Data from Minnesota Population Center (Manson et al. 2017). The year 2013 uses 5-year estimates from the 2011–2015 ACS.
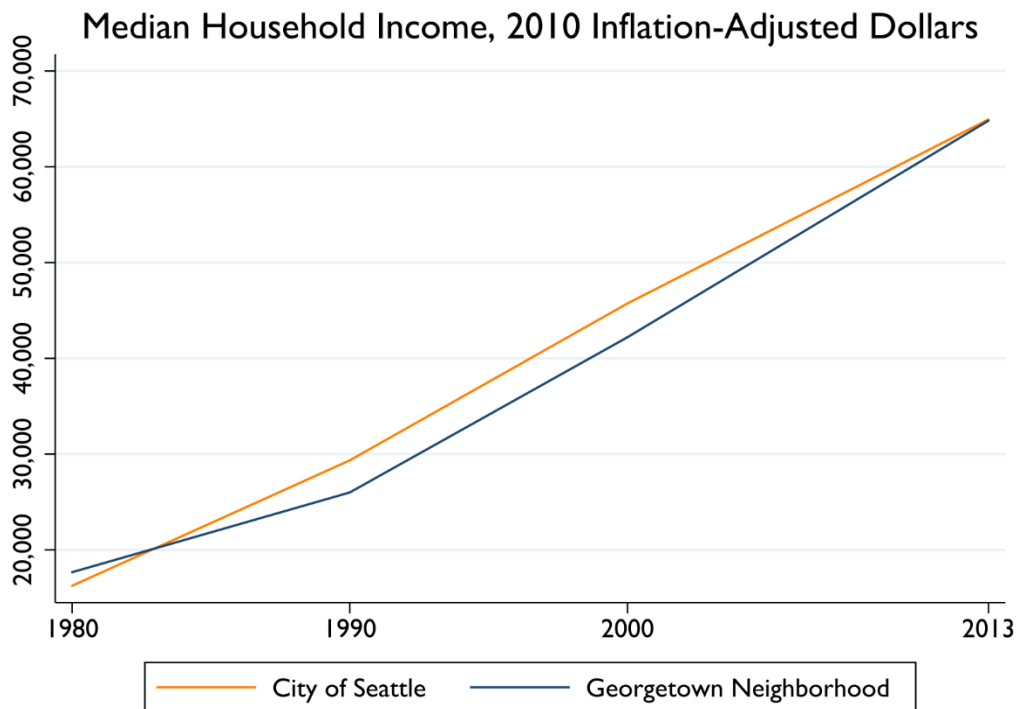
Figure 4-7. Median household income in the city of Seattle and Georgetown neighborhood, 1980–2013. Data from Minnesota Population Center (Manson et al. 2017). The year 2013 uses 5-year estimates from the 2011–2015 ACS.

In addition to maintaining affordable housing, the Georgetown neighborhood also remained racially diverse over the years. The total population increased moderately from 1980 to 2000 and then declined slightly; however, the share of the population in each racial/ethnic group remained roughly the same (Figure 4-8). The Hispanic population increased from 2000 to 2010, while the proportions of other racial/ethnic groups declined, but, again the change was moderate.

Total Population by Race/Ethnic Category
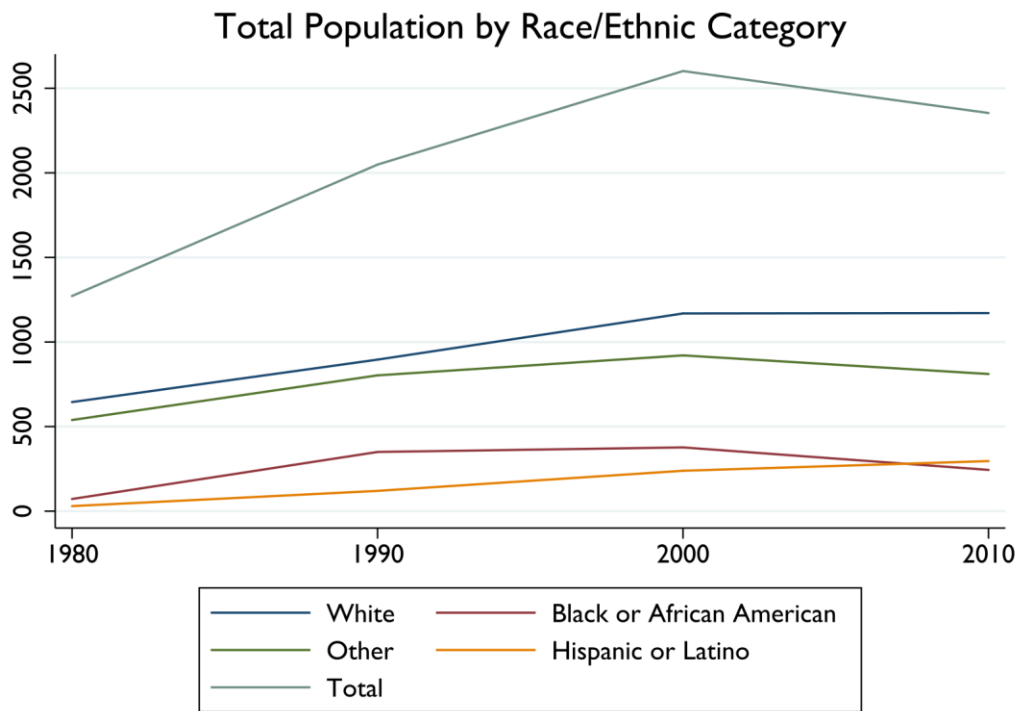
Figure 4-8. Total population by race/ethnicity categories in Georgetown neighborhood, 1980–2010. Data from Minnesota Population Center (Manson et al. 2017).

The only metric that shows significant change that could indicate gentrification is the percent of the population in different occupational categories. Figure 4-9, using 2-digit SOC codes, shows that management and professional occupations increased dramatically from just under 20 percent of the population to just over 40. Production and related occupations decreased from over 20 percent of the population, the second-highest share in 1980, to about 10 percent of the population, the second-lowest share, in 2010. Finally, service occupations were fairly stable, but by 2010 the occupation category replaced sales and office occupations and production and related occupations, becoming the second-highest share of the population in 2010.

% of Population by Occupation
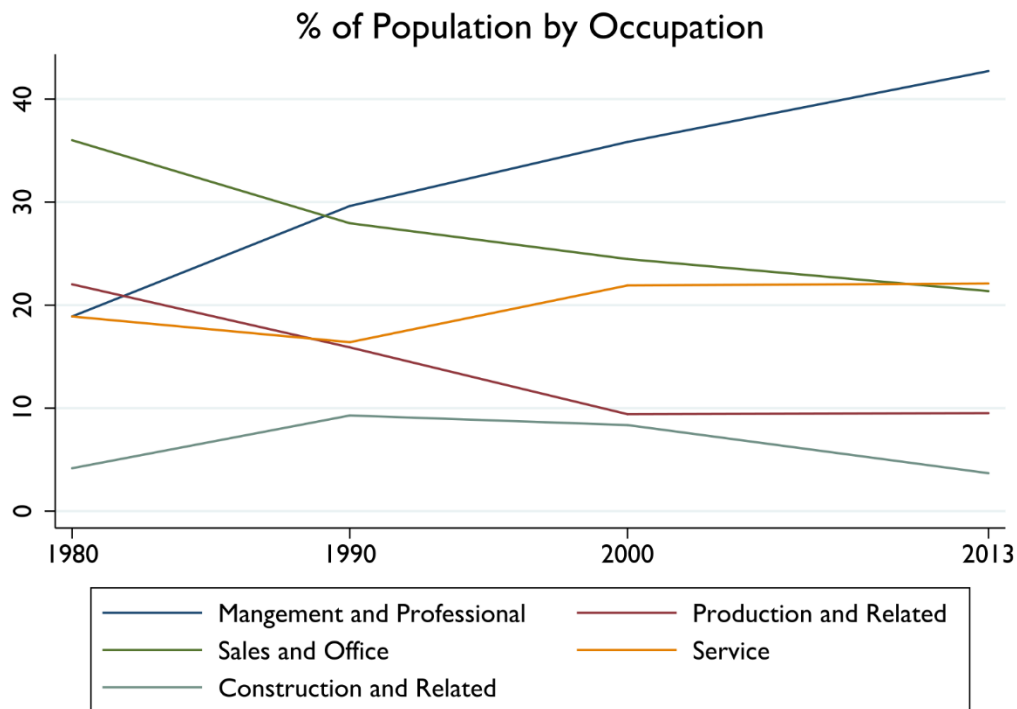
Figure 4-9. The percent of the population by occupation in Georgetown neighborhood, 1980–2013. 2-digit SOC codes. Data from Minnesota Population Center (Manson et al. 2017). The year 2013 uses 5-year estimates from the 2011–2015 ACS.

It is likely that the increase in management and professional occupations reflects an increase in higher-income, college-educated residents in the area, which has the potential to displace lower income and uneducated workers. Census data from the Minnesota Population Center (Manson et al. 2017) confirm that the percent of the population over 25 with a bachelor's degree or higher in the neighborhood increased from under 25 percent in 1980 to over 43 percent in 2013. Some residents may have switched from one occupation to another; however, many of the other categories do not require the education levels that management and professional occupations often do. Residents in declining production and related occupations, rather than switching the management and professional sector, likely either left the neighborhood or switched to the rising service

sector in the neighborhood. Those that switched likely took a significant pay cut, as current 5-year ACS estimates indicate the median annual salary for a production job in Georgetown is $50,417, while the highest paying category in the service sector (personal care) is only $23,398.

In sum, Census data show consistency in the housing costs and racial/ethnic makeup of the Georgetown neighborhood, but show changes in occupations in the neighborhood that could lead to gentrification. Seattle times reporter Sanjay Bhatt discusses residents' perspectives on the change occurring in Georgetown in a 2008 article. He quotes artist Laura Wright, who moved to the neighborhood after being priced out of San Francisco, saying "I'm just watching this city become more and more sterile, you know, and too expensive to live in" (Bhatt 2008). More recently, blogger Veronica Prowell forcefully described the change she sees in Georgetown:

> Just within the last few years, Georgetown has suffered hard at the hand of gentrification due to real estate brokers looking to offer rich yuppies a fabricated life in a once genuine artist community. For a better understanding, you can compare it to the way mainstream fashion designers rip off authentic urban fashion created by people genuinely inspired from their city, and commercialize it for their own monetary interest while the original creators receive none of the credit. (Prowell, 2015)

Despite the concerns of Prowell and Wright, other residents reflect the findings in the Census data that Georgetown remains an affordable place to live, especially for artists and creative businesses. Myler (2015) discusses the recent move of Westlake Dance Center to the old Rainier Brewery in Georgetown. The center's owner, Sheri Lewis, describes her new space as affordable combined with "gorgeous exposed brick walls and wooden floors. The rooftop has a commons area with an L.A. vibe, featuring rotating graffiti art. A bus hub, free street parking, and the light rail (slated to be finished next year) are also nearby" (Myler 2015). In addition, Stiles (2014) points out that the

Seattle Design Center sold for $24.9 million in 2014, roughly half of what it sold for in 2007 (just over $56.65 million).

In the Georgetown neighborhood, it appears the data do not provide a great deal of support for H1. Some residents expressed concern with gentrification and a loss of cultural authenticity (commodification) in the neighborhood; however, the neighborhood is still more affordable than most in the city and remains a lively cultural hub. Lynch (2010) provides some insight into why this is the case. The Georgetown neighborhood has a cohesive cultural identity backed by a well-organized group of artists, community leaders, and residents. Lynch (2010) describes a hoax in which a local resident placed a Walmart sign at a construction site, implying Walmart was being built at the site. Residents were up in arms before they realized it was a hoax, and, even after it was clear a Walmart was not being built, a conversation continued about the best way to develop the neighborhood in the future. Similarly, Prowell (2015) points to the power of "guerilla art" or street art to bring awareness to issues to successfully combat gentrification and commodification in neighborhoods.

This speaks to the role of the local population in defining and shaping cultural authenticity and development in a neighborhood. Even as new, higher-income residents move in to the area, they may have a strong desire to maintain the unique identity of the place (Brown-Saracino 2009). Gibson-Graham, Cameron, and Healy (2013) speak of the power of communities to define the local economy; in Georgetown, the residents reflect this theory ensuring that new development reflects the area's cultural scenes. As I discuss in Chapter 5, cultural policy can complement views of the local community with a bottom-up approach to development that gives voice to residents and reflects local cultural context.

With the analysis in this section, I provide support for H1 by showing that neo-bohemian neighborhoods in general produce economic success in the capitalist market economy, but at the expense of economic violence through gentrification and commodification. The Georgetown neighborhood case study, on the other hand, provides more nuance. The neighborhood maintains a vibrant neo-bohemian scene and, while it has experienced gentrification in terms of occupational mix and education levels, the neighborhood remains affordable and culturally unique. I suggest that much of this is due to the strong cohesion and cultural identity of the neighborhood residents.

Cultural Marginalization: Subjugated Cultures Outside and Within Neo-Bohemia

In this section, I turn to analyses testing H2, *neo-bohemia is more common in large urban city locations than others, including mid-sized cities, small cities, the suburbs, small towns, and rural areas,* and H3, *neo-bohemian neighborhoods contain a variety of cultural scenes.* Evidence in support of both hypotheses suggests that the cultural policy that solely promotes neo-bohemia implicitly denies the cultural and economic value of spaces that do not fit the neo-bohemian narrative. This draws on the ideas of Gibson-Graham (2006) and, especially, Foucault (1980), who point out that labeling something as good or as truth is an act of power that denies other things that do not fit within the concept. This is not necessarily a demonstrably bad thing, especially if one acknowledges the potential effects of the narrative he/she promotes; however, I argue that in the case of a cultural policy supporting neo-bohemia, the other cultures and economies that are ignored are equally valuable and worthy of preservation and public support. Thus, if neo-bohemia privileges large urban city locations and ignores vibrant cultures outside those spaces (H2) or if neo-bohemian neighborhoods contain multiple cultural scenes that may not fit the neo-bohemian narrative (H3), then a creative cities policy can marginalize and even destroy alternative cultural scenes.

65

Multiple Group Measurement Model

Figure 4-10 shows the difference in means in the groups of a multiple group measurement model of neo-bohemia with partial strong invariance. Appendix A shows the full results. The figure clearly shows that neo-bohemian neighborhoods are more likely to occur in urban contexts. The means in medium urban and small urban contexts are marginally higher (0.19 standard deviations and .004 standard deviations, respectively) than the mean in large urban contexts, but the means in suburban, town, and rural contexts are significantly lower (-.019, -.038, and -.056 standard deviations, respectively) than large urban as well as medium urban and small urban contexts. There is clear empirical evidence confirming H2: neo-bohemia locates in urban areas more so than any other context.
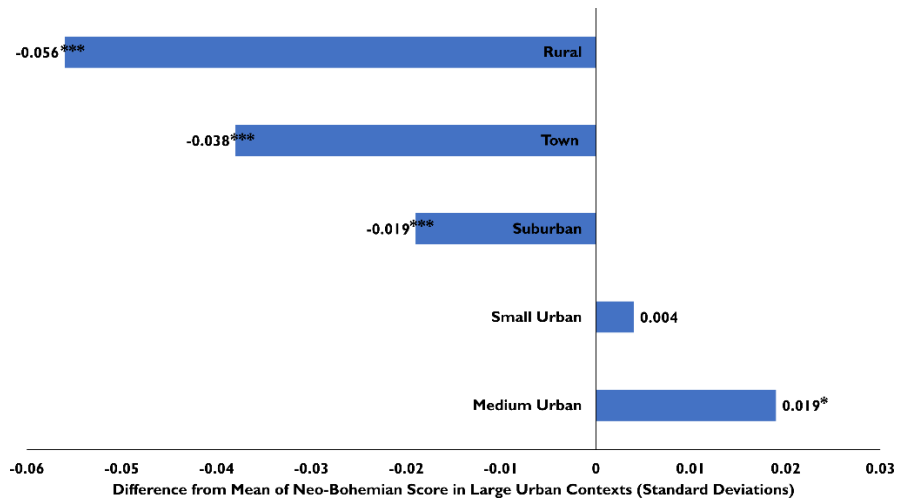
Figure 4-10. Differences in the mean of the neo-bohemian score across contexts. Results from the multigroup model with partial strong invariance. N = 27,404; Chi-Square = 74.008; CFI = 0.973; RMSEA = 0.006, SRMR = 0.049. Full results in Appendix A.

The creative cities policy approach thus privileges urban locations that tend to house neo-bohemian neighborhoods. Suburban, town, and rural communities that have different cultures are marginalized and ignored. Many of these places have rich cultures and economies that are showcased by the National Endowment for the Arts' (NEA) *Our*

Town program. *Our Town* is a grant program funded by NEA that provides money to partnerships between local government agencies and arts organizations for creative placemaking, or projects that incorporate arts and cultural activity into community and economic development. NEA describes some of these communities on a website called *Exploring Our Town* (National Endowment for the Arts 2017a). For example, Montgomery, NY is a community in the rural ZIP code 12549, which has a 2010 population of about 10,000 people. The area scores below average on the measure of neo-bohemia. It is clear, however, from the description on the *Exploring Our Town* website, that the community has a rich economic and cultural history:

> Montgomery, NY, has a longstanding agricultural tradition, with families that have farmed in the area for generations. At the same time, the area has strong roots in the history of American art and is now becoming a magnet for a growing population of contemporary artists. The *Wallkill River School*, a nonprofit artists' cooperative based in Montgomery, has been working on an initiative to develop programs that would mutually benefit farmers and artists. Its plan involved a series of public charrettes to identify potential strategies for economic development, a study of the economic impact of the arts, workshops to bring together the town's diverse population, and a strategic plan to integrate agriculture and art. (National Endowment for the Arts 2017a)

Agricultural tradition does not fit within the neo-bohemian scene and thus, despite its presence and the local artists working to benefit and build on the community's culture, a policy that focused on neo-bohemia alone would miss the opportunities this community presents.

Image 2. Montgomery, NY autumn park (Billy Bergen, October 28, 2010, Flickr, accessed August 27, 2017, https://tinyurl.com/y75lfxep, CC License https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/)

Another example on the *Exploring Our Town* website of a rural community with a rich, but not neo-bohemian, culture is Ajo, AZ. As with Montgomery, the community scores below average on the neo-bohemian index. NEA provided funding through *Our Town* to create a community design plan for the town center, which

> …was originally anchored by a beautiful train depot. As people disembarked the train and walked out the station doors, their gaze fell on an arcaded plaza surrounding a palm tree-lined park. From the park they looked up a wide avenue to the town's most prominent building, the Curley School. The historic town center—the plaza park and shops and the Curley School campus—were the places where everyone mixed and enjoyed community events. (National Endowment for the Arts 2017a)

68

Image 3. Ajo, Arizona train station (brewbooks, February 10, 2017, Flickr, accessed August, 27, 2017, https://www.flickr.com/photos/brewbooks/32717143300/in/album-72157680735042575/, CC License https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/)

The unique architecture of the Ajo train station along with the adjoining central plaza and boulevard with a history of shopping and people mixing provides a family-oriented and traditional cultural scene that contrasts with transgressive neo-bohemia. Creative city policy targeting neo-bohemia devalues the vibrant economy and culture of Ajo. Even if the location were targeted through a creative city policy, the goal would be to develop amenities that encourage neo-bohemia, not to preserve and enhance the existing culture. In that way, beyond the economic violence of gentrification and commodification that is associated with neo-bohemia, a cultural policy that focuses solely on neo-bohemia also participates in a cultural violence through the subjugation of

alternative cultural scenes, especially those in suburban, town, or rural locations that lack neo-bohemian scenes.

Three Scenes in Georgetown

Even within neo-bohemian cultural scenes there is a diversity of culture that can be overlooked and lost without planning and policy that engages with cultural diversity. I turn back now to the case study of Georgetown, Seattle, which, as I describe above, is an example of a typical neo-bohemian scene. In my study of the neighborhood, I identified three locations with a clustering of business establishments. The first location, Airport Way, is a quintessential neo-bohemian scene with a diverse range of nightlife, art galleries, and hip spots to eat, drink, and play. It is the area that hosts the Georgetown Art Attack I describe above. Figure 4-11 shows a map of the location and the active businesses, which I organize into categories of FIRE, Goods Producing, Retail, and Services. The map also includes descriptions of two of the local businesses that exemplify the area's neo-bohemian cultural scene: the Georgetown Liquor Company, a bar serving up vegetarian food paired with craft drinks and retro video games, and the Georgetown Arts & Cultural Center, a local organization that hosts gallery openings.

Businesses

- 🟢 Retail (n=28)
- 🔵 Goods Producing (n=24)
- ⚫ Services (n=18)
- 🔴 FIRE (n=3)

Map streets (labels): S Lucile St Ovp, S Lucile St, 12th Ave S, S Lucile St, 13th Ave S, Denver Ave S, 7th Ave S, S Findlay St, 8th Ave S, S Lucile St Ovp, I-5, S Homer St, Padilla Pl S, S Orcas St, Corson Ave S, S Homer St, Airport Way S, S Doris St, S Nebraska St, S Fidalgo St, S Harney St, 12th Ave S, 13th Ave S, Stanley Av, S Michigan St, S Bailey St, Ellis Ave S

"When the Georgetown Liquor Company opened on January 26, 2007, it was hailed as the first vegetarian bar (21+) in Seattle. It soon became known for its industrial decor, bizarre art, retro video game consoles and of course a completely meat-free menu complimented with unique craft drinks."
--Georgetown Liquor Co (2015)

"Founded in 2007 by Artist Angielena Vitale Chamberlain. The 'Center' started it's life as the Georgetown Art Center and quickly grew into a more all encompassing force in the Seattle scene. So the name was changed to welcome in a new era and open arms into the greater cultural environment. The 'Center' has become a fertile ground for artists to create, teach and become active agents within the Georgetown community. Presently the Center houses 17 professional artists and hosts special events and gallery openings."
--Georgetown Arts & Cultural Center (2017)

Retail
1. All City Coffee
2. Georgetown Liquor Co
3. Jules Maes Saloon & Eatery
4. Stellar Pizza & Ale
5. A C Propeller Svc Inc
6. Auto Quest Inc
7. Bike So Good
8. Botanical Designs
9. Corson Building
10. Cutting Board
11. Evil Bikes LLC
12. Flying Squirrel Pizza Co
13. Fonda LA Catrina
14. Georgetown Music Store
15. Great Stuff
16. Hitchcock Deli
17. Kassie Keith LLC
18. Marine Engineers Beneficial Assoc.
19. Maruta Shoten
20. Monarch Trading Corp
21. Pim Sales
22. Prairie Underground
23. Smarty Pants
24. Square Knot Diner
25. Two Tartes Bakery
26. Via Tribunali-Georgetown
27. Walenta's Custom Upholstery
28. Zippy's Giant Burgers

Goods Producing
1. A Dogs Dream
2. A-1 Litho Type
3. Architerra Northwest
4. Armorclad Floors Inc
5. Artisan Electric Inc
6. Atwood Adhesives Inc
7. Baxter-Rutherford Inc
8. Buttonmakers
9. C R Assoc
10. Charter Construction Inc
11. Chemmark Of Western Washington
12. Elysian Brewing Co
13. Fantagraphics Bookstore
14. Full Throttle Bottles
15. Ground Control
16. Kollmar Sheet Metal
17. Laurelhurst Cellars
18. Persuasive Communications
19. R & T Hood & Duct Svc Inc
20. Real Greek LLC
21. Recycling Depot
22. Savoy Truffle
23. Totally Blown Glassworks Inc
24. Vellotti Food

Services
1. Georgetown Arts & Cultural Ctr
2. Seattle Drum School
3. Abyssal Inc
4. Belle & Wissell Co
5. Big People Scooters
6. Brothers Auto Repair
7. Cannapi Consulting
8. Classic Impressions
9. Cross Fit LIS
10. Fix Auto South Seattle
11. Georgetown Ballroom
12. Georgetown Inn
13. Harper Earl Photography Studio
14. Masterson Studio LLC
15. Sandbox Sports
16. Tim Pfeiffer Design
17. WISS Janney Elstner Assoc Inc
18. Western Trailer Repair Inc

FIRE
1. Atm
2. Atm
3. Bank of America

Figure 4-11. Map of the Airport Way area in Georgetown, the quintessential neo-bohemian scene. Map produced in QGIS with business data from Reference USA and a roads layer from the U.S. Census Bureau's Tiger/Line Shapefiles.

Figure 4-12 shows more detailed categories of businesses that exist in the Airport Way area. Again, this reflects what one would expect in a neo-bohemian neighborhood. First, the area is dominated by food retail (19.2 percent of the businesses), which reflects the plethora of hip restaurants in the area that often also operate as art galleries in the Georgetown Art Attack. The next largest category is arts and cultural retail (8.2 percent), which includes the area's bike stores—what Douglas (2012, 3589) calls the "hipster bike crowd," a music store, and other retail places of cultural consumption. There is less vice retail than perhaps would be expected in a neo-bohemian neighborhood (1.9 percent); however, this is because most of the area's restaurants double as bars and nightlife spots. The arts and cultural services in the area (4.1 percent) include the Georgetown Arts and Cultural Center mentioned in the call-out box in the map in Figure 4-11 and photography studios. The technical services in the area (5.5 percent) include a marijuana dispensary (classified under a consulting company SIC code) and several architecture firms.

In addition to the consumption and services that typify neo-bohemian areas, Airport Way also has a diversity of goods-producing businesses. Arts and cultural manufacturing in the area (4.1 percent) includes a book publisher, Fantagraphics Bookstore, that also serves as a retail bookstore and art gallery, as well as glass blowing and artistic tile production businesses. There is also a small amount of vice production (2.7 percent) that includes a brewery and winery. The area is thus a hotbed of neo-bohemian activity. Taken together, the businesses in Airport Way that reflect the neo-bohemian scene (these include art and cultural manufacturing/retail, vice manufacturing/retail, food retail, advertising and commercial art, arts and cultural services, art education, and technical services) make up over 60 percent of the businesses in the area.
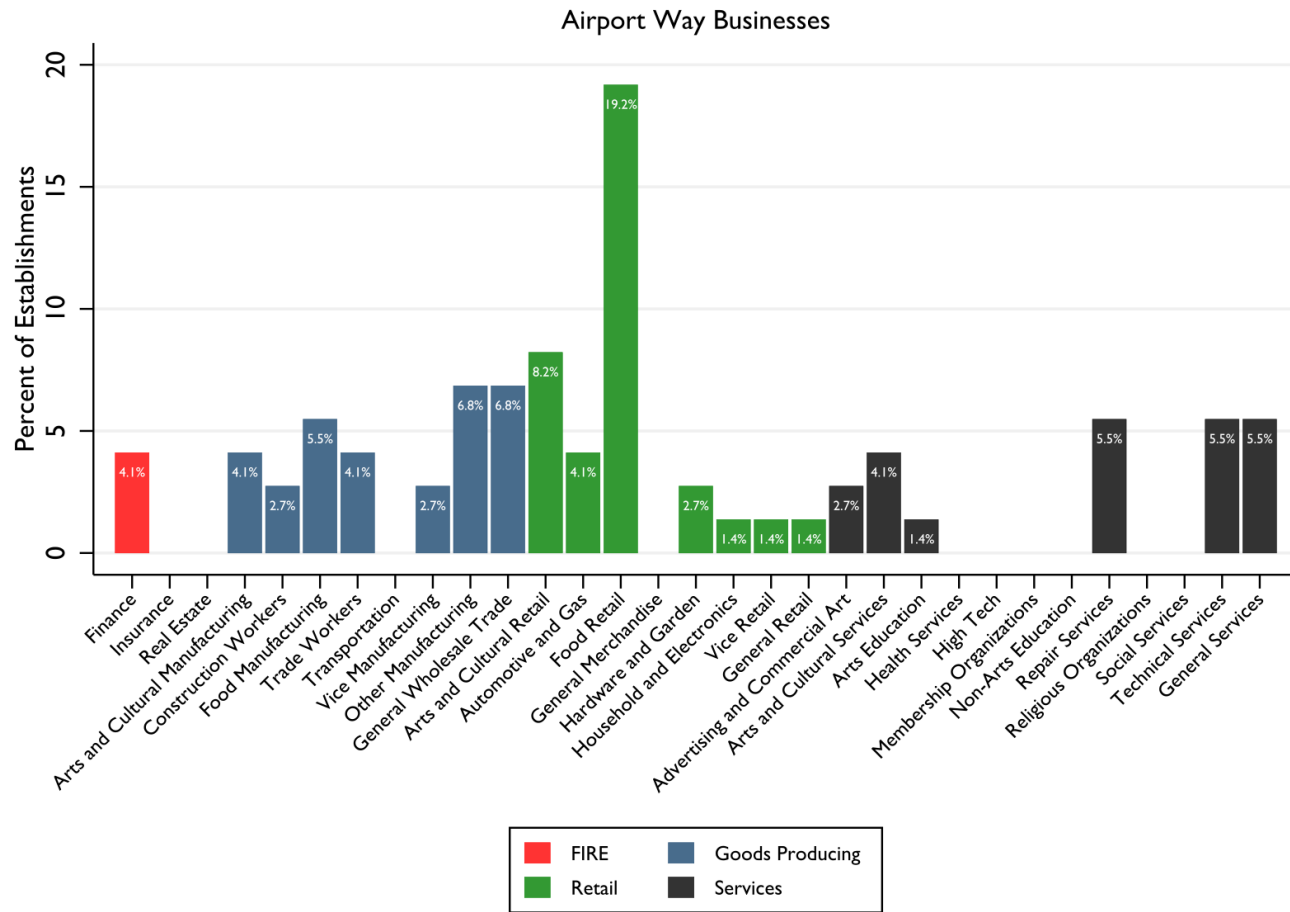
Figure 4-12. The percent of businesses in different types of FIRE, Goods Producing, Retail, and Services in Airport Way. Data from Reference USA.

In contrast to Airport Way, Georgetown's Design District (Figure 4-13) contains more than twice as many goods-producing businesses as it does retail or services. Anchored by the Seattle Design Center, a location that facilitates innovative shows from local designers, the area has a small cluster of arts and cultural manufacturing in fabrics/apparel. The cluster, which makes up 2.7 percent of the businesses in the area, is situated in a larger climate of general goods production. Figure 4-14 shows that, unlike Airport Way, the Design District businesses are led by non-arts and cultural (i.e., other) manufacturing (18.6 percent) and general wholesale trade (15.9 percent). Several commercial printing and allied industries characterize these categories. The area does have some arts and cultural retail (4.4 percent), but they are mostly stores related to the arts and cultural production in the area such as The Foundry Clothing Company, which offers custom-made apparel and screen printing, and Material Good, which offers handmade craft works.

Interestingly, unlike the other areas I study in Georgetown, the Design District also has several high-tech businesses, mostly related to IT and software development (4.4 percent), which reflects Lloyd's (2002) research connecting neo-bohemia to the new economy. Catering to these professionals as well as the local manufacturers, 1st and 4th avenues have several eateries and nightlife spots including dive bars Marco Polo Bar & Grill and Slim's Last Chance, known for fried chicken and chili, respectively, and the Pig Iron Bar-B-Q.

The Design District thus has a more eclectic mix of businesses. It does have several restaurants and nightlife establishments like Airport Way, but the area's main activity is in manufacturing with a small cluster of high tech. In their recent publication, Grodach, O'Connor, and Gibson (2017) point out that arts and cultural manufacturing clusters, which often co-locate with other forms of manufacturing, are at odds with the

74

consumption-oriented planning of the creative city approach. In fact, planning for cultural

consumption may necessitate the destruction or replacement of goods-producing

industries, to make way for high-rise apartments and retail catering toward neo-

bohemians. The Design District, although rich in arts and cultural businesses, thus stands

apart from Airport Way. It is not a neo-bohemian center of consumption, but rather a

hotbed of arts and cultural production.
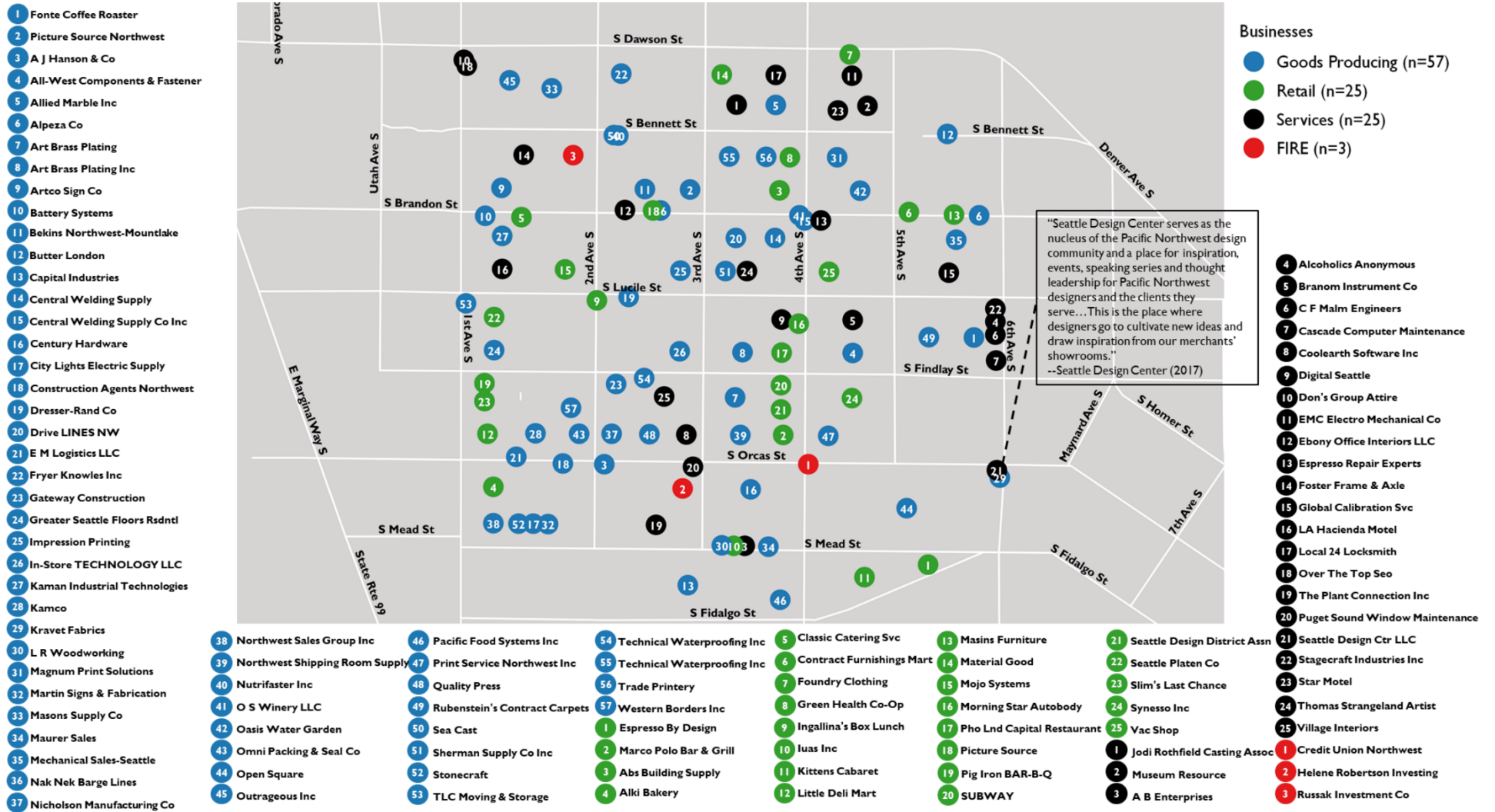
Figure 4-13. Map of the Georgetown Design District, a hotbed of arts and cultural and other types of manufacturing. Map produced in QGIS with business data from Reference USA and a roads layer from the U.S. Census Bureau's Tiger/Line Shapefiles.

76
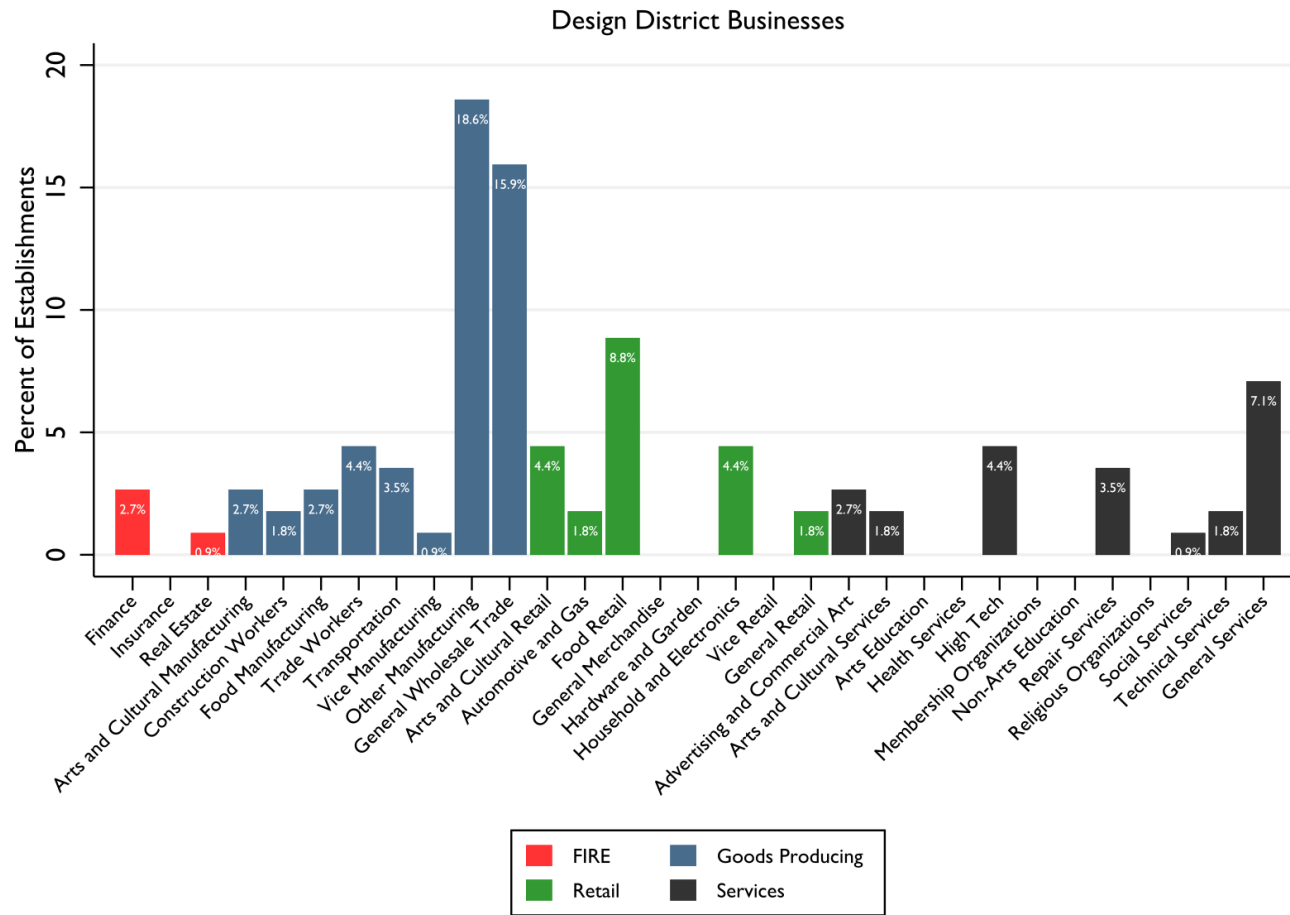
Figure 4-14. The percent of businesses in different types of FIRE, Goods Producing, Retail, and Services in the Design District. Data from Reference USA.

The final location I investigate in Georgetown is the cluster of businesses along Michigan Avenue, to the southwest of Airport Way and just south of the Design District (see Figure 4-2). Figure 4-15 shows a map of the businesses in the area. The map makes clear that like the Design District, the area is characterized by a strong presence of goods-producing businesses. Two of the businesses, Silk Screen Company and Studio Screen, are arts and cultural manufacturing, and one business, Counterbalance Brewing Co, is vice production, but the remaining goods-producing businesses in the area do not have any relationship to neo-bohemia. Moreover, several of the businesses are food retail, but they do not reflect the same scene as the establishments in Airport Way. The quote in Figure 4-15 from *Yelp* user Laura P describes a neighborly, blue-collar scene that is quite different from transgressive neo-bohemia. The blue-collar scene is typified even more by the description of the local workers' union in the figure.

Figure 4-16 shows the breakdown of the more defined business categories in the Michigan Avenue area. The area only has a limited number of categories related to neo-bohemia. Arts and cultural manufacturing makes up 3.8 percent of the businesses, vice production is 1.9 percent, and advertising and commercial art is 1.9 percent. There is no arts and culture retail in the area. Over a third (39.7 percent) of the businesses are related to non-arts non-neo-bohemian goods production. Chief among these is general wholesale trade (17 percent) and other manufacturing (15.1 percent).
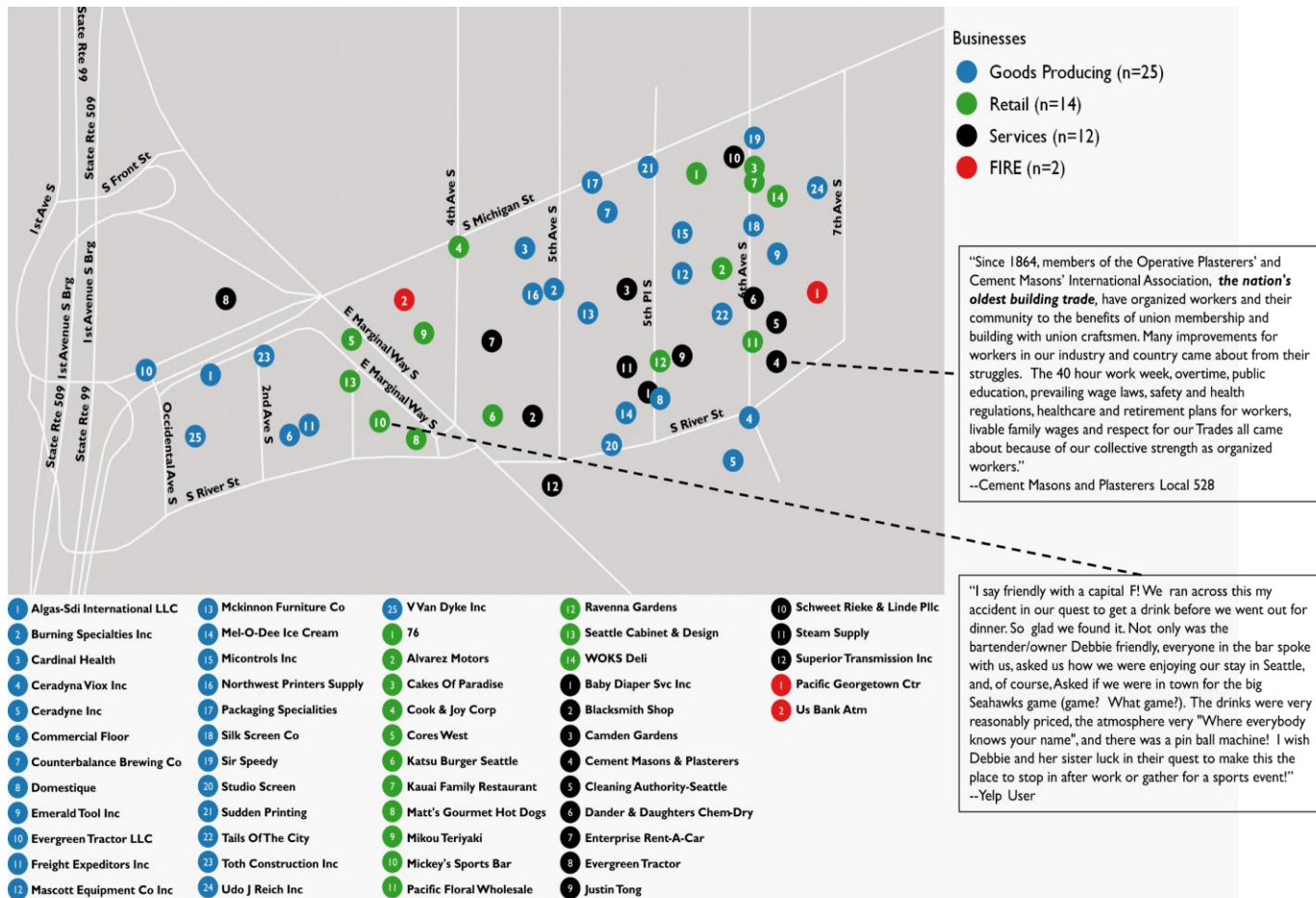
Figure 4-15. Map of Michigan Avenue in Georgetown, a neighborly, blue-collar scene. Map produced in QGIS with business data from Reference USA and a roads layer from the U.S. Census Bureau's Tiger/Line Shapefiles
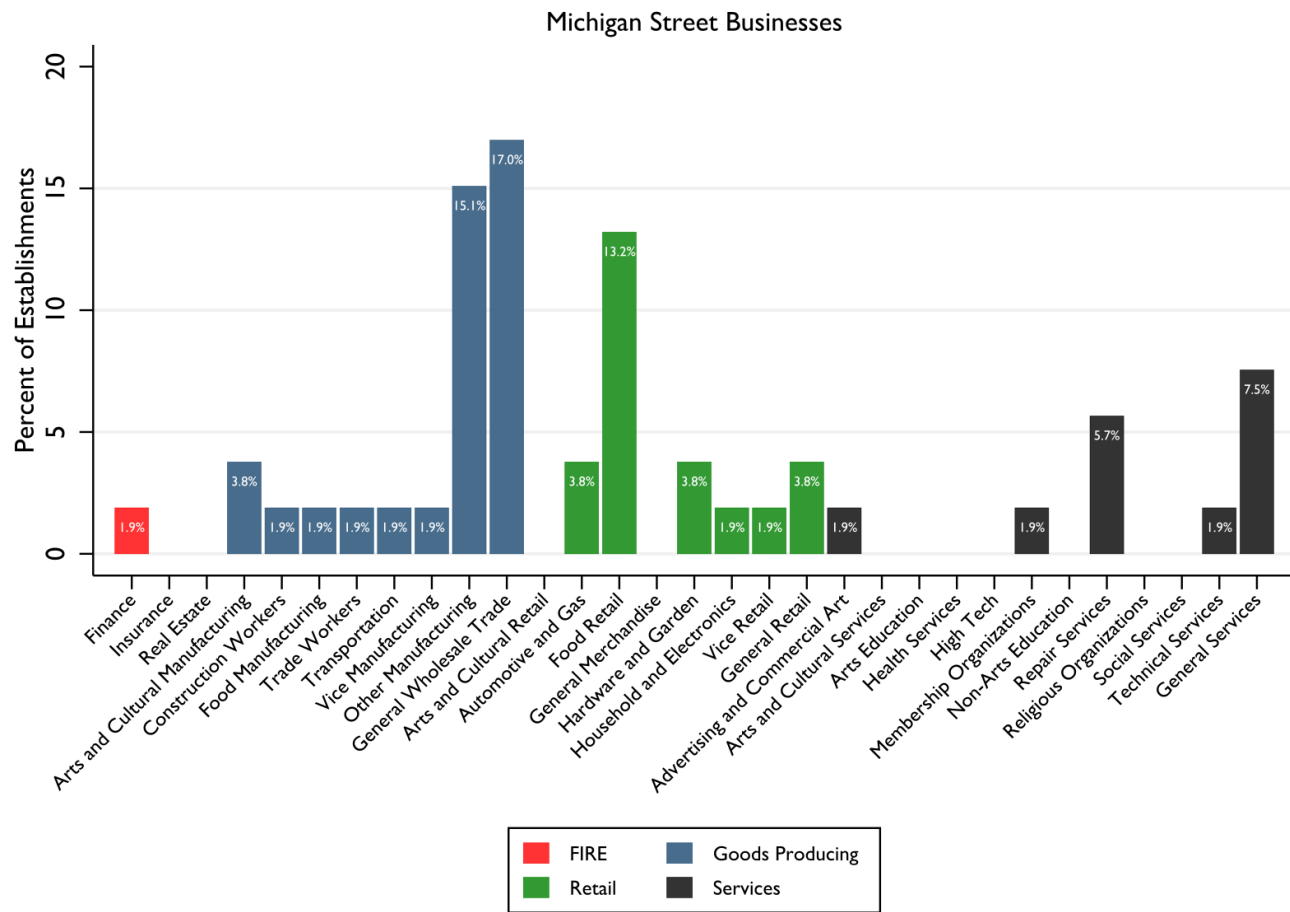
Figure 4-16. The percent of businesses in different types of FIRE, Goods Producing, Retail, and Services in Michigan Avenue area. Data from Reference USA.

In my analysis above I uncover three diverse scenes within a single neighborhood and challenge the cultural hegemony of neo-bohemia in Georgetown. Airport Way demonstrates the prototypical scene one would expect to find in a neo-bohemian neighborhood; however, as I performed what Foucault (1980) might term "the excavation" with GIS, clear evidence of multiple scenes rose to the surface. The Seattle Design District is much more production-oriented than Airport Way, with a small cluster of arts and cultural manufacturing embedded in a larger set of general goods-producing businesses. Michigan Avenue, also production-oriented, houses few businesses related to neo-bohemia at all. The area's establishments exude a neighborly, blue-collar scene that contracts with the hip, artsy scene of Airport Way and the more eclectic scene of production, high tech, and consumption in the Seattle Design District. Moreover, quotes from visitors to the establishments in the area indicate that each scene is valued in its own right. Creative city policy targeting the Georgetown neighborhood would miss this nuance and, potentially, destroy the cultural diversity and vitality that currently exists within the neighborhood.

As a summary of the findings, Figure 4-17 categorizes businesses in each of the three areas as highly related, somewhat related, or unrelated to neo-bohemia (see Table 3-6 for businesses types included in each category). The figure clearly shows that Airport Way has the largest percentage of businesses in neo-bohemian related categories. Nearly half (49 percent) of the businesses are at least somewhat related to neo-bohemia and almost a fifth (18 percent) are highly related. The other two areas have significantly fewer neo-bohemian–related businesses. The Design District has more highly related neo-bohemian businesses than Michigan Avenue, but both (9 percent and 4 percent, respectively) have many fewer than Airport Way. In sum, in my analysis of the three scenes in the Seattle neighborhood of Georgetown, I show clear support for H3, that neo-

bohemian neighborhoods contain multiple cultural scenes. Creative city policy that targets neo-bohemia and ignores alternative cultures completely misses the cultural diversity that exists even within neo-bohemian neighborhoods. In the final chapter, I present an alternative framework for cultural policy that valorizes cultural diversity and promotes policy action that ensures its continued presence.

Airport Way   Design District   Michigan Avenue
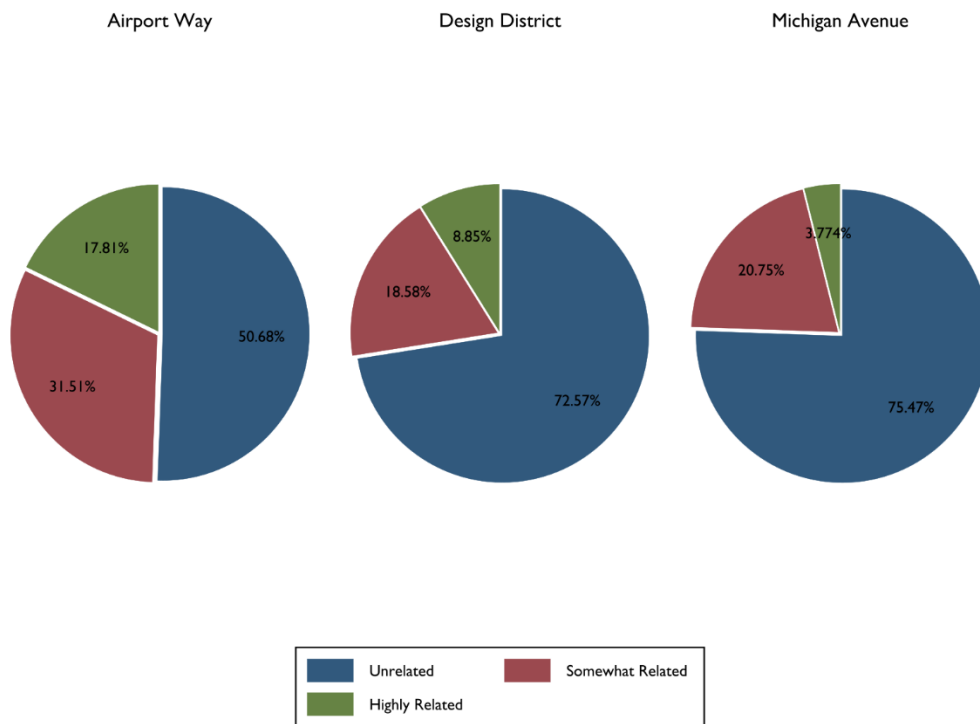
Figure 4-17. The percent of businesses related to neo-bohemia in three areas of Seattle's Georgetown neighborhood. Data from Reference USA.

Chapter 5

An Agenda of Diverse Cultural Scenes

In this chapter, I present an alternative to the creative city cultural policy approach, called creative placemaking. I begin by asserting cultural sustainability, a developing theory in cultural policy, underpins creative placemaking in contrast to the neoliberalism that drives the creative city approach. Specifically, I argue cultural sustainability provides an avenue for communities to reframe the cultural policy agenda toward more ethical development that avoids the economic violence and cultural marginalization associated with neo-bohemia and creative cities. Second, I describe the specific elements of the creative placemaking policy approach and how these tie in to cultural sustainability.

Cultural Sustainability: An Alternative to Creative Cities

The framework of cultural sustainability directly challenges both the economic violence and cultural marginalization of the creative city approach. First, drawing on the concept of sustainability, the framework advocates the balancing of economic profit with concerns for social equity, environmental responsibility, and cultural vitality (Hawkes 2001; Nurse 2006). Gibson-Graham, Cameron, and Healey (2013) point out multiple forms of economic value, beyond profit to the owners of capital, that reflect how people interact with the economy (of which the capitalist market is only one form). Similarly, cultural sustainability recognizes the multiple ways in which people interact with culture. One possibility is certainly consumption of neo-bohemian amenities; however, others include expressions of "love of one's neighbor" that community groups may promote, conservation and enhancement of local parks and other natural amenities, or the enjoyment of *phở* at a local Vietnamese church. Cultural sustainability does not limit the benefits of culture to market economy outcomes. Rather, cultural diversity is seen as a

worthy outcome in and of itself because culture is seen as a fundamental human right

and a basic need (Hawkes 2001). Thus, just as biodiversity is essential for the health and

resilience of all natural communities, cultural diversity is essential for human communities

to ensure their ability to change and adapt (Hawkes 2001; Kagan and Hahn 2011;

O'Shea 2011). Unlike the creative city discourse, which strategically concentrates on

neo-bohemian neighborhoods, cultural sustainability argues for decentralized cultural

support throughout an entire place (Martínez i Illa and Rius i Uldemolins 2011; Savova

2011).

Second, cultural sustainability, in contrast to the universality of neo-bohemia in

the creative city discourse, promotes a situated and context-specific definition of culture

that reflects the complex identity of local communities (Comunian 2011; Pratt 2010;

Sacco, Ferilli, and Blessi 2014). Kagan and Hahn (2011, 19) refer to the frame of cultural

sustainability as a "literacy of complexity and ambiguity" that recognizes the "combining

and contrasting unity, complementarity, competition, and antagonism" of culture. Scott

(2006, 10) refers to the "exclusive aura" that a given local culture produces that can never

be replicated. The idea that culture is context-specific and local challenges the grand

narrative of neo-bohemia in creative city policy. Rather, as Borén and Young (2013)

argue, there is a need for "new conceptual spaces" in which the often disparate views of

cultural practitioners, community residents, and government officials can interact and

construct new meanings. Savova (2011) suggests that each neighborhood should

contain a community cultural center expressly for this purpose. In collaboration with

planners, residents can construct local area maps and other documents that show

cultural assets and reflect the multiple voices and cultural scenes present in any

community (Evans 2001; Evans and Foord 2008; Hawkes 2001; O'Shea 2011). Under

this framework, cultural planning and policy is a participatory process that includes

84

multiple voices and perspectives that may have different conceptions of culture (Grodach 2012; O'Shea 2011). The goal, rather than the successful promotion of neo-bohemia, is a nourishment of diverse cultural scenes.

Cultural sustainability thus neatly complements the critical lens of Gibson-Graham (2006) and Foucault (1980) that I employ in my arguments above. Similar to Gibson-Graham's decentering of the concept of the capitalist market and opening up of alternative forms of economic value, the cultural sustainability framework decenters the concept of neo-bohemia from cultural policy, rejects the neoliberal framing of culture as solely a tool for success in the market economy, and opens up more localized and diverse concepts of culture and its value. These local conceptions of cultural value, which may or may not reflect neo-bohemia, are what Foucault (1980) might call the subjugated knowledge of the creative city discourse. By recognizing their existence and value, advocates of cultural sustainability can challenge the creative city narrative and promote a more ethical approach to cultural policy that recognizes residents, not developers, as the primary agent in defining local culture.

<div align="center">Creative Placemaking: Cultural Sustainability in Practice</div>

In recent years several cultural policy leaders in the United States have recognized the problems with the creative city approach and are advocating a new policy agenda, coined by Markusen and Gadwa (2010), called "creative placemaking." The movement is led by organizations such as the Kresge Foundation, Local Initiative Support Coalition, ArtPlace, and NEA. In short, creative placemaking is the incorporation of arts and culture into various areas of community development through diverse, cross-sector partnerships (Markusen and Gadwa 2010). Examples may include projects that embed artists in local government to encourage new and innovative methods of urban planning and design, arts festivals that highlight local trends in arts and craft making, or a

<div align="center">85</div>

community theatre project that focuses on building life skills for at-risk youth. Breaking

the focus on economic outcomes and re-orienting cultural policy toward community

development, Jen Hughes, acting director of creative placemaking and design programs

at NEA, highlights four ways the creative placemaking approach contributes to local

communities:

1. Thinking inclusively about culture can help illuminate local assets that can spark a new development approach: things like residents' special skills or knowledge, or significant buildings or public spaces, which may have gone unnoticed.

2. Cultural activities like festivals or performances are a natural way to bring people together—they can help us connect with each other across geographic or social divides.

3. The arts can also help energize people around issues, places, or economies by injecting new ideas, resources, or enthusiasm where progress stalls.

4. The arts can introduce a sense of possibility, helping us imagine new options for ourselves and the places we live. (Hughes 2017, 7)

These four tenets are clear departures from the neoliberal approach of the

creative city discourse. First, there is a focus on culture as localized, place-specific, and

diverse. Creative placemaking is not a prescriptive imposition of neo-bohemia, but a

bottom-up discovery of what makes a place unique. Second, creative placemaking

broadens the outcomes of arts-led development and cultural policy. While an "energized

economy" is one focus, social outcomes of connectedness and trust, physical

improvements in buildings and public space, and changes in the way people think and

see the places they live are also goals. Creative placemaking shares these values with

cultural sustainability.

In practice, creative placemaking is directly opposed to the cultural

marginalization found in the creative city discourse. Creative placemaking promotes

cross-sector partnerships between community organizations, local government, and other

community stakeholders to help ensure a policy that reflects the values of multiple interests in the community, not just economic interests (Markusen and Gadwa 2010). Secondly, creative placemaking promotes diverse forms of culture, reflecting the valorization of cultural diversity in the cultural sustainability framework. NEA and other major funders of creative placemaking specifically target multiple locations throughout the United States and a diverse range of cultures (National Endowment for the Arts 2017b). Unlike creative city policy, which I show above privileges urban areas, creative placemaking targets multiple and diverse communities in urban, suburban, rural, and tribal locations throughout the United States

That is not to say there are no limitations to the cultural sustainability/creative placemaking approach. There is a concern in any form of participatory governance of privileging the majority or loudest voices in a given community (Evans and Foord 2008). This could especially be a problem if those voices are interests that seek to turn arts and culture into an instrument for economic gain, essentially making creative placemaking another form of the creative city approach (Grodach 2017). This highlights the need for careful planning that outlines goals, focuses on local assets, and encourages diverse participation in creative placemaking. Moreover, as creative placemaking successes become more known, it is important to recognize that a one-size-fits-all strategy is unlikely to reflect cultural diversity. The local context of an area defines and shapes the local culture, and without planning and policy tailored to these characteristics, creative placemaking may impose different cultures for the sake of economic development.

Recently, the Trump administration announced the anticipated dismantling of the NEA, cutting it from the federal budget. In response to this action, Mike Huckabee, an ultra-conservative politician who was governor of Arkansas from 1996 to 2007 wrote an

op-ed in the *Washington Post* titled "A conservative plea for the National Endowment for the Arts." In it, Huckabee argues for NEA and creative placemaking:

> Many children get their only access to music and the arts via grants made by the NEA — 40 percent of which go to high-poverty neighborhoods, while 36 percent reach underserved people, such as veterans and those with disabilities. In fiscal 2016, NEA grants went to nearly 16,000 communities, in every congressional district in the country (Huckabee 2017).

Creative placemaking is thus a policy framework that rises above partisan politics. There are those that would like to spend money in other areas; however, more research can provide evidence of the success of creative placemaking at producing not only economic, but also social, physical, and larger systems change. To date, most research relies on specific case studies that do not provide a representative body of evidence. What is clear from my dissertation and similar work, however, is that the creative city approach is producing as many or more negative consequences than positive. A next step in cultural policy research is to build off the methods of empirical analysis I present here and outlined elsewhere (e.g., Foster, Grodach, and Murdoch 2016; Grodach, Foster, and Murdoch 2014; Grodach, Foster, and Murdoch 2016; Murdoch, Grodach, and Foster 2016) and apply them to large-scale analysis of creative placemaking projects to demonstrate its benefits as well as areas for improvement.

Appendix A

Detailed Results from Mplus

SEM (No Controls)

```
MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters                        53

Loglikelihood

        H0 Value                        -22733.144
        H1 Value                        -21361.383

Information Criteria

        Akaike (AIC)                     45572.287
        Bayesian (BIC)                   46007.865
        Sample-Size Adjusted BIC         45839.432
          (n* = (n + 2) / 24)

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit

        Value                             146.914
        Degrees of Freedom                     82
        P-Value                            0.0000
        Scaling Correction Factor         18.6744
          for MLM

RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)

        Estimate                            0.005
        90 Percent C.I.                     0.004  0.007
        Probability RMSEA <= .05            1.000

CFI/TLI

        CFI                                 0.936
        TLI                                 0.918

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model

        Value                            1118.145
        Degrees of Freedom                    105
        P-Value                            0.0000

SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual)

        Value                               0.025

WRMR (Weighted Root Mean Square Residual)

        Value                               2.579
```

```
MODEL RESULTS

                                                       Two-Tailed
                     Estimate      S.E.    Est./S.E.    P-Value

 BOHEMIA  BY
    TRANS             1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
    NIGHT             4.006       1.515       2.645       0.008
    YP89_PC           3.670       1.220       3.009       0.003
    ARTS              1.099       0.374       2.937       0.003
    ARTISTS           2.101       1.000       2.102       0.036
    COOL              5.103       2.085       2.447       0.014

 ECON     BY
    INC_UP            1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
    NOPOV_UP          0.842       0.114       7.399       0.000
    VALUE_UP          0.890       0.061      14.607       0.000

 GENT     BY
    BAPLUS_UP         1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
    MANAGER_UP        1.147       0.069      16.659       0.000
    PRODTRANS_       -0.647       0.046     -13.981       0.000

 COMMOD   BY
    COFFEE            1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
    APPAREL           0.770       0.101       7.594       0.000
    BANKS            24.018       6.281       3.824       0.000

 ECON     ON
    BOHEMIA           0.061       0.024       2.511       0.012
    GENT              0.019       0.002       9.656       0.000
    COMMOD           -0.076       0.044      -1.723       0.085

 GENT     ON
    BOHEMIA           0.187       0.072       2.605       0.009

 COMMOD   ON
    BOHEMIA           0.433       0.106       4.087       0.000

 GENT     WITH
    COMMOD            0.000       0.000       1.333       0.183

 COOL     WITH
    NIGHT             0.450       0.030      14.859       0.000

 ARTS     WITH
    ARTISTS           0.008       0.004       2.028       0.043

 Intercepts
    TRANS             0.037       0.001      30.707       0.000
    NIGHT             0.299       0.005      59.435       0.000
    YP89_PC           0.083       0.002      34.152       0.000
    ARTS              0.027       0.002      15.740       0.000
    ARTISTS           0.082       0.006      12.841       0.000
    COOL             12.321       0.028     432.725       0.000
    INC_UP            0.025       0.000     152.571       0.000
    NOPOV_UP         -0.016       0.000     -36.998       0.000
    VALUE_UP          0.041       0.000     108.054       0.000
    BAPLUS_UP         0.137       0.002      67.529       0.000
```

91

```
   MANAGER_UP        0.055      0.002     32.209        0.000
   PRODTRANS_       -0.197      0.002    -80.003        0.000
   COFFEE            0.008      0.000     17.319        0.000
   APPAREL           0.008      0.000     20.302        0.000
   BANKS             0.408      0.008     52.730        0.000

Variances
   BOHEMIA           0.007      0.004      1.642        0.101

Residual Variances
   TRANS             0.033      0.004      7.414        0.000
   NIGHT             0.585      0.055     10.644        0.000
   YP89_PC           0.072      0.019      3.812        0.000
   ARTS              0.070      0.023      3.062        0.002
   ARTISTS           1.099      0.850      1.293        0.196
   COOL             22.040      0.233     94.617        0.000
   INC_UP            0.000      0.000      1.257        0.209
   NOPOV_UP          0.005      0.000     32.040        0.000
   VALUE_UP          0.003      0.001      4.171        0.000
   BAPLUS_UP         0.079      0.003     26.103        0.000
   MANAGER_UP        0.034      0.004      9.659        0.000
   PRODTRANS_        0.151      0.004     37.134        0.000
   COFFEE            0.004      0.001      4.649        0.000
   APPAREL           0.004      0.001      5.350        0.000
   BANKS             0.671      0.153      4.392        0.000
   ECON              0.001      0.000      7.989        0.000
   GENT              0.034      0.002     13.652        0.000
   COMMOD            0.000      0.000      1.263        0.207


STANDARDIZED MODEL RESULTS


STDYX Standardization

                                              Two-Tailed
                   Estimate      S.E.   Est./S.E.    P-Value

 BOHEMIA  BY
   TRANS             0.415      0.103      4.024        0.000
   NIGHT             0.396      0.048      8.213        0.000
   YP89_PC           0.749      0.073     10.209        0.000
   ARTS              0.323      0.066      4.902        0.000
   ARTISTS           0.163      0.016     10.501        0.000
   COOL              0.089      0.012      7.701        0.000

 ECON     BY
   INC_UP            0.961      0.032     30.498        0.000
   NOPOV_UP          0.301      0.023     13.108        0.000
   VALUE_UP          0.376      0.042      8.960        0.000

 GENT     BY
   BAPLUS_UP         0.550      0.019     28.346        0.000
   MANAGER_UP        0.753      0.026     28.730        0.000
   PRODTRANS_       -0.294      0.018    -16.197        0.000

 COMMOD   BY
   COFFEE            0.564      0.124      4.548        0.000
   APPAREL           0.468      0.117      3.992        0.000
```

```
    BANKS              0.768      0.055     13.931      0.000

ECON      ON
    BOHEMIA            0.192      0.070      2.734      0.006
    GENT               0.134      0.017      8.121      0.000
    COMMOD            -0.118      0.058     -2.024      0.043

GENT      ON
    BOHEMIA            0.083      0.023      3.624      0.000

COMMOD    ON
    BOHEMIA            0.872      0.056     15.619      0.000

GENT      WITH
    COMMOD             0.049      0.037      1.328      0.184

COOL      WITH
    NIGHT              0.125      0.008     15.611      0.000

ARTS      WITH
    ARTISTS            0.030      0.021      1.406      0.160

Intercepts
    TRANS              0.185      0.011     16.569      0.000
    NIGHT              0.359      0.014     26.590      0.000
    YP89_PC            0.206      0.013     15.509      0.000
    ARTS               0.095      0.011      8.784      0.000
    ARTISTS            0.078      0.024      3.169      0.002
    COOL               2.614      0.012    213.419      0.000
    INC_UP             0.922      0.043     21.678      0.000
    NOPOV_UP          -0.223      0.006    -37.851      0.000
    VALUE_UP           0.653      0.063     10.306      0.000
    BAPLUS_UP          0.408      0.009     47.053      0.000
    MANAGER_UP         0.195      0.008     24.936      0.000
    PRODTRANS_        -0.483      0.006    -80.155      0.000
    COFFEE             0.105      0.011      9.606      0.000
    APPAREL            0.123      0.008     14.503      0.000
    BANKS              0.319      0.052      6.177      0.000

Variances
    BOHEMIA            1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000

Residual Variances
    TRANS              0.828      0.086      9.652      0.000
    NIGHT              0.843      0.038     22.022      0.000
    YP89_PC            0.439      0.110      3.987      0.000
    ARTS               0.895      0.043     20.993      0.000
    ARTISTS            0.973      0.005    192.258      0.000
    COOL               0.992      0.002    479.166      0.000
    INC_UP             0.076      0.061      1.262      0.207
    NOPOV_UP           0.909      0.014     65.590      0.000
    VALUE_UP           0.859      0.032     27.182      0.000
    BAPLUS_UP          0.698      0.021     32.753      0.000
    MANAGER_UP         0.433      0.039     10.973      0.000
    PRODTRANS_         0.913      0.011     85.361      0.000
    COFFEE             0.682      0.140      4.871      0.000
    APPAREL            0.781      0.110      7.114      0.000
    BANKS              0.410      0.085      4.832      0.000
    ECON               0.970      0.008    117.602      0.000
```

```
       GENT                 0.993      0.004    258.867       0.000
       COMMOD               0.240      0.097      2.461       0.014
```

EFA of Control Variables

```
MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters                            172

Loglikelihood

        H0 Value                       -1669152.864
        H1 Value                       -1660432.338

Information Criteria

        Akaike (AIC)                    3338649.727
        Bayesian (BIC)                  3340063.300
        Sample-Size Adjusted BIC        3339516.687
          (n* = (n + 2) / 24)

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit

        Value                             17441.051
        Degrees of Freedom                      127
        P-Value                              0.0000

RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)

        Estimate                              0.071
        90 Percent C.I.                       0.070  0.071
        Probability RMSEA <= .05              0.000

CFI/TLI

        CFI                                   0.962
        TLI                                   0.924

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model

        Value                            455940.265
        Degrees of Freedom                      253
        P-Value                              0.0000

SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual)

        Value                                 0.018
```

MODEL RESULTS

| | | | Est./S.E. | Two-Tailed |
	Estimate	S.E.		P-Value
F1 BY				
UNEMP	2.717	0.033	82.557	0.000
INCOME	-0.114	0.003	-34.787	0.000
NONWHITE	18.126	0.169	107.260	0.000
PUB_ASST	2.371	0.024	100.252	0.000
RENTER	0.423	0.063	6.724	0.000
SING_MOM	3.440	0.035	99.564	0.000
ADVANCED	-0.049	0.035	-1.403	0.161
CULTURAL	-0.142	0.012	-12.068	0.000
PRODUCT	-2.342	0.087	-26.888	0.000
BAPLUS	-0.406	0.041	-9.989	0.000
MANAGER	-0.104	0.025	-4.117	0.000
OFFICE	0.015	0.029	0.511	0.609
PUBTRANS	0.420	0.048	8.740	0.000
WALK	0.199	0.034	5.781	0.000
WRK_HOME	-1.098	0.034	-32.161	0.000
SERVICE	1.352	0.036	37.709	0.000
DENSITY	0.075	0.009	8.374	0.000
MULTI	-5.636	0.150	-37.575	0.000
EMPDIV	-0.009	0.004	-1.961	0.050
NSP3NEED	0.158	0.024	6.607	0.000
PCT_LM	4.331	0.098	44.301	0.000
SDQ_RATE	0.074	0.015	4.824	0.000
REO	-0.037	0.011	-3.379	0.001
F2 BY				
UNEMP	-0.201	0.024	-8.297	0.000
INCOME	0.231	0.003	74.324	0.000
NONWHITE	6.633	0.142	46.789	0.000
PUB_ASST	-0.168	0.018	-9.522	0.000
RENTER	-1.505	0.066	-22.715	0.000
SING_MOM	0.074	0.015	5.002	0.000
ADVANCED	6.080	0.047	129.551	0.000
CULTURAL	0.039	0.005	8.190	0.000
PRODUCT	-5.070	0.077	-65.735	0.000
BAPLUS	12.136	0.065	185.998	0.000
MANAGER	9.978	0.061	164.038	0.000
OFFICE	1.385	0.046	30.285	0.000
PUBTRANS	0.790	0.042	18.883	0.000
WALK	-0.365	0.035	-10.385	0.000
WRK_HOME	0.099	0.014	7.117	0.000
SERVICE	-1.731	0.028	-60.799	0.000
DENSITY	0.881	0.017	51.595	0.000
MULTI	1.010	0.066	15.312	0.000
EMPDIV	0.170	0.004	40.130	0.000
NSP3NEED	-0.561	0.023	-23.875	0.000
PCT_LM	-6.036	0.080	-75.123	0.000
SDQ_RATE	-0.067	0.005	-12.987	0.000

```
        REO                0.518      0.014     37.362      0.000

F3        BY
        UNEMP             -0.087      0.026     -3.298      0.001
        INCOME            -0.051      0.003    -15.805      0.000
        NONWHITE           0.520      0.107      4.849      0.000
        PUB_ASST          -0.097      0.019     -5.134      0.000
        RENTER            12.569      0.080    157.572      0.000
        SING_MOM           0.549      0.033     16.473      0.000
        ADVANCED           1.599      0.053     30.431      0.000
        CULTURAL          -0.015      0.019     -0.784      0.433
        PRODUCT            0.169      0.037      4.617      0.000
        BAPLUS             0.728      0.053     13.614      0.000
        MANAGER            0.200      0.030      6.618      0.000
        OFFICE             0.359      0.044      8.119      0.000
        PUBTRANS           3.437      0.048     72.096      0.000
        WALK               1.833      0.043     43.035      0.000
        WRK_HOME           0.099      0.018      5.534      0.000
        SERVICE            0.238      0.024      9.860      0.000
        DENSITY            0.957      0.016     59.257      0.000
        MULTI             20.932      0.141    148.738      0.000
        EMPDIV             0.081      0.005     17.063      0.000
        NSP3NEED          -0.031      0.020     -1.590      0.112
        PCT_LM             3.679      0.091     40.314      0.000
        SDQ_RATE           0.200      0.017     11.981      0.000
        REO               -0.040      0.009     -4.267      0.000

F4        BY
        UNEMP              0.146      0.018      8.124      0.000
        INCOME            -0.022      0.002    -14.021      0.000
        NONWHITE          -0.299      0.062     -4.853      0.000
        PUB_ASST          -0.145      0.013    -11.379      0.000
        RENTER             0.575      0.038     15.136      0.000
        SING_MOM           0.028      0.013      2.065      0.039
        ADVANCED           0.097      0.021      4.613      0.000
        CULTURAL           4.352      0.043    101.398      0.000
        PRODUCT           -2.740      0.059    -46.286      0.000
        BAPLUS             0.781      0.036     21.431      0.000
        MANAGER           -0.843      0.034    -24.635      0.000
        OFFICE             0.521      0.024     21.404      0.000
        PUBTRANS          -0.457      0.029    -16.003      0.000
        WALK               0.240      0.023     10.585      0.000
        WRK_HOME          -0.073      0.013     -5.632      0.000
        SERVICE            2.259      0.030     74.061      0.000
        DENSITY           -0.020      0.005     -4.268      0.000
        MULTI              0.024      0.030      0.786      0.432
        EMPDIV             0.015      0.003      5.778      0.000
        NSP3NEED          -0.158      0.011    -14.029      0.000
        PCT_LM             0.001      0.036      0.030      0.976
        SDQ_RATE           0.018      0.007      2.673      0.008
        REO                0.283      0.010     28.168      0.000

F5        BY
```

```
        UNEMP        -0.292     0.023    -12.470     0.000
        INCOME        0.067     0.003     22.441     0.000
        NONWHITE      1.055     0.081     13.027     0.000
        PUB_ASST     -0.233     0.017    -13.630     0.000
        RENTER       -0.877     0.053    -16.655     0.000
        SING_MOM      1.108     0.026     42.419     0.000
        ADVANCED      0.509     0.055      9.235     0.000
        CULTURAL     -0.155     0.011    -14.164     0.000
        PRODUCT       4.834     0.070     68.922     0.000
        BAPLUS       -3.173     0.107    -29.768     0.000
        MANAGER      -5.178     0.081    -63.648     0.000
        OFFICE        2.346     0.036     64.802     0.000
        PUBTRANS      0.134     0.028      4.781     0.000
        WALK         -2.095     0.033    -64.119     0.000
        WRK_HOME     -2.247     0.023    -98.498     0.000
        SERVICE       0.279     0.020     14.013     0.000
        DENSITY       0.912     0.013     67.617     0.000
        MULTI         0.507     0.044     11.601     0.000
        EMPDIV        0.105     0.004     27.432     0.000
        NSP3NEED     -0.024     0.013     -1.786     0.074
        PCT_LM       -0.255     0.041     -6.260     0.000
        SDQ_RATE     -0.117     0.010    -11.971     0.000
        REO           0.126     0.010     12.134     0.000

F6       BY
        UNEMP         0.104     0.021      4.955     0.000
        INCOME        0.007     0.002      4.553     0.000
        NONWHITE      3.236     0.129     25.158     0.000
        PUB_ASST      0.028     0.013      2.070     0.038
        RENTER       -0.375     0.041     -9.249     0.000
        SING_MOM     -0.041     0.016     -2.559     0.010
        ADVANCED     -0.018     0.025     -0.752     0.452
        CULTURAL      0.104     0.018      5.882     0.000
        PRODUCT      -0.141     0.026     -5.485     0.000
        BAPLUS       -1.237     0.046    -26.606     0.000
        MANAGER      -0.362     0.030    -12.252     0.000
        OFFICE       -0.116     0.024     -4.843     0.000
        PUBTRANS     -0.244     0.031     -7.854     0.000
        WALK         -0.475     0.031    -15.474     0.000
        WRK_HOME      0.148     0.018      8.208     0.000
        SERVICE      -0.097     0.015     -6.507     0.000
        DENSITY       0.141     0.007     18.872     0.000
        MULTI         0.631     0.040     15.613     0.000
        EMPDIV        0.006     0.003      1.978     0.048
        NSP3NEED      4.015     0.026    152.031     0.000
        PCT_LM        0.483     0.051      9.484     0.000
        SDQ_RATE      3.426     0.019    178.697     0.000
        REO           1.232     0.012    103.696     0.000

F2       WITH
        F1           -0.346     0.006    -56.187     0.000

F3       WITH
```

```
          F1           0.541       0.006      91.620      0.000
          F2           0.276       0.005      52.672      0.000

F4       WITH
          F1           0.221       0.006      36.299      0.000
          F2           0.016       0.006       2.891      0.004
          F3           0.319       0.006      49.739      0.000

F5       WITH
          F1          -0.059       0.009      -6.370      0.000
          F2           0.267       0.007      40.308      0.000
          F3           0.161       0.008      19.279      0.000
          F4          -0.012       0.006      -1.935      0.053

F6       WITH
          F1           0.355       0.006      56.773      0.000
          F2          -0.169       0.006     -26.883      0.000
          F3           0.118       0.007      18.002      0.000
          F4           0.098       0.007      14.416      0.000
          F5           0.338       0.007      49.782      0.000

OFFICE   WITH
       PRODUCT        -10.427      0.148     -70.558      0.000

SERVICE  WITH
       PRODUCT         -8.490      0.162     -52.270      0.000

PRODUCT  WITH
       ADVANCED        -5.476      0.139     -39.469      0.000

Intercepts
       UNEMP            5.732      0.024     234.587      0.000
       INCOME          10.509      0.002    4330.254      0.000
       NONWHITE        19.029      0.138     138.130      0.000
       PUB_ASST         3.253      0.019     172.798      0.000
       RENTER          25.888      0.084     308.570      0.000
       SING_MOM         8.054      0.027     293.456      0.000
       ADVANCED        14.349      0.046     308.857      0.000
       CULTURAL         7.275      0.026     278.428      0.000
       PRODUCT         24.271      0.057     427.065      0.000
       BAPLUS          19.246      0.079     242.922      0.000
       MANAGER         30.042      0.063     478.366      0.000
       OFFICE          24.107      0.029     842.777      0.000
       PUBTRANS         2.043      0.035      58.138      0.000
       WALK             3.361      0.029     116.862      0.000
       WRK_HOME         4.442      0.022     202.975      0.000
       SERVICE         15.244      0.028     545.283      0.000
       DENSITY          4.888      0.013     377.715      0.000
       MULTI           17.829      0.118     151.519      0.000
       EMPDIV           1.910      0.003     641.707      0.000
       NSP3NEED         9.650      0.029     333.076      0.000
       PCT_LM          40.794      0.074     553.847      0.000
       SDQ_RATE         7.457      0.022     345.993      0.000
```

```
     REO            1.415       0.012     121.170       0.000

  Variances
     F1             1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
     F2             1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
     F3             1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
     F4             1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
     F5             1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000
     F6             1.000       0.000     999.000     999.000

  Residual Variances
     UNEMP          8.199       0.080     102.203       0.000
     INCOME         0.060       0.001     103.802       0.000
     NONWHITE     170.691       1.988      85.850       0.000
     PUB_ASST       3.948       0.042      94.285       0.000
     RENTER        34.823       0.450      77.408       0.000
     SING_MOM       5.675       0.072      79.358       0.000
     ADVANCED      11.793       0.123      96.188       0.000
     CULTURAL      -0.062       0.314      -0.199       0.843
     PRODUCT       44.097       0.421     104.640       0.000
     BAPLUS        17.059       0.229      74.589       0.000
     MANAGER        4.896       0.156      31.380       0.000
     OFFICE        12.350       0.120     103.153       0.000
     PUBTRANS      19.221       0.169     113.891       0.000
     WALK          14.535       0.134     108.642       0.000
     WRK_HOME       7.658       0.073     104.243       0.000
     SERVICE        8.551       0.109      78.764       0.000
     DENSITY        0.768       0.010      80.562       0.000
     MULTI         14.901       0.949      15.705       0.000
     EMPDIV         0.175       0.002     114.180       0.000
     NSP3NEED       5.459       0.081      67.753       0.000
     PCT_LM        53.145       0.508     104.689       0.000
     SDQ_RATE       0.756       0.049      15.594       0.000
     REO            1.907       0.018     106.606       0.000


STANDARDIZED MODEL RESULTS


STDYX Standardization

                                             Two-Tailed
                  Estimate      S.E.   Est./S.E.    P-Value

  F1       BY
     UNEMP          0.672       0.007      94.996       0.000
     INCOME        -0.285       0.008     -35.256       0.000
     NONWHITE       0.795       0.006     128.468       0.000
     PUB_ASST       0.761       0.006     121.604       0.000
     RENTER         0.030       0.005       6.728       0.000
     SING_MOM       0.757       0.007     114.771       0.000
     ADVANCED      -0.006       0.005      -1.403       0.161
     CULTURAL      -0.033       0.003     -12.112       0.000
```

99

PRODUCT		-0.249	0.009	-27.146	0.000
BAPLUS		-0.031	0.003	-10.004	0.000
MANAGER		-0.010	0.002	-4.122	0.000
OFFICE		0.003	0.006	0.511	0.609
PUBTRANS		0.072	0.008	8.749	0.000
WALK		0.042	0.007	5.784	0.000
WRK_HOME		-0.303	0.009	-32.649	0.000
SERVICE		0.292	0.008	38.321	0.000
DENSITY		0.035	0.004	8.385	0.000
MULTI		-0.289	0.008	-37.212	0.000
EMPDIV		-0.017	0.009	-1.961	0.050
NSP3NEED		0.033	0.005	6.611	0.000
PCT_LM		0.355	0.008	45.451	0.000
SDQ_RATE		0.021	0.004	4.826	0.000
REO		-0.019	0.006	-3.379	0.001
F2	BY				
UNEMP		-0.050	0.006	-8.305	0.000
INCOME		0.576	0.007	81.071	0.000
NONWHITE		0.291	0.006	47.219	0.000
PUB_ASST		-0.054	0.006	-9.534	0.000
RENTER		-0.108	0.005	-22.616	0.000
SING_MOM		0.016	0.003	5.002	0.000
ADVANCED		0.791	0.005	164.606	0.000
CULTURAL		0.009	0.001	8.197	0.000
PRODUCT		-0.539	0.008	-69.686	0.000
BAPLUS		0.925	0.003	313.243	0.000
MANAGER		0.960	0.005	205.265	0.000
OFFICE		0.293	0.010	30.659	0.000
PUBTRANS		0.136	0.007	18.987	0.000
WALK		-0.077	0.007	-10.393	0.000
WRK_HOME		0.027	0.004	7.119	0.000
SERVICE		-0.374	0.006	-63.416	0.000
DENSITY		0.411	0.008	52.436	0.000
MULTI		0.052	0.003	15.436	0.000
EMPDIV		0.344	0.008	41.589	0.000
NSP3NEED		-0.117	0.005	-24.014	0.000
PCT_LM		-0.495	0.006	-80.369	0.000
SDQ_RATE		-0.019	0.001	-13.135	0.000
REO		0.268	0.007	37.871	0.000
F3	BY				
UNEMP		-0.022	0.007	-3.298	0.001
INCOME		-0.127	0.008	-15.836	0.000
NONWHITE		0.023	0.005	4.852	0.000
PUB_ASST		-0.031	0.006	-5.134	0.000
RENTER		0.905	0.004	241.204	0.000
SING_MOM		0.121	0.007	16.522	0.000
ADVANCED		0.208	0.007	30.697	0.000
CULTURAL		-0.003	0.004	-0.784	0.433
PRODUCT		0.018	0.004	4.618	0.000
BAPLUS		0.055	0.004	13.648	0.000
MANAGER		0.019	0.003	6.627	0.000

```
        OFFICE        0.076    0.009      8.131    0.000
        PUBTRANS      0.591    0.007     80.563    0.000
        WALK          0.385    0.009     44.520    0.000
        WRK_HOME      0.027    0.005      5.533    0.000
        SERVICE       0.051    0.005      9.875    0.000
        DENSITY       0.447    0.007     61.252    0.000
        MULTI         1.075    0.006    183.555    0.000
        EMPDIV        0.165    0.010     17.166    0.000
        NSP3NEED     -0.006    0.004     -1.590    0.112
        PCT_LM        0.302    0.007     40.929    0.000
        SDQ_RATE      0.056    0.005     11.984    0.000
        REO          -0.020    0.005     -4.266    0.000

F4      BY
        UNEMP         0.036    0.004      8.127    0.000
        INCOME       -0.055    0.004    -14.041    0.000
        NONWHITE     -0.013    0.003     -4.854    0.000
        PUB_ASST     -0.047    0.004    -11.391    0.000
        RENTER        0.041    0.003     15.157    0.000
        SING_MOM      0.006    0.003      2.065    0.039
        ADVANCED      0.013    0.003      4.613    0.000
        CULTURAL      1.006    0.009    112.539    0.000
        PRODUCT      -0.291    0.006    -47.550    0.000
        BAPLUS        0.060    0.003     21.358    0.000
        MANAGER      -0.081    0.003    -24.677    0.000
        OFFICE        0.110    0.005     21.495    0.000
        PUBTRANS     -0.078    0.005    -16.046    0.000
        WALK          0.051    0.005     10.602    0.000
        WRK_HOME     -0.020    0.004     -5.635    0.000
        SERVICE       0.488    0.006     79.249    0.000
        DENSITY      -0.009    0.002     -4.267    0.000
        MULTI         0.001    0.002      0.786    0.432
        EMPDIV        0.031    0.005      5.781    0.000
        NSP3NEED     -0.033    0.002    -14.034    0.000
        PCT_LM        0.000    0.003      0.030    0.976
        SDQ_RATE      0.005    0.002      2.673    0.008
        REO           0.147    0.005     28.401    0.000

F5      BY
        UNEMP        -0.072    0.006    -12.485    0.000
        INCOME        0.168    0.007     22.519    0.000
        NONWHITE      0.046    0.004     13.070    0.000
        PUB_ASST     -0.075    0.005    -13.642    0.000
        RENTER       -0.063    0.004    -16.646    0.000
        SING_MOM      0.244    0.006     42.842    0.000
        ADVANCED      0.066    0.007      9.244    0.000
        CULTURAL     -0.036    0.003    -14.198    0.000
        PRODUCT       0.514    0.007     74.178    0.000
        BAPLUS       -0.242    0.008    -29.788    0.000
        MANAGER      -0.498    0.008    -63.747    0.000
        OFFICE        0.495    0.007     70.492    0.000
        PUBTRANS      0.023    0.005      4.782    0.000
        WALK         -0.440    0.006    -69.653    0.000
```

```
      WRK_HOME          -0.620     0.005   -122.453     0.000
      SERVICE            0.060     0.004     14.038     0.000
      DENSITY            0.426     0.006     69.552     0.000
      MULTI              0.026     0.002     11.604     0.000
      EMPDIV             0.214     0.008     27.851     0.000
      NSP3NEED          -0.005     0.003     -1.786     0.074
      PCT_LM            -0.021     0.003     -6.259     0.000
      SDQ_RATE          -0.033     0.003    -11.975     0.000
      REO                0.065     0.005     12.154     0.000

 F6        BY
      UNEMP              0.026     0.005      4.957     0.000
      INCOME             0.018     0.004      4.552     0.000
      NONWHITE           0.142     0.006     25.286     0.000
      PUB_ASST           0.009     0.004      2.071     0.038
      RENTER            -0.027     0.003     -9.243     0.000
      SING_MOM          -0.009     0.004     -2.559     0.011
      ADVANCED          -0.002     0.003     -0.752     0.452
      CULTURAL           0.024     0.004      5.884     0.000
      PRODUCT           -0.015     0.003     -5.486     0.000
      BAPLUS            -0.094     0.004    -26.713     0.000
      MANAGER           -0.035     0.003    -12.295     0.000
      OFFICE            -0.025     0.005     -4.843     0.000
      PUBTRANS          -0.042     0.005     -7.858     0.000
      WALK              -0.100     0.006    -15.526     0.000
      WRK_HOME           0.041     0.005      8.212     0.000
      SERVICE           -0.021     0.003     -6.506     0.000
      DENSITY            0.066     0.003     18.922     0.000
      MULTI              0.032     0.002     15.638     0.000
      EMPDIV             0.012     0.006      1.978     0.048
      NSP3NEED           0.837     0.004    238.507     0.000
      PCT_LM             0.040     0.004      9.495     0.000
      SDQ_RATE           0.960     0.003    289.387     0.000
      REO                0.637     0.005    129.639     0.000

 F2        WITH
      F1                -0.346     0.006    -56.187     0.000

 F3        WITH
      F1                 0.541     0.006     91.620     0.000
      F2                 0.276     0.005     52.672     0.000

 F4        WITH
      F1                 0.221     0.006     36.299     0.000
      F2                 0.016     0.006      2.891     0.004
      F3                 0.319     0.006     49.739     0.000

 F5        WITH
      F1                -0.059     0.009     -6.370     0.000
      F2                 0.267     0.007     40.308     0.000
      F3                 0.161     0.008     19.279     0.000
      F4                -0.012     0.006     -1.935     0.053
```

```
F6        WITH
   F1                    0.355      0.006     56.773      0.000
   F2                   -0.169      0.006    -26.883      0.000
   F3                    0.118      0.007     18.002      0.000
   F4                    0.098      0.007     14.416      0.000
   F5                    0.338      0.007     49.782      0.000

OFFICE    WITH
   PRODUCT              -0.447      0.005    -86.405      0.000

SERVICE   WITH
   PRODUCT              -0.437      0.005    -80.542      0.000

PRODUCT   WITH
   ADVANCED             -0.240      0.006    -41.184      0.000

Intercepts
   UNEMP                 1.417      0.009    165.710      0.000
   INCOME               26.158      0.112    233.770      0.000
   NONWHITE              0.834      0.007    118.966      0.000
   PUB_ASST              1.044      0.008    139.029      0.000
   RENTER                1.864      0.010    186.508      0.000
   SING_MOM              1.773      0.010    183.009      0.000
   ADVANCED              1.866      0.010    186.571      0.000
   CULTURAL              1.682      0.009    179.185      0.000
   PRODUCT               2.580      0.012    206.782      0.000
   BAPLUS                1.467      0.009    168.570      0.000
   MANAGER               2.890      0.014    210.280      0.000
   OFFICE                5.091      0.023    225.569      0.000
   PUBTRANS              0.351      0.006     56.424      0.000
   WALK                  0.706      0.007    104.559      0.000
   WRK_HOME              1.226      0.008    153.360      0.000
   SERVICE               3.294      0.015    215.122      0.000
   DENSITY               2.282      0.011    198.989      0.000
   MULTI                 0.915      0.007    127.202      0.000
   EMPDIV                3.876      0.018    219.932      0.000
   NSP3NEED              2.012      0.011    191.533      0.000
   PCT_LM                3.346      0.016    215.638      0.000
   SDQ_RATE              2.090      0.011    193.896      0.000
   REO                   0.732      0.007    107.611      0.000

Variances
   F1                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
   F2                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
   F3                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
   F4                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
   F5                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
   F6                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000

Residual Variances
   UNEMP                 0.501      0.005    102.283      0.000
   INCOME                0.372      0.004     94.715      0.000
   NONWHITE              0.328      0.004     78.870      0.000
```

```
PUB_ASST          0.407       0.005      89.042       0.000
RENTER            0.181       0.003      68.436       0.000
SING_MOM          0.275       0.004      72.237       0.000
ADVANCED          0.199       0.002      81.121       0.000
CULTURAL         -0.003     999.000     999.000     999.000
PRODUCT           0.498       0.005     101.989       0.000
BAPLUS            0.099       0.002      64.787       0.000
MANAGER           0.045       0.001      30.402       0.000
OFFICE            0.551       0.005     107.479       0.000
PUBTRANS          0.568       0.005     121.997       0.000
WALK              0.641       0.005     124.893       0.000
WRK_HOME          0.584       0.005     111.926       0.000
SERVICE           0.399       0.005      75.400       0.000
DENSITY           0.167       0.002      70.251       0.000
MULTI             0.039       0.003      15.576       0.000
EMPDIV            0.720       0.005     149.780       0.000
NSP3NEED          0.237       0.004      62.478       0.000
PCT_LM            0.357       0.004      94.472       0.000
SDQ_RATE          0.059       0.004      15.473       0.000
REO               0.510       0.005     107.524       0.000
```

SEM (Including Controls)

```
MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters                       255

Loglikelihood

        H0 Value                        -1677764.872
        H1 Value                        -1653083.251

Information Criteria

        Akaike (AIC)                     3356039.744
        Bayesian (BIC)                   3358135.448
        Sample-Size Adjusted BIC         3357325.062
          (n* = (n + 2) / 24)

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit

        Value                            49363.242
        Degrees of Freedom                    524
        P-Value                            0.0000

RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)

        Estimate                            0.058
        90 Percent C.I.                     0.058    0.059
        Probability RMSEA <= .05            0.000

CFI/TLI
```

```
        CFI                             0.913
        TLI                             0.883


Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model

        Value                      559359.537
        Degrees of Freedom                703
        P-Value                        0.0000


SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual)

        Value                           0.050



MODEL RESULTS

                                                Two-Tailed
                  Estimate      S.E.   Est./S.E.   P-Value

 F1      BY
    UNEMP            2.688      0.033     81.780     0.000
    INCOME          -0.104      0.003    -32.404     0.000
    NONWHITE        18.196      0.170    107.182     0.000
    PUB_ASST         2.362      0.024    100.063     0.000
    RENTER           0.490      0.076      6.457     0.000
    SING_MOM         3.481      0.035     99.414     0.000
    ADVANCED        -0.085      0.035     -2.461     0.014
    CULTURAL        -0.131      0.012    -11.228     0.000
    PRODUCT         -2.360      0.086    -27.382     0.000
    BAPLUS          -0.417      0.040    -10.549     0.000
    MANAGER         -0.060      0.025     -2.408     0.016
    OFFICE           0.007      0.030      0.249     0.803
    PUBTRANS         0.461      0.049      9.324     0.000
    WALK             0.119      0.030      4.007     0.000
    WRK_HOME        -1.111      0.034    -32.412     0.000
    SERVICE          1.366      0.036     38.178     0.000
    DENSITY          0.082      0.009      9.051     0.000
    MULTI           -4.959      0.150    -33.006     0.000
    EMPDIV          -0.009      0.004     -2.102     0.036
    NSP3NEED         0.158      0.023      6.829     0.000
    PCT_LM           4.209      0.099     42.671     0.000
    SDQ_RATE         0.093      0.015      6.020     0.000
    REO             -0.051      0.011     -4.612     0.000

 F2      BY
    UNEMP           -0.208      0.025     -8.261     0.000
    INCOME           0.226      0.003     69.383     0.000
    NONWHITE         6.648      0.142     46.693     0.000
    PUB_ASST        -0.158      0.018     -8.862     0.000
    RENTER          -1.603      0.073    -22.003     0.000
    SING_MOM         0.063      0.015      4.317     0.000
```

105

```
      ADVANCED         6.031      0.051     118.166     0.000
      CULTURAL         0.041      0.005       8.103     0.000
      PRODUCT         -5.167      0.080     -64.808     0.000
      BAPLUS          12.136      0.065     186.952     0.000
      MANAGER         10.013      0.061     164.653     0.000
      OFFICE           1.349      0.050      26.979     0.000
      PUBTRANS         0.791      0.044      17.960     0.000
      WALK            -0.368      0.035     -10.378     0.000
      WRK_HOME         0.124      0.017       7.250     0.000
      SERVICE         -1.710      0.029     -59.485     0.000
      DENSITY          0.857      0.020      43.393     0.000
      MULTI            1.189      0.096      12.348     0.000
      EMPDIV           0.167      0.004      37.476     0.000
      NSP3NEED        -0.570      0.024     -23.979     0.000
      PCT_LM          -6.047      0.082     -73.349     0.000
      SDQ_RATE        -0.069      0.006     -12.439     0.000
      REO              0.505      0.014      35.063     0.000

F3        BY
      UNEMP           -0.063      0.026      -2.408     0.016
      INCOME          -0.057      0.003     -17.004     0.000
      NONWHITE         0.540      0.108       4.992     0.000
      PUB_ASST        -0.095      0.019      -4.982     0.000
      RENTER          12.670      0.083     152.889     0.000
      SING_MOM         0.545      0.034      16.117     0.000
      ADVANCED         1.648      0.055      29.927     0.000
      CULTURAL         0.007      0.020       0.330     0.741
      PRODUCT          0.200      0.036       5.596     0.000
      BAPLUS           0.824      0.057      14.496     0.000
      MANAGER          0.191      0.030       6.296     0.000
      OFFICE           0.365      0.045       8.039     0.000
      PUBTRANS         3.420      0.049      70.106     0.000
      WALK             1.897      0.042      45.365     0.000
      WRK_HOME         0.109      0.018       6.230     0.000
      SERVICE          0.209      0.023       9.184     0.000
      DENSITY          0.962      0.017      56.430     0.000
      MULTI           20.361      0.141     144.461     0.000
      EMPDIV           0.083      0.005      17.193     0.000
      NSP3NEED        -0.040      0.020      -2.002     0.045
      PCT_LM           3.716      0.093      39.862     0.000
      SDQ_RATE         0.175      0.016      10.776     0.000
      REO             -0.031      0.009      -3.328     0.001

F4        BY
      UNEMP            0.155      0.018       8.383     0.000
      INCOME          -0.019      0.001     -13.303     0.000
      NONWHITE        -0.294      0.062      -4.729     0.000
      PUB_ASST        -0.140      0.013     -10.820     0.000
      RENTER           0.526      0.037      14.110     0.000
      SING_MOM         0.031      0.014       2.321     0.020
      ADVANCED         0.101      0.021       4.705     0.000
      CULTURAL         4.272      0.040     107.327     0.000
      PRODUCT         -2.786      0.058     -47.825     0.000
```

106

```
     BAPLUS               0.764       0.037      20.726       0.000
     MANAGER             -0.864       0.035     -24.375       0.000
     OFFICE               0.524       0.025      21.095       0.000
     PUBTRANS            -0.469       0.029     -16.198       0.000
     WALK                 0.238       0.023      10.352       0.000
     WRK_HOME            -0.082       0.013      -6.191       0.000
     SERVICE              2.302       0.029      79.481       0.000
     DENSITY             -0.022       0.005      -4.762       0.000
     MULTI                0.030       0.033       0.909       0.363
     EMPDIV               0.016       0.003       5.869       0.000
     NSP3NEED            -0.170       0.012     -14.747       0.000
     PCT_LM               0.019       0.037       0.521       0.602
     SDQ_RATE             0.019       0.007       2.914       0.004
     REO                  0.286       0.010      28.135       0.000

F5        BY
     UNEMP               -0.318       0.024     -13.204       0.000
     INCOME               0.078       0.003      24.668       0.000
     NONWHITE             1.049       0.087      12.092       0.000
     PUB_ASST            -0.246       0.018     -13.965       0.000
     RENTER              -0.986       0.055     -17.810       0.000
     SING_MOM             1.098       0.027      41.092       0.000
     ADVANCED             0.585       0.067       8.727       0.000
     CULTURAL            -0.154       0.013     -12.310       0.000
     PRODUCT              4.782       0.077      62.071       0.000
     BAPLUS              -3.073       0.127     -24.248       0.000
     MANAGER             -5.023       0.096     -52.115       0.000
     OFFICE               2.359       0.039      61.263       0.000
     PUBTRANS             0.149       0.028       5.367       0.000
     WALK                -2.139       0.033     -64.442       0.000
     WRK_HOME            -2.251       0.023     -98.656       0.000
     SERVICE              0.254       0.020      12.994       0.000
     DENSITY              0.933       0.015      61.735       0.000
     MULTI                0.613       0.050      12.286       0.000
     EMPDIV               0.107       0.004      26.441       0.000
     NSP3NEED            -0.039       0.014      -2.853       0.004
     PCT_LM              -0.280       0.047      -5.987       0.000
     SDQ_RATE            -0.108       0.010     -11.124       0.000
     REO                  0.132       0.011      11.919       0.000

F6        BY
     UNEMP                0.104       0.021       4.938       0.000
     INCOME               0.007       0.001       4.488       0.000
     NONWHITE             3.220       0.129      25.029       0.000
     PUB_ASST             0.028       0.013       2.108       0.035
     RENTER              -0.321       0.040      -8.119       0.000
     SING_MOM            -0.055       0.016      -3.432       0.001
     ADVANCED            -0.001       0.025      -0.030       0.976
     CULTURAL             0.107       0.018       5.949       0.000
     PRODUCT             -0.138       0.025      -5.448       0.000
     BAPLUS              -1.209       0.046     -26.174       0.000
     MANAGER             -0.381       0.030     -12.658       0.000
     OFFICE              -0.107       0.024      -4.451       0.000
```

```
   PUBTRANS        -0.238      0.031       -7.654      0.000
   WALK            -0.440      0.031      -14.384      0.000
   WRK_HOME         0.156      0.018        8.562      0.000
   SERVICE         -0.102      0.015       -6.968      0.000
   DENSITY          0.141      0.007       19.024      0.000
   MULTI            0.604      0.042       14.379      0.000
   EMPDIV           0.006      0.003        2.131      0.033
   NSP3NEED         4.026      0.026      152.716      0.000
   PCT_LM           0.521      0.051       10.251      0.000
   SDQ_RATE         3.410      0.019      177.851      0.000
   REO              1.238      0.012      104.130      0.000

BOHEMIA  BY
   TRANS            1.000      0.000      999.000    999.000
   NIGHT            4.049      0.087       46.645      0.000
   YP89_PC          3.354      0.057       58.753      0.000
   ARTS             1.066      0.027       40.168      0.000
   ARTISTS          2.125      0.091       23.343      0.000
   COOL             9.997      0.466       21.474      0.000

ECON     BY
   INC_UP           1.000      0.000      999.000    999.000
   NOPOV_UP         1.214      0.036       33.706      0.000
   VALUE_UP         1.336      0.031       42.452      0.000

GENT     BY
   BAPLUS_UP        1.000      0.000      999.000    999.000
   MANAGER_UP       1.057      0.028       37.325      0.000
   PRODTRANS_      -0.601      0.018      -33.349      0.000

COMMOD   BY
   COFFEE           1.000      0.000      999.000    999.000
   APPAREL          0.768      0.013       58.397      0.000
   BANKS           24.899      0.343       72.598      0.000

ECON     ON
   BOHEMIA          0.004      0.011        0.391      0.696
   F1               0.002      0.000        8.308      0.000
   F2               0.002      0.000        6.177      0.000
   F3               0.000      0.000        0.024      0.981
   F4               0.001      0.000        2.379      0.017
   F5              -0.008      0.000      -39.875      0.000
   F6              -0.002      0.000       -9.338      0.000
   GENT             0.022      0.001       27.894      0.000
   COMMOD          -0.013      0.020       -0.631      0.528

GENT     ON
   BOHEMIA          0.283      0.027       10.330      0.000
   F1              -0.014      0.003       -5.005      0.000
   F2              -0.031      0.002      -13.549      0.000
   F3               0.000      0.003       -0.037      0.970
   F4               0.000      0.002       -0.215      0.830
   F5               0.049      0.002       24.352      0.000
```

```
F6                  -0.018       0.002      -9.464       0.000

COMMOD    ON
  BOHEMIA            0.478       0.010      46.979       0.000
  F1                 0.001       0.001       2.600       0.009
  F2                 0.001       0.000       1.646       0.100
  F3                -0.008       0.001     -12.825       0.000
  F4                -0.007       0.000     -21.401       0.000
  F5                 0.002       0.000       5.573       0.000
  F6                 0.001       0.000       1.456       0.145

GENT      WITH
  COMMOD             0.000       0.000       0.745       0.456

BOHEMIA   WITH
  F1                 0.008       0.001      10.892       0.000
  F2                 0.008       0.001      11.644       0.000
  F3                 0.031       0.001      36.719       0.000
  F4                 0.024       0.001      30.909       0.000
  F5                -0.009       0.001     -11.937       0.000
  F6                -0.008       0.001     -12.275       0.000

F2        WITH
  F1                -0.350       0.006     -54.785       0.000

F3        WITH
  F1                 0.526       0.006      87.405       0.000
  F2                 0.281       0.005      55.511       0.000

F4        WITH
  F1                 0.218       0.006      35.126       0.000
  F2                 0.016       0.006       2.733       0.006
  F3                 0.319       0.007      48.701       0.000

F5        WITH
  F1                -0.059       0.010      -6.152       0.000
  F2                 0.268       0.007      41.163       0.000
  F3                 0.165       0.008      19.473       0.000
  F4                -0.014       0.006      -2.197       0.028

F6        WITH
  F1                 0.358       0.006      57.111       0.000
  F2                -0.171       0.006     -26.433       0.000
  F3                 0.116       0.007      17.747       0.000
  F4                 0.100       0.007      14.466       0.000
  F5                 0.335       0.007      48.067       0.000

OFFICE    WITH
  PRODUCT          -10.351       0.149     -69.656       0.000

SERVICE   WITH
  PRODUCT           -8.340       0.156     -53.371       0.000
```

```
PRODUCT   WITH
    ADVANCED           -5.373      0.138     -39.032      0.000
    PRODTRANS_          0.024      0.014       1.799      0.072

COOL      WITH
    NIGHT               0.298      0.023      12.866      0.000

ARTS      WITH
    ARTISTS             0.008      0.002       4.499      0.000

INC_UP    WITH
    INCOME             -0.004      0.000     -92.117      0.000

BAPLUS_U  WITH
    BAPLUS             -0.268      0.009     -29.133      0.000

MANAGER   WITH
    MANAGER_UP         -0.130      0.006     -20.746      0.000

PCT_LM    WITH
    INCOME             -0.273      0.010     -28.559      0.000

INCOME    WITH
    VALUE_UP           -0.003      0.000     -28.938      0.000

Intercepts
    TRANS               0.037      0.001      30.707      0.000
    NIGHT               0.299      0.005      59.435      0.000
    YP89_PC             0.083      0.002      34.152      0.000
    ARTS                0.027      0.002      15.740      0.000
    ARTISTS             0.082      0.006      12.842      0.000
    COOL               12.321      0.028     432.725      0.000
    UNEMP               5.732      0.024     234.587      0.000
    INCOME             10.509      0.002    4371.484      0.000
    NONWHITE           19.029      0.138     138.129      0.000
    PUB_ASST            3.253      0.019     172.798      0.000
    RENTER             25.888      0.084     308.570      0.000
    SING_MOM            8.054      0.027     293.456      0.000
    ADVANCED           14.349      0.046     308.857      0.000
    CULTURAL            7.275      0.026     278.431      0.000
    PRODUCT            24.271      0.057     426.891      0.000
    BAPLUS             19.246      0.079     242.733      0.000
    MANAGER            30.042      0.063     478.458      0.000
    OFFICE             24.107      0.029     842.777      0.000
    PUBTRANS            2.043      0.035      58.138      0.000
    WALK                3.361      0.029     116.862      0.000
    WRK_HOME            4.442      0.022     202.975      0.000
    SERVICE            15.244      0.028     545.284      0.000
    DENSITY             4.888      0.013     377.714      0.000
    MULTI              17.829      0.118     151.518      0.000
    EMPDIV              1.910      0.003     641.707      0.000
    NSP3NEED            9.650      0.029     333.075      0.000
    PCT_LM             40.794      0.074     553.847      0.000
```

110

```
SDQ_RATE              7.457      0.022    345.992      0.000
REO                   1.415      0.012    121.169      0.000
INC_UP                0.025      0.000    154.266      0.000
NOPOV_UP             -0.016      0.000    -36.998      0.000
VALUE_UP              0.041      0.000    108.253      0.000
BAPLUS_UP             0.137      0.002     67.202      0.000
MANAGER_UP            0.055      0.002     32.385      0.000
PRODTRANS_           -0.197      0.002    -79.996      0.000
COFFEE                0.008      0.000     17.319      0.000
APPAREL               0.008      0.000     20.302      0.000
BANKS                 0.408      0.008     52.730      0.000

Variances
F1                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
F2                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
F3                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
F4                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
F5                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
F6                    1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
BOHEMIA               0.007      0.000     32.395      0.000

Residual Variances
TRANS                 0.032      0.000    108.924      0.000
NIGHT                 0.577      0.005    109.162      0.000
YP89_PC               0.082      0.001     70.190      0.000
ARTS                  0.070      0.001    112.245      0.000
ARTISTS               1.096      0.009    116.013      0.000
COOL                 21.497      0.188    114.158      0.000
UNEMP                 8.230      0.081    101.792      0.000
INCOME                0.061      0.001    107.150      0.000
NONWHITE            169.055      1.991     84.903      0.000
PUB_ASST              3.979      0.043     93.573      0.000
RENTER               32.469      0.438     74.078      0.000
SING_MOM              5.493      0.072     76.031      0.000
ADVANCED             11.568      0.120     96.445      0.000
CULTURAL              0.540      0.274      1.967      0.049
PRODUCT              43.896      0.419    104.835      0.000
BAPLUS               16.750      0.217     77.259      0.000
MANAGER               5.255      0.150     34.916      0.000
OFFICE               12.388      0.120    103.529      0.000
PUBTRANS             19.201      0.169    113.523      0.000
WALK                 14.468      0.134    108.059      0.000
WRK_HOME              7.647      0.073    104.218      0.000
SERVICE               8.426      0.104     81.221      0.000
DENSITY               0.750      0.009     79.847      0.000
MULTI                20.614      0.868     23.735      0.000
EMPDIV                0.175      0.002    114.246      0.000
NSP3NEED              5.371      0.080     66.886      0.000
PCT_LM               54.801      0.524    104.547      0.000
SDQ_RATE              0.817      0.048     17.009      0.000
REO                   1.898      0.018    106.518      0.000
INC_UP                0.000      0.000     28.888      0.000
NOPOV_UP              0.005      0.000    109.032      0.000
```

```
VALUE_UP          0.003      0.000     98.734      0.000
BAPLUS_UP         0.077      0.001     64.526      0.000
MANAGER_UP        0.037      0.001     31.883      0.000
PRODTRANS_        0.152      0.001    111.056      0.000
COFFEE            0.004      0.000     99.070      0.000
APPAREL           0.004      0.000    106.103      0.000
BANKS             0.633      0.012     54.046      0.000
ECON              0.000      0.000     31.416      0.000
GENT              0.035      0.001     31.029      0.000
COMMOD            0.000      0.000     11.922      0.000
```

STANDARDIZED MODEL RESULTS

STDYX Standardization

```
                                              Two-Tailed
                  Estimate     S.E.   Est./S.E.   P-Value

 F1       BY
    UNEMP          0.664      0.007     93.872      0.000
    INCOME        -0.262      0.008    -32.783      0.000
    NONWHITE       0.798      0.006    128.252      0.000
    PUB_ASST       0.758      0.006    121.434      0.000
    RENTER         0.035      0.005      6.461      0.000
    SING_MOM       0.766      0.007    114.400      0.000
    ADVANCED      -0.011      0.005     -2.461      0.014
    CULTURAL      -0.030      0.003    -11.259      0.000
    PRODUCT       -0.251      0.009    -27.641      0.000
    BAPLUS        -0.032      0.003    -10.565      0.000
    MANAGER       -0.006      0.002     -2.410      0.016
    OFFICE         0.002      0.006      0.249      0.803
    PUBTRANS       0.079      0.008      9.335      0.000
    WALK           0.025      0.006      4.008      0.000
    WRK_HOME      -0.307      0.009    -32.911      0.000
    SERVICE        0.295      0.008     38.807      0.000
    DENSITY        0.038      0.004      9.065      0.000
    MULTI         -0.255      0.008    -32.737      0.000
    EMPDIV        -0.018      0.009     -2.102      0.036
    NSP3NEED       0.033      0.005      6.834      0.000
    PCT_LM         0.345      0.008     43.712      0.000
    SDQ_RATE       0.026      0.004      6.024      0.000
    REO           -0.027      0.006     -4.612      0.000

 F2       BY
    UNEMP         -0.051      0.006     -8.268      0.000
    INCOME         0.569      0.008     74.647      0.000
    NONWHITE       0.291      0.006     47.097      0.000
    PUB_ASST      -0.051      0.006     -8.872      0.000
    RENTER        -0.115      0.005    -21.901      0.000
    SING_MOM       0.014      0.003      4.315      0.000
    ADVANCED       0.784      0.005    143.093      0.000
```

```
    CULTURAL          0.010      0.001       8.109      0.000
    PRODUCT          -0.549      0.008     -68.347      0.000
    BAPLUS            0.925      0.003     315.593      0.000
    MANAGER           0.963      0.005     207.091      0.000
    OFFICE            0.285      0.010      27.224      0.000
    PUBTRANS          0.136      0.008      18.051      0.000
    WALK             -0.077      0.007     -10.385      0.000
    WRK_HOME          0.034      0.005       7.252      0.000
    SERVICE          -0.369      0.006     -61.914      0.000
    DENSITY           0.400      0.009      43.908      0.000
    MULTI             0.061      0.005      12.420      0.000
    EMPDIV            0.338      0.009      38.665      0.000
    NSP3NEED         -0.119      0.005     -24.120      0.000
    PCT_LM           -0.496      0.006     -78.508      0.000
    SDQ_RATE         -0.019      0.002     -12.568      0.000
    REO               0.261      0.007      35.473      0.000

F3        BY
    UNEMP            -0.016      0.006      -2.408      0.016
    INCOME           -0.142      0.008     -17.035      0.000
    NONWHITE          0.024      0.005       4.995      0.000
    PUB_ASST         -0.030      0.006      -4.981      0.000
    RENTER            0.912      0.004     221.233      0.000
    SING_MOM          0.120      0.007      16.161      0.000
    ADVANCED          0.214      0.007      30.175      0.000
    CULTURAL          0.002      0.005       0.330      0.741
    PRODUCT           0.021      0.004       5.599      0.000
    BAPLUS            0.063      0.004      14.534      0.000
    MANAGER           0.018      0.003       6.304      0.000
    OFFICE            0.077      0.010       8.051      0.000
    PUBTRANS          0.588      0.008      77.784      0.000
    WALK              0.399      0.008      47.105      0.000
    WRK_HOME          0.030      0.005       6.228      0.000
    SERVICE           0.045      0.005       9.196      0.000
    DENSITY           0.449      0.008      58.092      0.000
    MULTI             1.045      0.006     176.637      0.000
    EMPDIV            0.168      0.010      17.297      0.000
    NSP3NEED         -0.008      0.004      -2.002      0.045
    PCT_LM            0.305      0.008      40.469      0.000
    SDQ_RATE          0.049      0.005      10.779      0.000
    REO              -0.016      0.005      -3.327      0.001

F4        BY
    UNEMP             0.038      0.005       8.387      0.000
    INCOME           -0.049      0.004     -13.322      0.000
    NONWHITE         -0.013      0.003      -4.731      0.000
    PUB_ASST         -0.045      0.004     -10.831      0.000
    RENTER            0.038      0.003      14.129      0.000
    SING_MOM          0.007      0.003       2.321      0.020
    ADVANCED          0.013      0.003       4.705      0.000
    CULTURAL          0.988      0.008     121.749      0.000
    PRODUCT          -0.296      0.006     -49.198      0.000
    BAPLUS            0.058      0.003      20.659      0.000
```

MANAGER	-0.083	0.003	-24.413	0.000
OFFICE	0.111	0.005	21.181	0.000
PUBTRANS	-0.081	0.005	-16.242	0.000
WALK	0.050	0.005	10.368	0.000
WRK_HOME	-0.023	0.004	-6.194	0.000
SERVICE	0.497	0.006	85.919	0.000
DENSITY	-0.010	0.002	-4.761	0.000
MULTI	0.002	0.002	0.909	0.363
EMPDIV	0.032	0.005	5.873	0.000
NSP3NEED	-0.035	0.002	-14.753	0.000
PCT_LM	0.002	0.003	0.521	0.602
SDQ_RATE	0.005	0.002	2.913	0.004
REO	0.148	0.005	28.366	0.000

F5   BY

UNEMP	-0.079	0.006	-13.221	0.000
INCOME	0.196	0.008	24.767	0.000
NONWHITE	0.046	0.004	12.131	0.000
PUB_ASST	-0.079	0.006	-13.977	0.000
RENTER	-0.071	0.004	-17.797	0.000
SING_MOM	0.242	0.006	41.481	0.000
ADVANCED	0.076	0.009	8.732	0.000
CULTURAL	-0.036	0.003	-12.330	0.000
PRODUCT	0.508	0.008	66.074	0.000
BAPLUS	-0.234	0.010	-24.292	0.000
MANAGER	-0.483	0.009	-52.360	0.000
OFFICE	0.498	0.008	66.130	0.000
PUBTRANS	0.026	0.005	5.369	0.000
WALK	-0.449	0.006	-70.050	0.000
WRK_HOME	-0.621	0.005	-122.569	0.000
SERVICE	0.055	0.004	13.017	0.000
DENSITY	0.435	0.007	63.263	0.000
MULTI	0.031	0.003	12.290	0.000
EMPDIV	0.218	0.008	26.815	0.000
NSP3NEED	-0.008	0.003	-2.854	0.004
PCT_LM	-0.023	0.004	-5.984	0.000
SDQ_RATE	-0.030	0.003	-11.127	0.000
REO	0.068	0.006	11.938	0.000

F6   BY

UNEMP	0.026	0.005	4.939	0.000
INCOME	0.017	0.004	4.488	0.000
NONWHITE	0.141	0.006	25.151	0.000
PUB_ASST	0.009	0.004	2.109	0.035
RENTER	-0.023	0.003	-8.115	0.000
SING_MOM	-0.012	0.004	-3.431	0.001
ADVANCED	0.000	0.003	-0.030	0.976
CULTURAL	0.025	0.004	5.951	0.000
PRODUCT	-0.015	0.003	-5.449	0.000
BAPLUS	-0.092	0.004	-26.272	0.000
MANAGER	-0.037	0.003	-12.703	0.000
OFFICE	-0.023	0.005	-4.451	0.000
PUBTRANS	-0.041	0.005	-7.657	0.000

```
    WALK            -0.092    0.006   -14.425    0.000
    WRK_HOME         0.043    0.005     8.566    0.000
    SERVICE         -0.022    0.003    -6.967    0.000
    DENSITY          0.066    0.003    19.074    0.000
    MULTI            0.031    0.002    14.395    0.000
    EMPDIV           0.013    0.006     2.131    0.033
    NSP3NEED         0.839    0.004   239.681    0.000
    PCT_LM           0.043    0.004    10.264    0.000
    SDQ_RATE         0.956    0.003   287.685    0.000
    REO              0.640    0.005   130.343    0.000

BOHEMIA   BY
    TRANS            0.427    0.006    72.518    0.000
    NIGHT            0.412    0.006    68.474    0.000
    YP89_PC          0.705    0.005   138.523    0.000
    ARTS             0.323    0.006    50.036    0.000
    ARTISTS          0.170    0.007    25.240    0.000
    COOL             0.180    0.008    22.989    0.000

ECON      BY
    INC_UP           0.764    0.009    81.626    0.000
    NOPOV_UP         0.341    0.007    49.718    0.000
    VALUE_UP         0.444    0.007    64.683    0.000

GENT      BY
    BAPLUS_UP        0.573    0.008    67.562    0.000
    MANAGER_UP       0.731    0.010    73.224    0.000
    PRODTRANS_      -0.287    0.007   -39.841    0.000

COMMOD    BY
    COFFEE           0.555    0.005   103.432    0.000
    APPAREL          0.459    0.006    78.343    0.000
    BANKS            0.783    0.005   167.488    0.000

ECON      ON
    BOHEMIA          0.017    0.044     0.391    0.696
    F1               0.117    0.014     8.399    0.000
    F2               0.075    0.012     6.152    0.000
    F3               0.000    0.017     0.024    0.981
    F4               0.026    0.011     2.384    0.017
    F5              -0.398    0.011   -37.524    0.000
    F6              -0.085    0.009    -9.397    0.000
    GENT             0.209    0.008    25.756    0.000
    COMMOD          -0.025    0.039    -0.631    0.528

GENT      ON
    BOHEMIA          0.124    0.011    10.772    0.000
    F1              -0.071    0.014    -5.044    0.000
    F2              -0.160    0.011   -14.129    0.000
    F3              -0.001    0.014    -0.037    0.970
    F4              -0.002    0.008    -0.215    0.830
    F5               0.254    0.010    26.449    0.000
    F6              -0.091    0.010    -9.533    0.000
```

115

```
COMMOD    ON
    BOHEMIA          1.007      0.010    102.815     0.000
    F1               0.034      0.013      2.602     0.009
    F2               0.017      0.010      1.647     0.100
    F3              -0.195      0.015    -12.918     0.000
    F4              -0.174      0.008    -21.834     0.000
    F5               0.050      0.009      5.592     0.000
    F6               0.013      0.009      1.456     0.145

GENT      WITH
    COMMOD           0.016      0.022      0.748     0.455

BOHEMIA   WITH
    F1               0.096      0.009     11.068     0.000
    F2               0.096      0.008     11.871     0.000
    F3               0.371      0.008     45.885     0.000
    F4               0.282      0.008     35.701     0.000
    F5              -0.105      0.009    -12.060     0.000
    F6              -0.099      0.008    -12.450     0.000

F2        WITH
    F1              -0.350      0.006    -54.785     0.000

F3        WITH
    F1               0.526      0.006     87.405     0.000
    F2               0.281      0.005     55.511     0.000

F4        WITH
    F1               0.218      0.006     35.126     0.000
    F2               0.016      0.006      2.733     0.006
    F3               0.319      0.007     48.701     0.000

F5        WITH
    F1              -0.059      0.010     -6.152     0.000
    F2               0.268      0.007     41.163     0.000
    F3               0.165      0.008     19.473     0.000
    F4              -0.014      0.006     -2.197     0.028

F6        WITH
    F1               0.358      0.006     57.111     0.000
    F2              -0.171      0.006    -26.433     0.000
    F3               0.116      0.007     17.747     0.000
    F4               0.100      0.007     14.466     0.000
    F5               0.335      0.007     48.067     0.000

OFFICE    WITH
    PRODUCT         -0.444      0.005    -85.458     0.000

SERVICE   WITH
    PRODUCT         -0.434      0.005    -80.641     0.000

PRODUCT   WITH
```

```
ADVANCED           -0.238      0.006     -40.666      0.000
PRODTRANS_          0.009      0.005       1.800      0.072


COOL      WITH
   NIGHT             0.085      0.006      13.078      0.000


ARTS      WITH
   ARTISTS           0.028      0.006       4.509      0.000


INC_UP    WITH
   INCOME           -0.988      0.017     -58.376      0.000


BAPLUS_U WITH
   BAPLUS           -0.236      0.008     -31.427      0.000


MANAGER   WITH
   MANAGER_UP       -0.295      0.013     -23.552      0.000


PCT_LM    WITH
   INCOME           -0.149      0.005     -30.763      0.000


INCOME    WITH
   VALUE_UP         -0.202      0.007     -29.099      0.000


Intercepts
   TRANS             0.185      0.006      30.446      0.000
   NIGHT             0.359      0.006      57.608      0.000
   YP89_PC           0.206      0.006      33.794      0.000
   ARTS              0.095      0.006      15.705      0.000
   ARTISTS           0.078      0.006      12.822      0.000
   COOL              2.614      0.013     205.908      0.000
   UNEMP             1.417      0.009     165.709      0.000
   INCOME           26.407      0.110     239.329      0.000
   NONWHITE          0.834      0.007     118.965      0.000
   PUB_ASST          1.044      0.008     139.028      0.000
   RENTER            1.864      0.010     186.507      0.000
   SING_MOM          1.773      0.010     183.008      0.000
   ADVANCED          1.866      0.010     186.571      0.000
   CULTURAL          1.682      0.009     179.188      0.000
   PRODUCT           2.579      0.012     206.484      0.000
   BAPLUS            1.466      0.009     168.771      0.000
   MANAGER           2.890      0.014     210.488      0.000
   OFFICE            5.091      0.023     225.570      0.000
   PUBTRANS          0.351      0.006      56.424      0.000
   WALK              0.706      0.007     104.559      0.000
   WRK_HOME          1.226      0.008     153.360      0.000
   SERVICE           3.294      0.015     215.122      0.000
   DENSITY           2.282      0.011     198.988      0.000
   MULTI             0.915      0.007     127.202      0.000
   EMPDIV            3.876      0.018     219.932      0.000
   NSP3NEED          2.012      0.011     191.532      0.000
   PCT_LM            3.346      0.016     215.638      0.000
   SDQ_RATE          2.090      0.011     193.895      0.000
```

```
REO             0.732    0.007    107.610    0.000
INC_UP          0.932    0.007    130.203    0.000
NOPOV_UP       -0.223    0.006    -36.544    0.000
VALUE_UP        0.654    0.007     98.323    0.000
BAPLUS_UP       0.406    0.006     64.565    0.000
MANAGER_UP      0.196    0.006     32.085    0.000
PRODTRANS_     -0.483    0.006    -75.697    0.000
COFFEE          0.105    0.006     17.272    0.000
APPAREL         0.123    0.006     20.226    0.000
BANKS           0.319    0.006     51.441    0.000

Variances
F1              1.000    0.000    999.000    999.000
F2              1.000    0.000    999.000    999.000
F3              1.000    0.000    999.000    999.000
F4              1.000    0.000    999.000    999.000
F5              1.000    0.000    999.000    999.000
F6              1.000    0.000    999.000    999.000
BOHEMIA         1.000    0.000    999.000    999.000

Residual Variances
TRANS           0.817    0.005    162.317    0.000
NIGHT           0.830    0.005    167.286    0.000
YP89_PC         0.504    0.007     70.283    0.000
ARTS            0.896    0.004    215.207    0.000
ARTISTS         0.971    0.002    425.612    0.000
COOL            0.968    0.003    343.426    0.000
UNEMP           0.503    0.005    102.017    0.000
INCOME          0.387    0.004     98.353    0.000
NONWHITE        0.325    0.004     78.027    0.000
PUB_ASST        0.410    0.005     88.604    0.000
RENTER          0.168    0.003     65.846    0.000
SING_MOM        0.266    0.004     69.483    0.000
ADVANCED        0.196    0.002     81.126    0.000
CULTURAL        0.029    0.015      1.967    0.049
PRODUCT         0.496    0.005    102.410    0.000
BAPLUS          0.097    0.001     66.701    0.000
MANAGER         0.049    0.001     33.607    0.000
OFFICE          0.552    0.005    108.058    0.000
PUBTRANS        0.567    0.005    121.468    0.000
WALK            0.638    0.005    123.606    0.000
WRK_HOME        0.583    0.005    111.806    0.000
SERVICE         0.393    0.005     77.350    0.000
DENSITY         0.163    0.002     69.675    0.000
MULTI           0.054    0.002     23.312    0.000
EMPDIV          0.719    0.005    149.657    0.000
NSP3NEED        0.233    0.004     61.730    0.000
PCT_LM          0.369    0.004     95.058    0.000
SDQ_RATE        0.064    0.004     16.854    0.000
REO             0.508    0.005    107.224    0.000
INC_UP          0.417    0.014     29.183    0.000
NOPOV_UP        0.883    0.005    188.502    0.000
VALUE_UP        0.803    0.006    131.453    0.000
```

```
        BAPLUS_UP           0.671     0.010     69.047     0.000
        MANAGER_UP          0.466     0.015     31.891     0.000
        PRODTRANS_          0.918     0.004    222.691     0.000
        COFFEE              0.692     0.006    116.400     0.000
        APPAREL             0.789     0.005    146.403     0.000
        BANKS               0.387     0.007     52.785     0.000
        ECON                0.800     0.008    106.142     0.000
        GENT                0.934     0.004    220.367     0.000
        COMMOD              0.154     0.012     12.453     0.000
```

<div align="center">Multigroup SEM[9]</div>

```
MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters                        97

Loglikelihood

        H0 Value                    -121775.157
        H1 Value                    -121006.347

Information Criteria

        Akaike (AIC)                 243744.313
        Bayesian (BIC)               244541.502
        Sample-Size Adjusted BIC     244233.238
          (n* = (n + 2) / 24)

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit

        Value                            74.008
        Degrees of Freedom                   65
        P-Value                          0.2078
        Scaling Correction Factor       20.7763
          for MLM

Chi-Square Contribution From Each Group

        LURBAN                            6.360
        MURBAN                            5.521
        SURBAN                           37.195
        SUBURBAN                          6.538
        TOWN                              6.427
        RURAL                            11.968

RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error Of Approximation)

        Estimate                          0.006
        90 Percent C.I.                   0.000  0.011
```

---

[9] I do not report standardized results for the multigroup models, as standardized results have little meaning in this context.

```
        Probability RMSEA <= .05            1.000

CFI/TLI

        CFI                                 0.973
        TLI                                 0.962

Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Baseline Model

        Value                             418.286
        Degrees of Freedom                     90
        P-Value                            0.0000

SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual)

        Value                               0.049

WRMR (Weighted Root Mean Square Residual)

        Value                               2.631


MODEL RESULTS

                                                   Two-Tailed
                        Estimate      S.E.  Est./S.E.   P-Value

Group LURBAN

 BOHEMIA  BY
    TRANS                1.000      0.000    999.000   999.000
    NIGHT                3.959      0.959      4.129     0.000
    ARTS                 0.972      0.278      3.491     0.000
    ARTISTS              0.396      0.101      3.935     0.000
    YP89_PC              4.434      1.017      4.362     0.000
    COOL                 2.843      0.696      4.086     0.000

 COOL     WITH
    NIGHT                0.806      0.149      5.407     0.000

 ARTISTS  WITH
    ARTS                 0.039      0.029      1.365     0.172

 Means
    BOHEMIA              0.000      0.000    999.000   999.000

 Intercepts
    TRANS                0.074      0.006     12.930     0.000
    NIGHT                0.412      0.025     16.253     0.000
    YP89_PC              0.215      0.018     12.005     0.000
    ARTS                 0.053      0.005     10.806     0.000
    ARTISTS              0.289      0.066      4.400     0.000

                              120
```

```
      COOL           15.569      0.157     98.961       0.000

  Variances
      BOHEMIA         0.032      0.015      2.174       0.030

  Residual Variances
      TRANS           0.058      0.024      2.472       0.013
      NIGHT           0.966      0.296      3.258       0.001
      YP89_PC         0.185      0.126      1.475       0.140
      ARTS            0.032      0.008      4.238       0.000
      ARTISTS        10.865      9.325      1.165       0.244
      COOL           62.020      1.194     51.961       0.000

Group MURBAN

  BOHEMIA   BY
      TRANS           1.000      0.000    999.000     999.000
      NIGHT           3.959      0.959      4.129       0.000
      ARTS            0.181      0.049      3.705       0.000
      ARTISTS         0.396      0.101      3.935       0.000
      YP89_PC         1.828      0.326      5.601       0.000
      COOL            2.843      0.696      4.086       0.000

  COOL      WITH
      NIGHT           0.573      0.168      3.415       0.001

  ARTISTS   WITH
      ARTS            0.004      0.002      2.707       0.007

  Means
      BOHEMIA         0.019      0.011      1.717       0.086

  Intercepts
      TRANS           0.074      0.006     12.930       0.000
      NIGHT           0.304      0.045      6.710       0.000
      YP89_PC         0.116      0.017      6.669       0.000
      ARTS            0.022      0.003      6.900       0.000
      ARTISTS         0.089      0.006     15.657       0.000
      COOL           12.598      0.163     77.364       0.000

  Variances
      BOHEMIA         0.054      0.025      2.211       0.027

  Residual Variances
      TRANS           0.074      0.022      3.403       0.001
      NIGHT           0.755      0.198      3.816       0.000
      YP89_PC         0.000      0.000    999.000     999.000
      ARTS            0.011      0.005      2.320       0.020
      ARTISTS         0.028      0.004      6.565       0.000
      COOL           34.687      1.049     33.053       0.000

Group SURBAN
```

```
BOHEMIA   BY
    TRANS           1.000     0.000    999.000    999.000
    NIGHT           2.351     0.496      4.737      0.000
    ARTS            0.972     0.278      3.491      0.000
    ARTISTS         0.396     0.101      3.935      0.000
    YP89_PC         1.828     0.326      5.601      0.000
    COOL            2.843     0.696      4.086      0.000

COOL     WITH
    NIGHT           0.406     0.036     11.351      0.000

ARTISTS   WITH
    ARTS            0.015     0.008      2.018      0.044

Means
    BOHEMIA         0.004     0.008      0.566      0.572

Intercepts
    TRANS           0.074     0.006     12.930      0.000
    NIGHT           0.243     0.018     13.796      0.000
    YP89_PC         0.093     0.013      6.956      0.000
    ARTS            0.026     0.008      3.380      0.001
    ARTISTS         0.074     0.006     11.522      0.000
    COOL           11.794     0.089    132.709      0.000

Variances
    BOHEMIA         0.016     0.007      2.167      0.030

Residual Variances
    TRANS           0.062     0.015      4.149      0.000
    NIGHT           0.149     0.017      8.952      0.000
    YP89_PC         0.000     0.000    999.000    999.000
    ARTS            0.072     0.030      2.403      0.016
    ARTISTS         0.101     0.082      1.234      0.217
    COOL           21.437     0.608     35.235      0.000

Group SUBURBAN

BOHEMIA   BY
    TRANS           1.000     0.000    999.000    999.000
    NIGHT           3.959     0.959      4.129      0.000
    ARTS            0.972     0.278      3.491      0.000
    ARTISTS         0.396     0.101      3.935      0.000
    YP89_PC         1.828     0.326      5.601      0.000
    COOL            2.843     0.696      4.086      0.000

COOL     WITH
    NIGHT           0.352     0.049      7.157      0.000

ARTISTS   WITH
    ARTS            0.003     0.002      1.497      0.135

Means
```

```
     BOHEMIA            -0.019      0.007     -2.835      0.005

  Intercepts
     TRANS               0.074      0.006     12.930      0.000
     NIGHT               0.303      0.029     10.361      0.000
     YP89_PC             0.126      0.013      9.734      0.000
     ARTS                0.049      0.009      5.212      0.000
     ARTISTS             0.126      0.007     17.505      0.000
     COOL               13.162      0.133     99.003      0.000

  Variances
     BOHEMIA             0.003      0.002      1.688      0.091

  Residual Variances
     TRANS               0.025      0.008      3.380      0.001
     NIGHT               0.185      0.062      2.970      0.003
     YP89_PC             0.031      0.009      3.346      0.001
     ARTS                0.077      0.070      1.095      0.273
     ARTISTS             0.089      0.033      2.709      0.007
     COOL               34.550      0.896     38.562      0.000

Group TOWN

  BOHEMIA  BY
     TRANS               1.000      0.000    999.000    999.000
     NIGHT               3.959      0.959      4.129      0.000
     ARTS                0.972      0.278      3.491      0.000
     ARTISTS             0.396      0.101      3.935      0.000
     YP89_PC             1.828      0.326      5.601      0.000
     COOL                2.843      0.696      4.086      0.000

  COOL     WITH
     NIGHT               0.178      0.037      4.768      0.000

  ARTISTS  WITH
     ARTS                0.043      0.041      1.039      0.299

  Means
     BOHEMIA            -0.038      0.007     -5.564      0.000

  Intercepts
     TRANS               0.074      0.006     12.930      0.000
     NIGHT               0.381      0.040      9.589      0.000
     YP89_PC             0.151      0.016      9.503      0.000
     ARTS                0.069      0.013      5.423      0.000
     ARTISTS             0.060      0.006     10.079      0.000
     COOL               11.925      0.081    147.185      0.000

  Variances
     BOHEMIA             0.003      0.001      2.246      0.025

  Residual Variances
     TRANS               0.026      0.012      2.109      0.035
```

```
    NIGHT                  0.204        0.107        1.915        0.055
    YP89_PC                0.031        0.007        4.385        0.000
    ARTS                   0.107        0.084        1.275        0.202
    ARTISTS                0.031        0.021        1.527        0.127
    COOL                  11.418        0.370       30.866        0.000

Group RURAL

 BOHEMIA  BY
    TRANS                  1.000        0.000      999.000      999.000
    NIGHT                  3.959        0.959        4.129        0.000
    ARTS                   4.697        1.453        3.232        0.001
    ARTISTS                0.396        0.101        3.935        0.000
    YP89_PC                1.828        0.326        5.601        0.000
    COOL                   2.843        0.696        4.086        0.000

 COOL     WITH
    NIGHT                  0.425        0.028       15.281        0.000

 ARTISTS   WITH
    ARTS                   0.007        0.003        2.067        0.039

 Means
    BOHEMIA               -0.056        0.006       -9.583        0.000

 Intercepts
    TRANS                  0.074        0.006       12.930        0.000
    NIGHT                  0.521        0.051       10.222        0.000
    YP89_PC                0.156        0.019        8.338        0.000
    ARTS                   0.282        0.083        3.404        0.001
    ARTISTS                0.073        0.006       11.498        0.000
    COOL                  12.016        0.047      254.881        0.000

 Variances
    BOHEMIA                0.002        0.001        2.567        0.010

 Residual Variances
    TRANS                  0.019        0.005        3.863        0.000
    NIGHT                  0.655        0.075        8.730        0.000
    YP89_PC                0.102        0.022        4.591        0.000
    ARTS                   0.047        0.015        3.148        0.002
    ARTISTS                0.159        0.096        1.655        0.098
    COOL                  13.043        0.130      100.541        0.000
```

References

Atkinson, Rowland, and Hazel Easthope. 2009. "The Consequences of the Creative
    Class: The Pursuit of Creativity Strategies in Australia's Cities." *International
    Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33, no. 1 (March): 64–79. Accessed
    November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00837.x.

Audirac, Ivonne. 2009. "Urban Shrinkage Amid Fast Metropolitan Growth (Two Faces of
    Contemporary Urbanism)." In *The Future of Shrinking Cities: Problems, Patterns
    and Strategies of Urban Transformation in a Global Context*, edited by Karina
    Pallagst, Jasmin Aber, Ivonne Audirac, Emmanuele Cunningham-Sabot, Sylvie
    Fol, Cristina Martinez-Fernandez, Sergio Moraes, Helen Mulligan, Jose Vargas-
    Hernandez, Thorsten Wiechmann, et al., 69–80. Berkeley: Center for Global
    Metropolitan Studies. Accessed November 6, 2017.
    https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7zz6s7bm.

Bain, Alison. 2010. "Creativ* Suburbs: Cultural 'Popcorn' Pioneering in Multi-Purpose
    Spaces." In *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: Rethinking the Cultural Economy*,
    edited by Tim Edensor, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington, and Norma M. Rantisi,
    63–74. New York: Routledge.

Becker, Howard. 1982. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bhatt, Sanjay. 2008. "Georgetown Worries It'll Be the Next Big Thing." *Seattle Times*,
    March 26, 2008. Accessed November 7, 2017.
    https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/georgetown-worries-itll-be-the-next-
    big-thing/.

Bollen, Kenneth A. 1989. *Structural Equations with Latent Variables*. New York: John
    Wiley & Sons.

Borén, Thomas, and Craig Young. 2013. "Getting Creative with the 'Creative City'?

        Towards New Perspectives on Creativity in Urban Policy." *International Journal*

        of Urban and Regional Research 37, no. 5 (September): 1799–1815.

Brown, Michael. 2009. "Queer Theory." In *Dictionary of Human Geography,* 5th ed.,

        edited by Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael Watts, and

        Sarah Whatmore, 612–613. Hoboken: Wiley and Sons.

Brown-Saracino, Japonica. 2009. *A Neighborhood that Never Changes: Gentrification,*

        Social Preservation, and the Search for Authenticity. Chicago: University of

        Chicago Press.

Cameron, Stuart, and Jon Coaffee. 2005. "Art, Gentrification and Regeneration – From

        Artist as Pioneer to Public Arts." *International Journal of Housing Policy* 5, no. 1:

        39–58. Accessed November 7, 2017.

        http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616710500055687.

Castells, Manuel. 1989. *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic*

        Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Catungal, John Paul, Deborah Leslie, and Yvonne Hii. 2009. "Geographies of

        Displacement in the Creative City: The Case of Liberty Village, Toronto." *Urban*

        Studies 46, no. 5–6 (May): 1095–1114. Accessed November 7, 2017.

        https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009103856.

Cement Masons and Plasters Local 528. 2007. "History and Leadership." *OPCMIA Local*

        528. Accessed April 11, 2017.

        http://www.opcmialocal528.org/?zone=/unionactive/view_article.cfm&HomeID=63

        075&page=About20Local20528.

Clark, Terry Nichols, ed. *The City as an Entertainment Machine.* Rev. ed. Lanham, MD:

        Lexington Books, 2011.

Clark, Terry Nichols, Richard Lloyd, Kenneth K. Wong, and Pushpam Jain. 2002.
"Amenities Drive Urban Growth." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24, no. 5 (Winter):
493–515. Accessed November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-
9906.00134.

Clark, Terry Nichols, and Daniel Silver. 2013. "Chicago from the Political Machine to the
Entertainment Machine." In *The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy*, edited by Carl
Grodach and Daniel Silver, 28–41. New York: Routledge.

Comunian, Roberta. 2011. "Rethinking the Creative City: The Role of Complexity,
Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy." *Urban Studies* 48,
no. 6 (May): 1157–1179. Accessed November 7, 2017.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098010370626.

Crouch, David. 2010. "Creativity, Space and Performance: Community Gardening." In
Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: Rethinking the Cultural Economy, edited by Tim
Edensor, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington, and Norma M. Rantisi, 129–140. New
York: Routledge.

Currid, Elizabeth. 2009. "Bohemia as Subculture; 'Bohemia' as Industry Art, Culture, and
Economic Development." *Journal of Planning Literature* 23, no. 4 (May): 368–
382. Accessed November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412209335727.

Davis, M. 1989. "Homeowners and Homeboys: Urban Restructuring in LA." *Enclitic* 11,
no. 3: 8–16.

Dear, Michael. 2002. "Los Angeles and the Chicago school: Invitation to a debate." *City &
Community* 1, no. 1 (March): 5–32.

Douglas, Gordon C. C. 2012. "The Edge of the Island: Cultural Ideology and
Neighborhood Identity at the Gentrification Frontier." *Urban Studies* 49, no. 16
(December): 3579–3594.

Duetsche, Rosalyn, and Cara Gendel Ryan. 1984. "The Fine Art of Gentrification."

      October 31 (Winter): 91–111, Accessed November 7, 2017.

      http://www.jstor.org/stable/778358.

Edensor, Tim, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington, and Norma M. Rantisi. 2010.

      "Introduction: Rethinking Creativity: Critiquing the Creative Class Thesis." In

      Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: Rethinking the Cultural Economy, edited by Tim

      Edensor, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington, and Norma M. Rantisi, 1–16. New

      York: Routledge.

Evans, Graeme. 2001. *Cultural Planning: An Urban Renaissance?* New York: Routledge.

———. 2009. "Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy." *Urban Studies* 46, no.

      5–6 (May): 1003–1040. Accessed November 6, 2017.

      https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009103853.

Evans, Graeme, and Jo Foord. 2006. "Small Cities for a Small Country: Sustaining the

      Cultural Renaissance?" In *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the*

      Metropolis, edited by David Bell and Mark Jayne, 151–167. New York:

      Routledge.

———. 2008. "Cultural Mapping and Sustainable Communities: Planning for the Arts

      Revisited." *Cultural Trends* 17, no. 2: 65–96. Accessed November 7, 2017.

      http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09548960802090634.

Florida, Richard. 2002a. "Bohemia and Economic Geography." *Journal of Economic*

      Geography 2, no. 1 (January): 55–71. Accessed November 7, 2017.

      https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/2.1.55.

———. 2002b. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure,*

      Community and Everyday Life. New York: Basic Books.

———. 2012. *The Rise of the Creative Class, Revisited.* 10th anniversary ed. New York:

    Basic Books.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2011. "Case Study." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*,

    edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 301–316. Thousand Oaks,

    CA: Sage Publications.

Foster, Nicole, Carl Grodach, and James Murdoch III. 2016. "Neighborhood Diversity,

    Economic Health, and the Role of the Arts." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 38, no. 5

    (December): 623–642. Accessed November 7, 2017.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12278.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge.* New York: Vintage Books.

Frenzel, Fabian, and Armin Beverungen. 2015. "Value Struggles in the Creative City: A

    People's Republic of Stokes Croft?" *Urban Studies* 52, no. 6 (May): Accessed

    November 7, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0042098014536239.

Gans, Herbert. 1967. *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban*

    Community. New York: Random House.

Georgetown Liquor Co. 2015. "About Us." *Georgetown Liquor Company.* Accessed April

    11, 2017. http://georgetownliquorco.com/about-us/.

Gerring, John. 2004. "What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good for?" *American Political*

    Science Review 98, no. 2 (May): 341–354.

Gibson, Chris. 2010. "Guest Editorial—Creative Geographies: Tales from the 'Margins'."

    Australian Geographer 41, no. 1 (March): 1–10. Accessed November 7, 2017.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00049180903535527.

Gibson, Chris, and Natasha Klocker. 2005. "The 'Cultural Turn' in Australian Regional

    Economic Development Discourse: Neoliberalising Creativity?" *Geographical*

Research 43, no. 1 (March): 93–102. Accessed November 6, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-5871.2005.00300.x.

Gibson, Chris, and Lily Kong. 2005. "Cultural Economy: A Critical Review." *Progress in*

Human Geography 29, no. 5 (October): 541–561. Accessed November 7, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132505ph567oa.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. 2006. *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique*

of Political Economy. First University of Minnesota Press ed. Minneapolis:

University of Minnesota Press.

Gibson-Graham, J. K., Jenny Cameron, and Stephen Healy. 2013. *Take Back the*

Economy: An Ethical Guide for Transforming Our Communities. Minneapolis:

University of Minnesota Press.

Gillette, Howard, Jr. 2010. "Review Essay: Is This the Neoliberal Moment?" *Journal of*

Urban History 36, no. 3 (May): 393–397. Accessed November 7, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144209359151.

Glaeser, Edward L., Jed Kolko, and Albert Saiz. 2001. "Consumer City." *Journal of*

Economic Geography 1, no. 1 (January): 27–50. Accessed November 6, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/1.1.27.

Grodach, Carl. 2010. "Beyond Bilbao: Rethinking Flagship Cultural Development and

Planning in Three California Cities." *Journal of Planning Education and Research*

29, no. 3 (March): 353–366. Accessed November 6, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X09354452.

———. 2012. "Before and After the Creative City: The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy in

Austin, Texas." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34, no. 1 (February): 81–97. Accessed

November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00574.x.

———. 2013. "Cultural Economy Planning in Creative Cities: Discourse and Practice."
International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 37, no. 5 (September):
1747–1765. Accessed November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-
2427.2012.01165.x.

———. 2017. "Urban Cultural Policy and Creative City Making." *Cities* 68 (August): 82–
91. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.05.015.

Grodach, Carl, Elizabeth Currid-Halkett, Nicole Foster, and James Murdoch. 2014. "The
Location Patterns of Artistic Clusters: A Metro- and Neighborhood-Level
Analysis." *Urban Studies* 51, no. 13 (October): 2822–2843. Accessed November
7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013516523.

Grodach, Carl, Nicole Foster, and James Murdoch III. 2014. "Gentrification and the
Artistic Dividend: The Role of the Arts in Neighborhood Change." *Journal of the
American Planning Association* 80, no. 1: 21–35. Accessed November 7, 2017.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2014.928584.

———. 2016. "Gentrification, Displacement and the Arts: Untangling the Relationship
between Arts Industries and Place Change." *Urban Studies* 55, no. 4: 807–825.
Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016680169.

Grodach, Carl, Justin O'Connor, and Chris Gibson. 2017. "Manufacturing and Cultural
Production: Towards a Progressive Policy Agenda for the Cultural Economy."
City, Culture and Society 10 (September): 17–25. Accessed November 7, 2017.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2017.04.003.

Grodach, Carl, and Michael Seman. 2013. "The Cultural Economy in Recession:
Examining the U.S. Experience." *Cities* 33 (August): 15–28. Accessed November
7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2012.06.001.

Hannigan, John. 2007. "A Neo-Bohemian Rhapsody: Cultural Vibrancy and Controlled

        Edge as Urban Development Tools in the 'New Creative Economy'." In *Urban*

        Communication: Production, Text, Context, edited by Timothy A. Gibson and

        Mark Lowes, 61–82. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Harvey, David. 2007. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hawkes, Jon. 2001. *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's Essential Role in Public*

        Planning. Commissioned by the Cultural Development Network, Victoria.

        Melbourne: Common Ground Publishing. Accessed November 6, 2017.

        http://www.culturaldevelopment.net.au/community/Downloads/HawkesJon(2001)

        TheFourthPillarOfSustainability.pdf.

Hracs, Brian J. 2010. "Beyond Bohemia: Geographies of Everyday Creativity for

        Musicians in Toronto." In *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: Rethinking the Cultural*

        Economy, edited by Tim Edensor, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington, and Norma

        M. Rantisi, 75–88. New York: Routledge.

Huckabee, Mike. 2017. "Mike Huckabee: A Conservative Plea for the National

        Endowment for the Arts." *Washington Post*, March 22, 2017. Accessed

        November 7, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/mike-huckabee-a-

        conservative-plea-for-the-national-endowment-of-the-arts/2017/03/22/8d6d746a-

        0d94-11e7-9d5a-a83e627dc120_story.html?utm_term=.35ab15d1a9c3.

Hughes, Jen. 2017. "Illuminate, Connect, Energize, and Imagine: The Arts in Rural

        America." *Rural Voices* 2, no. 2 (Summer): 4–7. Accessed November 7, 2017.

        http://www.ruralhome.org/storage/documents/rural-voices/rv-summer-2017.pdf.

Hutton, Thomas A. 2004. "The New Economy of the Inner City." *Cities* 21, no. 2 (April):

        89–108. Accessed February 7, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2004.01.002.

Jalan, Ekta. 2014. "Top 10 Largest Coffee Chains in the World." *Listdose.com*, May 2.

    Accessed November 7, 2017. http://listdose.co/top-10-largest-coffee-chains-in-

    the-world/.

Joffe, Dylan. 2017. "Get to Know Georgetown's Hip, Understated Food Scene." *Eater*

    Seattle. Accessed April 13, 2017. http://seattle.eater.com/maps/where-to-eat-

    georgetown-seattle.

Kagan, Sacha, and Julia Hahn. 2011. "Creative Cities and (Un)Sustainability: From

    Creative Class to Sustainable Creative Cites." *Culture and Local Governance* 3,

    no. 1–2: 11–27. Accessed November 7, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.18192/clg-

    cgl.v3i1.182.

Kennedy, Maureen, and Paul Leonard. 2001. *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A*

    Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices. Washington DC: Brookings

    Institution. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-

    content/uploads/2016/06/gentrification.pdf.

Laura P. 2016. Review of Mickey's Sports Bar. *Yelp*. Accessed April 11, 2017.

    https://www.yelp.com/biz/mickeys-sports-bar-seattle.

Lewis, Nathaniel M., and Betsy Donald. 2010. "A New Rubric for 'Creative City' Potential

    in Canada's Smaller Cities." *Urban Studies* 47, no. 1 (January): 29–54. Accessed

    November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009346867.

Ley, David. 2003. "Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification." *Urban Studies*

    40, no. 12 (November): 2527–2544. Accessed November 7, 2017.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136192.

Little, Todd D. 2013. *Longitudinal Structural Equation Modeling*. New York: The Guilford

    Press.

Little, Todd D., William A. Cunningham, Golan Shahar, and Keith F. Widaman. 2002. "To
Parcel or Not to Parcel: Exploring the Question, Weighing the Merits." *Structural
Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 9, no. 2: 151–173. Accessed
November 7, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15328007SEM0902_1.

Lloyd, Richard. 2002. "Neo-Bohemia: Art and Neighborhood Redevelopment in Chicago."
Journal of Urban Affairs 24, no. 5 (Winter): 517–532. Accessed November 6,
2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9906.00141.

———. 2005. *Neo-Bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Post Industrial City*. New York:
Routledge.

Long, Joshua. 2009. "Sustaining Creativity in the Creative Archetype: The Case of
Austin, TX." *Cities* 26, no. 4 (August): 210–219. Accessed November 7, 2017.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2009.03.004.

Lynch, Lauren. 2010. "Hoax Alert: Save the Hood. Live Better." *City Arts*, December 1.
Accessed November 7, 2017. http://www.cityartsmagazine.com/issues-seattle-
2010-12-hoax-alert-save-hood-live-better/.

Manson, Steven, Jonathan Schroeder, David Van Riper, and Steven Ruggles. 2017.
IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 12.0
[Database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 2017.
http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V12.0

Markusen, Ann. 2010. "Challenge, Change, and Space in Vernacular Cultural Practice."
In *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: Rethinking the Cultural Economy*, edited by
Tim Edensor, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington, and Norma M. Rantisi, 185–199.
New York: Routledge.

———. 2014. "Creative Cities: A 10-Year Research Agenda." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 36,

no. s2 (August): 567–589. Accessed November 7, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12146.

Markusen, Ann, and Anne Gadwa. 2010. *Creative Placemaking*. Washington DC:

National Endowment for the Arts. Accessed November 7, 2017.

https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/CreativePlacemaking-Paper.pdf.

Markusen, Ann, and Greg Schrock. 2006. "The Artistic Dividend: Urban Artistic

Specialisation and Economic Development Implications." *Urban Studies* 43,

no. 10 (September): 1661–1686. Accessed November 6, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980600888478.

Martínez i Illa, Santi, and Joaquim Rius i Ulldemolins. 2011. "Cultural Planning and

Community Sustainability: The Case of the Cultural Facilities Plan of Catalonia

(PECCAT 2010-20)." *Culture and Local Governance* 3, no. 1–2: 71–82.

Accessed November 7, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.18192/clg-cgl.v3i1.186.

Martinez-Fernandez, Cristina, Ivonne Audirac, Sylvie Fol, and Emanuèle Cunnigham-

Sabot. 2012. "Shrinking Cities: Urban Challenges of Globalization." *International

Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36, no. 2 (March): 213–225. Accessed

November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01092.x.

Matthews, Vanessa. 2010. "Aestheticizing Space: Art, Gentrification and the City."

Geography Compass 4, no. 6 (June): 660–675. Accessed November 7, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00331.x.

McCann, Eugene J. 2007. "Inequality and Politics in the Creative City-Region: Questions

of Livability and State Strategy." *International Journal of Urban and Regional

Research* 31, no. 1 (March): 188–196. Accessed November 6, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2007.00713.x.

McCarthy, Kevin F., Elizabeth H. Ondaatje, Laura Zakaras, and Arthur Brooks. 2004. *Gifts of the Muse: Reframing the Debate About the Benefits of the Arts.* Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation. Accessed June 18, 2015. http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2005/RAND_MG218.pdf.

McLean, Heather. 2014. "Digging into the Creative City: A Feminist Critique." *Antipode* 46, no. 3 (June): 669–690. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12078.

Milbourne, Paul. 2010. "Growing Places: Community Gardening, Ordinary Creatives and Place-Based Regeneration in a Northern English City." In *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity: Rethinking the Cultural Economy*, edited by Tim Edensor, Deborah Leslie, Steve Millington, and Norma M. Rantisi, 141–154. New York: Routledge.

Murdoch, James, III. 2016. "Specialized vs. Diversified: The Role of Neighborhood Economies in Shrinking Cities." *Cities.* Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.12.006.

Murdoch, James, Carl Grodach, and Nicole Foster. 2016. "The Importance of Neighborhood Context in Arts-Led Development: Community Anchor or Creative Class Magnet?" *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 36, no 1 (March): 32–48, Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X15599040.

Muthén, Linda K., and Bengt O. Muthén. 1998–2012. *Mplus User's Guide*. 7th ed. Los Angeles: Muthén & Muthén.

Myler, Philippa. 2015. "Westlake Dance Center Finds New Home in Georgetown." *Seattle Dances*, September 4. Accessed November 7, 2017.

http://seattledances.com/2015/09/westlake-dance-center-finds-new-home-in-georgetown/.

National Endowment for the Arts. 2017a. "Show Case." Exploring Our Town. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://www.arts.gov/exploring-our-town/showcase.

———. 2017b. "OUR TOWN: Arts Engagement, Cultural Planning, and Design Projects - Grant Program Description." Grants. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://www.arts.gov/grants-organizations/our-town/arts-engagement-cultural-planning-and-design-projects-introduction.

Nurse, Keith. 2006. *Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development.* Prepared for Commonwealth Secretariat, UK. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://placemakers.wdfiles.com/local--files/theoretical-analysis-examined/Cultureas4thPillarSD.pdf

O'Shea, Meg. 2011. "Arts Engagement with Sustainable Communities: Informing New Governance Styles for Sustainable Futures." *Culture and Local Governance* 3, no. 1–2: 29–41. Accessed November 6, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.18192/clg-cgl.v3i1.183.

Peck, Jaimie. 2005. "Struggling with the Creative Class." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 4 (December): 740–770. Accessed November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2005.00620.x.

Platt, Jennifer. 1992. "'Case Study' in American Methodological Thought." *Current Sociology* 40, no. 1 (March): 17–48.

Plaza, Beatriz. 2006. "The Return on Investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30, no. 2 (June): 452–467. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00672.x.

Ponzini, Davide, and Ugo Rossi. 2010. "Becoming a Creative City: The Entrepreneurial

Mayor, Network Politics and the Promise of an Urban Renaissance." *Urban
Studies* 47, no. 5 (May): 1037–1057. Accessed November 7, 2017.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009353073.

Porello, Antonio, Antonio Talone, Diego A. Collovini, and Enrico Tommarchi. 2010.

"Cultural Mapping: The Semantic Web as a Survey Tool for the Construction of
the Cultural Plan." Conference paper presented at the *24th AESOP Annual
Conference, Helsinki, Finland, July 7-10, 2010.* Accessed March 26, 2018.
http://www.iapad.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/SSRN-id1705372.pdf.

Porter, Michael E. 1997. "New Strategies for Inner-City Economic

Development." *Economic Development Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (February): 11–27.
Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124249701100102.

Pratt, Andy C. 2009. "The Creative and Cultural Economy and the Recession." *Geoforum*

40, no. 4 (July): 495–496. Accessed November 7, 2017.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.05.002.

———. 2010. "Creative Cities: Tensions within and between Social, Cultural and

Economic Development: A Critical Reading of the UK Experience." *City, Culture
and Society* 1, no. 1 (March): 13–20. Accessed November 7, 2017.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2010.04.001.

Prowell, Veronica. 2015. "How Street Art Can Combat the Progression of Gentrification

through Spreading Awareness." *Seattle Gentrification* (blog), June 22. Accessed
November 7, 2017. https://seattlegentrification.wordpress.com/.

Redaelli, Eleonora. 2012. "Cultural Planning in the United States: Toward Authentic

Participation Using GIS." *Urban Affairs Review* 48, no. 5: 642–669.

Sacco, Pierluigi, Guido Ferilli, and Giorgio Tavano Blessi. 2014. "Understanding Culture-Led Local Development: A Critique of Alternative Theoretical Explanations." *Urban Studies* 51, no. 13 (October): 2806–2821. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013512876.

Sassen, Saskia. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Satorra, Albert, and Pete M. Bentler. 1994. "Corrections to Test Statistics and Standard Errors in Covariance Structure Analysis." In *Latent Variables Analysis: Applications for Developmental Research*, edited by Alexander von Eye and Clifford C. Clogg, 399–419. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

———. 2010. "Ensuring Positiveness of the Scaled Difference Chi-square Test Statistic." *Psychometrika* 75, no. 2 (June): 243–248. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11336-009-9135-y.

Savova, Nadezhda. 2011. "Arm's Length and 'Hand-Shake' Policies: Community Arts Alternatives to Outcomes-Based Development (Insights from Brazil, Bulgaria, and South Africa). *Culture and Local Governance* 3, no 1–2: 43–58. Accessed November 7, 2017. http://dx.doi.org/10.18192/clg-cgl.v3i1.184.

Schumacker, Randall E., and Richard G. Lomax. 2010. *A Beginner's Guide to Structural Equation Modeling*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge.

Schulz, David P. 2014. "Top 100 Retailers." National Retail Federation, July 1. Accessed May 24, 2015. https://nrf.com/news/top-100-retailers.

Scott, Allen J. 1998. *Regions and the World Economy: The Coming Shape of Global Production, Competition, and Political Order.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2006. "Creative Cities: Conceptual Issues and Policy Questions." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 28, no. 1 (January): 1–17. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0735-2166.2006.00256.x.

Scott, Allen J., and Edward W. Soja. 1986. "Los Angeles: Capital of the Late 20th Century." *Society and Space* 4: 249–254. Accessed February 7, 2018. http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1068/d040249.

Seattle Design Center. 2017. "About SDC." *Seattle Design Center*. Accessed April 11, 2017. http://www.seattledesigncenter.com/about.

Silver, Daniel Aaron, and Terry Nichols Clark. 2016. *Scenescapes: How Qualities of Place Shape Social Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Silver, Daniel, and Diana Miller. 2013. "Contextualizing the Artistic Dividend." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 35, no. 5 (December): 591–606. Accessed November 6, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00642.x.

Smith, Neil. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City.* New York: Routledge.

Soja, Edward W. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* New York: Verso.

Stern, Mark J., and Susan C. Seifert. 2010. "Cultural Clusters: The Implications of Cultural Assets Agglomeration for Neighborhood Revitalization." *Journal of Planning and Education Research* 29, no. 3 (March): 262–279.

Stiles, Marc. 2014. "Georgetown as Tech Town? New Owner of Seattle Design Center Hopes So." *Puget Sound Business Journal* (Seattle), December 3. Accessed November 7, 2017. https://www.bizjournals.com/seattle/blog/techflash/2014/12/georgetown-as-tech-town-new-owner-of-seattle.html.

Strom, Elizabeth. 2010. "Artist Garret as Growth Machine? Local Policy and Artist

Housing in U.S. Cities." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 29, no. 3

(March): 367–378. Accessed November 6, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X09358560.

The Economist. 2000. "The Geography of Cool." *The Economist*, April 13. Accessed

November 6, 2017. http://www.economist.com/node/303114.

The Georgetown Arts & Cultural Center. 2017. "About." *Georgetown Arts & Cultural

Center*. Accessed April 11, 2017. http://www.georgetownartcenter.org/about/.

Waitt, Gordon, and Chris Gibson. 2009. "Creative Small Cities: Rethinking the Creative

Economy in Place." *Urban Studies* 46, no. 5–6 (May): 1223–1246. Accessed

November 7, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009103862.

Wali, Alaka, Rebecca Severson, and Mario Longoni. 2002. *Informal Arts: Finding

Cohesion, Capacity and Other Cultural Benefits in Unexpected Places.* Chicago:

Chicago Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College. Accessed June 18, 2015.

http://archive.fieldmuseum.org/ccuc/ccuc_sites/Arts_Study/pdf/Informal_Arts_Full

_Report.pdf.

Yin, Robert K. 2014. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* 5th ed. Thousand

Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Zimmerman, Jeffrey. 2008. "From Brew Town to Cool Town: Neoliberalism and the

Creative City Development Strategy in Milwaukee." *Cities* 25, no 4 (August):

230–242. Accessed November 7, 2017.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2008.04.006.

Zukin, Sharon. 2010. *Naked City: The Life and Death of Authentic Urban Places.* New

York: Oxford University Press.

Biographical Information

James C. Murdoch III is a policy analyst at 2M Research, a social science research and program evaluation consulting firm. At 2M, Mr. Murdoch is the project manager and lead analyst for an evaluation of NEA's *Our Town* creative placemaking program. The team recently completed phase 1 of the project, which resulted in a theory of change and logic model that will guide an evaluation of the program in phase 2. Mr. Murdoch also supports an evaluation technical assistance contract for the Department Education directed to its Arts in Education grantees and an evaluation of the programs in the Geosciences Education and Diversity Portfolio at the National Science Foundation. He has strong training in mixed methods analysis and evaluation, including GIS mapping, spatial analysis, advanced quantitative methods, and qualitative textual analysis. Mr. Murdoch earned his PhD in Urban Planning and Public Policy at the University of Texas at Arlington and his Masters in Public Policy, with a focus in cultural policy, from the Harris School at the University of Chicago. His work has been published in multiple peer-reviewed journals, including *Urban Studies*, the *Journal of the American Planning Association*, the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, the *Journal of Urban Affairs*, and *Cities*.