Geoffrey Moss

Artistic Enclaves in the Post-Industrial City

A Case Study of Lawrenceville Pittsburgh

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Geoffrey Moss
Temple University
Philadelphia, PA
USA

Preface

Why I Decided to Launch This Study

This study was initially sparked by my desire to study a bohemian enclave. I first learned about bohemia from my parents, David and June Moss. My late father had been an actor, theater producer, and (later in his life) a Speech and Drama teacher at Forest Hills High School in Queens, New York. My dad acted and produced plays within the rising alternative theater sector that emerged in 1950s New York (i.e., early Off-Broadway). Like the typical 1950s bohemian, my dad viewed much of America as relatively "square" and was critical of the capitalist system, often expressing his conviction that "the system stinks." My mother was not an actress, but often assisted him in his theatrical pursuits. During the summer season, he and my mom would quit their day jobs and go to summer stock. Both my parents were part of New York's bohemian theater scene; they worked with and befriended bohemian actors and went to their parties.

In 1975, when I had just started High School, my dad introduced me to Greenwich Village ("The Village"), which served as New York's bohemia central for much of the twentieth century. I distinctly remember that he took me to Washington Square Park (the heart of the Village) and said, "Isn't this great?" I liked the park, but was not (yet) impressed; I was too young and immature to fully appreciate the cultural significance of the area. By the end of my freshman year at Queens College (1978), however, I came to appreciate that the Village was a very special place, a stimulating place where fun, excitement, and personal and cultural freedom could be found. I had, furthermore, become an avid bohemian tourist. I started spending my weekend nights hanging out in the Village and began to frequent Washington Square Park as well as various village bars, cafes, restaurants, and music venues. During my senior year, I occasionally visited the bohemian enclave that had emerged in Soho. While I was a graduate student at Columbia University during the 1980s and early 1990s, I often took the 1/9 train to New York's Lower East Side and frequented a variety of well-known bohemian haunts (e.g., The Life Café and CBGB's).

My scholarly interest in bohemia did not emerge until 2004. I had stumbled upon popular and scholarly works on bohemia while visiting a bookstore in Greenwich Village, and soon became fascinated with numerous sociological, historical, interdisciplinary, and literary accounts of bohemian life. I decided that I myself would investigate the nature and characteristics of a contemporary bohemian enclave. My former leisure pursuit (bohemian tourism) had become an area of professional interest.

How I Came to Select Lawrenceville Pittsburgh as My Research Site

In 2004, I was still living in New York, but decided to look elsewhere for a research site. New York's major bohemian enclaves (e.g., those in the East Village and Soho, and in Brooklyn's Williamsburg) had been subject to rapid gentrification and displacement, and most of the city's bohemian artists were scattered throughout the city. Some lived in relatively small pockets of bohemia that existed within former bohemian communities, or within neighborhoods that were relatively affordable compared to other New York locations. Bushwick Brooklyn was emerging as a new bohemia central, but just about everyone was predicting that it would, like its predecessors, soon be gentrified out of existence. A York College colleague who had lived in Pittsburgh (Kim Jones, an anthropologist) asserted that Pittsburgh's deindustrialized South Side contained a thriving bohemian enclave made economically possible by low housing costs. I was intrigued. I wondered what bohemia might look like when not encumbered by the relatively high-cost New York housing market. I did not, however, spend enough time in South Side to confirm that its artistic community was truly bohemian. By the time I did my preliminary investigation of South Side (2005), I quickly discovered that relatively affluent urban gentrifiers and a rising college bar scene had (largely) displaced South Side's artistic community. The neighborhood still contained several establishments frequented by artists and by members of various alternative subcultures (e.g., Dee's Bar and the Beehive Cafe), but most of its galleries and other artistic venues had closed, and the neighborhood's college bar scene came to overshadow its artistic scene. Housing costs were nowhere near New York levels, but had risen substantially; many artists had already relocated to other deindustrialized neighborhoods to obtain relatively cheap Pittsburgh housing. Several artists still living in South Side informed me that they prefer to hang out in neighborhoods not dominated by college students. These artists also informed me that some of their artistic peers had moved to Lawrenceville Pittsburgh. I decided to do a preliminary investigation of Lawrenceville to determine its suitability as a research site.

I launched my preliminary investigation of my research site in March 2006. The neighborhood was too large for me to quickly walk through on foot, so I began by performing a "windshield survey" in order to internalize a visual map of the

neighborhood (Andranovich and Riposa 1993). The neighborhood contained numerous establishments that were the products of artistic (and perhaps bohemian) activity (e.g., edgy shops and galleries). Most of the neighborhood was dilapidated and did not appear to be subject to a high level of gentrification. I proceeded to explore the neighborhood on foot and conversed informally with artists, gallery owners, and other neighborhood residents. These residents informed me that the neighborhood contained a growing artistic community. I decided that Lawrenceville constituted a suitable research site.

Bohemian or Creative Class?

After investigating and analyzing Lawrenceville's artistic community in detail, I came to the conclusion that to conceptualize this community as bohemian would be misleading. This community, that is, was partly bohemian, but also partly bourgeois. It integrated classic bohemian practices (i.e., independent artistic production, alternative artistic venues, the discussion of art and ideas, and relatively low-cost living within a gritty urban neighborhood) with classic bourgeois practices (i.e., practicality, economic security, commercialization, well-organized neighborhood-based collaboration, and the ownership of residential and commercial space). This enclave, furthermore, eschewed the anti-bourgeois stance that has been a central component of the bohemian tradition. It made no attempt, that is, to oppose, shock, mock, or seek refuge from that which is viewed, in contemporary terms, as relatively bourgeois (i.e., yuppies, corporations, the mainstream, the urban establishment).

To clarify and illuminate my interpretation of Lawrenceville's artistic community, I eventually decided to draw on ideas introduced by Florida (2002) in his best-selling book, *The Rise of The Creative Class*. Florida, an economic geographer and public intellectual argued that the economic success of cities is increasingly contingent on their ability to attract a broadly defined "creative class" of artists, professionals, executives, scientists, software designers, and others whose work requires (at least) a modicum of creative output. The creative class, he further proclaimed, has transcended the historic divide between bohemian and bourgeois and has morphed the bourgeois practicality with the bohemian quest for creative freedom. Florida, furthermore, offered a brief commentary on urban artistic life, proclaiming that struggling urban artists are no longer alienated outsiders, and have become integrated into, and often collaborate with yuppies and other members of the larger creative class. I ultimately decided that some of his ideas, if subjected to substantial elaboration and amendment, could provide a proper basis for conceptualizing Lawrenceville's artistic community.

My use of Florida's ideas is limited to his notion of a bourgeois–bohemian morph and his brief commentary on urban artistic life. I did not assess empirical data designed to test Florida's controversial creative class thesis that a city's ability

to achieve economic success (i.e., economic growth and shared prosperity) tends to be contingent on its ability to attract the creative class (e.g., high tech entrepreneurs like Steve Jobs) by promoting a tolerant (e.g., pro-gay, pro-immigrant), artistic, and creatively stimulating people climate. There is already a large and growing literature dedicated to this task. Also, I wish to say at the onset that I am not a full-fledged advocate of Florida's (2002) creative class approach to urban economic development. I view this approach as useful (for promoting art, creativity, and liberal tolerance), but seriously incomplete as a way of promoting shared prosperity within and between post-industrial cities. This approach, furthermore, has often contributed to working class displacement, and a decrease in affordable housing.[1]

Contributions to the Existing Scholarly Literature

The Urban Sociology and Urban Studies literatures have invariably supported Zukin's (1982) now classic assertion that artistic enclaves that emerge within major post-industrial cities inevitably fail to achieve long-term sustainability. Urban artistic gentrifiers tend to attract relatively affluent members of the middle class who strive to "live like an artist" and engage in "Loft Living." These relatively affluent urbanites help ignite a complex gentrification process that drives up the cost of housing and other amenities. In the final analysis, artistic gentrifiers get priced out of their artistic communities.[2] The present work demonstrates that this fate is not inevitable. Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, that is, has achieved long-term sustainability by morphing bohemian and bourgeois practices, and by collaborating with Pittsburgh's creative class. This enclave's openness to bourgeois practices, and eagerness to engage in creative class collaboration made it possible for artists to purchase live/work and commercial space (e.g., for galleries and boutiques that sell artisan goods), acquire low-cost artist community housing, market a now well-known annual art fair, and produce and market independently produced art alongside artisan goods and other goods and services (e.g., coffee, framing, wine, clothing, and furniture).

The Floridian idea that artistic communities can benefit from morphing bourgeois practicality with bohemian creative expressiveness, and by collaborating with a larger creative class has informed a substantial amount of public policy (see Stern and Seifert 2007).[3] This idea, however, has not been backed up by detailed

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[1]Florida, though, has amended this approach; I will comment on the limitations of these amendments later in this book.

[2]Zukin (1982) also pointed out that in New York, this process ultimately displaced most middle-class gentrifiers and helped to prepare much of the city for upper class use.

[3]Stern and Seifert, though, point out that support for artistic communities has generally been less substantial than support for major arts institutions (e.g., museums and major performing arts centers).

academic case studies of actual artistic enclaves. Neither Florida nor his academic followers, furthermore, have documented the existence of artistic communities that have achieved long-term sustainability, or theorized that such communities have the potential to exist within contemporary creative cities. By clearly and thoroughly conceptualizing the existence of an artistic enclave (in a gentrifying Pittsburgh neighborhood) that has achieved long-term sustainability by integrating bourgeois and bohemian practices, and collaborating with a larger creative class, the present work thus augments and amends the existing academic literature in important ways.

The Organization of This Book

In Chap. 1 (Introduction), I describe the purposes and limitations of my study, explain my research methodology, and introduce my major empirical findings. I also introduce Richard Florida's work and explain (in more detail) why I decided to draw on this work. I conclude by defining what I refer to as the *artistic creative class enclave*, a creative class subtype that clarifies and amends Florida's (2002, 2012) brief commentary on contemporary artistic life. In Chap. 2 (Florida's Creative Class Thesis), I discuss Florida's concept of a creative class and his overall creative class thesis in more detail, summarize critical reactions to his work, and present my own critique of his work. I conclude by reiterating that my use of his work is highly partial and selective. In Chap. 3 (The Larger Urban Context), I discuss the larger urban (Pittsburgh) context of the present case study. I draw primarily on existing sources, but also utilize my field data, and the results of an artist survey that I performed in collaboration with Lawrenceville's annual art fair (Art All Night). I present a brief overview of Pittsburgh's transition from industrial to post-industrial city, place the Pittsburgh artist in context, and summarize and assess Richard Florida's comments on Pittsburgh's creative future. The next two chapters enable the reader to acquire, in a detailed way, a basic understanding of the distinction between the classic bohemian tradition and the bourgeois–bohemian (creative class) morph that provides the foundation for the present case study. In Chap. 4 (Bohemia: Introduction and Classic Prototypes), I offer a basic introduction to the bohemian phenomenon and provide an overview of major historical accounts of classic bohemia and the bohemian avant-garde in Paris and early twentieth-century Greenwich Village. In Chap. 5 (The Growing Integration of Bourgeois and Bohemian Culture), I introduce the literature on bourgeois–bohemian integration, discuss David Brook's *Bobo's in Paradise* and Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class*, and explain why I chose to draw on the later work, rather than the former. In Chap. 6 (Lawrenceville's Artistic Enclave), I draw (primarily) on my field study, and also on survey data that I collected in conjunction with Lawrenceville's Art All Night (2008, 2009) art fair to offer a detailed account of Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, and demonstrate that this enclave exemplifies an artistic creative class enclave. I also demonstrate that is enclave has achieved long-term sustainability. In Chap. 7 (An Alternative to the

Dominant Academic Narrative), I analyze previous studies of struggling artistic enclaves within major post-industrial cities in terms of four organizing themes, maintaining that these themes constitute a *dominant academic narrative*. I then demonstrate that the artistic creative class enclave constitutes an alternative to this narrative. I conclude by comparing and contrasting the artistic creative class enclave with three related community types (i.e., artistic enclaves described by Zukin 1982; Mele 2000; Lloyd 2006). In Chap. 8 (Summary and Conclusion), I summarize my analysis and argue, in a preliminary way, that the central concept of this analysis, *the artistic creative class enclave*, will not likely prove to be a Pittsburgh anomaly. I also hypothesize that the artistic creative class enclave is the only type of artistic enclave that has the capacity to avoid short-term existence and/or socio-spatial invisibility within contemporary major cities. I then discuss the policy implications of my analysis for those who wish to promote such enclaves, and conclude with a preliminary critical appraisal of their potential impact on society.

Philadelphia, PA, USA   Geoffrey Moss

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Contents

Chapter 1
Introduction

Abstract In this chapter, I start by explaining the purposes and limitations of the present project. I then specify my research methods, introduce my major findings, and explain why I decided to draw on and amend the work of Richard Florida to analyze and illuminate these findings. I also note that Florida himself conducted his initial research on the creative class within the City of Pittsburgh. I conclude by building on Florida's brief commentary on contemporary artists to introduce and define a new creative class subtype: the *artistic creative class enclave*.

Keywords Artist survey · Pittsburgh · Lawrenceville · Bohemian · Creative class · Artistic enclaves · Urban sociology · Urban studies

1.1 Purposes and Limitations of the Present Project

This project initially constituted an endeavor to understand a contemporary manifestation of the bohemian phenomenon. Borer (2006) pointed out that some urban sociologists start out with a social problem or phenomenon, and then seek out a place where the problem or phenomenon is occurring, while other urban sociologists select a place and then ask inductive questions about what happened there. My own research process was closer to the former (i.e., I decided to study Lawrenceville Pittsburgh because my preliminary investigation of the community indicated that it contained a bohemian enclave), but also contained elements of the latter (i.e., I wasn't sure what type of bohemian enclave it contained and was open to the possibility that upon closer inspection, I would conclude that this enclave is too bourgeois to be bohemian).

More specifically, this project was driven by three primary purposes. Firstly, my purpose was typological. What type of artistic enclave is exemplified by the case of Lawrenceville? Is it bohemian? If so, then what type of bohemian enclave does it represent? Does it exemplify a bohemian enclave that is roughly similar to a subtype of bohemia already described within the literature (e.g., Mele 2000; Wilson

2000; Lloyd 2006; Morgan and Ren 2012), or does it exemplify a hitherto unde-
fined bohemian subtype. If Lawrenceville's artistic enclave is too bourgeois to be
defined as bohemian, than what type of enclave is it? Secondly, I was concerned
with ascertaining the nature of the relationship between Lawrenceville artists and
those that are contemporary equivalents of the classic bourgeois (i.e., yuppies).
A substantial body of scholarship on classic and contemporary bohemia has found
that relations between artists and bourgeois (or yuppies) have been constituted by at
least some degree of antagonism and conflict (e.g., Grana 1964; Wilson 2000; Mele
2000; Lloyd 2006). My interest in this finding was animated by my hometown
knowledge of the bohemia that erupted on New York's Lower East Side. The
Lower East Side, which was later relabled the East Village by developers, was
constituted by intense conflict between bohemian artists and the relatively affluent
yuppies who were in the process of displacing them. I witnessed some of these
conflicts firsthand (e.g., the protests in Tomkins Square Park). Such conflicts were
later memorialized in Jonathan Larson's Musical production (Rent), and were
investigated empirically by Mele (2000). Thirdly, I was concerned with the issue of
artistic community sustainability first analyzed within the Urban Sociology litera-
ture by Zukin (1982). A substantial body of subsequent research has supported
Zukin's proposition that gentrification and other structural forces inevitably cause
bohemians (and struggling artists more generally) within major cities to get priced
out of their neighborhoods. I thus presumed that this would be the case within
Lawrenceville. My expectations on this matter, however, were tempered by my
awareness that Pittsburgh has a relatively weak housing market. I thus hypothesized
that Lawrenceville's artistic enclave would dissipate at a relatively slow rate.

Owners of artistic venues and hangouts have generally been essential to the
production of artistic community life (Parry 2002 [1933]). Within Lawrenceville,
such owners are almost invariably artists themselves, combining independent
artistic production with various types of creative entrepreneurship. The venues and
hangouts created by these artists have been central to the artistic, cultural, and
economic development of the neighborhood's artistic enclave. I thus decided to
devout a considerable portion of this project to describing the commercial activities
and community development efforts of Lawrenceville's artistic entrepreneurs.

This short book is subject to three major limitations. First, it is grounded in a
single case study. Further research is needed to determine the frequency with which
the artistic enclave under investigation is similar to other existing artistic enclaves.
Second, I do not attempt to explore the effects of Lawrenceville's artistic enclave on
Pittsburgh's economic geography. I do not, that is, try to ascertain the effects of this
community on Pittsburgh's attractiveness to the creative class, level of economic
growth, and level of inequality. Such issues are simply beyond the community level
focus of the present project. Third, the present study includes *very* little data on
Lawrenceville's working class residents. This limitation is not due to any lack of
interest on my part; It is due to the fact that I performed this study while living a
considerable distance from Lawrenceville and did not have time to do an empiri-
cally adequate analysis of those who were not, generally speaking, a part of or
connected to Lawrenceville's artistic community. I do, though, offer very brief,

preliminary comments on social relations between Lawrenceville's artistic and working class residents. I invite other researchers to study such relations in greater depth.

1.2   Research Methods

To investigate Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, I conducted a multi-method case study (Yin 2008) constituted, in part, by fieldwork that I performed during numerous visits to the neighborhood. While conducting my fieldwork, I lived in Pennsylvania, but not within Pittsburgh. I taught full-time at Kutztown University for two years before obtaining my present full-time teaching position at Temple University. Both universities were roughly a six-hour drive from my research site. Between March 2006 and April 2009, I made six three-day visits to Lawrenceville; three during the first year and 1 each during the next three years. While the time I spent investigating the community was not lengthy enough to produce a full-fledged ethnography, it enabled me to collect substantial and useful field data. During each visit, I observed artistic venues and events (e.g., art galleries, artist studios, artsy shops, local cafes). During my first visit, I attended a costume party at a local bar that was popular among artists (i.e., "the brillobox"). In April 2008, and again in April 2009, my visits included attendance at Lawrenceville's annual art festival (Art All Night).

During my visits to the neighborhood, I conducted unstructured onsite interviews, lasting anywhere from 5 to 45 min (most lasted 5 to 10 min) with 42 individuals who were a part of, connected to, or were well aware of the area's artistic community. I conducted 12 interviews during my first visit; the remaining interviews were dispersed roughly equally throughout my subsequent visits. My interviews were flexible, and contingent on the specific social context in which they were conducted. If the interview, for example, were conducted at an artsy café, for example, I would ask questions pertaining to the social and artistic activity of the café. I generally introduced myself as a sociology professor who is studying the community, and asked interviewees (most of whom were artists) if they would be willing to answer a few questions about their community. Typical questions included: "Do you live in Lawrenceville?" How long have you lived in Lawrenceville? Have you noticed any significant changes in the community since you arrived? How do you earn a living? Do you own property in the community? Has your community been in conflict with yuppies? Do you fear gentrification by yuppies? Do you or your peers tend to dislike yuppies? To what extent do you consider yourself (or your community) to be bohemian?

Like many communities in the 2000s, Lawrenceville rapidly developed a significant online presence. The neighborhood existed in physical space, but became

partly constituted by a virtual manifestation of itself.[1] Between 2006 and 2009, and occasionally afterword, I analyzed a series of neighborhood based web sites that became integral to the artistic, cultural, commercial, and residential life of the neighborhood's artistic community, and engaged in e-mail correspondence with informants that I met in person or discovered on-line. I also examined accounts of the community written by journalists and community members that were available online and/or in hard copy format. Some of these accounts were contained within a series of unrehearsed videotaped interviews with Lawrenceville residents (available on you-tube) created by video producer (and local resident) Josh Bayer in conjunction with a local community organization (The Lawrenceville Corporation).

Between April 2009 and July 2012, I continued to investigate major community websites, and conducted brief (one-day) yearly follow-up visits to the neighborhood. During these visits, I conducted windshield surveys of the neighborhood, and interviewed 9 additional informants (three during each trip). Follow up interview questions were identical to the previous interview questions mentioned above, but were accompanied by one additional question—"Has the community changed much over the past few years?" In 2012, I also conducted a one-hour interview with a key player within the community by phone. I was told that this person was particularly well informed about the community under investigation; this turned out to be true. In addition, I briefly conversed with an informant who I met at the annual conference of the Urban Affairs Association; this informant was also a key player within the community. While collecting data during the 2009–2012 period, I did not uncover any evidence that the data I collected during 2006–2009 has become "dated." The neighborhood's artistic enclave, that is, did not change in any fundamental way (e.g., it continued to promote and achieve a sustainable artistic presence). Thus, I saw no need to recollect portions of my data.

I grouped my data by classifying it in accordance with three broad themes. First, I classified all content that indicated that the neighborhood enclave under investigation was bohemian and/or too bourgeois to be bohemian. Second, I classified all content pertaining to issues of sustainability (e.g., fears of displacement, rises in housing costs, attempts to avoid potential displacement). A third theme, evidence of antagonism and conflict between bohemians and bourgeois (i.e., yuppies) was dropped once data indicated that it was not in correspondence with the social realities of the neighborhood. This theme was later replaced by a new theme— evidence of collaboration between artists, yuppies, neighborhood associations, and Pittsburgh's corporate, government, and non-profit establishment.

I conducted my data analysis while (and after) I collected my data. My analysis and research purpose was qualitative rather than quantitative in nature. The goal of qualitative research is *not* to estimate the frequency distribution of research categories, but to describe and further define the categories themselves, and see if new

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[1]Haenfler (2009) argued that the distinction between "real" and "virtual" life is a false dichotomy, since real identities and real communities are constituted by blurred boundaries between physical and online interaction.

categories are needed (Luker 2008). Such is the case with respect to the present project. The present project, that is, draws on a multi-method case study to describe and categorize Lawrenceville's artistic enclave.

To a secondary extent, though, this study engages in quantitative analysis, drawing on artist survey data (an online questionnaire) that I collected in conjunction with Lawrenceville's annual (2009) Art All Night art fair.[2] I might add that after a thorough literature review, I could not find a single published study that has collected and analyzed such data (i.e., survey data from a community art fair). This data enabled me to supplement my field data, and provide Art All Night's organizing committee with feedback (i.e., on the strengths and weaknesses of their annual event, and on the demographic characteristics of their participants). Some of the survey data is thus not focused on issues pertaining to the present project.

Most survey respondents were not residents of the community under investigation. The Art All Night survey, however, proved to be insightful, offering background data on artists from throughout greater Pittsburgh, and (to a lesser extent) within Lawrenceville that is relatively easy to collect via the survey method (e.g., data on artist's income, housing prices, primary and secondary occupations). I utilized this data, along with data from secondary sources (e.g., websites of government organizations), primarily to understand the larger (regional) artistic and cultural context faced by Lawrenceville artists.

Doing an online survey with an annual art fair proved to be challenging. My 2009 online artist survey was preceded by a 2008 pilot study. Unfortunately, structural constraints rendered it impossible for me to administer my 2008 questionnaires to more than a small portion (less than 100) of the more than 800 artists who attended the event; the 2009 survey yielded a much higher response rate (an N of 279).

Members of the 2008 organizing committee told me that administering the survey to all participants at registration was not feasible; they feared that widespread administration of the survey would slow down registration. My wife served as my assistant. We were placed in a survey booth near the refreshment stands during the opening evening of the event, and near the return exit during the following afternoon (when artists picked up their art at the end of the event). Since the survey sample was not randomly selected, its representativeness is relatively questionable. Still, this survey was useful in that it informed and led to the subsequent 2009 online survey, and produced qualitative remarks (i.e., answers to open ended questions) that were insightful. In a few cases, furthermore, survey respondents initiated verbal discussions that were also insightful.

The 2009 survey was administered by Owen Lampe, a member of the Art All Night organizing committee. The survey questions were developed by myself, but reflect suggestions made by members of the committee. 271 Art All Night artists completed

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[2]In comparison to interview and observational methods, the questionnaire method is relatively well suited to the collection of data from larger, and more representative samples, and allows research subjects to offer sensitive information (e.g., respondent's income) anonymously. Survey responses, though, tend to be relatively brief, and lacking in depth. As a result, they generally fail to produce a level of descriptiveness sufficient to generate new categories (Luker 2008).

the online questionnaire, yielding a respectable response rate of approximately thirty percent. Since the event is a regional art festival that attracts artists from throughout the Pittsburgh region, it is not surprising that most of the artists who completed the questionnaire did not reside in Lawrenceville; 41 out of 271 artists (15.13%) who completed the questionnaire were Lawrenceville residents.

The Art All Night surveys were designed to ensure that research subjects felt free to answer (or not answer) survey questions. Surveys were preceded by the following statement: "Your answers will help Art All Night serve artists better in the future. The results of this survey will also be used to help urban researchers better understand urban artists and their communities. Data collected is anonymous and will not be used for commercial purposes. Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Please answer the questions as best you can. Feel free to leave a question blank if answering it would make you feel uncomfortable." Art All Night did not have a formal IRB (Internal Review Board), but the preceding instructions, and the overall Art All Night survey was subject to approval by a committee that endeavored to represent survey participants (i.e., Art All Night's organizing committee). Eventually, I obtained a latter of exemption from my University's IRB.

1.3   Conceptualizing Lawrenceville's Artistic Enclave

As I explored Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, I started to question my initial impression that it was bohemian. I eventually came to the conclusion that it simultaneously maintained continuity with yet diverged substantially from bohemian tradition. Like the prototypical bohemian, the vast majority of the community's artists were independent artists—not corporate artists or designers. They were willing to live cheaply in order to engage in independent artistic pursuits, and moved to (and thereby gentrified) a gritty urban neighborhood in search of low cost space. They discussed art and ideas in bars and cafes, and produced art that they displayed outside the dominant channels of artistic distribution (i.e., in Lawrenceville galleries and other alternative outlets). Unlike the prototypical bohemian, however, they expressed no antagonism toward yuppies, or toward their city's corporate and governmental establishment. They also exhibited no reluctance to commercialize their artistic activities. Such commercialization, furthermore, was not controversial within their community. They marketed their art, artistic atmospheres, artisan goods, and other consumer products to artists, yuppies, hipsters, and other Pittsburgh residents, attempting to integrate the bourgeois goal of economic security with the bohemian goal of creative expressiveness. They also engaged in substantial, well organized, collaborative efforts with their city's

corporate and government establishment. These efforts helped enable most of them to purchase and maintain low cost residential and/or commercial space, or secure community owned artist housing. As a result, their artistic enclave achieved long-term sustainability, thus avoiding the now well-known fate of artistic enclaves (i.e., to get priced out of existence by relatively affluent urban gentrifiers).

I ultimately decided that I could clarify and illuminate Lawrenceville's artistic enclave by drawing on the controversial work of Richard Florida. In his bestselling book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida, an economic geographer and public intellectual maintained that the economic success of cities and regions is increasingly contingent on their ability to attract, maintain, and facilitate the activities of high tech entrepreneurs and other members of a rising creative class (e.g., software engineers, graphic designers, biotech scientists, accountants, engineers, lawyers, professors, chefs, artsy shopkeepers). Members of the creative class are, to a significant extent, paid to create (i.e., to perform work that involves, "the creation of meaningful new forms"). The work of the creative class, however, is not necessarily super-creative or even consistently creative in nature (i.e., it may also be constituted by tasks that are relatively routine). It is, however, generally more creative than work performed by the traditional working class, and by the service class, who are "paid to execute according to plan." The work of the creative class, furthermore, is generally constituted by levels of creativity sufficient to influence its consumption preferences (i.e., it tends to prefer products that are creatively produced rather than mass produced and generic), cultural values (i.e., it tends to adopt values that support creativity, such as individuality, tolerance and diversity), and choice of location (i.e., it tends to prefer locations that express its consumption preferences and cultural values, and facilitate its ability to network with other creative residents).

According to Florida, members of the creative class don't consciously think of themselves as a class, but are being united via a Big Morph that has, to a growing extent, dismantled old cultural divides: "Highbrow and lowbrow, alternative and mainstream, work and play, CEO and hipster are all morphing together today" (Florida 2002, p. 191). At the heart of the Big Morph is a new ethic of work, culture, and leisure, a *creative ethos* that resolved the tension between a bourgeois protestant ethic that emphasized productive efficiency, organized conformity, and materialism, and a bohemian ethic that emphasized creative expression, individualism, and a willingness to eschew economic practicality. The creative ethos simultaneously supports economic practicality, organized collaboration, and creative individualism in work and leisure.

Through his writing and consulting activities, Florida offered an urban economic development agenda that has become highly popular within policymaking circles. Florida has referred to this agenda as representing a *3-T's approach* (*Talent, Technology, and Tolerance*). The 3T's approach offers a strategy for cities to compete with other cities in the contemporary creative age. Specifically, it focuses on enhancing their ability to attract and retain top talent (primarily by fostering a creatively stimulating people climate), maintain avenues for transferring technological research, ideas, and innovation into marketable and sustainable products

(e.g., university based research hubs), and maintain a tolerant people climate that is open to new ideas and makes innovators and creative eccentrics feel welcome by expressing a high level of tolerance toward a diverse range of people (e.g., gays and bohemians, immigrants).

In the original edition of his best-selling work, furthermore, Florida (2002) claimed that the rise of the creative class has been associated with the disappearance of bohemia. Artists, he claimed, rejected bohemian alienation and opposition, and universally embraced a creative ethos constituted by a Big Morph of bohemian and bourgeois values. In the revised (2012) edition of this work, however, Florida dropped this claim, and briefly cited research that demonstrates that at least *some* artists are part of distinctly bohemian scenes.

Florida also maintained that artists generally function to enhance their cities ability to develop and maintain culturally stimulating and culturally tolerant people climates. In his consulting activities, moreover, he has often advised cities to facilitate and support artistic production. Florida (2002, 2012) appreciated, however, that the relationship between artists and other members of the creative class has often been problematic. He noted that struggling urban artists have often been displaced via gentrification by relatively affluent members of the creative class, and did not attempt to dispute Zukin's (1982) classic and now widely known claim that due to gentrification and other structural pressures (e.g., structures of art consumption that make it difficult for most artists to sell their art), all but a handful of urban artists are ultimately displaced from their communities. I believe that Florida's (2002, 2012) overall work, however, is consistent with the proposition (developed and illustrated by the present project) that we should amend creative class theory by positing that the displacement of gentrifying artistic enclaves is not inevitable. If, as Florida suggests, artists have undergone a Big Morph constituted, in part, by bourgeois practices, than shouldn't we expect artists in at least some communities to utilize these practices (e.g., commercialization, property ownership) to enhance the sustainability of their communities? And if, as Florida maintains, artists are part of a larger creative class that increasingly benefits from (and is often attracted to) artistic life, then don't artists and other members of the creative class have a growing common interest in seeing that artistic life doesn't dissipate within their cities and communities? And given that, as Florida points out, artists and other members of the creative class have increasingly engaged in collaborative relationships, then shouldn't we expect that at least some of these relationships have been constituted by endeavors to avoid the demise of existing artistic communities?

Florida, I wish to note, developed his creative class perspective while living in Pittsburgh, a city that he viewed as his "base case." Florida did not mention Lawrenceville Pittsburgh in the original (2002) edition of his best-selling book, but in the revised (2012) edition, he noted that it contains a growing creative class community. Citing his friend, Don Carter (Director of Carnegie Mellon's Remaking Cities Institute), Florida briefly described Lawrenceville as a promising neighborhood that has attracted artists and other creative residents, and that has produced many neighborhood celebrations, art festivals and art tours.

   The present study constitutes an attempt to explore an artistic enclave in the context of Florida's "base case," via the use of relatively in-depth community-level data, and via a relatively thorough analysis of the literature on bohemia, and on urban artistic enclaves more generally. The fact that the present case study is grounded in Florida's theoretical home turf (Pittsburgh), however, is purely accidental. When I selected South Side and, later, Lawrenceville Pittsburgh as my research site, I had not yet read Florida's work. It is no accident, however, that I ultimately decided to ground my analysis in Florida's work; Florida's own commentary on artistic life was very consistent with what I discovered while collecting my data within the City of Pittsburgh. It is also (perhaps) no accident that Florida's view of urban artists, and his larger creative class perspective, which posits a relatively unified creative class was conceptualized in Pittsburgh rather than in a city that has a history of tension between artists, yuppies, and the urban establishment (e.g., New York or Chicago).

   At first, I was reluctant to draw on Florida's work. Florida said relatively little about artists or their communities, and what he did say on this subject was tied to a creative class theory of urban economic development (and an economic development agenda) that has been highly controversial within the interdisciplinary field of Urban Affairs, and largely unpopular among urban sociologists. Like most of my Sociology colleagues, I believe that Florida's approach fails to adequately address the conflictual aspects of social relations between the creative class and the other classes noted by Florida (i.e., the service class and the traditional working class). Florida briefly admitted that the creative class has often heightened class inequality (e.g., via gentrification, and the establishment of low wage jobs that service the creative class), but his work lacked an adequate analysis of class conflict and struggle.[3] I came to the conclusion, however, that his brief commentary on urban artists was consistent with, and could help me to make sense out of my current findings. One does not have to fully embrace creative class theory or tout a creative class agenda to admit that an artistic enclave under investigation has been centered on the activities of struggling artists who have embraced, and benefited from their incorporation into a larger creative class. If at least *some* struggling artists have created enclaves that reflect their incorporation into a larger creative class, than sociologists should admit that this is the case, and use this fact to inform existing theoretical and empirical debates.

   In the present project, I draw on, clarify, and amend Florida's Big Morph perspective, and brief commentary on contemporary artistic life, maintaining that Lawrenceville's artistic enclave constitutes a successful (i.e., sustainable) example of a distinct subtype of artistic enclave that I define here as ***an artistic creative class enclave***, *a neighborhood based artistic enclave that is animated by a creative ethos that transcends the bourgeois-bohemian divide, and that endeavors to achieve long-term sustainability by welcoming, marketing to, and engaging in organized*

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[3]Florida, though, is currently working on a book on the geography of class inequality. Perhaps this book will adequately address the concerns addressed here.

collaboration with members of a larger creative class. Lawrenceville's artists have morphed bourgeois economic practicality with bohemian creative expressiveness, and have successfully secured a long-term presence in their neighborhood by collaborating with their city's larger creative class to market their art and consumer offerings, open commercial venues that display art as well as other consumer products, enhance their ability to purchase residential and commercial space, secure community owned artist housing, and preserve their artistic community.

The present project constitutes an analysis of artistic communities rather than an analysis of the lives and careers of individual artists. The concept of the artistic creative class enclave that is presented here, however, is very consistent with the literature on individual artists. This literature has often pointed out that artists generally demonstrate a willingness to associate with commercial organizations and/or engage in entrepreneurial activities. The vast majority of arts school graduates fail to become successful independent artists (Menger 1999). They generally mobilize the skills and human capital that they acquired via art training in diverse realms (e.g., corporate art, or creative non-artistic jobs in corporations or small businesses) (Lindeman 2013). Those who do become successful as independent artists, moreover, tend to be highly practical, and develop excellent entrepreneurial skills (Daum 2005). Poorsoltan (2012), furthermore, pointed out that artists and entrepreneurs tend to have similar cognitive characteristics (i.e., a tolerance of ambiguity, a willingness to take risks, and an internal locus of control).

I coined the phrase *artistic creative class enclave* for purposes that are descriptive and analytic rather than normative. I did not, that is, develop this term because I believe that artistic communities *should* maintain an ethos constituted by a morph of bourgeois and bohemian values, or *should* maintain social relations with a larger creative class that are non-oppositional and collaborative. I merely maintain that like it or not, Lawrenceville's artistic community is animated by this type of ethos, and has maintained such relationships. I also suggest that the artistic creative class enclave could (and perhaps already has) become increasingly common in the contemporary era, as urban establishments influenced by Richard Florida's agenda increasingly join forces with struggling artists facing the specter of displacement.[4]

The present project uses the term *artistic creative class enclave* for analytic purposes; this term is not in use among Lawrenceville artists or among other Lawrenceville residents. This term may be viewed as an "ideal type" theoretical term in the Weberian sense (i.e., as a pure conceptual type) (Weber 1978 [1922]). Such types are only *approximated* in the real world, and enable researchers to assess and compare individuals, communities, and other social entities in terms of meaningful categories. Lawrenceville's artistic enclave constitutes a relatively (but not completely) pure (and successful) example of an artistic creative class enclave. Not every Lawrenceville artist, that is, is a pure and thorough member of the

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[4]I note in Chap. 4, however, that Lawrenceville's artistic enclave emerged before Florida developed his creative class thesis, and was not a product of his efforts.

creative class. Some, for example, have not been directly involved in collaborative endeavors with members of a larger creative class. A few are relatively bohemian.

I view the artistic creative class enclave as a distinct, yet flexible analytic category. Artistic enclaves that constitute a creative class community may differ, for example, regarding their ability to achieve long-term sustainability, their ability to secure affordable housing, the extent to which their creative ethos is constituted by a roughly equal mix of bourgeois and bohemian values, the type(s) of artistic and cultural venues they offer (e.g., galleries, shops, music venues, bars, cafes), the type (s) of artsy offerings these venues provide (e.g., visual art, music, home goods made by artists), the extent to which these venues cater to hipsters and other denizens of hip consumption, the ability of their artistic entrepreneurs to survive or thrive economically, the financial nature of their productive space (e.g., whether such space tends to be owned by the artistic entrepreneurs themselves), and the degree to which they have collaborated with a larger creative class, and have obtained support from mainstream institutions (i.e., governmental, non-profit, and corporate). They may also differ as to the extent to which they are centered on the activities of artists who are struggling, as opposed to well established. Since only a small minority of artists becomes well established (White 2015), however, artistic creative class enclaves centered on such artists should prove to be relatively rare.

Further research is needed in order to investigate and conceptualize a diverse range of artistic creative class enclaves. This research could utilize the ideal type conceptualization offered here as a heuristic, assessing the extent to which existing artistic enclaves exemplify this ideal type. This research could also serve as a basis for refining and elaborating on the initial heuristic presented here. Further research and analysis is also needed to determine the extent to which existing artistic creative class enclaves are able to (or have the potential to) sustain themselves economically within various types of cities. Is it possible for such enclaves, for example, to achieve long-term sustainability within high priced US cities (e.g., New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco), major US cities that are relatively low in cost (e.g., Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit), and cities throughout the globe constituted by a variety of different social and economic contexts.

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Chapter 2
Florida's Creative Class Thesis

Abstract In this chapter, I explain Richard Florida's definition of the creative class, and discuss his controversial creative class thesis. I also discuss critical reactions to his work, offer my own critique of his work, and note that my use of his creative class perspective to inform the present project is highly selective.

2.1 Defining the Creative Class

Florida defined as members of the creative class, those who are employed in occupations that are, to a significant extent, associated with "the creation of meaningful new forms." Florida rejected the option of defining the creative class in terms of human capital (i.e., college graduation), pointing out that not all college graduates work in creative occupations, and many who are employed in creative occupations never attended college or dropped out prior to graduation. Members of the creative class, though, do tend to be college graduates.

Most members of the creative class are not "super-creative." Florida sub-divided the creative class into a *super-creative core* that includes those whose work constitutes "directly creative activity," *creative professionals*, and *others* whose work is constituted by a significant creative component. Members of the super-creative core include those classified by the BLS (Bureau of Labor Statistics, in their Occupational Employment Survey) as working in "Computer and mathematical occupations," Architecture and engineering occupations," "Life, physical, and social science occupations," "Education, training, and library occupations, and "Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations"). Artists are classified under the BLS category "Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations," and Florida therefore classifies them as part of the creative class's super creative core. Creative professionals are defined as those classified by the BLS as working in "Management occupations," "Business and financial operations

occupations," "Legal occupations," "Health care practitioners and technical occupations," and "High-end sales and sales management") (2012, p. 401). Florida, furthermore, maintains that there are *others* whose work, at least to some extent, involves the creation of "meaningful new forms" (e.g. shopkeepers, chefs, creatively oriented factory workers[1]), and should thus be thought of as part of the creative class (see Florida 2002, p. 10).[2] Florida has estimated that the creative class comprises roughly 33% of the US workforce, while the traditional working class (e.g., most factory and construction workers) comprises roughly 20% and the service class (e.g., retail store clerks, house cleaners, security guards) comprises roughly 47% (Florida 2012, see pp. 44–48).

2.2   Florida's Creative Class Thesis

Florida (2002, 2012) maintained that cities that fail to attract, maintain, and facilitate the activities of the creative class are much less likely to achieve high levels of prosperity and economic growth, and generate a high tax base. Members of the creative class, especially those whose work is "super creative" (e.g., software designers) tend to prefer, and generally thrive within cities constituted by an advanced technological infrastructure (e.g., major universities and research institutes), and a people climate that is conducive to creativity. Cities with creative people climates are culturally tolerant and diverse, thus making creative people in general, and creative innovators and eccentrics in particular in general feel welcome (e.g., eccentrics like Steve Jobs). Such cities, furthermore, are comprised of cultural amenities that stimulate creative expression, creative conversation and opportunities for social networking (e.g. galleries, artsy shops, cafes, hip bars, trendy nightclubs and restaurants). They also tend to contain neighborhoods with (physical) structural characteristics that stimulate creativity and creative non-conformity. Drawing on Jacobs's (1961) classic work, the Death and Life of Great American Cities, Florida argued that such neighborhoods are walkable, constituted by a substantial amount of mixed-use space (residential/commercial), and offer ample opportunities for creatively stimulating social interaction.[3]

Florida illustrated, and offered anecdotal support for his creative class thesis by pointing to cities such as Austin, San Francisco, and Seattle. These cities achieved high economic growth rates that were arguably due, in large part, to the fact that

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[1]Florida (2012) noted, however, that very few factory jobs afford much opportunity for the expression of human creativity.

[2]These "creative class others," however, are not included in Florida's statistical studies of the creative class.

[3]Jacobs did not analyze the bohemian life of the Village, although her analysis implies that the Village was an ideal setting for bohemia. Jacobs, though, analyzed the Village before it became subject to a hyper-gentrification process that ultimately limited its ability to house bohemians and other low income residents (see Zukin 2010).

their creative amenities and reputation for cultural tolerance attracted talented innovators and eccentrics (e.g., software designers and high tech entrepreneurs). Florida also supported his thesis via correlational research. This research found relationships between urban economic growth and the presence of the creative class. It also found relationships between the presence of the creative class, and the presence of gays as well as "bohemians" (operationally defined as those employed in an artistic occupation). These relationships held up even after Florida controlled for a variety of relevant variables. He explained these relatively counterintuitive relationships by positing that a strong gay or "bohemian" presence can help a city to attract the creative class by signifying that it offers a culturally tolerant people climate that makes creative types feel welcome. He further argued that "bohemians" often play a particularly important role with respect to enhancing a city's creative appeal, creating cultural amenities (e.g., edgy art galleries and hip music venues) that attract and stimulate the larger creative class.[4]

2.3 Critical Reactions to Florida's Work

Florida's creative class approach to urban economic development has generally been well received by urban politicians in the U.S., Canada, and Western Europe, and has become an integral part of urban policymaking in nations throughout the western world. In most cases, this approach informed and amplified existing efforts of cities to offer culturally stimulating milieus for creative production and consumption. By the 1970s, numerous cities had already adopted "creativity agendas" designed to attract those who Florida later called the creative class (Evans 2005; Peck 2005; Bontje and Musterd 2009; Grodach 2011). These agendas mushroomed since the 1980s, as a growing number of cities throughout the world endeavored to cope with post-Fordist restructuring and deindustrialization. In many cases, however, cities initiated new creativity agendas in response to Florida's ideas.

Efforts by cities to enhance their creative milieus have generally focused on large-scale, top down projects such as new museums and cultural centers, but have also included support for small-scale projects that encourage art and culture to blossom within walkable, mixed use neighborhoods (see Borrup 2014). Through his writings and consulting activities, Florida encouraged cities to offer new (or additional) support for these small scale, neighborhood based efforts. He has also encouraged cities to enhance their creative people climates by offering an atmosphere of tolerance (e.g., by supporting gay rights and welcoming immigrants), and by finding new ways to promote themselves as creative cities.

Academic researchers have often been highly critical of Florida's work. Florida, however, has produced a growing cadre of academic followers and critical

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[4]Florida, though, notes that attracting a substantial bohemian population may not be a realistic goal for most small and mid sized cities.

supporters, and his work has been the subject of vigorous and often highly contentious academic debates. Florida himself has welcomed these debates, and maintained that they have been illuminating and fruitful (Florida 2011).

Academic critics of Florida have pointed out that regional human capital (i.e., measures of college degrees) account for measures of economic growth better than regional creative capital (i.e., measures of membership in the creative class) (Glaser 2005; Rauch and Negry 2006; Hoyman and Faricy 2009). Other scholars (including Florida himself), however, have found that creative class measures do a better job in accounting for economic growth (e.g., Marlet and Van Woerkens 2004; Mellander and Florida 2009). Florida et al. (2008) responded to these divergent findings by arguing that the question of whether human capital or creative class models better account for regional growth is contingent on how economic growth is defined; Florida and his associates found that measures of human capital are more strongly associated with wage growth, while measures of the creative class are more strongly associated with income growth.[5]

Asheim and Hansen (2009) argued that Florida's notion of a single creative class needs to be amended. Their own (2009) research utilizes a typology grounded in the proposition that different creative occupations and industries emphasize different bases of knowledge (i.e., synthetic, analytical, and symbolic). Synthetic knowledge is generally emphasized in traditional industries (e.g., automotive, oil and natural gas) and typically formed in response to the need to solve specific problems through interactions with customers and suppliers. It utilizes a creative process in which innovation takes place mainly through the application or novel combination of existing knowledge. Analytical knowledge is dominant within industries that utilize analytical models to produce formal scientific discoveries or radically new inventions or products (e.g., biotechnology, software engineering, nanotechnology), while symbolic knowledge involves the "the creation of meaning and desire," "intellectual and/or spiritual nourishment," and "the aesthetic attributes of products." Symbolic knowledge is dominant in occupations and industries that produce designs, images, symbols, and cultural products (e.g., filmmaking, publishing, music, advertising, website design, packaging design, and fashion). Florida argued that cities that have a tolerant, diverse and stimulating people climate will attract the creative class overall, but was referring mainly to those in the super creative core who work in newly emerging creative industries drawing mainly on analytical and symbolic knowledge (Asheim and Hansen 2009). Those who work in analytical production, and especially, symbolic production tend to prefer central city locations, make locational decisions that are affected by the people climate factors highlighted by Florida, and tend to benefit greatly from the cross fertilization of knowledge (e.g., fashion, art, media, technology, design) that occurs in a diverse, cultural tolerant multicultural milieu where creative producers get direct exposure to emerging signs, symbols, and images. Those whose work involves more traditional

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[5]Income is not solely derived from wages; it is also derived from capital gains, business ownership, and intellectual property.

industries where work usually emphasizes synthetic knowledge (e.g., most engineers) don't normally benefit from exposure to a culturally stimulating urban milieu, and are often relatively conservative. They tend to prefer a relatively peaceful environment, and more likely to live in a suburban region, but their locational decisions are based mainly on "hard locational factors" such as rent levels, tax levels, and traffic and technical infrastructure (Asheim and Hansen 2009).

Markuseen (2006) advocated studying each occupational group in Florida's creative class separately, asserting that grouping diverse occupational groups (e.g., artists and engineers) into a singular creative class is empirically inaccurate and counterproductive, since it leads us to assume that each group can be lured to regions, cities, or communities via the same set of policies. Asheim and Hansen's (2009) subdivision of Florida's creative class addresses Markussen's concern, but only partially. Further research is needed to determine the extent to which the effects of various types of people climates tend to be substantially different for different occupations within each of Asheim and Hanson's three subdivisions of the creative class.

Morgan and Ren (2012) argued that not all contemporary creative urbanites have morphed into what Florida referred to as a larger creative class, citing examples of European cultural enclaves constituted by a substantial cultural divide between low-income cultural producers and relatively affluent creative urban establishments. Morgan and Ren argued that these low-income cultural producers constitute a *creative underclass* comprised of struggling bohemian artists and other cultural rebels. Those within the creative underclass live very cheaply and, in many cases, survive by existing as urban squatters. They often express opposition to the larger society by expressing revolutionary sentiments, refusing to commodify their art, and associating with anarchist, punk, and other anti-establishment movements. In some cases, though, relations between the creative underclass and the larger creative class have been constituted by a limited degree of collaboration. Many artistic squatters in Paris, for example, have capitalized on their economic value to urban establishments. These squatters have successfully sought formal recognition and permanent residential status, and are thus no longer squatters (Vivant 2010).

Brockbank (2006) studied two cities in England, Quesburn Valley's Newcastle City and Gatehead. These cities underwent deindustrialization since the 1970s, and attracted struggling (bohemian) artists seeking low cost space. These artists were generally disdainful of capitalism, and of the capitalist commodification of art. More recently, Florida's Creative Cities Vision was used explicitly by these cities to recast their images as "world class" creative communities. As a result, they attracted new media and other creative firms (e.g., Public Relations, Web Design, Advertising, Film production, etc.). Brockbank did not find evidence of a substantial level of collaboration between struggling artists and new creative class arrivals. Artists, furthermore, were worried about being priced out of their rented apartments and studios, and saw the area as favoring the interests of investment capital over independent, low-income artistic producers. Brockbank concluded that

Florida style cultural regeneration will inexorable contribute to artist displacement and a cultural "buzz to bland" cycle (Minton 2003) within the area. He concluded by noting that he sees as implausible, Florida's notion that struggling artists can make common cause with the creative class.

Critics of Florida's approach have also highlighted its relationship to its contemporary deindustrialized, neo-liberal, and globalized urban context. The current urban context, that is, has been constituted by a decline in good paying factory jobs and (especially in the US) national social initiatives (e.g., public housing), and increased global competition between cities (i.e., for employees and jobs). A variety of scholars have noted that Florida's creative class approach has received considerable support from urban policymakers because it is consistent with the ways in which these policymakers have reacted to this context. Urban policymakers, that is, have generally failed to seriously address issues pertaining to economic inequality, and strived to replace residents whose incomes generate relatively a low tax base and declining federal incentives (i.e., the working class and service class) with those who are relatively affluent (i.e., those Florida refers to as the creative class) (Peck 2005). These urban policymakers appear to value creativity as a public good, but actually value it primarily for its ability to attract affluent workers/jobs. Their Florida inspired "creativity agenda" has enabled them to spin their neo-liberal, pro-gentrification policies as efforts to promote creativity (Peck 2005; see also Krätke 2012). A de-emphasis on low cost housing and support for gentrification is controversial, but who is against the promotion of creativity?

Peck also pointed out that Florida, through his consulting activities, has often advised cities to attract the creative class by becoming more culturally tolerant, walkable, and bohemian. When successful, these efforts tend to facilitate working class displacement. In most cases, however, these efforts, according to Peck, constitute urban hucksterism, as cities have no realistic hope of attracting the creative class are led to believe that they could become creative class meccas. Florida, though, has pointed out that he does not advise *all* cities to attract the creative class. In some cases, for example, he advises cities to attract other types of residents (e.g., immigrants). Further research is needed to document Florida's consulting activities, and to ascertain the overall effects of these activities on the decisions of urban policymakers in various types of cities.

Urban inequality was not Florida's main focus,[6] but his work was motivated by the hope that policies designed to help a broad range of cities to attract the creative class would make the geography of the creative class less "spiky" (i.e., less concentrated in a few major urban centers). By redistributing the creative class, he hoped to redistribute those who create high wage jobs, thus promoting greater geographical/economic equality. Florida, though, admitted that an increase in the presence of the creative class in a city or region tends to promote economic growth while simultaneously *increasing* inequality within that city or region; it tends to

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[6]Florida, however, is currently writing a book focused on issues pertaining to class inequality.

produce high wage high skill creative jobs along with a greater number of low paid working class and service sector jobs designed to support the occupational and personal needs of the newly arrived creative class (e.g., for clerical support, food preparation). It also tends to raise rents, thus making it difficult for low-wage workers to find affordable housing. Florida (2002) responded to this problem, albeit briefly, by proclaiming that the creative class should endeavor to reverse this tendency by creating high paying creative jobs for the entire workforce. This solution was grounded in the free market and in an arguably naïve call for enlightened corporate action.

In the revised version of his book on the creative class, Florida (2012) devoted more attention to issues pertaining to income inequality, and clarified and augmented his position. He called for a new social compact, a creative compact designed to enhance the social safety net, build an education system that encourages creativity, and enhance the creativity and pay of those employed in low wage service sector jobs (e.g., by offering government incentives to employers who enhance service sector jobs).[7] This social compact thus supplements his original reliance on corporate enlightenment with a reliance on the liberal enlightenment of government policymakers. It does not, that is, call for organized social action against corporate and government elites.

2.4   My Critique of Florida's Work

According to Florida, the creative class comprises roughly 30% of the US workforce. Assuming this figure is correct, this means that roughly 70% of the US workforce is employed in a job that is relatively *un*creative. The creative, high tech economy celebrated by Florida might thus be more aptly described as an *uncreative economy*, or more accurately, as a *class divided economy*. New computer mediated technologies have helped to produce a larger creative class, but have not eliminated (and have often helped to produce) relatively uncreative labor and increases in economic inequality (see Kristal 2013). The socio-economic structure of our society has been constituted by greater occupational *in*equality in terms of income, wealth, and creative expression; it is not moving us toward a full-fledged creative age constituted by full-fledged creative cities.

Florida's work, furthermore, has often functioned to exacerbate urban inequality, and justify the neo-liberal, pro-gentrification policies that have enabled such inequality to grow. Florida has become increasingly aware of this, but his analysis is still, in my view, fundamentally incomplete. It ignores, that is, the power structure that underlies the realities of life within the contemporary high tech

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[7]On www.citlab.org, furthermore, Florida has recently praised the social democratic redistrubution policies of scandinavian nations.

"creative economy." Florida calls on corporate leaders, politicians, and other members of the creative class to enhance the pay and creativity of those employed in the service sector, provide incentives for service sector job enrichment, and establish creative education for all. He also calls on politicians to enhance the social safety net. His approach here is noble, and if implemented, could yield significant benefits to those employed in relatively uncreative jobs. Actual implementation of this approach, however, would almost certainly be diminished by the power of corporate lobbyists, and function, in part, to put an egalitarian gloss on contemporary conflicts between the upper echelon of the creative class ("the 1%") and the working class. Contemporary capitalist enterprises, like their industrial age predecessors, generally maximize profits by creating, whenever feasible, a relatively high number of low-skill/low-wage working class wage jobs (Gough 2003). Such jobs limit worker control over the labor process (thus minimizing worker creativity), and produce workers who can be paid less because they are easily replaceable. The affluent creative class managers who run capitalist enterprises thus have no economic incentive to foster widespread increases in worker control, creativity, and pay.[8] And they have no economic need to support a widespread creative upgrading of working class education. Such education would prepare future workers for new creative jobs that the creative class elite has no incentive to create. Structural relations between workers and their creative class mangers will, in my view, remain constituted far more by class conflict than by social unity grounded in common creative values. In my view, a successful endeavor to achieve widespread increases in worker control, creativity, and pay would need to incorporate a conflict perspective, and be grounded in organized struggle (e.g., labor union organizing, new protest movements).[9]

   Although I view Florida's overall creative class approach to urban economic development as fundamentally incomplete, and sometimes detrimental to social equality, I maintain that his central construct, a broadly defined creative class, and his ideas pertaining to the incorporation of urban artists into this class (which I will discuss in detail in Chap. 5) captures and illustrates features of contemporary urban life that are highly relevant to the analysis of at least *some* artistic communities in contemporary society. In my case study of Lawrenceville's artistic community, I thus feel free to selectively utilize these portions of Florida's work.

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[8]Many corporations, though, have established job enrichment programs designed to increase worker satisfaction and creativity, and from the establishment of profit sharing and employee ownership plans. Such efforts, though, have never been dominant within industrial or post-industrial capitalist economies.

[9]On www.citlab.org, though, Florida has recently suggested, albeit briefly, that workers could reduce inequality through the formation of labor unions.

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Chapter 3
The Larger Urban Context

Abstract In this chapter, I briefly discuss the larger urban context of Lawrenceville's artistic enclave (i.e., the City of Pittsburgh). I draw on secondary sources, and also utilize my field data and Art All Night Artist Survey data. I begin by presenting a brief overview of Pittsburgh's transition from industrial to postindustrial city, and point out that it has not experienced widespread gentrification and astronomical increases in housing costs. I then discuss and evaluate Florida's comments on its creative class, and proceed to assess some of the advantages and disadvantages of being a Pittsburgh artist.

Keywords Pittsburgh · Creative class · Artist · Artist survey · Richard Florida

3.1 Pittsburgh: From Industrial to Postindustrial

Pittsburgh, like northeastern industrial cities more generally, lost much of its manufacturing employment due to mechanization, and to the flight of industry to the suburbs, the sunbelt, and the semi-peripheral and peripheral nations of the global south (Haller 2005). The deindustrialization of Pittsburgh was buffered, though, by the fact that it was never a purely industrial city. Prior to its deindustrialization, it had contained a substantial number of service sector enterprises (i.e., corporate and banking headquarters, universities and hospitals). Still, the city subsequently experienced sharp declines in its employment base, along with a substantial exodus of its population. Historian Roy Lubove described the industrial decline of Pittsburgh (and other east coast American cities) as "a wrenching industrial revolution in reverse" (Lubove 1996, p. 13).

Pittsburgh's industrial decline generated a corporate and governmental growth coalition that attempted to enable the city to adapt to the perceived needs of "new economy jobs." Mayor Richard Caliguiri led a major urban redevelopment project called Renaissance 2, which constituted an effort to (largely) abandon the city's industrial past. Renaissance 1 had included support for Steel Mill expansion, but emphasized making Pittsburgh more livable and productive by improving

environmental conditions via pollution, smoke, and flood controls, and by adding office space to downtown. Renaissance 2 expanded the city's growth agenda to further meet the needs of its (now) largely white-collar workforce. It helped promote university expansions, and the rebuilding of the city's downtown to facilitate its ability to focus on finance and other services rather than on the management of industrial production (Neumann 2012). It also emphasized the use of state funds to support university-based research, and encourage entrepreneurship in software and biotechnology. Growth in these sectors helped enable Pittsburgh's unemployment rate to decline.

As recently as 2000, Pittsburgh had a higher unemployment rate than the deindustrialized cities of Detroit and Cleveland. By 2008, Pittsburgh's unemployment rate was only 5.5%; the rate of unemployment rate rose to a relatively modest 7.9% after the economic crash of 2008 (Streitfeld 2009). Much of the city's success in reducing unemployment, though, was a product of its decline in population. From 1950 to 2000, Pittsburgh's overall population went from 676,808 to 325,337. By 2009, the city's population had dropped to 311,647 (Gottdiener and Hutchison 2006). Those who fled the city in search of better employment prospects were disproportionately prime age workers seeking employment elsewhere. As a result, Pittsburgh became second only to the state of Florida in terms of % of population over 64 (15.6%) (The Economist 2006).

Those who have relatively good job prospects within Pittsburgh (e.g., young high tech graduates), moreover, have often left Pittsburgh in favor cities they see as hipper, more tolerant, and more creatively stimulating (Florida 2002). Due to the disproportionate loss of young professionals, and to a substantial supply of vacant housing, gentrification has not proven to be a major political issue within Pittsburgh (Ferman 1996). Only a few neighborhoods, most notably Shadyside (in the 1990s) and South Side (in the 2000s) experienced significant levels of gentrification, along with substantial although not astronomical increases in housing costs. The city, moreover, was not subject to a substantial housing bubble/bust. It experienced annual price growth rates of roughly 4 to 6%, well below the rates of 25% or higher reported in those markets that were hit hard by the housing bust. Still, prices in Pittsburgh tumbled in late 2008 and early 2009, decreasing by nearly 7.3% over the 4 quarters ending in December of 2009. After 2009, prices stabilized and then slowly started to edge upward.

3.2   Pittsburgh's Creative Class

Florida (2002, 2012) described Pittsburgh is a place where "rule driven mass production" took route, and asserted that the city contained a corporate establishment that has been far more bourgeois than bohemian, a large and very traditional working class, and a relatively small creative class that had been "highly fragmented into separate 'high tech,' 'professional,' 'artistic,' and 'cultural' groups" (Florida 2002, p. 313). As a result, the city has been slow to utilize its industrial age

assets[1] to create a creatively stimulating people climate. Members of the Pittsburgh arts establishment quoted by Strickland (2004) shared Florida's concern. Tom Sokolowski, for example, director of the Pittsburgh's Andy Warhol Museum has been critical of the city's cultural conservatism: "Pittsburgh's not strong on people who want to do things [in an] alternative [way]." Barbara Luderowski, head of the Mattress Factory, a cutting-edge installation-art venue, likewise stated "We've been whacking our way through the forest of Pittsburgh conservatism." Luderowski, however, also asserted that the city establishment has recently become more receptive to new artistic projects, and noted that the success of the Mattress Factory has encouraged Pittsburgh's foundations to support a greater number of cutting edge projects to aid the city's overall attempt to repair its image as a declining steel town, and promote itself as a site of hip culture (Strickland 2004).

Florida offered an optimistic assessment of the city's future as a creative city, predicting that its creative class would ultimately succeed in its endeavor to turn their city into a stimulating site of creative culture (Florida 2002, p. 314). He pointed out that Pittsburgh's creative class has become increasingly united and increasingly influential, and that the city's corporate and governmental establishment has become more receptive to change. He noted that the city has already established a new contemporary museum (e.g., The Mattress Factory), and legalized an artist collective started by artists who were squatters (South Side's Brew House).[2] He also noted that main street corridors within *some* of Pittsburgh's declining communities now contain numerous galleries, theatres, and cafes, and have generated vibrant local cultures that foster interaction and collaboration between artists and other members of the creative class (e.g., South Side's East Carson Street) (Florida 2002, pp. 312–313). Comments made by Art All Night artists generally concurred with Florida's observation that Pittsburgh has generated vibrant local artistic cultures. An artist, for example, stated, "Art All Night reflects the vibrancy of Pittsburgh's grass roots cultural scene." Art All Night (2009) artist survey data (Table 3.1), moreover, is consistent with Florida's prediction that Pittsburgh would ultimately emerge as a creatively stimulating city. Table 3.1 indicates that most (72%) of the 197 Pittsburgh artists who filled out the 2009 questionnaire agreed or strongly agreed that, "Pittsburgh is a city that provides artists with a creatively stimulating environment." 26.5% of the respondents answered "neutral".

Data collected on cultural tolerance within Pittsburgh yielded results that are somewhat less positive. Table 3.2 indicates that most (65.5%) of the 197 Pittsburgh residents who filled out the online questionnaire agreed or strongly agreed that, "In general, Pittsburgh is a culturally tolerant city." A relatively substantial portion

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[1]Pittsburgh's industrial age produced philanthropic organizations started by the Carnegies, the Fricks, the Heinz's, and the Mellons, and left a legacy of major museums (The Carnegie Museum of Art, The Frick Art and Historical Center), three major universities (Carnegie Mellon, The University of Pittsburgh and Duquesne University), a top 25 arts college (at Carnegie Mellon), and architecturally interesting industrial age structures (Strickland 2004).

[2]In 1994, another new museum, The Andy Warhol Museum, opened its doors in Pittsburgh.

Table 3.1 Pittsburgh is a city that provides artists with a creatively stimulating environment

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Strongly disagree	3	1.5	1.5
Disagree	16	8	9.5
Neutral	33	17	26.5
Agree	102	52	78.5
Strongly agree	40	20	98.5
Not sure	3	1.5	100
Total	197	100.0	

Answered only by Art All Night 2009 artists who are Pittsburgh residents

Table 3.2 In general, Pittsburgh is a culturally tolerant city

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
Strongly disagree	5	2.5	2.5
Disagree	21	10.7	13.2
Neutral	38	19.3	32.5
Agree	109	55.3	87.8
Strongly agree	20	10.2	98
Not sure	4	2.0	100.0
Total	197	100.0	

Answered only by Art All Night 2009 artists who are Pittsburgh residents

(35.2%), however, responded to this statement by answering "neutral." The relatively large number of neutrals here may reflect the fact that Pittsburgh is very tolerant of diverse ethnic groups, but has not successfully closed the black/white racial divide. An Art All Night artist, for example, stated, "Pittsburgh is culturally tolerant for many ethnic groups which is very fun, but it still has a long way to go in bridging African American and white. Artist events often are very white." My own observations of Lawrenceville's art scene concur with this statement. I did not focus my case study on racial issues, but I immediately noticed that very few artists and patrons of this scene were black.

The urban racial divide that exists within Pittsburgh, and more specifically within Lawrenceville is not unusual. Shaw and Sullivan (2011) found that the city's black residents generally felt unwelcomed by and declined to participate in a monthly art walks program sponsored by Portland's gentrifying Alberta Arts District. In his revised edition of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida (2012) notes that the general tendency of the creative class to prefer and even celebrate diversity has not extended to the white-black divide. The creative class, that is, has not exhibited a preference for cities and communities with relatively high rates of black-white integration.

3.3   **The Pittsburgh Artist**

Public funding for the arts has diminished greatly since the 1980s (Vance 1989; Toepler and Zimmer 1999). Private funding for the arts, moreover, tends to reward artists who are already established (Toepler and Zimmer 1999). Unestablished artists generally face voluntary poverty and/or the prospect of engaging in part-time or full-time secondary employment that would leave them with sufficient time and energy to pursue their aesthetically oriented activities (Lloyd 2006; Simpson 1981). To become established, an artist almost invariably needs to be represented by a major art gallery. In the USA, these galleries are highly concentrated within two global "art capitals" (i.e., New York, and, to a lesser extent, LA) (Thornton 2008).

Since Pittsburgh is in reasonably close proximity to New York (roughly a 7 and a half hour drive), its artists can visit New York periodically to stay in touch with New York's artistic innovations, and try to break into the New York art market. Pittsburgh artists who strive to become (or are) relatively well established within New York, moreover, can travel to New York to promote their artistic work and/or attend their artistic openings (Margolis 2005). Still, making periodic commutes to New York is not occupationally equivalent to living in New York. Artists who live in New York (or Los Angeles) can keep a closer and more thorough watch on artistic innovation, and more easily network with gallery directors and others who might help them to establish a financially lucrative art career (Currid 2007). The New York art market, however, is extremely competitive. Simpson's (1981) highly detailed ethnographic study of New York artists demonstrated that in order to have the opportunity to become well established, artists must compete with other artists to gain acceptance from an artistic gatekeeper (i.e., a representative of a major gallery, or a well known art critic). Most New York artists, however, never get past the gatekeepers (Simpson 1981; Carrier 2003). Those who do face an art market that is notoriously fickle (Abbing 2002).

Few artists make a steady and substantial living simply from selling their art; most must supplement their incomes with part time or full time secondary employment and live very cheaply. Living cheaply in New York (or Los Angeles), however, has become increasingly difficult; housing costs in these cities have become exceedingly high (Halasz 2015; Currid 2007). Finding affordable housing in New York or Los Angeles is often a particularly challenging task for visual artists, since such artists generally require extra space in which to engage in artistic production (Zukin 1982).

Many Pittsburgh artists lived in New York, but left because of its high housing costs (Markusen and King 2003). John Morris, an Artist who has lived in both New York and Pittsburgh stated in a local Pittsburgh blog that "Low Pittsburgh rent allows for greater freedom…people aren't thinking about how am I gonna pay my rent" (Urbanbytes 2007, p. 6). An artist who participated in a focus group in

Pittsburgh, moreover, commented that the city's low cost of living is crucial to its artists, because "…you can make enough to get by on a part time, low stress job. It enables you to make your own work in your own time" (quoted in Casto et al. 2006, p. 189).[3]

In addition to providing relatively low housing costs, the city of Pittsburgh provides artists with easy access to local artistic gatekeepers (gallery owners and employees), and greater opportunities to display their work. An artist within a Pittsburgh focus group commented that that "… it seems to me most of the people in Pittsburgh are very accessible. You can talk to somebody at a gallery, not like New York where you have to have someone you know." Another artist, moreover, stated that Pittsburgh offers "good emerging artist opportunities to show work" (quoted in Casto et al. 2006, p. 203). Several Art All Night artists that I surveyed offered comments that are consistent with these findings. They asserted that the Pittsburgh art world is relatively welcoming, accessible, and friendly. Artists for example, stated:

Pittsburgh offers a welcoming environment for artists and others,

Unlike many other cities, Pittsburgh affords artists a network due to the opportunities to participate in many events.

Pittsburgh is the friendliest place I've ever lived.

Several Art All Night artists, however, asserted that Pittsburgh's neighborhood based art scenes are too isolated from each other and too cliquish. An artist, for example, stated, "the different art scenes (Unblurred in Garfield, Downtown Art Crawl, and Shadyside Art Crawls) need to converge, or at least become more aware of each other so we can have some solidarity. It's too cliquish." Other artists, however, did not appear to be bothered by the relatively high level of isolation between Pittsburgh neighborhoods. An Art All Night artist, for example, stated, "Each of the neighborhoods is like its own small town, so its like having the best of both worlds here: small town and big city in one."

The biggest complaint about Pittsburgh made by Art All Night artists is that in Pittsburgh it is very hard to sell art to the public. One artist, for example stated, "It's difficult to sell art. This city tries to be cultural, but most Pittsburghers are not very savvy about art. I'm not sure they really know how to appreciate it." Many Art All Night artists attributed Pittsburgher's general failure to buy substantial amounts of local art to the fact that Pittsburgh is a football-oriented city.

The professional football team so dominates the cultural landscape that it is difficult to get a large amount of people interested in spending a segment of their disposable income on anything other than sports-related junk.

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[3]Among 2009 Art All Night Survey respondents, the median rental cost was $565 per month, while the median home price (among artists who owned homes) was $94,000.

The view that Pittsburgh is a big sports town, and that most city residents are not avid art fans is consistent with my own informal interviews with artists and other Pittsburgh residents. At least part of the reason why most Pittsburghers are not into buying art, however, is its class composition. Compared to major art cities, Pittsburgh still has a relatively large working class. The working class tends to have less disposable income, and tends to spend less of this income on fine art and artsy consumer offerings (Florida 2002). The creative class (or middle class) is much more likely to be educated about art (due to much higher rates of college attendance), and identify with the free expression of the creative artist (Florida 2002; Zukin 1982). They are also, as Bourdieu (1984) pointed out, much more likely to acquire artistic cultural capital and a class habitus conducive to artistic consumption. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they are likely to purchase fine art produced by local artists.

Zukin (1982) noted that many New York artists established alternative art galleries and other alternative venues. She maintained that these venues had difficulty selling art to the middle and upper classes and enabled artists to reap financial rewards primarily by functioning as artistic showcases that directed the most marketable art works to the dominant artistic venues. Zukin (1982) was highly skeptical about the ability of such venues to succeed outside the major art capitals of New York and LA, arguing that cities outside the artistic core maintain insufficient connections to the dominant channels of artistic distribution, and will not produce sufficient local demand for local art. The experience of artists located in Lawrenceville, and throughout Pittsburgh demonstrates that such skepticism was warranted. Representatives of major art galleries and other influential artistic venues generally view Pittsburgh galleries as provincial, and generally eschew them in favor of established or emerging galleries in global art capitals (New York, Los Angeles) or in relatively well established artistic centers (e.g., Chicago). The city's art buying community, moreover, has not valorized its own art, and generally prefers to invest in art that has obtained the seal of approval that comes from being displayed in a nationally or internationally known art gallery (Casto et al. 2006).

Lawrenceville artists and gallery owners, like artists and gallery owners in Pittsburgh, and in relatively "provincial" cities more generally tend to generate very little income from selling art. On average, Art All Night artists earn less than 10% of their annual income from the sale of art. In chapter six, however, I demonstrate that it is possible for artists and artistic entrepreneurs (nearly all of whom are also artists) to survive, if not thrive within Pittsburgh. A Lawrenceville gallery owner, for example, stated that "Business is improving but I can't say I am thriving. I am more than willing to live on less than the average person so I can do what I want." Lawrenceville's artists and artistic entrepreneurs generally survive by marketing their artistic atmosphere and/or artsy consumer products to Pittsburgh's creative class (e.g., charging admission to art parties, and producing and/or selling artist-made clothing, furniture, and household goods). They also survive by "living on less" and by collaborating with a larger creative class to facilitate their ability to purchase low cost live/work space, or secure community owned artist housing.

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Chapter 4
Bohemia: Introduction and Classic Prototypes

Abstract This chapter offers a basic introduction to the bohemian tradition, and discusses historical research on classic nineteenth century Parisian bohemias and the bohemian avant-garde. It also summarizes research describing America's own classic bohemia, early twentieth century Greenwich Village.

Keywords Bohemia · Bohemian history · Bourgeois · Avant-Garde · Paris · Greenwich village

4.1 Introduction

The present project offers a case study and analysis of an artistic community in Pittsburgh that is, in my view, constituted by a Big Morph (Florida 2002) of classic bourgeois and classic bohemian values and practices. I define and conceptualize the artistic community under investigation, that is, as creative class rather than bohemian. Defining and conceptualizing an artistic enclave as creative class or as bohemian is not a simple matter. The bohemian tradition is diverse, and has not produced a universal, agreed upon definition of its conceptual parameters. No bohemian community has been purely bohemian; all bohemian communities (to a limited extent) have incorporated aspects of bourgeois culture. Distinguishing between a complex bohemian historical tradition and the bourgeois-bohemian creative class described by Florida thus constitutes a conceptual challenge. To confront this challenge carefully, thoroughly, and clearly, it is first necessary to understand the bohemian tradition, and the morphing of bohemia and bourgeois in a sophisticated and in-depth manner. The present chapter presents my understanding of the former (the bohemian tradition), while the next chapter presents my understanding of the latter.

The bohemian tradition emerged within early nineteenth century Paris as an artistic and cultural rebellion against a conservative bourgeois establishment. The Parisian bohemians inspired others to create new versions of bohemia within numerous social, spatial, and historical contexts (Lloyd 2006; see also Parry 2012

[1933]; Wilson 2000). Geographically speaking, these communities, like their classic Parisian counterparts, have been artistic and cultural enclaves that exist within a larger neighborhood (Abrahamson 2004); There have been no "bohemians only" neighborhoods or neighborhoods where virtually everyone was a bohemian.[1] Bohemian enclaves, moreover, have generally been situated within central urban locations. Small scale bohemia's emerged outside of urban areas (e.g., farm villages, beach towns) to accommodate bohemians seeking a more relaxed atmosphere or greater closeness to nature, but these bohemias were generally constituted by migrants from bohemias that were already established in urban centers (Wilson 2000). Wilson (2000) maintained that central city locations provided the classic Parisian bohemians with the loose social ties and relative anonymity necessary to break free from bourgeois domination. Park (1915), a founding figure within Urban Sociology, briefly noted that types of individuals who are merely tolerated in a rural area because they are viewed as eccentric can find within the city, a milieu that provides moral support as well as cultural stimulation (Park included bohemians in his list of examples).

Bohemian communities have been centered on the lifestyles and activities of struggling independent artists (e.g., visual artists, fiction writers, musical artists, actors, dancers), but well-established artists, journalists employed by radical or progressive news outlets, lifestyle eccentrics, and owners and employees of cafes, bookstores, salons, and galleries frequented by bohemians have often been part of, and have frequently played important roles in the artistic and/or larger cultural life of bohemia (Grana and Grana 1990; Wilson 2000; Parry 2012 [1933]). Scholarly intellectuals who were relatively alienated from bourgeois society have also been part of bohemian communities (Wilson 2000), although since the 1960s, such scholars have generally eschewed bohemia in favor of academic life (Jacoby 1987).

Bohemians and their communities have constituted a relatively flexible subcultural tradition (Lloyd 2006). This tradition has been constituted by substantial variation with respect to membership in artistic or cultural movements (e.g., romanticism, expressionism, modernism, feminism, punk, postmodernism). It has also been constituted by substantial variation with respect to clothing style (e.g., wild and colorful, black and grey/romantic despair, hip retro, normal dress), use of drugs (e.g., opium, alcohol, caffeine, marijuana, LSD, drug free), type of shared bohemian space (e.g., salons, cafes, bars, bookstores, cheap restaurants, galleries), and type of bohemian ideology (e.g., revolutionary, progressive, "art for arts sake," or "revolt for the sake of revolt").

Bohemian communities have almost invariably been centered on the activities of struggling artists who are willing to embrace starvation, relative poverty, or economic insecurity in order to find at least some degree of refuge from bourgeois society (Grana and Grana 1990; Lloyd 2006). Many bohemians avoided starvation and poverty, but not economic insecurity by obtaining "day jobs" that were part

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[1]Greenwich Village, for example, even in its bohemian heyday (1910–1917), contained ethnic working class and bourgeois populations much larger than its population of bohemians.

time, seasonal, or flexible enough to be combined with artistic pursuits (Parry 2012 [1933]). Some bohemians avoided both poverty and economic insecurity by living on inherited wealth, or receiving aid from their affluent families or romantic partners.

Bohemians have sometimes owned and/or performed in venues that marketed bohemian culture to bourgeois audiences (e.g., the Le Chat Noir Cabaret of fin de siècle Montmartre) (Seigel 1986). These bohemians, like their bohemian peers more generally, lived and worked apart from, and generally loathed the bourgeoisie, but believed that bohemian engagement with bourgeois audiences can have a progressive impact on bourgeois society (Gluck 2005). They believed, that is, that the job of the bohemian was shock, mock, or prod the bourgeoisie into being less bourgeois. Other bohemians, however, have denounced such venues, asserting that they are too commercialized, and constitute "selling out" to the bourgeois establishment (Parry 2012 [1933]).

Because the term bohemian has been used in reference to a diverse range of individuals and communities, a satisfactory objective definition of its conceptual parameters has proved to be elusive (Wilson 2000; see also Gluck 2005; Lloyd 2006). Attempts to define bohemia via a more subjective approach (i.e., by relying on the opinions of self-described bohemians) have been even more problematic. Parry's (2012 [1933]) work revealed that in some eras, the bohemian label was adopted by communities of "pretenders" (aka "posers") who lived utterly conventional lives, but were ego invested in (and mimicked) selected aspects of bohemian tradition (e.g., they merely discussed literary works while drinking with friends). Those who displayed a more through commitment to La Vie Bohème, on the other hand, have not necessarily referred to themselves and their communities as bohemian (Parry 2012 [1933]). Some early twentieth century Greenwich Village bohemians were referred to as bohemians by journalists and other observers, but refused to apply this label to them, associating the term with fun and frivolity, and with a less than serious commitment to art, ideas, and social change. More often than not, however, bohemians have idealized and romanticized the bohemian tradition. As a result, they have often discounted or even denied their present bohemian moment,[2] claiming that it pales in comparison to the glory days of bohemias past: "…Just as Floyd Dell said in the teens 'the Village isn't what it used to be,' Murger's followers were saying in the 1850s that 'Paris isn't what it used to be.' Whatever else bohemia may be, said a Greenwich Village magazine in 1917, 'it is almost always yesterday'" (Wetzsteon 2002, in Lloyd 2006, p. 237). Ware (1965) claimed that the Village of the 1950s was no longer bohemian yet later writers (e.g., Dan Wakefield 1992) celebrated the Village of the 1950s as bohemian, highlighting the fact that it resisted 1950s conformity and helped shape such influential figures as

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[2]Bohemians have rarely been well versed in bohemian history. See, for example, Stansell's (2000) description of early twentieth century Greenwich Village bohemians.

Bob Dylan, Jack Kerouac, and Allen Ginsburg. More recently, many Wicker Park (Chicago) bohemians of the 1990s denied that they or their community was bohemian, pointing out that "Wicker Park is not Paris in the twenties" (Lloyd 2006).

Lloyd (2006) maintained that bohemia tends to be subject to "structural nostalgia" because it always faces internal and external pressures, and thus falls short of its subjects' fantasies of an imagined bohemian moment of complete social autonomy and cultural resistance. Bohemian nostalgia for an imaginary past has also been fueled by fictional works that have romanticized previous manifestations of bohemia (e.g., Puccini's La Bohème) and by the nostalgic memoirs of former bohemians (e.g., Ernest Hemingway's A Moveable Feast) (Seigel 1986; Wilson 2000; Stansell 2000; Gluck 2005). Bohemia's historic tendency toward nostalgia was recently illustrated by Woody Allen's (2011) film, *Midnight in Paris*. The film's highly nostalgic protagonist went back in time to visit the nineteen-twenties Paris of his bohemian dreams, and had a romantic encounter with an equally nostalgic counterpart who longed to experience the bohemian Paris of the 1890s.

The bohemian phenomenon has been diverse, and subject to a significant level of definitional chaos and nostalgia, but has not been totally devoid of coherency. The production and reproduction of bohemia has, in my view, been centered on the activities of struggling (i.e., not well established) artists whose endeavors have been animated by a flexible yet distinct *bohemian ethos* that encourages such artists to *embrace poverty and/or economic insecurity in order to engage in artistic production, and find refuge from and oppose and/or shock, reform, or simply express alienation from that which they view as relatively bourgeois or, in contemporary terms, relatively mainstream, yuppie, or corporate*. To determine whether or not an historic or contemporary artistic enclave falls under the historic umbrella of bohemia, it is thus not sufficient to ascertain whether or not the enclave is centered on the activities of struggling artists willing to embrace poverty and/or economic insecurity in order to engage in artistic production. It is also necessary to determine that these artists have generally done so as part of an attempt to express an ethos that is arguably bohemian.

4.2 The Dawn of Bohemia

Individual artists who maintained various types of alternative lifestyles, or who were rebellious, socially marginal, or labeled as eccentric existed throughout medieval and renaissance Europe, but bohemia as a recognized way of life first emerged in Paris circa 1830 as a product of intense tensions between the city's artists and its newly ascendant bourgeoisie (Wilson 2000; Seigel 1986;

Grana 1964).[3] Prior to the bourgeois domination of nineteenth century Paris, Parisian artists generally lived and worked under the umbrella of a feudal aristocracy that embraced hedonism, and that was relatively tolerant of individual eccentricities and artistic experimentation. The bourgeoisie supported liberal individualism in the economic sphere, but were alarmed by the practice of individualism within the realms of aesthetics and culture. They feared that artistic experimentation and cultural freedom would lead to an explosion of laziness and immorality, and promoted a rigidly conservative approach to aesthetics and culture. They also rejected romanticism, which had become increasingly popular among Parisian artists, and supported artistic endeavors dedicated to the classical proposition that personal troubles can be overcome through rational decision making grounded in the values of discipline, efficiency, and sexual repression.

Most Parisian artists refused to create art that pandered to bourgeois aesthetics, or support their art by engaging in bourgeois occupational pursuits. These artists, furthermore, rebelled against bourgeois conservatism through various forms of hedonism and unconventional self-expression (e.g., sexual liberation, public nudity, drug use, wild clothing). The first widely publicized group of rebellious Parisian artists was The "Petit Cenacle" or Little Circle, also known as Les Jeunes France. Borel, a writer and admirer of Victor Hugo organized The Little Circle in 1829 by gathering a group of friends around him. The group later organized a famous demonstration on the opening night of Hugo's romantic play, Hernani (Hugo 1987 [1830]) , which the bourgeoisie planned to jeer because it was romantic rather than classical. Members of the Little Circle, and other rebellious Parisian artists showed up dressed in wild retro costumes, and countered the bourgeoisie's boos and jeers with thunderous applause and cheers (Wilson 2000).

The bohemian rebellion which originated in 1830s Paris was one of two major types of rebellions against the bourgeois domination of nineteenth century European society—the other being the socialist struggle (e.g., of Proudhonians, Saint-Simonians, and Marxists). While the socialist revolt emphasized the achievement of universal economic and political emancipation, the bohemian revolt rejected or marginalized class politics in favor of artistic and cultural revolt. Parisian artists of the 1830s and 1840s typically expressed strong revolutionary socialist sentiments, but their revolutionary dedication was questionable; few appeared to have taken their place in the barricades during the socialist revolution that subsequently emerged in 1848 (Seigel 1986). Their revolutionary sentiments were generally eclipsed by their quest for artistic self-development, and their antagonism toward the bourgeoisie was focused more on matters of aesthetics and culture than on political economy. Parisian artists generally loathed the work ethic and cultural conservatism of the bourgeoisie, and viewed individuals engaged in bourgeois pursuits (e.g., industrialists, managers, administrators) as relatively

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[3]The revolution of 1830 dethroned Charles X, and effectively enthroned the bourgeoisie; The bourgeois industrialists were allied with Napoleon the Third, who gave lavish gifts and formal recognition to artists who were the most conformist and compliant (e.g., Octave Feuillet, Jules Sandeau) (Grana 1964).

uptight, unimaginative, and philistine.[4] They especially disliked the petty bourgeois shopkeepers, whom they regarded as being particularly unimaginative and boring (Wilson 2000).[5]

The rebellious artists of Paris found refuge from bourgeois society within a neighborhood-based enclave that emerged within the Latin Quarter during the 1830s. These artists gradually came to be referred to as "bohemians." The term Bohemian had previously been used throughout Europe as a synonym for Gypsy. The French and other Europeans erroneously believed that the gypsies were from the defunct kingdom of bohemia, which now exists as part of the modern Czech Republic. Eventually, the term was used in reference to anyone who, like the stereotypical gypsy, was a vagabond who endeavored to survive by doing work that was generally viewed as exotic, alarming, and immoral (Wilson 2000).

The first person to refer to the artists of the Parisian Latin Quarter as bohemians, and to offer a written description of their lifestyle appears to have been Felix Pyat (e.g., Wilson 2000; Seigel 1986). In 1834, Pyat was alarmed by the fact that many Parisian artists were social outsiders who had an intense disdain for bourgeois life, eschewed bourgeois comports, and idolized poverty. He proclaimed that such artists were gypsielike: "Their mania for living out of their own time, 'with other ideas and other behavior, isolates them from the world, makes them alien and bizarre, puts them outside the law, beyond the reaches of society. They are the bohemians of today" (Pyat 1934 quoted by Seigel 1986).

The Parisian bohemians viewed bohemia not only as a "state of mind," but also as a "place" (Lloyd 2006: 48). They believed that to find refuge from bourgeois domination as thoroughly as possible, the bohemian must flee from conventional spatial surroundings, and live their day-to-day lives within bohemian space (Grana 1964). The bohemians of the Latin Quarter congregated in bookshops, galleries, restaurants, private salons, and cafés (Wilson 2000). Cafés were particularly important to their bohemian lives. These cafés provided forums for intense discussions concerning revolutionary ideas in art, politics, and culture. They also provided informal exhibition space for experimental art; artists could show their paintings (or distribute their writings) at café tables, or display their art on cafe walls. Cafés, furthermore, often functioned as a second (and sometimes first) home. At their local café, artists could receive their mail and browse through newspapers and magazines for the price of a cup of coffee; some artists even slept at their café during periods of extreme destitution.

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[4]Prior to the bourgeois domination of nineteenth century Paris, Parisian artists generally lived and worked under the umbrella of a feudal aristocracy that embraced hedonism, and that was relatively tolerant of individual eccentricities and artistic experimentation.

[5]Grana (1964) pointed out the tradition of contempt for the bourgeois merchant existed prior to bohemia. From at least the 15th century, they were generally viewed as failing to possess the power and magnificence of the nobility, or the Christ like resignation of the poor.

4.3   Political Hopelessness and Bohemian Ambivalence

After the failed socialist revolution of 1848, the revolutionary idealism of Parisian bohemia was eclipsed by political hopelessness (Seigel 1986). Bohemians continued to provide a free intellectual atmosphere that welcomed (and provided a haven for) revolutionary thinkers (e.g., Karl Marx),[6] but for the most part, they had become too disillusioned to be a voice for revolutionary political optimism, and maintained little faith in the liberating potential of the proletariat. Prominent figures associated with the Parisian bohemia of the mid nineteenth century (e.g., Baudelaire, Flaubert, and Stendhal) maintained that the modern production methods of the bourgeoisie (which emphasized efficiency, narrow specialization, and standardized production) were stunting the capacity of workers to produce artisanal products (e.g., authentic furnishings and clothing), and discern subtleties in ideas and events. They also believed that the proletariat generally embraced the competitive and materialistic strivings of bourgeois managers and professionals and was, like the bourgeoisie, incapable of ushering in a society grounded in aesthetic values (i.e., a society that emphasizes creative and spiritual self expression over uniformity, blandness, and mediocrity). They believed that at best, the political capacity of the proletariat was limited to materialistic gains (Grana 1964).

Like the classic sociologist, Weber (1978 [1922]), the Parisian bohemians saw their civilization as moving toward rationalization and increasing human indistinctiveness. Unlike Weber, however, they refused to espouse a reluctant embrace of the "iron cage" of modernity (Grana 1964). Most hoped that their bohemian existence would enable them to exercise what Hegel called "free subjectivity" in a quest for self-development and personal fulfillment. They sought stimulation via free artistic production, and via alcohol, drugs, coffee, sexual expression, and the disorders and spectacles of urban life. They also sought stimulation by hanging out with, and observing members of the lumpenproletariat, viewing their illicit and non-rationalized activities (e.g., as beggars, thieves, and prostitutes) as relatively interesting, and authentic, and suitable for literary and artistic use.

Post-revolutionary (i.e., post 1848) generations of Parisian bohemians continued to espouse ideologies that were thoroughly anti-bourgeois, but their real lives were generally marked by ambivalence and ambiguity (Seigel 1986), living "both within and outside the dominant culture" (Wilson 2000, p. 24). In colorful and dramatic ways, they sought refuge from and vilified (and endeavored to shock) the bourgeoisie, yet marketed their work to a largely bourgeois audience in cafes, theatres, literary periodicals, and, later in the century, in the cabarets of Montmartre. They embraced bohemian poverty, but combined a desire to live apart from (and criticize) bourgeois society with a desire to achieve bourgeois fame and wealth. They hoped, that is, that their stay in bohemia would eventually enable them–without artistic compromise–to become successful and celebrated artists within bourgeois society.

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[6]See Merrifield's (2002) textbook, Metromarxism, which includes excellent descriptions of bohemian intellectuals who were part of the urban Marxist tradition.

Seigel thus defines the bohemia that emerged in the late 1840s, and post-1840s bohemia more generally as "…the appropriation of marginal life-styles by young and not so young bourgeois, for the dramatization of ambivalence toward their own social identities and destinies" (Seigel 1986, p. 11).

At this point, I imagine that some readers may conclude that the "real" bohemia was the original bohemia that emerged in Paris prior to 1848 (i.e., the one described by Pyat). Seigel (1986), though, made a well supported argument that the thoroughly anti-bourgeois, quasi-political rebellion of artists that occurred prior to 1848 was part of the "pre-history of bohemianism" (Seigel 1986, p. 28). Seigel pointed out that in the vast majority of cases, the artists who were part of the original Parisian bohemia were unaware of Pyat's description of their lifestyle, and did not conceptualize themselves as bohemian until the late 1840s. By that time, a new image of la vie de bohème was being promoted by Henri Murger. The image of bohemia that had the greatest impact on future generations of artists, furthermore, was not the one offered by Pyat; it was the one promoted by Henri Murger. Stansell (2000), for example, noted that the fin de siècle[7] bohemia that emerged in Greenwich Village took its cultural cues more from Murger's work than from the actual bohemias that existed in Paris and in other European cities at the turn of the century (see also Parry 2012 [1933]). Murger began his work on bohemia in 1845 as a series of essays on bohemian life. The bohemians portrayed in these essays were willing to live on the brink of starvation in order to engage in free artistic production, and rejected puritanical discipline and a rigid work ethic in favor of playful spontaneity and enjoyment. They were not, however, politically oriented, and longed for the material comports of bourgeois life.[8] They did not maintain a permanent commitment to bohemian poverty, and their stay in bohemia constituted a temporary youthful phase. In the end, the bohemian characters described by Murger achieved commercial success as artists and abandoned bohemia. These characters were the basis for a musical play about bohemia, La Vie de Bohème, which Murger developed with Theodore Barriere.[9]

Seigel (1986) noted that Murger's work did not become popular until after the failed socialist revolution of 1848. Murger's musical play, which was especially popular, opened in 1849, and his essays on bohemia did not become popular until they were later published in 1851 as a collection, Scenes of Bohemian Life. His literary and musical portrayals of bohemia provided post 1848 bourgeois audiences with a brief and entertaining escape from revolutionary agitation and uncertainty, and from the restrictions of bourgeois life. These audiences enjoyed living subjectively in bohemia, but were not willing to dedicate themselves to enduring its economic sacrifices.

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[7]The term fin de siècle is often used within the literature on bohemian history, and within the larger historical literature to denote the beginning of the twentieth century.

[8]In Puccini's La Bohème, and Jonathan Larson's Rent, which were both based largely on Murger's work, such longing was a source of humor.

[9]Puccini's La Bohème, which premiered in 1896, was loosely based on this play. Rent was influenced by La Boheme, but was primarily an update of Murger's Scenes of Bohemian Life.

4.4   The Parisian Avant-Garde

The bohemian tradition that was created and recreated in nineteenth century Paris was accompanied by an artistic and cultural avant-garde that constituted the forefront of modernism, a worldview constituted by discourses that highlighted conflicts between the bourgeois rationalization of modernity and the free unfolding of the modern self. The modernist avant-garde sought refuge from bourgeois society, and generally expressed anti-bourgeois ideas and/or sentiments, but like the bohemian tradition that is coexisted with, it was "…seldom simply a rejection of the bourgeois world it declared to be its enemy" (Seigel 1986, p. 391). Gluck (2005), demonstrated that the artistic avant-garde was constituted by *popular bohemias* that were engaged in ongoing dialogues with their bourgeois audiences. These popular bohemias were constituted by a dualism between bohemian and bourgeois, and by a "triangular" relationship in which the modernist bohemian artist played a mediating role between modern life and the perceptions of modern life maintained by bourgeois audiences and patrons (Gluck 2005).

The bohemian avant-garde often received support from, and expressed the attitudes of a middle class audience that became increasingly critical of the limitations of free subjectivity within modernity (Seigel 1986). Citing Richard Terdiman, Gluck pointed out that the nineteenth century modernist avant-garde developed "…counter discourses used to oppose, subvert, and destabilize the homogenizing tendencies of the dominant culture," and also developed discourses that question the inevitability of these tendencies, and that envisioned the creative potential of bourgeois dominated modernity by projecting "an alternative, liberating newness" (Gluck 2005, p. 21). The avant-garde, that is, endeavored to intensify and expand the bourgeoisie's criticisms of its own culture by offering a progressive and liberating cultural environment in which bourgeois audiences could escape, at least briefly, their thoroughly bourgeois lives.

The popular bohemians of the Parisian avant-garde produced a series of avant-garde cultures that utilized aesthetic strategies (i.e., irony, parody) not merely "to oppose the dominant discourses of the hated bourgeoisie" but "to absorb and transform the creative potentials of modern life" (Gluck 2005, p. 21). The romantic bohemians of 1830s Paris often published provocative poems, stories, serial novels, and essays in newly established mass circulation newspapers, or staged flamboyant performances in popular theatres in order to provide an alternative to the moralism and conformism of the dominant bourgeois establishment. In the 1840s, the exhibitionism of the romantic bohemians was largely replaced by the realism and disciplined restraint of the urban flâneur, an "historian of manners" who typically published in mass circulation newspapers. The flâneur endeavored to observe and document all aspects of the everyday urban environment, including its commercial and popular aspects. He was not a shopkeeper, but was a keen observer of shops and shop windows. He was a discriminating connoisseur, and a gourmet but not a glutton. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, popular bohemians offered an alternative to the fragmentized anonymity and elitism of modern bourgeois life via commercial

establishments and events that provocative, and relatively inclusive. They established artistic cafes (e.g., The Café de la Rive Gauche) and cabarets (e.g., The Hydropaths, Le Chat Noir) that featured the work of poets, singers, actors, comedians, musicians, and visual artists. Unlike the literary salon, these venues provided open forums in which artists were to be judged solely by the public. These artists were labeled as "incoherent" because they emphasized cultural provocativeness rather than artistic coherence, and were usually lacking in formal structure. In the late 1880s, Jules Levy, a writer, bohemian, and astute businessman opened large scale, non-exclusive, incoherent art exhibits that were followed by costume balls in which participants dressed in extravagant costumes. Levy staged his first event in an abandoned shopping arcade that had been frequented by the flâneurs of the 1840s. Later, his events were located in venues associated with popular entertainment. His events were well advertised, and combined commercialism, decadent consumerism, and public spectacle with an attack on bourgeois propriety, and "an attempt to cure the boredom and pessimism of contemporary existence by rejuvenating public life" (Gluck 2005, p. 125). They were also widely popular; the Second Incoherent Exhibition of 1883 attracted over 20,000 visitors during the month of its existence. During the early twentieth century, Parisian bohemians briefly created a primitivist avant-garde in which artists (most famously, Gauguin) displayed primitive images that reflected their alienation from modern civilization. The primitivists attempted to achieve happiness and peace of mind by transforming themselves into a new avant-garde modernist who was liberated from the constraints of contemporary rationality and could embrace a more naturalist way of life. Their work later influenced the mid-twentieth century avant-garde, which often fused scientific precision and primitivist emotion in the forms of Jazz, Surrealism, and Abstract Expressionism (Gluck 2005).

4.5 Greenwich Village: America's Classic Bohemia

America's own version of classic bohemia emerged in New York's Greenwich Village during the late nineteenth, and early twentieth century. Numerous journalists (e.g., Parry 2012 [1933]) and historians (e.g., Stansell 2000) have produced major works that documented the rise of Greenwich Village's bohemia, and commented on its bohemian heyday (roughly 1912–1917). Except where otherwise noted, this subsection draws on the work of historian McFarland (2001), whose historical descriptions of Village bohemians and other residents of the Village are exemplary, and broadly inclusive. McFarland's work is unusual in that it offers a detailed historical account of all three of the major groups living within early twentieth century Greenwich Village (i.e., the bohemians, the bourgeois patricians, and the working class).

Greenwich Village, even during its bohemian heyday, was never comprised exclusively, or even primarily by bohemians. The two largest groups in the neighborhood were the Protestant Patricians (aka the Protestant elite, upper class,

bourgeois, or gentry), and the working class. The Patricians, who I shall subsequently refer to as bourgeois, lived in large townhouses on the North side of Washington Square, and socialized primarily within their elegant drawing rooms. Bourgeois villagers generally embraced an elite New York protestant ethic of public service, strong family ties, and discreet behavior. Most were politically and cultural conservative, although a substantial number of them combined traditional protestant values with openness to artistic innovation, and a progressive politics designed to help the working class and poor. The Village's working class was comprised of African-Americans and (mainly) of immigrants from Italy, Ireland, and representatives of over two-dozen other nations. Working class villagers lived south and west of the square, and often drank and socialized in the areas numerous saloons.

Most bourgeois villagers had little contact with working class villagers, unless they were their servants, and had little contact with village bohemians, unless they themselves were artists and/or patrons of avant-garde art. Bohemians were part of a distinct, and largely separate cultural enclave. Most of them rented cheap rooms amidst the working class, but had their own hangouts (restaurants, bars, and cafes). Some bohemians, however, chose to hang out with and/or observe working class Villagers to broaden their cultural and political awareness and/or or use them as artistic and literary subjects. Bohemians who were politically oriented, moreover, often collaborated with members of the working class, and with progressive bourgeois in the context of trade union, socialist, or progressive organizations.

The fact that the original Village bohemia was constituted, in part, by a substantial level of socialist and progressive political activity may be attributed far more to its broader social context than to any inherent political tendency within bohemia. The bohemian tradition, as previously noted, has been focused primarily on matters of aesthetics and culture, and has often been constituted by cynicism and political hopelessness (Seigel 1986). Still, bohemia's anti-bourgeois stance has often caused it to be at least somewhat receptive to politically oriented movements when broader social forces and local movements offered a relatively hopeful environment for political protest against bourgeois society (Grana 1964). This was periodically the case within nineteenth century Paris (Grana 1964; Seigel 1986) and was certainly the case with respect to early twentieth century Greenwich Village. During the early twentieth century, the USA was ripe with socialist, pro-union, liberal, progressive, and feminist struggle, and an optimistic sense that the emerging modern era would enable a substantial level of social progress to occur (Stansell 2000). By the time the Village bohemia had erupted, moreover, the Village itself was constituted by a variety of left wing organizations and forums. It was also constituted by a variety of conservative, pro-bourgeois endeavors designed to thwart the rising tide of progressive politics and cultural modernity.

The village's culturally conservative bourgeois were often alarmed by what they saw as a rising culture of pleasure seeking supported by the newly emerging movie industry, and by the growth of public dance halls. Many were avid anti-vice reformers, and were greatly disturbed by the presence of saloons, bars and hotels within the village that were mixed race, expected women to drink and, in many cases, were sites of prostitution, including male prostitution. Greenwich Village

artists, on the other hand, were generally opposed to the bourgeois vice reformers. Many participated in vice themselves, or merely felt their life's work required them to move across cultural boundaries in search of cultural and artistic truth. Like their Parisian predecessors, many of them were drawn to those who were regarded as "low". William Glackens and John Sloan, for example, produced covers for Colliers Magazine that depicted the behaviors deplored by conservative gentry in an amiable light. Glackens and Sloan were part of "the eight", a group of artists whose work used relatively spontaneous brush strokes to depict the gritty realities of urban life. Their work was rejected by the dominant, conservative bourgeois arbiter of New York taste, the National Academy of Design, which preferred upper class subject matter, and advocated pretty, morally uplifting art. The eight created an alternative exhibit of their own, but continued to submit some of their work to the academy.

The village's most notable public artwork, the Washington Square Arch, was completed in 1895, and launched by conservative bourgeois.[10] The arch was supposed to encourage the patriotic remembrance of George Washington, symbolize traditional moral virtues (e.g., simplicity, honesty, hard work), and highlight the need for national (and neighborhood) unity as opposed to class conflict. Class conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie had become highly visible during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the industrial workforce faced an unemployment rate of 25%, and became angry and (often) agitated. One patrician, wealthy industrialist Peter Cooper, endeavored to reduce class conflict, and respond to the plight of the industrial working class by creating Cooper Union, a free college that offered degrees and public lectures designed to offer workers the chance to cope with industrialization via self help and educational opportunities.

Conservative Village patricians created The Washington Square Association, which frequently clashed with the practices of working class villagers. It was designed to "improve the character of the neighborhood" (e.g., by removing loiterers, and enforcing laws against spitting in public places). They also attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to rid the area of street venders, and close the park at night to avoid use by tenement dwellers, who often used the park to escape from the summer heat. Village bourgeois who were relatively progressive successfully supported free access to the park, and provided children who lived in the Village's slums with access to directed park play activities. They also promoted social programs designed to support the working class poor, and for industrial regulation to help improve labor conditions.

Richard Gilder and his wife Helena Gilder exemplify the relatively progressive wing of the bourgeois village. They hosted civilized, cosmopolitan groups in their drawing rooms, and famous artists were often among their guests. Helena was a painter who helped form the art students' league, while Richard was a poet who edited Century Magazine, a publication that maintained high literary standards.

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[10]Village bohemians later appropriated this symbol for themselves, declaring it as a symbol of the free and independent republic of Greenwich Village.

Richard Gilder also chaired the New York State tenement House Commission, which investigated poor housing conditions in Greenwich Village and other parts of New York. These investigations helped lead to the Tenement House Act of 1901, although the passage of this law was largely due to the efforts of Robert W. de Forest, who was associated with the scientific charity movement, a movement which helped the modern profession of Social Work to emerge. De Forest was married to Emily Johnson, whose grandfather helped found NYU, and father helped found the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Church of Ascension was comprised primarily of relatively conservative bourgeois villagers, but from 1907 to 1910, it was under the direction of Reverend Grant, a liberal gadfly who preached a social gospel. Grant was concerned with the effects of industrialization on the working class, and held Sunday night gatherings designed to attract the working class, socialists, street people, and others who faced, or were concerned with issues pertaining to the working class and poor. To appeal to the area's working class, Grant hired attracted an assistant minister who had been a socialist street evangelist. Grant's Sunday night gatherings were popular, and generally attracted several hundred participants. These participants were mostly working class, but also included middle class artists, writers, social workers, and a few open minded wall-street businessmen. Typically, gatherings began with a brief service, and were followed by a lecture and discussion. Everyone, including women had a chance to voice their opinions, and the meetings were generally volatile and provocative. Women, furthermore, were welcome as speakers. The radical feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, well known for writing *The Yellow Wallpaper*, *Herland*, and other fictional works for example, spoke on numerous occasions. Grant was not a socialist, but believed that the inclusion of the working class meant the inclusion of ideas that were becoming popular with a growing portion of the working class (i.e., socialist ideas). Eventually, however, a small conservative group comprised of the church's wealthiest individuals decided that any connection with socialism was embarrassing, and demanded Grant's resignation. He resigned in 1910, and his Sunday night gatherings were disbanded.

Prior to its bohemian heyday, the Village had already housed numerous reform and revolutionary minded artists and intellectuals. In February 1906, for example, the "A Clubbers" a group of 20 artists and writers bought a mansion north of Washington Square, lived in it cooperatively, dedicated themselves to art and oppositional (liberal or socialist) politics, and pursued and eschewed conventional household gender roles (i.e., household tasks were divided equally). The A-Clubbers were recruited from literary circles, and from settlement houses, and sought an intellectually stimulating place for living and working. Their neighbor, the writer Mark Twain, was a frequent visitor. Many were members of the liberal club, a progressive debating society. The A-Clubbers were sometimes referred to in magazines as bohemian, but didn't consider themselves bohemian because in their eyes, bohemians were, unlike themselves, childish and dilettantish, and not hard working.

During the early twentieth century, New York was becoming the cultural capital of the nation, and numerous artists from rival cities (e.g., Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston) had migrated there. The artists who migrated to Greenwich Village

generally lived in the slummy, south side of Washington Square. By 1910, more than 60% of the residents of the Village's south side rooming houses were employed in the arts. These artists, along with artists living in the relatively prosperous North Side ultimately produced one of the most famous, and historically influential bohemian enclaves.

This enclave achieved its artistic, intellectual and creative peak during years 1912–1917. During this period, bohemian Greenwich Village was led by a small group of artists connected to Mabel Dodge's Salon, Poly's Restaurant, the Liberal Club, the Provincetown Players, and the Masses magazine. Through these establishments, these artists produced an immensely vibrant artistic and intellectual scene that was unconventional, edgy, and eclectic, representing Marxist, socialist, feminist, anarchist, Freudian, free love, labor union, and even pagan points of view.

Mabel Dodge's Salon hosted a highly diverse range of intellectually oriented speakers on a weekly basis. Many of these speakers were top-notch scholars, and expressed cutting edge points of view. Her Salon, for example, helped introduce Freud's ideas to America, and led to the belief (among Villagers) that Freud's ideas imply that free love is the best solution to the problem of sexual repression. Poly's Restaurant was owned and operated by anarchists who self-identified as bohemians. It was operated mainly for bohemians themselves, and encouraged talk about revolution. The owners often jokingly called its patrons "bourgeois pigs," which helped add to the establishment's bohemian authenticity in the eyes of bohemians and bohemian tourists alike. The "liberal club" was a debating society comprised of artists, writers, and intellectuals who were critical of the laissez-faire conservatism of both major parties, and described themselves using the terms liberal, radical and progressive equally and interchangeably. Most, however, adopted a point of view that could be considered a precursor of new deal liberalism. Some, though, went beyond liberalism, and helped support the Russian revolution and/or the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which functioned to spread socialist ideas to college students, and was supported by prominent artist and writers (e.g., Upton Sinclair, Clarence Darrow, Jack London, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman). Members of the liberal club also played prominently in founding the Women's Trade Union League of New York, and played a secondary role in establishing the NAACP, which held one of its first meetings at the club, and moved to the north Village in 1914. McFarland, though, noted that the NAACP was in no sense a Village oriented enterprise. In the summers of 1915 and 1916, the liberal club launched the Provincetown Players, which showcased the work of avant-garde playwrights in Provincetown Massachusetts. Liberal club members were aware of the European avant-garde theatre of the time, and of the ethnic theatres of New York's Lower East Side, and aimed to attack the sterility, conventionality and commercialism of the mainstream Broadway theatre scene. In the fall of 1916, the Provincetown players moved to Greenwich Village's MacDougal Street, and for six years put on a series of cutting edge plays by forty-seven writers, most notably Eugene O'Neil, that helped establish American drama as a serious art form. The Masses, a socialist and eclectic progressive magazine was edited by Max Eastman, a Columbia University professor fired for expressing radical points of view, and Floyd Dell, a

writer and member of the liberal club. The Masses was collectively owned, but got some of its money from wealthy patrons, and from hosting costume balls. Parry (2012 [1933]) classic work on bohemia in America criticized the masses, pointing out that most of its articles were too highbrow for the actual (working class) masses. These articles, however, informed and encouraged middle and upper class liberals and radicals, including many Village artists and writers to ally themselves with reformist social movements, and working class strikers, some of who were socialist revolutionaries (Wobblies). Village progressives and bohemians often participated in labor demonstrations, frequently hosted meetings on the plight of workers, and endeavored to prevent violent attacks on demonstrators by the police. Many were also involved in the suffrage movement. Some, for example, got arrested handing out pamphlets on birth control, which was illegal at the time.

By 1914, national magazines had declared Greenwich Village to be America's bohemia, or "New World Latin Quarter." The relatively small group of artists who first drew attention to the Village as a bohemian enclave, however, explicitly rejected the term bohemian because to them, the term implied a dilettantism and lack of a serious commitment to artistic innovation and/or political change. The bohemian label, however, was frequently applied to them because their political and cultural activities, work, and lifestyle were consistent with common conceptions of what a bohemian should be. They were artists, interested in new and unorthodox ideas, admired European culture, drank and dined at bars, cafes and restaurants that announced themselves as bohemian, and raised money by holding mascaraed balls that were presented in the press as bohemian. In 1914, for example, the masses held a futurist (avant-garde) ball, and in 1915, the liberal club sponsored its own ball. Many attendees of these balls dressed in wild costumes.

The most colorful activities of the original coterie of Village bohemians attracted a considerable amount of attention in popular magazines and newspapers. Popular coverage entertained readers by illustrating, in a light-hearted way, a bohemian lifestyle of wine, sex, and song. As a result, the Village began to attract bohemian tourists as well as bohemians less committed to living a bohemian life of political, artistic, and intellectual substance. By 1917, commercialized bohemian tourism had increased, and substantially a relatively self-conscious "bohemia for bohemia's sake" had emerged. "Bohemia for the sake of art and social progress" did not disappear, but was overshadowed by the activities of relatively self-conscious bohemians, and bohemian tourists. A variety of village bohemian guidebooks were established, promoting the arts and crafts shops, restaurants, tearooms, bookstores, and other marketable establishments of bohemia (McFarland 2001). Marketers, some of whom were bohemians themselves, sold bohemias wild image to tourists and uptowners that were making the shift from an old puritan work ethic to a new ethic of consumption (Stansell 2000). These visitors spent their war dollars on "spicy fare in Gypsy tea shops," tours of "insiders' hideaways by 'authentic' bohemian guides, and quaint row houses that were subdivided by profiteering landlords who turned them into artists studios (Stansell 2000, p. 334).

The most prominent marketer of village bohemianism, Guido Bruno, opened a large second story garret on Washington Square South in 1914. Bruno was thought of

within the village as half sincere patron of bohemia and half huckster. He displayed and advertised the work of actual bohemian artists, but offered a romanticized version of bohemia to the public. Stansell (2000) noted that Bruno impersonated the Village bohemian and anarchist Hippolyte Havel, who (perhaps) went underground during the war, and "charged admission to arty evenings in a candlelit garret frequented by down-and-out men and women he paid to impersonate poets and artists models" (Stansell 2000, p. 334). He also offered a magazine, Bruno's Weekly, which wrote about the wilder or more exotic bohemian scene rather than about politically radical bohemian artists who were more likely to discuss politics in cheap ethnic restaurants than hang out in exotic tea shops or go to costume balls.

The commercialization the Village was decried by the areas politically committed artists, but was not the primary cause of the eventual diminishment of Greenwich Village's artistic and political fervor. The primary cause of this diminishment was World War 1, which the US entered in 1917, and fought till the end (1918). The war proved to be destabilizing. Some bohemians left the Village to fight in the war, or otherwise support the war effort, while other bohemians were anti-war. This divide was demoralizing, and weakened the cultural and political unity of progressive Village bohemians. The war, moreover, instilled a national mood of super-patriotism, and bohemians who were anti-war faced political repression. The federal government, for example, prevented The Masses, which was anti-war, from sending magazine copies through the mail. As a result, it folded in 1918. The liberal club was divided on the war, but still had trouble getting donations, and also went bankrupt in 1918. After the war, many Village bohemians left for Paris.

Village bohemianism, though, did not die. Both during and after WW1, many leading bohemians continued to pursue art and politics in the village. Commercialized village bohemian establishments continued to thrive, and after the war, a new generation of artists arrived, although many young artists eschewed the Village, and went to Paris (e.g., Ernest Hemingway). Subsequent generations of Village artists (e.g., the communist bohemians of the 1930s, the 1950s beatniks, the folk artist bohemians and hippies of the 1960s, the gay and lesbian villagers of the 1970s and 1980s, and the East Villagers and bohemians of the 1980s) were all drawn to the Village and its surrounding areas because of a bohemian reputation launched during the Village's pre-WW1 bohemian heyday.

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Chapter 5
The Growing Integration of Bourgeois and Bohemian Culture

Abstract In this chapter, I start by discussing the growing tendency of the middle class to embrace bohemian culture, and imitate lifestyles launched by bohemian artists. I then discuss two influential works that proclaimed that bohemian culture has become thoroughly integrated with bourgeois culture, David Brooks *Bobo's in Paradise*, and Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class*, and explain why I decided to draw on the later work rathar than the former.

5.1 The Embrace of Bohemian Culture by the Middle Class

A growing chorus of scholars has proclaimed that urban society has entered a new period. They have referred to this period, for example, as postindustrial (Bell 1973), informational (Castells 1991), postfordist (Albertsen 1988), postmodern (Soja 1989), and new economy (Scott 2006).[1] Many of these scholars have also proclaimed that during the current period, a new middle class has increasingly rebelled against the bourgeois conservatism of their elders, and identified with bohemian artists (e.g., Bensman and Vidich 1971; Bensman 1973; Bell 1973; Zukin 1982; Mele 2000; Brooks 2001; Florida 2002; Lloyd 2002, 2006). The new middle class produced a new cadre of arts consumers who were increasingly receptive to the work of the bohemian avant-garde, and members of the new cadre who achieved upper class (new money) status became new patrons of the arts. The commercial art establishment was thus able to profit from the sale of avant-garde art, even if it attacked its bourgeois audience (Bensman 1973). Such art expressed the angst, creative frustrations and fantasies of a middle class that was increasingly eager to

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[1]Scott (2006) has asserted that none of which has proven to completely satisfactory.

visit artists' lofts, and engage in what Zukin referred to as "loft living" (Zukin 1982). In this context, attempts by artists to maintain an identity as cultural outsiders by "épatant la bourgeoisie" became more difficult to sustain (Bensman 1973, p. 86).

The willingness of substantial numbers of middle class bourgeois to embrace or seek out bohemian culture without becoming artists, or quitting their full-time bourgeois jobs, is not a new phenomenon. The previous chapter of this book, for example, discussed the presence of bohemian tourists within early twentieth century Greenwich Village. In his classic work on the history of American bohemia (Garrets and Pretenders), journalist (Parry 2012 [1933]) referred to such folks as "pretenders." The pretenders celebrated bohemian culture in a variety of ways. Some consumed bohemian art and dressed like bohemians, while others simply ventured into bohemian territory as bohemian tourists. A relatively small number of pretenders actually moved to bohemian communities, and mimicked the lifestyles of actual bohemians, albeit in relatively bourgeois ways. During the early twentieth century, for example, some struggling bohemian artists willing to tolerate the smell of manure lived in or above horse stables in Greenwich Village (Macdougal Alley and Washington Mews). A growing number of bourgeois attended art exhibits within these stables, and increasingly viewed them as cute and desirable. Eventually, these stables were bought and renovated by bourgeois. "Stable living" (my phrase) had become all the rage.

What is new is that since the 1960s, stable living, and other relatively substantial forms of receptiveness to bohemian culture became much more widespread. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of bourgeois pretenders who moved to (or visited) bohemian neighborhoods. As a result, the displacement (via gentrification) of artists and other non-affluent residents by bourgeois fans of bohemian culture increased dramatically (Zukin 1982). Urban bourgeois (yuppie) neighborhoods themselves, moreover, generally became more "bohemian" (e.g., they contained cafes and other hip and artsy establishments) (Brooks 2001; Florida 2002). The mainstream art world became much more receptive to the art of bohemia, and urban establishments offered greater support for an "artistic mode of production" (Zukin 1982). A growing number of artists, moreover, embraced the mainstream art worlds and/or accepted support from the establishment (e.g., grants, limited housing support). They thus became harder to distinguish from their economically secure, loft dwelling peers (Zukin 1982).

The preceding changes were primarily a product of structural changes in the middle class labor market. First, there was been a dramatic increase in the number of middle class jobs, thus dramatically increasing the number of potential middle class "pretenders." Second, contemporary middle class jobs have increasingly required employees to possess substantial amounts of education and "knowledge" (Drucker 1959),[2] be adept at "symbolic analysis," (Reich 1992), and demonstrate substantial levels of "creativity" (Florida 2002). Gouldner (1979) proclaimed that those who occupy such jobs constitute an increasingly influential "new class," a "cultural bourgeoisie" that generates income derived from cultural capital rather

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[2]Brint (2001) has estimated that knowledge workers comprise 35% of the US workforce.

than from ownership of the means of production.[3] A growing portion of these cultural bourgeois are employed in corporate jobs that require a high level of creativity, and benefit from bohemian cultural capital (e.g., website design), thus increasing the cultural similarities between bohemians and a substantial portion of the corporate workforce (Lloyd 2006). Third, contemporary middle class jobs exist within a post-Fordist context characterized by a rise in contingent, flexible labor, thus lacking the relatively security of jobs occupied by 1950s "organization men." As a result, an increasing portion of those who occupy corporate creative jobs tend to have relatively weak psychological ties to the corporate world, and are more likely to identify with bohemian alienation from corporate society (Lloyd 2006). Since the 1990s, though, a growing number of corporate employees have been employed in firms that have endeavored to reduce the alienation of their creative employees by partially embracing the creative liberation of bohemia. Such firms are typically in the high tech sector, and combine corporate deadlines and pressures with casual dress, "out of the box" thinking, playful work habits and relatively egalitarian communication in café-like settings (Halasz 2015).

5.2   Bobo's in Paradise

Two best-selling, and (in my opinion) brilliant public intellectual works have taken a relatively extreme position regarding the growing integration of bohemians and bourgeois. These works proclaimed that bohemians and bourgeois and have merged (Brooks 2001) or morphed (Florida 2002), and are thus no longer culturally distinct. Both authors, however, hedged their arguments on this matter in subsequent works.

   Shortly before Florida (2002) published *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Brooks (2001), a cultural conservative and self-defined "comic sociologist," published an extremely well-written and highly entertaining best seller, *Bobo's in Paradise*, in which he proclaimed that by the end of the 1990s, the culture war between the bourgeois and bohemian factions of American society's urban elite was over. Liberal urban bourgeois and their bohemian counterparts, that is, had merged, and became "Bobo's" (bourgeois-bohemians), a hybrid social type that strives to integrate the bourgeois pursuit of financial success with the bohemian pursuit of personal and creative freedom.

   Brooks pointed out that Bobo's were not confined to confined to former bohemian hubs (e.g., New York's Soho). Bobo's and the consumer establishments that cater to them were becoming commonplace within former bastions of bourgeois conservatism. In the opening segment of Bobo's in Paradise, he cites the example of Wayne, PA, the mainline suburb that provided the setting for the classic film, *The*

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[3]Gouldner maintained that the new class is intellectually rigid, and possesses a low level of playfulness, imagination, and passion. Most scholarship on those who Gouldner referred to as the new class, however, has maintained that those who Gouldner called the new class tend to be relatively flexible and creative.

Philadelphia Story. After being away from the USA for a number of years, Brooks visited Wayne (his home town), and discovered that it was no longer a stiff and boring suburb comprised of waspy squares. It had become an upper class Bobo suburb that contained hip coffeehouses, used bookstores, artsy shops, and other sites dedicated to hip consumption.

Brooks (2001) devoted much of his book to a satirical examination of the lifestyle and consumption habits of upper income Bobos.[4] He viewed these habits as comically ironic, since they often express partial commitment to bohemian tradition via purchases that would grossly exceed the budget of the prototypical bohemian (e.g., high end pre-torn jeans, upscale "distressed" furniture, ten-thousand dollar slate shower stalls designed to enable hip Buddhist bathers to observe the Zen-like rhythms of nature). In a PBS interview, however, Brooks dropped his satirical tone, stating that in general, Bobo's are a "force for good," arguing that they have made neighborhoods and consumption more interesting and management structures less rigid and more productive. He maintained though, that Bobo religious, intellectual and political beliefs tend to be too "mushed together" to produce the relatively strong cultural, political, and moral convictions maintained by previous generations of bourgeois patricians and their bohemian counterparts (Brooks 2000).

Brooks (2001) work is subject to important limitations. He noted that bourgeois-bohemianism exists on a continuum, but ignored those who are at least somewhat closer to the bohemian end of the continuum (e.g., Lawrenceville's struggling artists). His work, furthermore, is focused on the Bobo Upper Class, and ignores Bobo's whose socioeconomic status is low or moderate. Brooks (2004), however, wrote a less influential work in which he discussed urban social types spanning a broader range of income levels and cultural orientations, including those who live in hip urban neighborhoods, "crunchy suburbanites" with modest incomes and anti-commercialist attitudes, and outer-ring middle income suburbanites who are far more bourgeois than bohemian. He did not, however, discuss the nature and characteristics of contemporary artists and their urban artistic enclaves.

5.3 The Big Morph

Like Brooks (2001), Florida (2002) wrote a public intellectual work, *The Rise of the Creative Class* that proclaimed that during the 1990s, bourgeois and bohemians had become culturally unified. Florida (2002) noted that he considered using the term Bobo, but he and his editor decided that it was too derogatory, and opted for the term "creative class" instead. Florida's (2002) decision to reject the term Bobo reflects the fact that his work is not a satire; it is a work that celebrates rather than

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[4]Brooks initially thought that people would rebel against the Bobo elite, but instead found that people are copying it. He considers himself to be a Bobo, but not as rich as most of the Bobo's he described within his book.

mocks the lives of those he is writing about. Florida, moreover, is an urban economic geographer, and his analysis was designed to launch new academic vistas, and convince urban policymakers to embrace his economic (creative class) agenda.

Florida (2002) did not focus on ascertaining the nature and characteristics of contemporary artistic enclaves, and never did a detailed case study of an actual artistic enclave. He did, however, offer a brief commentary on contemporary artists and their larger communities. This commentary constitutes a significant, albeit relatively undeveloped portion of his overall creative class thesis. Most of this commentary was presented in a chapter titled *The Big Morph* (*a Rant*). In the 2012 edition to this book, Florida dropped the phrase "a Rant" from this title.

In his original (2002) work on the creative class, Florida was reluctant to use the term bohemian, and put the word in quotes because, in his view, contemporary "bohemians" no longer tend to be alienated outsiders engaged in a culture war with the bourgeoisie, and no longer create culturally distinct artistic communities: "Business people are no longer vilified. Today, they and so-called bohemians not only get along, they often inhabit each other's worlds; they are often the same people" (Florida 2002: 208). "So called bohemians" and other members of the creative class collaborate with each other, are increasingly part of a "new mainstream" comprised of those who are neither alienated cultural outsiders, nor part of a rigid and outmoded mainstream culture. Members of the new mainstream are increasingly employed within the growing number of enterprises that mix creative production within the realms of art, commerce, and technology (e.g. software design, media, advertising), and are facilitating profound social changes in culture, recreation, work, and lifestyle. These changes, however, are occurring gradually: "Not a Big Bang but a Big Morph, an evolutionary process that flowered first and strongest in certain enclaves, (e.g. Seattle, Palo Alto) and is now gradually filtering through the rest of society (p. 191)." Those who are being integrated into this new mainstream are not countercultural rebels, but are open to and often embrace alternative ideas and practices, including those associated with past and present countercultures (e.g., avant-garde or edgy art, independent and alternative music, hip cafes, retro clothing, and local organic produce). Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, as I will later demonstrate, exemplifies this new mainstream, and is the product of collaboration between "bohemian" artists and members of a larger creative class.

Florida's (2002) proclamation that the creative class is constituted by a Big Morph resembles Brooks' (2001) satirical assertion that Bourgeois and Bohemians have merged, and have become Bobo's (Bourgeois-Bohemians). Florida, however, disagrees with Brooks assertion that bourgeois-bohemianism generally involves the pursuit of personal success without a strong dose of character, arguing that Brooks failed to capture a new kind of character grounded in a new meaning of work and leisure that has increasingly been adopted by those employed in creative occupations. Members of the creative class have rejected the old protestant ethic, but have adopted a new ethic of work and leisure, a *creative ethos* that resolves the classic tension between the old bourgeois protestant work ethic, which emphasized rational, productive and efficient conformity, and the old bohemian ethic, which emphasized creative expression, individualism, and a willingness to eschew economic

practicality. The creative ethos simultaneously supports economic practicality, and creative individualism in work and leisure. It welcomes organized collaboration, hard work, and meritocracy, but dislikes rigid conformity, and celebrates the disruption and subversion of existing ways of thinking through creative labor, thus constituting a strong departure from the 1950s conformist ethos lamented by Whyte (1956) in his classic critique of organizational society, *The Organization Man*. The organization man worked in a rigid corporate bureaucracy, and often lived in a prepackaged suburb in which the idiosyncratic individual was often stigmatized. The new ethos of our contemporary creative era has been adopted by those who flourish in organizations that subvert rigid hierarchy and reward creative expression, and in cities and communities that foster opportunities for creative work and leisure. I will later demonstrate that Lawrenceville's artistic enclave is a product of this ethos.

Florida's (2002) "Big Morph" is consistent with Daniel Bell's (1976) assertion that the bohemian counterculture has been incorporated into mass culture. Bell, however, argued that the bohemian ethic of the 1960s counterculture, which was hedonistic, supported the sphere of cultural consumption, but was weakening the protestant work ethic, thus undermining the sphere of work. Florida, on the other hand, argued that the new creative ethos is consistent with the demands of both spheres, and enables the creative class to successfully integrate the enjoyment of creative work and consumption with material goals (e.g., economic security) achieved through hard work. Again, I will demonstrate that such is the case within Lawrenceville.

Lloyd's detailed (2006) ethnography of Wicker Park Chicago uncovered a "neo-bohemian" enclave that maintained continuity with bohemian tradition within a new urban environment. Lloyd criticized Florida, along with Bell and Brooks, arguing that their inability to recognize that bohemia continues to exist as a distinct socio-spatial phenomenon is a product of methodological failure: "Bell, Brooks, and Florida make grand gestures, and their reach exceeds their grasp. Moving too far from actual neighborhoods in their examination of postmodern bohemia, they lose hold of the concept altogether" (Lloyd 2006: 69). In the revised (2012) version of his best-selling book, however, Florida no longer uses the phrase "so-called bohemians," and no longer denies that communities created by artists who are distinctly bohemian still exist. Florida, that is, briefly acknowledges a scholarly work (i.e., Silver et al. 2011) that discusses contemporary bohemian scenes (Florida 2012: 297–298). Like his original work, though, his revised work does not examine an artistic enclave at close range, or attempt to distinguish bohemian enclaves from enclaves that express what he referred to as the creative ethos.

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Chapter 6
Lawrenceville's Artistic Enclave

Abstract In this chapter, I draw on field and survey data, and secondary sources to demonstrate that the artistic enclave that emerged in Lawrenceville exemplifies and illustrates an *artistic creative class enclave*. I start by providing a brief overview and discussion of the neighborhood's geographical characteristics, local historical context, and emergence as a community constituted by arts based gentrification. I then demonstrate that its artistic enclave has been centered on the activities of artists and, especially, artist/entrepreneurs who have morphed bohemian and bourgeois practices and values, and have welcomed, marketed to, and collaborated with members of a larger creative class. Such collaboration has enabled this enclave to achieve long-term sustainability by securing live/work and commercial space, integrating art and commerce, maintaining alternative venues, acquiring community owned artist housing, and securing a stable artistic scene. I proceed to discuss the views of local artists and other community residents pertaining to the question of whether or not Lawrenceville's artistic enclave is bohemian, offer my own comments on this matter, and summarize my reasons for designating this enclave as an artistic creative class enclave.

Keywords Geography · Neighborhood change · Gentrification · Creative class · Bohemian · Artistic enclaves · Art galleries · Boutiques · Artsy · Urban sustainability

6.1 The Research Site: Geography, History, and Neighborhood Change

Lawrenceville is located approximately three miles from Pittsburgh's downtown. It is one of Pittsburgh's largest neighborhoods (2.5 square miles), and spans three different wards in Pittsburgh's East End. All three wards have the same Zip Code (15201). The sixth ward (Lower Lawrenceville) runs from 34th to 40th Street, the ninth ward (Central Lawrenceville) runs from 41st to 50th Street, and the tenth ward (Upper Lawrenceville) runs from 51st to 62nd street. All three of the neighborhood's

wards contain residential housing, commercial corridors, warehouses, and former factory sites rezoned for residential and commercial use.

Lawrenceville is clearly a walkable mixed use neighborhood (i.e., residential/commercial), but due to its relatively complex geography, falls a bit short of the walkable ideal espoused by Jane Jacobs (1961). Some of the neighborhood's commercial establishments are sprinkled throughout its long residential side streets; Most are located on one of three main commercial corridors that run through all three of the neighborhood's wards (Butler Street, Penn Avenue, and Liberty Avenue). Butler Street, the neighborhood's most developed commercial corridor, however, is punctuated by the Arsenal Middle School (formerly the US Army's Allegany Arsenal) at 40th Street, thus diminishing the streets' commercial continuity. Butler Street and Penn Avenue (the areas' second most developed corridor), furthermore, form a triangular intersection at 34th Street (the site of a War memorial statue), and get farther apart as the streets go north.

During the late nineteenth century, Lawrenceville experienced rapid industrial growth, and became an economically diverse community populated by middle class merchants, white-collar workers, prosperous craftsman and lower level mill workers. Each of the neighborhoods three main commercial corridors contains Victorian style storefronts that were characteristic of the era, and each of the neighborhood's wards contains an architecturally diverse housing stock that includes large and mid sized Victorian homes originally built primarily for the areas' middle class, and a relatively large number of modest but picturesque row houses originally built primarily for the areas' mill workers (Sadowsky 2009).

By the early twentieth century, the growth of the area's steel industry caused the neighborhood to become increasingly crowded, and the vast majority of those who could afford to moved to other East End neighborhoods (i.e., most middle and upper class residents). Lawrenceville subsequently became a blue-collar community. This community remained vibrant until the late 1960s (Sadowsky 2009), when its industrial base began to decline. Its population subsequently started to decrease, and its commercial establishments began to shut their doors. By the 1980s the neighborhood had been devastated by the loss of its industrial base; it experienced dramatic levels of deindustrialization, depopulation, and commercial decline (Dicken 1986; Lubove 1996). Much of it's housing stock became dilapidated (LaRussa 2002), and it faced a proliferation of open-air drug dealing, prostitution, and street crime (Strickland 2004). Many of its storefronts were boarded up, or guarded by protective steel grates by nightfall (LaRussa 2002).

By the late 1980s, struggling artists started moving to the neighborhood.[1] These artists constituted an occupationally diverse group that included musicians, poets, writers, and dancers, but for the most part, they were visual artists who produced paintings, sculpture, photographs, or artisanal products that can be worn (e.g.,

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[1]After artists started moving to the neighborhood, the neighborhood was also targeted by developers. These developers include individuals and numerous small private developers. No major developer has maintained a presence within the community.

clothing and accessories) or utilized within the home (e.g., furniture and decorative objects). Many had attended Carnegie Mellon's (top 25) arts college,[2] and most had previously lived in New York City. They typically learned about the neighborhood while studying at Carnegie Mellon, or from artists in New York who had attended Carnegie Mellon. With few exceptions, these new artistic arrivals were unestablished, and couldn't afford to acquire adequate live/work space within New York. Like the prototypical struggling artist, they were willing to locate in an urban ghetto in order to secure suitable artistic space. They were attracted to Lawrenceville because it offered live/work space that was cheap, even by Pittsburgh standards, and had aesthetic potential (i.e., interesting architecture). A gallery owner informed me, "I moved to Lawrenceville 14 years ago. I moved here because I thought it had potential but probably more than that, I could afford it. I found a building that I could live in, produce in (I'm a weaver) and sell out of." A website maintained by Lawrenceville's community development corporation offered an explanation of why Elizabeth Monoian, a new media artist moved to the neighborhood:

> Originally from the Seattle area, Monoian, 37, first found out about Lawrenceville when she was a graduate student in fine arts at Carnegie Mellon University in the late 1990s. "'When I was living here as a grad student, I would just drive around. Pittsburgh was really unfamiliar to me… I really fell in love with the aesthetic.... After a two-year stint in New York and post-graduate school, Monoian decided to move back to Pittsburgh and settle in Lawrenceville where, she reasoned, she could realistically and affordably complete the projects she was interested in, buy property and have a home that's her own'" (Lawrencevillecorporation.com 2007).

Like the loft dwellers described by Zukin (1982), these new artistic residents re-imagined and recycled their neighborhood's architectural heritage for a diverse range of artistic uses. *The Slaughterhouse Gallery*, for example, is a former slaughterhouse, and Gallery G Glass (which produces functional artisan glassware) was originally designed for use as a heavy construction equipment rejuvenation center (Sadowsky 2009).

Lawrenceville's new artistic residents attracted considerable buzz in local newspapers, magazines, and websites. By the mid 2000s, Lawrenceville was frequently described by the local media as "up and coming." The neighborhood's buzz, furthermore, had extended beyond Pittsburgh. The New York Times reported, "Butler Street is slowly becoming a go-to destination" (Schlegel 2007). Photos of Lawrenceville and its artistic scene are provided at the end of this book (i.e., in the appendix).

6.1.1   Reactions of Long-Time Residents

The art galleries, boutiques, cafes, and other creative venues associated with arts based gentrification generally require patrons to possess a relatively high level of cultural capital. When such venues start to dominate a former working class

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[2]Carnegie Mellon is located within Pittsburgh, but is not located in or around Lawrenceville.

neighborhood, they alter long time residents' sense of place, and tend to make them feel out of place and uncomfortable (Zukin 2009). News accounts of gentrification within Lawrenceville are generally consistent with this finding, indicating that the neighborhood's longtime residents felt somewhat uncomfortable about the redevelopment of their former industrial neighborhood. News accounts, however, also suggested that aspects of neighborhood redevelopment perceived as positive by artists and long-time residents alike outweighed such discomfort (e.g., Larussa 2002). Most long-time residents, that is, quickly became aware that their artistic neighbors were attempting to beautify and improve their neighborhood. They were, furthermore, homeowners, and appreciated that the presence of artists in their community could raise (and eventually did raise) their property values. They would have preferred that their neighborhood return to its former status as a thriving blue-collar community, but preferred an artsy gentrifying community to a dilapidated, drug invested and crime ridden urban ghetto. As a result, they did not oppose the artistic redevelopment of their neighborhood.

I did not have time to collect data on the neighborhood's working class population (I lived 6 hours away and had a heavy teaching load), but a significant piece of anecdotal evidence suggests that news accounts of artistic redevelopment within Lawrenceville may have downplayed the level of alienation and cultural discomfort experienced by the neighborhood's working class community. Several Lawrenceville residents, that is, informed me that during the neighborhood's Art All Night art festival, a group of local residents gently mocked the festival by creating a small-scale working class event called *Carp-All-Night*, which invited community members to spend the night drinking and fishing.

Brown-Saracino (2009) demonstrated that artists and other gentrifiers do not necessarily strive to exclude, alienate, or displace long-time residents. Gentrifiers, she argued, generally fit into one of three major types. Some view themselves as *urban pioneers* who strive to replace old-timers and thus facilitate a total social transformation of their community. At the other end of the pole are *social preservationists* who attempt to preserve the cultural character of their neighborhood. Social Preservationists view longtime residents as authentic and desirable neighbors, and endeavor to limit the number of new residents like themselves. In between these two types are *homesteaders* who appreciate the authenticity of old timers' working class culture, but make no significant effort to prevent their displacement. They value cultural diversity, and may be sympathetic to old timers' concerns, "but gentrification's costs for longtime residents and their communities are not their central concern" (Brown-Saracino 2009, p. 10). Typically, their preservationist activities are confined to efforts to preserve the authentic character of their neighborhood's built environment. Lawrenceville artists, roughly speaking, are homesteaders. They value social and cultural diversity, and view the presence of working class residents in their community as symbolic of such diversity. Their preservationist activities, moreover, have been confined to efforts to preserve their neighborhood's built environment. No artist that I communicated with asserted that the neighborhoods artists have made a concerted effort to ensure that long-time residents are not displaced. These artists have strived to create a permanent artistic

presence, not a permanent working class presence. Commitment to diversity among Lawrenceville artists, though, appears to be a little bit more substantial than the commitment to diversity exhibited by the homesteaders discussed by Brown-Saracino. Lawrenceville artists invite long-time residents to their community meetings and artistic events, and many longtime community residents have visited local artist lofts, albeit (usually) out of curiosity. A few have exhibited art at Art All Night. Some of their children, furthermore, have participated in after school art programs sponsored by local artists.

6.2   Creative Class Collaboration

As I will explain in more detail in the following chapter, a substantial body of research has found that postindustrial urban enclaves centered on the activities of struggling artistic gentrifiers continue to be constituted, at least in part, by animosity toward, and practical and/or ideological opposition to individuals (e.g., yuppies), organizations (e.g., corporations), and structures (e.g., urban establishments) that they view, in contemporary terms, as relatively bourgeois (e.g., as relatively mainstream, conventional, or commercial). I had initially expected this frequently expressed theme to be applicable to Lawrenceville's artistic enclave. I did not, however, uncover any evidence that was consistent with this expectation. Instead, I discovered that relations between Lawrenceville artists, yuppies, and major Pittsburgh institutions (corporate, government, and non-profit) were non-oppositional, and constituted by the kind of creative class collaboration described by Florida (2002, 2012).

When I first began to investigate Lawrenceville, I asked dozens of young artists, older artists, gallery owners, and artistic entrepreneurs about antagonism and conflict between Lawrenceville artists and yuppies. Everyone that I spoke to and/or communicated with via e-mail seemed surprised that I asked about this. Some didn't seem to know what I was talking about; they were not aware that such conflict exists in other cities. Everyone expressed the view that past and present relations between Lawrenceville artists and yuppies have not been marked by antagonism or conflict. A Lawrenceville artist (an art photographer), for example, stated, "yuppies who move to the neighborhood are welcome at art parties…everyone is interested in developing the neighborhood so there is no antagonism toward yuppies." A Lawrenceville gallery owner expressed the view that yuppies and other groups in the neighborhood have always been welcome, since we have been "working towards a common goal of cleaning up Lawrenceville and getting a safer name for it as well as helping out our businesses of course." By the end of my second visit to Lawrenceville, such comments led me to conclude that I had been barking up the wrong empirical tree. Since everyone I communicated with claimed that social relations between artists, yuppies, and other neighborhood gentrifiers were constituted by collaboration rather than conflict, I began to seek evidence that such collaboration was actually taking place. Such evidence proved to be plentiful.

Collaboration between artists, yuppies, and other members of Lawrenceville's creative class has been promoted by LC (The Lawrenceville Corporation), and by two other community organizations (Lawrenceville United, and Lawrenceville Stakeholders). LC has played a particularly important role with respect to the collaborative arts-based redevelopment of the neighborhood. LC has attracted funding from The City of Pittsburgh, The Richard King Mellon Foundation, and from Pittsburgh's National City Bank. It has used this funding to support local artists, encourage neighborhood improvement, and provide potential artistic entrepreneurs with assistance. Such assistance has included business planning, locating sources of financial support, site selection, tax and legal issues, zoning variance approval, and marketing and promotion. In addition, the corporation has helped those buying commercial property on one of the neighborhood's main streets (Butler Street or Penn Avenue) to obtain *Streetface Façade Renovation Assistance* from Pittsburgh's *Urban Redevelopment Authority*; The Urban Redevelopment Authority provides forgivable loans of up to $5000 that covers up to 40% of the cost of facade design and renovation. LC also maintains a website (lawrencevillecorp.com) that contains community news and information about local events and meetings, and an additional website designed primarily to attract visitors to the Lawrenceville community (www.Lawrenceville-Pgh.com).

The Lawrenceville Corporation (LC) has also promoted collaboration between artists (roughly half of whom are also entrepreneurs), yuppies, and other creative residents in all sections of Lawrenceville by making them feel part of a united creative community. A local business owner stated: "Business' south of forty have our own events…and work together as do the business's north of forty. It's all brought together by the Lawrenceville Corporation." The corporation, for example, sponsors a happy hour every month or so and invites all of its members, business and residential, to relax at a local bar/restaurant.

LC also helps promote a variety of neighborhood events designed to help local artists and entrepreneurs market themselves and their venues to local residents and visitors. These events include the annual artist studio tour in the fall, The Joy of Cookies Tour in December (local shops give customers free cookies), the Blossom Tour in April (business owners hand out seeds to their customers), and the community's annual art festival (Art All Night). These events welcome, and are generally marketed to those Florida referred to as a creative class. When LC, for example, advertised the 2009 annual artists studio tour, it touted the proposition that exposure to art and artists can be creatively stimulating: "Lawrenceville 2009 Artists Studio Tour…The Bonafide Cure for Anyone Suffering from a Severe Lack of Creative Stimulation-Absolutely No CoPays. This is another free Lawrenceville event."

In 1990, Joseph Kelly opened his shop, *Kelly Custom Furniture and Cabinetry* in a restored turn of the century building that he purchased in Central Lawrenceville. Kelly had studied art at Carnegie Mellon University, and was one of the first artists to move to the neighborhood. He was a member of the Lawrenceville Business association before it merged with the Lawrenceville Development Corporation (a previous community development corporation) to form the

Lawrenceville Corporation, and was a founding member and later president of the Lawrenceville Corporation (2002–2007). He informed me that the merger was encouraged by Pittsburgh's mayor as a cost saving measure and because it was easier for the city to communicate with one rather than two community organizations. The City of Pittsburgh paid for LC's business district manager after the merger. Kelly, however, maintained that Lawrenceville's artistic community "was created by local residents," and that "government and outside organizations just went along with it."

Since Kelly seemed particularly well informed about arts based redevelopment, and was a key player in Lawrenceville's artistic community, I asked him if he was familiar with the work of Richard Florida. I also asked him if Florida was, in any way, involved with the development of the neighborhood's artistic community. Kelly responded by saying that he is very familiar with Richard Florida's work, but never met him. He quickly noted that Lawrenceville's artistic community was not a product of Florida's efforts, but asserted that Lawrenceville's ability to emerge as a hub for artists benefited enormously from creative class collaboration, and referred to Florida's concept of a creative class as "an idea that we were already putting into practice when Florida wrote his best selling book."

6.2.1   Creative Class Collaboration at Art All Night

Lawrenceville's Art All Night has emerged as the community's most publicized and well attended annual event. When I first started investigating Lawrenceville, many artists suggested that I attend it. Art All Night debuted in 1998, after a group of Lawrenceville artists brainstormed new ways to sell their art, and decided to display their art (and drink beer) all night long at a recently purchased but still empty commercial property. Since 1998, it has been institutionalized within Lawrenceville as the community's annual art fair. The first Art All Night was a local event with 101 pieces of art and 200 attendees; Art All Night 2009 had 1034 participants from throughout greater Pittsburgh showing artwork (a 27% increase over 2008) and attendance of over 10,000. The fair has attracted numerous artists and artistic consumers to the Lawrenceville area, and helped solidify Lawrenceville's emerging reputation as an artistic community. It has, moreover, been imitated in other communities (e.g., Trenton, New Jersey).

Art All Night is designed to be thoroughly inclusive. Art All Night's website states that "The show includes and attracts seniors, long-term residents, novice artists, educators, students, seasoned professionals and parents with children of all ages." No work of art is deemed inappropriate or inadequate, and the event is open to the general public. To insure that there is sufficient space for everyone who wants to show their work, Art All Night artists are allowed to show one (and only one) work of art at the event. Since 2008, they have also been able to display (online) images of their artwork all year long (www.artallnight.org/allyear.html).

Art All Night's website indicates that the annual event is at least partly grounded in artistic and cultural values that have been associated with the bohemian tradition. The website, that is, indicates that the annual event is designed to promote artistic expression by all, artistic freedom, and art for arts sake (rather than art for commercial purposes). It also indicates that the annual event is designed to promote Lawrenceville's reputation as a site of artistic and urbane culture:

> Art All Night promotes artistic expression in all walks of life….Our motto is "No Fee, No Jury, No Censorship." And we'd probably add "No Commercialism" too if it didn't make the motto too long and cumbersome. You will see this on all media related to Art All Night and we mean it! Art All Night is also a catalyst for community development, shining a spotlight on our unique neighborhood. Lawrenceville has become a magnet for artisans, lovers of beautiful architecture, and people drawn to the spice and flavor of urban living.

I attended Lawrenceville's Art All Night art fair in 2008 and 2009. In both years, the event was held in an unused warehouse located in Lower Lawrenceville, accompanied by live music and refreshments (food, beer and soda), and included interactive art activities for both children and adults. I noted that some of the artists and attendees wore wild bohemian costumes, or were clad in hipster attire (i.e., edgy urban outfits). Most, however, wore regular street attire. All age groups, from children through senior citizens, appeared to be well represented. Children were busy drawing on the floors/walls of designated sections of the event. The vast majority of the attendees appeared to be white; some appeared to be multi-racial or black. The art itself varied in quality (not all artists were professionals), and were generally priced somewhat lower than comparable art sold in local galleries. Most Art All Night artworks could be purchased for $100 or less; few cost more than $500. Every participant that I spoke to praised the event's diversity and inclusiveness. The most common complaints were a function of the warehouse space that was donated to house the event. In 2008, the lighting was poor, and in 2009, the temperature was too hot due to an unexpected April heat wave. I was unable to attend the 2010 festival, but participants informed me that it was free from such problems.

In the late 1880s, Jules Levy, a writer, bohemian, and astute businessman opened non-selective art exhibits that were followed by costume balls in which participants dressed in extravagant costumes. Levy was part of a late nineteenth century Parisian avant-garde that endeavored to offer an alternative to the artistic exclusivity and cultural monotony of bourgeois society. He staged his first exhibition in an abandoned shopping arcade that had been frequented by the bohemian flâneurs of the 1840s. His exhibitions were done with permission from the Parisian authorities, and were well advertised, and widely popular (Gluck 2005). Like the art exhibitions produced by Levy, Art All Night is a popular artistic spectacle designed to offer a temporary alternative to day-to day urban life. And like the exhibitions produced by Levy, it utilizes marginal urban space to display the art of unestablished artists, and provides an alternative to the ultra-exclusivity of the art fairs that

exist as part of the dominant channels of artistic distribution (e.g., the Venice Biennale, Art Basel) (see Thornton 2008 for a vivid introduction to the mainstream art fair). Unlike its Parisian antecedents, however, Art All Night is constituted by a desire to market a community (Lawrenceville) to the general public. It is also constituted by substantial amount of what Florida referred to as creative class collaboration. Financial support for Art All Night 2009 has been provided by donations from attendees, and from The Lawrenceville Corporation, The Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh, WYEP, and many local businesses. Each year, the event is held at a venue that is offered free of change by a local property owner or businessperson. The planning, organizing, and staffing of the event, furthermore, provides support for Florida's assertion that artists and other members of a larger creative class "often inhabit each other's worlds" (Florida 2002, p. 208). Art All Night is planned and coordinated by an all-volunteer committee composed of artists, business people, and other members of a larger creative class. A diverse group of approximately 150 volunteers helped prepare the venue, construct exhibit panels, assist with registration, hang the art, tend bar, and sell food and Tee Shirts. Art All Night (2009) survey data on the occupational composition of Lawrenceville's artists, moreover, indicate that artistic participants in the neighborhood's 2009 annual art fair include professional artists as well as amateur artists. Of the 41 Lawrenceville residents completing the online survey, 30 reported having an occupation other than "professional artist." Some of these residents, though, may have been too modest to list their occupation as "professional artist" because they earn very little income from the sale of their art. Very few of the neighborhood's professional artists/entrepreneurs, furthermore, filled out the online survey, perhaps because they have the opportunity to continually display work at their own venue, and thus did not feel a need to display their work at Art All Night. Of those who reported an occupation other than professional artist, ten worked in creative class jobs designated by Florida (2002, 2012) as "super creative" (4 Graphic Designers, 2 College Instructors, 1 Writer, 1 Managing Editor, 1 Journalist, and an Architect Intern), five worked in other creative class occupations (4 were employed in various Managerial and Professional jobs, 1 was a store owner), and six reported that they were full time students (future members of the creative class?). Nine worked in a working class or service class jobs (4 clerical workers, 2 food service workers, 1 Machinist, 1 retail salesperson, and 1 Housekeeper). This suggests that Art All Night might be at least somewhat class inclusive (i.e., not restricted to creative class participants). At least some of the Art All Night participants who indicated that they were employed in working class or service class jobs, however, may have been artists who view these jobs as "day jobs" or "eating jobs," but are too insecure or too modest to list their primary occupation as professional artist. Some Art All Night Artists were under the age of 18; these artists were not included in the survey.

6.3   Maintaining a Sustainable Artistic Enclave

The existing research literature on Urban Sociology and Urban Studies has maintained that within the postindustrial city, the growing appeal of artistic enclaves makes these enclaves unsustainable. Artistic enclaves, that is, tend to attract relatively affluent residents, thus launching a gentrification process that culminates in the displacement of their artists and artistic venues. I initially expected the present case study to be consistent with this theme, although I imagined that its rate of artistic displacement would be relatively slow, given Pittsburgh's relatively weak housing market. While reviewing my case study data, however, I came to the conclusion that the present case study constitutes a counterexample to this theme. I discovered, that is, that Lawrenceville's artistic enclave has utilized a variety of creative class practices to achieve long term sustainability (i.e., collaborating with a larger creative class to promote artist ownership of residential and commercial space, secure community owned artist housing, integrate art and commerce, and maintain a vibrant artistic creative class scene).

6.3.1   Securing Sustainable Space

During the 1990s the cost of real estate within Lawrenceville was extremely low and remained virtually unchanged; in 1999 the median price for a Lawrenceville house was still only $25,000. Kelly and other local artists feared, however, that the arts based redevelopment of their neighborhood would eventually cause real estate prices within their community to rise dramatically, thus leading to their displacement. They were aware that in other cities (e.g., New York), artists had become priced out of the very communities that they themselves had developed. Kelly decided that there is "an easy fix for this problem." Artists, he proclaimed, could buy into their community while it is still affordable. He encouraged the Lawrenceville Business Association and, later, the Lawrenceville Corporation to urge artists to purchase residential and commercial space, and help them to obtain low cost loans and other sources of financial support provided by governmental and financial institutions. As a result, the vast majority of Lawrenceville's artist entrepreneurs own the space that houses their artistic or artsy enterprise. Many of these artists live above their space. Artists that are not entrepreneurs often own their own art studio/living space.

A substantial number of Lawrenceville artists, moreover, secured a long-term presence in their community by obtaining community owned artist housing. This housing was originally developed by Artists and Cities Inc., a local non-profit real estate firm. The firm's executive director and part owner, Linda Metropulous, also owns a green buildings supply business within Lawrenceville. Her firm initiated two artist housing projects, Ice House Studios and Blackbird Lofts. Ice House Studios, located on 43rd street in Central Lawrenceville, was built in 1907 as Factory Number 2 of the Consolidated Ice Company. Artists and Cities purchased

the building in 2000; it had been vacant for 15 years. The building has extremely high ceilings and thick walls, rendering it highly suitable for conversion to artistic space. The building now contains 36 studios; these studios have been rented at a relatively low cost (e.g., $235 for 427 ft^2). Blackbird Lofts is a new mixed-use complex on 35th and Butler Street in Lower Lawrenceville that includes a lower level garage, ground floor retail space, and 15 loft-style apartments. The complex features green construction, and its scale and its detailing was designed to dove nicely with Lawrenceville's nineteenth century character. The ground floor contains an art gallery with street level visibility and a performance/event space. Blackbird Lofts sold 5 units as condos and maintains ten low cost studios rented to jury chosen artists; rents range from $397 for 410 ft^2 to $619 for 515 ft^2. Both of these artist housing projects were financed through loans from several Pittsburgh banks and from Pennsylvania's urban redevelopment authority. Lawrenceville has been deemed an enterprise zone by the state of Pennsylvania, and was thus eligible for urban redevelopment assistance. The projects also received support from 15 local foundations. In 2006, the Ice House Studios and Blackbird Lofts were taken over by LC. LC has thus become a landlord to artists. The rent that it collects from these artists helps enable it to support its operations.

The typical member of Lawrenceville's artistic enclave is not "starving," but struggles economically. She or he lives on a modest income, and requires modest rental or home ownership costs. Among the 41 Lawrenceville residents completing the 2009 Art All Night Artist Survey, the median income was $30,000 (mean = $34,943; Standard Deviation = $21,784). Among the eighteen Lawrenceville residents who indicated that they rented an apartment, the median rent was $650 (mean was $644; Standard deviation = $172). The fifteen Lawrenceville residents who reported that they own a home paid a median purchase price of $50,000 (mean = $62,981; Standard Deviation = $43,843). Nine Lawrenceville residents indicated that do not pay rent or own a home (i.e., they live in a home financed by a parent(s) or by a partner or spouse).

The arts based redevelopment of the neighborhood did eventually cause real estate prices to rise, but this rise was slow, and the neighborhood's real estate has so far remained available and affordable to most potential artistic residents. A (2011) report prepared by the City of Pittsburgh's Department of City Planning revealed that within each of Lawrenceville's three wards, vacancy rates were 19% in Upper Lawrenceville, 14.1% in Central Lawrenceville, and 14.9% in Lower Lawrenceville. The report also indicated that housing values and sales prices remained modest or, in the case of upper Lawrenceville (the neighborhood's least developed ward), remained minimal. During the 2000–2010 time frame, the median *value* of housing (in 2010 dollars) rose from 46,856 to $56,900 in Lower Lawrenceville, $41,950–$66,850 in Central Lawrenceville, and $35,900–$38,000 in Upper Lawrenceville. In 2010, the median *sale price* for houses was 65,000 in Lower Lawrenceville, 67,500, in Central Lawrenceville, and $38,000 in Upper Lawrenceville. Most houses available for sale within the area, however, are dilapidated, and many are not up to code. Artists who purchased such homes have rendered them suitable for residential and/or commercial use via sweat equity and/or low cost subsidized loans.

In 2010, the City of Pittsburgh had an overall vacancy rate of 12.8%, and the median sale price was only $75,000. Pittsburgh, however, is not immune to the price pressures of gentrification, and does face the specter of artist displacement. In the relatively gentrified South Side, housing has gone up substantially, although not to astronomical levels. In the South Side Flats area, South Side's most convenient section, the median value of housing (in 2010 dollars) was $77,100 in 2000 but rose to $153,750 by 2010. In 2010, the median sale price was $174,500. This price point is affordable to most members of the middle class, but not to most artists. In the South Side Slopes, the median 2010 housing price was $78,917, a price point that is relatively affordable. South Side Slopes, however, is not a walkable neighborhood, and thus far less conducive to the maintenance of an artistic scene. Artists who live in the slopes must walk or ride down a steep hill to get to Carson Street, the area's main commercial corridor.

6.3.2   Integrating Art and Commerce

Lawrenceville's artistic enclave has enhanced its sustainability, at least in part, by combining the sale of art with the sale of artisan goods and other consumer products, thus exemplifying the integration of art and commerce highlighted by Florida. The community's offerings are generally low or mid-priced–rather than high end—and are viewed and promoted by LC as a neighborhood based creative and artistic alternative to the boredom of "big box" (i.e., standardized) shopping. The shopping section of LC's visitors website states:

> Have decades of big box shopping got you down in the dumps? Not feeling the love at the national chains? Come to Lawrenceville for your retail therapy cure. Our business districts are home to independently owned shops, studios, and art galleries that runneth over with one-of-kind finds….Creativity runs deep in our neighborhood culture, and locally made goods are strongly represented. In fact, you might just be buying your favorite new thing directly from the artist who created it (www.lawrenceville-pgh.com/shop).

The web sites of the neighborhood's individual shops, moreover, market their products in a manner that is consistent with LC's assertion that the community's offerings constitute a creative and artistic alternative to products that are commonly sold within typical retail stores. Divertido, for example, a gift boutique in lower Lawrenceville, sells artist made fashion accessories—including embroidered bags, hand-dyed scarves and jewelry—quirky retro cards and dinnerware, non-traditional baby garb, and designs for home décor. It advertises its goods—in its local ads and on its website—as being "uncommon," and produced by "interesting skilled artists and artisans."

Goods that are relatively uncommon and/or not mass produced can be, but are not necessarily constituted as culturally "hip" (i.e., cutting edge cool). A unique piece of artist-made pottery, for example, may be quite conventional. My observations of Lawrenceville's artsy establishments suggest that many, but not most of Lawrenceville's artistic products appear to be constituted as culturally "hip," and

designed to appeal to hipsters and others who frequently or occasionally engage in hip consumption. In order to successfully integrate art and commerce (i.e., make a living), most Lawrenceville's artists and entrepreneurs strive to create a wider demand for their creative products. The results of a 2009 survey of Lawrenceville artists that I developed in conjunction with Art All Night, Lawrenceville's annual art fair, are consistent with these observations. In this survey, 73% of Lawrenceville artists who submitted their work to Art All Night stated that their community provides excellent opportunities for the consumption of products that are *not mass produced*, while 46% stated that their community provides excellent opportunities for the consumption of products that are *uncommon.* Only 29%, however, affirmed that their community provides excellent opportunities for the consumption of products that are *culturally hip*.

6.3.3   Maintaining Sustainable Alternative Art Galleries

Lawrenceville's art galleries are *alternative* (i.e., they exist outside, and are not connected to the dominant channels of artistic distribution). Zukin (1982) predicted that such galleries would generally (1) face considerable difficulty selling their art, and (2) be unable to sustain themselves financially. The present case study supports the first prediction, but not the last. Lawrenceville gallery owners find it hard to sell art, but in most cases, they manage to survive. Nearly all Lawrenceville gallery owners raise money by selling their artistic atmosphere to a larger creative class; they throw art parties and charge admissions and/or ask for donations. Many private gallery owners, moreover, achieved financial survival, in part, because they own their gallery space and (in many cases) attached living space. Thus, they avoid rent entirely, and have a very low mortgage. A Lawrenceville gallery owner stated that "… The gallery owners who also own their building are making it. The gallery owners who rent are having a hard time. I live above my gallery…" (E-Mail correspondence).

   Not all Lawrenceville galleries, however, have survived. During the primary period of my research (2006–2009), three of these galleries closed their doors. One of these galleries, LaVie, was opened by Bronwyn Loughren and Thommy Conroy in 2006. The gallery's monthly art parties were very popular, and the gallery was heralded by local art bloggers for showing excellent work by young artists. The gallery, however, had trouble attracting art buyers, and was only able to survive for two years (Shaw 2008). Two of the galleries that closed—*The Digging Pitt Gallery* and a "sister gallery" named *Digging Pitt Too*—were cooperative galleries that opened in Central Lawrenceville in 2005. The Digging Pitt galleries were launched by John Morris, who had exhibitions in New York galleries and in New York's Museum of Modern Art. These galleries were notable in that they put the work of hundreds of unestablished artists in sets of "flat files" that potential buyers could browse. Despite the fact that both of these galleries were started by an artist who was relatively well established, they had great difficulty attracting buyers, and closed in Jan 2008 (Shaw 2008).

As of December 2009, Lawrenceville contains twenty art galleries.[3] Nine of these galleries were located in Lower Lawrenceville (LoLa), seven in Central Lawrenceville, and four in Upper Lawrenceville. All of the neighborhood's private galleries are owned and operated by artists. All (except Everyone An Artist, and Fe Gallery), furthermore, are completely independent. Everyone an Artist, is publicly supported, and is Pittsburgh's only Gallery devoted to artists with disabilities. Its "Everyone an Artist program" provides a training center and gallery where adults with developmental disabilities and/or mental illness can engage in the process of creating art and participating in the local art community. Fe Arts Gallery is privately owned, but receives substantial subsidies from the health and human service organizations that it partners with. Its exhibitions directly reflect societal issues that are of concern to its external partners (e.g., Pennsylvania Blind Services, Habitat for Humanity, Allegheny County's Mental Health Mental Retardation Center (MH/MR), Society for Suicide Prevention and America's Camp, an organization dedicated to the children who lost a parent in the 9/11 attacks). One independent gallery, Upper Lawrenceville's The Slaughterhouse Gallery and Studios is a cooperative art gallery and contains an artistic production site utilized by its artist owners.

The neighborhood's independent galleries generally maintain financial viability because they are not simply art galleries. A Lawrenceville gallery owner expressed the view that "If you have more than just art I think it works a little better, like framing and selling crafts too." Only two of the neighborhood's galleries (BluBrix Art in Lower Lawrenceville, and Ash Galleries in Upper Lawrenceville) confine themselves to selling art and throwing art parties. To varying extents, the rest have enhanced their sustainability by blurring the lines between the alternative art gallery and the artsy retail establishment (see Table 6.1). They are constituted by art exhibition space as well as display space for a wide variety of artistic consumer offerings, including utilitarian art (e.g., furniture, pottery designed for home use), and art that is designed to be worn (e.g., jewelry art, clothing accessories, tee shirts). Some of these galleries, furthermore, compliment the sale of art with art-related services (e.g., framing, restoration), art classes (for adults, children, or the disabled), or the sale of non-artistic offerings. Such offerings include food and coffee (e.g., a café and pastry shop), yoga and meditation classes, rentable space (e.g., for birthday parties) and, in one case, liqueur (i.e., bottled wine produced and sold legally in an art gallery basement).

In Lower Lawrenceville, mixed use galleries include: *Birds of a Feather*, a gallery space and art studio in which artist/owners Emily Acita and Katie Koffler create textile art, paintings, drawings, and jewelry; *Borelli-Edwards Galleries*, in which owner Joy Borelli-Edwards offers the services of fine art appraisals, estate sales, general and archival framing, installations and print and painting restoration and provides an exhibition space which displays the work of regional artists and Japanese prints and

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[3]All of the galleries that opened prior to year 2000 located in Lower Lawrenceville with the exception of the gallery on 43rd Street, which located in Central Lawrenceville (see Table 6.1). Since year 2000, new galleries have opened throughout Lawrenceville.

Table 6.1 Lawrenceville galleries (May 2009)

Gallery	Year opened	Location[a]	Type[b]	Art	Other offerings
1. Ash Galleries	2005	UL	PI	Varied	None
2. Birds of a Feather	2007	LL	PI	Varied, including textile art	Jewelry
3. BlueBrix Art	–	LL	PI	Mixed media, digital	None
4. Borelli-Edwards Galleries	1978	LL	PI	Varied, including Japanese prints	Appraisals, framing, installations, restorations
5. Eclectic Art and Framing gallery	1986	LL	PI	Varied	Decorative art, custom framing
6. Everyone an Artist	2001	CL	NP	Varied	Art classes for the disabled
7. Fe Gallery	2003	CL	NP	Varied; art exhibitions pertaining to social issues	Symposiums, poetry readings, artist workshops
8. The Framery	2005	LL	PI	Varied	Framing
9. Gallery G. Glass	1998	LL	PI	Hand blown glass	Private instruction, hotshop rental, rental of hotshop and gallery for corporate events and parties
10. Gallery on 43rd	1994	CL	PI	Arts and crafts	Sells arts and crafts for display or household use
11. Hawk Studios and Gallery	2007	UL	PI	Photography	Classes for adults and children
12. Humble Beginnings Art Gallery/Pastry Coffee Café		CL	PI	Paintings	Café open to public, small signs, posters, framing
13. Kilm-N-Time	2005	LL	PI	Handcrafted work (wood, ceramic, glass, flatware)	Paint your own pottery studio, art supplies, workshops, individual instruction, and birthday party packages for adults and children
14. Luke and Eloy	2008	UL	PI	Specializes in jewelry art; also exhibits fine art, craft, and design	Started online artist community
15. Rieder Photography	1986	LL	PI	Fine art prints	Wine; small winery in basement

Table 6.1 (continued)

Gallery	Year opened	Location[a]	Type[b]	Art	Other offerings
16. Slaughterhouse Gallery	2001	UL	C	Varied	Monthly *Third Friday* poetry and writers series called "Choice Cuts;" artisan products (including furniture, pottery, and metalwork), art classes
17. Metialier Fine Metals Studio	2001	CL	PI	Fine art (metals, sculpture)	Jewelry, furnishings and accessories
18. Radha Art Gallery	–	LL	NP	Spiritual (Krishna) art	Yoga classes, meditation classes, astrology readings, jewelry, spiritual books
19. Trinity Gallery	2005	CL	PI	Varied	Art and photography classes
20. Zombo Gallery	2007	CL	PI	Pop cultural and "low brow" art (cartooning, hotrod, monster, tattoo)	T shirts, art classes

[a]*LL* Lower Lawrenceville, *CL* Central Lawrenceville, *UP* Upper Lawrenceville
[b]*PI* Private Independent, *C* Cooperative, *NP* Non Profit Organization

paintings, and produce eco-friendly moulding, *Eclectic Art & Framing Gallery*, which offers an eclectic selection of fine art, oil paintings, watercolors, limited edition graphics, sculpture, decorative art and custom framing; *The Framery* in which owner/artist, Debra Bongiovanni and framer/manager, Susan Carver, provide custom picture framing to artists, art owners, interior designers, decorators and corporations, and provide exhibition space to a variety of artists; *Gallery G. Glass Inc.*, a glass studio and gallery in which owner Gary Guydosh produces hand-blown glass, and provides private instruction, hotshop rental, and rents the Hotshop and Gallery for corporate events and parties; *Kiln-N-Time*, which contains a gallery that displays handcrafted work by local artists (wood, ceramic, glass, flatware) art supplies, and a paint your own pottery studio that conducts workshops and provides one-on-one classes for children and adults[4]; *Radha Art Gallery*, which is owned by Krishna Ministry, and displays artwork and also provides yoga classes, astrology readings, meditation

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[4]Sandy Simon, owner of Kiln-N-Time pottery studio, was recognized in the 2008 Best 50 Women in Business list, awarded by Governor Rendell and the Pennsylvania Department of Community and Economic Development. Sandy was selected for her high level of community involvement (e.g., she established an after—school pottery program for at—risk children in Lawrenceville), dedication to business growth, professional and personal accomplishments, and advocacy for women in business.

practices, jewelry, and spiritual books, and *Rieder Photography*, Inc., which offers fine art prints for sale, but also contains a small winery in the basement that contains a couple of stainless-steel fermenting tanks, dozens of wood barrels, and glass bottles of all sizes.

Mixed use galleries in Central Lawrenceville include *Gallery on 43rd*, which sells arts and crafts for display and/or household use; *Humble Beginnings Art Gallery/Pastry Coffee Café*, which sells paintings as well as small signs posters and framing and provides a café open to the public; *Metalier Fine Metals Studio* which provides a gallery and workspace for metals, Jewelry sculpture, furnishings and accessories; Trinity Gallery, which exhibits fine art photography and provides art and photography classes, and Zombo Gallery which exhibits pop cultural and "low brow" art (cartooning, hotrod, monster and tattoo art and provides art classes and t-shirts).

Mixed use galleries in Upper Lawrenceville include Hawk Studios and Gallery, which also offers wheel-thrown and hand-built ceramics classes for adults and children, silk painting classes, sign language classes, and ceramic supplies; Luke and Eloy, which specializes in Jewelry art but also showcases fine art and Slaughterhouse Gallery and Studios, which is a cooperative art gallery and artistic production site that sells art and artisan goods (i.e., furniture, sculpture, photography, metalwork) and offers classes in painting, pottery, and yoga. Slaughterhouse Gallery also allows "Choice Cuts" to use its space. "Choice cuts" is a monthly reading series that features the works of local poets.

6.3.4   Maintaining a Sustainable Artistic Creative Class Scene

Oldenburg (2001) demonstrated that "Third Places" enable community members to find refuge from home and work (the first and second places), and provide space for informal conversation that can generate ideas, foster community building, and facilitate social networks. Within the Parisian bohemias of the nineteenth century, and within bohemian enclaves more generally, cafes have often played a central role in artistic life. They have provided artists with opportunities to network with other artists and with patrons, and provided informal exhibition space for experimental art. Artists have shown their paintings (or distributed their writings) at café tables, or displayed their art on cafe walls. In some cases, artists received their mail at cafes and/or lived in them during periods of extreme economic destitution. Cafes also provided bohemians with forums for intense discussions about art, politics, and culture, and were constituted as sites of cultural and (in some cases) political opposition (Wilson 2000). Like the third places of bohemia, the third places of Lawrenceville's artistic enclave have been central to its artistic scene, and have functioned to support artistic social networking, offer space for artistic and intellectual discussion, and provide alternative space for the display of art. They have not, however, been constituted as sites of cultural or political opposition, or as

temporary residential space. Unlike the third places that have been described within historic and contemporary accounts of bohemia, moreover, they have functioned to enable artists and other members of Lawrenceville's creative class to enhance their community's ability to redevelop its residential and commercial corridors, and obtain support from Pittsburgh's cultural, governmental, and corporate establishment. Many artists, local business owners, and other Lawrenceville residents, for example, regularly go to a café called "Perk Me Up" on Saturday mornings to have coffee, hang out, find out what is going on within the neighborhood, and discuss issues pertaining to the collaborative redevelopment of their community.

2009 Art All Night survey data suggests that the neighborhood's cafés are the most common sites for regular artistic and intellectual discussion (see Table 5.2). When Lawrenceville artists (n = 41) were asked "Do you go to any of the following types of places (in Lawrenceville) on a regular basis to discuss art (or ideas that are related to art)?," the number answering "yes" to the places listed on the survey was (25) Café, (20) Gallery, (19) bar, (14) restaurant, (8) Bowling Alley, and (9) other. Some readers may be surprised that the community's galleries were number 2 on the list of artistic discussion sites. Art galleries are often thought of simply as places where potential art consumers can view art for possible purchase. Within Lawrenceville, however, art galleries have been constituted as important third places of community life. These galleries not only offer display space, but host numerous art parties and other artistic events that provide local artists and art fans with public space for social networking and for discussions about art and art related ideas. After the parties and events are over, these discussions are often continued at local bars and other third places within the neighborhood.

It is not surprising that bars were third on the list of artistic discussion sites. The life of struggling artists has often been associated with the heavy use of alcohol (and other drugs), and cheap bars and other establishments that serve low cost liquor have often been constituted as sites of artistic discussion. It is thus at least somewhat ironic that Lawrenceville artists have worked with local community organizations to *prevent* low cost bars from opening within their community. Lawrenceville artists often patronize bars themselves, and are not ideologically opposed to cheap alcohol, but wish to ensure that their community does not follow the example of South Side. In the 1990s and early 2000s, South Side produced a vibrant alternative scene constituted by artists and members of numerous alternative subcultures. During the 2000s, however, South Side's alternative scene gradually became overshadowed by a rising college bar scene.[5] South Side now has 125 bars, and nearly all of them cater primarily to college students. Several Southside artists informed me that they now prefer to hang out outside Southside because the community's bars, along with its overall cultural atmosphere is now dominated by college students. An administrator of a Pittsburgh arts organization who was part of South Side's alternative scene during her younger years (the 1990s) stated:

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[5]South Side was particularly vulnerable to this fate because Pittsburgh's college student population is much larger than its population of artists and art fans.

Table 6.2 Do you go to any of the following types of places (in Lawrenceville) on a regular basis to discuss art (or ideas that are related to art)?

Type of place	% who answered "yes"
Café	61
Bar	46
Gallery	49
Bowling alley	20
Restaurant	34
Other	22

Asked only of Art All Night artists who live in Lawrenceville
Respondents were allowed to answer yes to more than on category

> The South Side shifted away from serving as the central location for a variety of subcultures (artists, skaters, Goths, punks, bikers, etc.) when more and more bars catering to college students opened. There are some small havens left in the South Side (Dee's and the Beehive), but for the most part I think that many of the groups from that period in time have moved on to other locations, some within the city and some not.

To prevent Lawrenceville's artistic scene from being overshadowed by a rising college bar scene, Lawrenceville artists participated in an organized community effort to establish and enforce zoning regulations that prevent neighborhood bars from specializing in the sale of cheap liqueur (e.g., $1 drinks). Matt Galluzzo, the Lawrenceville Corporation's current Executive Director, informed me that before someone is allowed to open a new bar in Lawrenceville, they must meet with representatives of the Lawrenceville Corporation, Lawrenceville United (a local community group), and the liquor Licensing Commission. After the meeting, they must write a memo of understanding that will be attached to their liquor license. Future bar owners must specify within these memos that they plan to derive at least 25% of their income from sale of food, and will not serve drinks that cost less than $2.

One bar, "the brillobox," constitutes a particularly important third place within the Lawrenceville area. Many Lawrenceville residents that I spoke to consider this bar to be part of Lawrenceville, but the bar is actually located in Bloomfield near the Lawrenceville/Bloomfield border. The downstairs portion of the bar serves reasonably priced, though not dirt-cheap food and liquor. The upstairs portion of this bar provides display space for Pittsburgh artists and a hangout for local artists, hipsters, and college students. It also has a stage that is frequently used for live performances (e.g., underground rock bands), film screenings and other cultural events. Two native Pittsburghers, Eric Stern and Renee Ickes opened the bar in 2005. Stern and Ickes are native Pittsburghers and former New York artists. For several years, Stern was the registrar at the James Cohan Gallery in Chelsea, a major New York art gallery. Stern and Ickes named their bar "the brillobox" in honor of a work of pop art by Andy Warhol, who was a Pittsburgh resident before becoming a New York artist and pop culture icon (McNulty 2005). David Cherry, 29, the creative coordinator of *The Incredibly Thin Collective*, which has performed at the Brillobox, described the bar in a manner consistent with Florida's (2002, 2012) concept of the creative ethos: "It has a maturity to it, a respectability to it. It still has that punk rock ethic, but they're doing it also as a business. A lot of people

our age have been trying to jell that their whole life." (quoted by McNulty 2005). David Cherry also stated that "The feel that it has—the music, the ambience—is great. People want to stay there, they want to talk. I hear a lot of conversations happening there" (McNulty 2005, p. 1).

In 2006, I attended an upstairs "costume party" at the brillobox. Like the popular bohemian cabarets of late nineteenth century Paris (Gluck 2005), the party was constituted by participants in creative costumes who were part of a vibrant, non-exclusive artistic spectacle. Nearly all of the partiers appeared to be young (in their twenties), and clad in "costumes" that were actually highly creative ensembles of artsy and/or culturally hip attire. My wife and I were admitted to the costume party despite the fact that we were dressed in relatively conventional attire. Edgy pop art was displayed on the walls (e.g., a picture of a crying kid who cut off the heard of his teddy bear), and after 10PM a local band played alternative rock music on the small stage at the front of the room. Like David Cherry, I found the scene to be vibrant; most attendees appeared animated, and engrossed in conversation.

Restaurants were ranked fourth on the Art All Night survey list of artistic discussion sites. Many of the restaurants that I observed were not only constituted as eating establishments and third places; they also displayed art and/or artisan goods available for sale. Lawrenceville's Coca Café, for example, where I purchased a huge, creatively prepared omelet with cinnamon toast for $6.95, displayed the work of many local artists on its walls. For the most part, these works were priced from $100 to $300. In the men's bathroom, I noticed that there were two art photos on the bathroom wall. One was of an old facet and another was of a sink; both were priced at $250. A large painting was prominently displayed on the wall of the small corner room where my assistant and I were eating. The work, which was on loan from a gallery, was by Jolanda Gorrman, a Dutch artist who is friends with the restaurants' owner. The painting portrayed decadent yuppies strung out (intoxicated) in a fancy home. Three young people with funky hair and hip attire were discussing the painting.

Some readers might be surprised that my survey list of regular sites of artistic discussion included a bowling alley. Bowling allies are generally considered emblematic of traditional working class (as opposed to artistic) culture, but Lawrenceville contains a bowling alley, Arsenal Lanes, that is popular with artists, hipsters, and college students. Since the 1990s, hip consumption has often been constituted by the appropriation of working class culture (e.g., wearing a trucker cap) to signify a cultural alternative to middle class sterility and conformity (Grief et al. 2010). Arsenal Lanes has modern bowling equipment, but has maintained its original interior, which is now over forty years old; this gives the place a hip-retro look. Its bar area provides space for DJ's as well as local alternative bands. One of these DJ's, Zombie, who is also a musician, owns Lawrenceville's Zombie Gallery, an edgy pop art establishment, and is employed at radio station WRCT. During August 2009, Zombie Gallery co-sponsored an event with the bowling alley called "Art Goes Bowling." One hundred Pittsburgh artists went to Zombie gallery where they were given one used Arsenal Lanes bowling pin to paint, carve, airbrush or otherwise artistically alter. The pins were displayed at the bowling alley for eleven

days and available for purchase during the event's free opening and closing parties, which were hosted by DJ Zombie. The pins were on sale for $25 each; each artist whose pin was purchased got the entire proceeds.

6.4 Long-Term Sustainability

Lawrenceville's artistic enclave has experienced structural contradictions similar to the ones described by Zukin (1982). Members of Pittsburgh's creative class have enjoyed the artistic environment generated by Lawrenceville's artists, but have not purchased their artwork in quantities sufficient to enable these artists to make a living simply from selling art. The presence of these artists, moreover, has helped produce a gentrification process that has slowly raised real estate values. Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, however, has now been in existence for over 20 years, and is still sustainable. I attribute this to the fact Lawrenceville's artists confronted the structural contradictions that they faced with a relatively high level of reflexivity. They were well aware that previous artistic communities have faced the specter of rising rents, and artist displacement. They were also well aware of (and welcomed) the fact that yuppies, hipsters, and others defined by Florida as part of a larger creative class are often attracted to artistic consumer offerings, and that corporate, non-profit, and governmental elites generally view the arts based redevelopment of deindustrialized communities as consistent with their economic development agendas. They thus attempted to enhance their community's level of economic sustainability and avoid their geographical displacement by marketing their alternative artistic establishments and venues to their city's creative class, and by collaborating with other members of their city's creative class to obtain a degree of individual and community support from corporations, foundations, and government agencies. Such support has facilitated their ability to purchase live/work and commercial space, and acquire non-profit artist housing. Such collaboration has also enabled them to prevent their artistic scene from being overshadowed by a college bar scene.

6.5 Is Lawrenceville Bohemian: Views from the Community

Joseph Kelly described Lawrenceville as a creative class community but pointed out that "Some Lawrenceville artists do consider themselves to be bohemians," and noted that "the Dean of a School of Fine Arts moved to the area because "he wanted to be bohemian." An artist and gallery owner in the community informed me that as a young man, he didn't spend much time in Soho because his mother said it was

dangerous. He noted that he moved to Lawrenceville, in part, because he did not want to miss out, once again, on the chance to be part of a bohemian community. Very few Lawrenceville artists that I spoke to or otherwise communicated with, however, claimed that they or their community is bohemian. Some residents, I might add, indicated that they don't like labeling themselves or their community. One Art All Night 2008 artist, for example, expressed this quite vividly, and revealed his creative class identity and greedy inclinations by stating, "Labels inhibit. I'm a capitalist pig who is creative!

In videotaped interviews available on LC's visitors website ([www. Lawrenceville-Pgh.com](www.Lawrenceville-Pgh.com)) and on you-tube, local residents do not describe their community as "bohemian." Their comments, however, are consistent with the proposition that in some respects, their community maintains a degree of continuity with bohemian tradition. These residents, that is, asserted that their community offers a relatively cool, authentic, and artistic alternative to mass production and consumption, and to the sterility and isolation of standardized space. Alissa Martin, co-owner of Pavement stated in that: "in an age of strip malls and outdoor malls disguised as neighborhoods, we knew we wanted the real thing." Roger Levine and Jeff Gordon, co-owners of a Lawrenceville store that sells Retro-Mod Décor asserted, "There's a shared sense of community and artistic endeavor…Not a cookie cutter environment, a grass roots community." Katy DeLancey, a Lawrenceville resident, moreover described her community as similar to New York's East Village, a community well known for its cool bohemian legacy and cultural style: "I often compare Lawrenceville to the East Village in New York…A little bit gritty a lot of art, a bit of a hustle bustle vibe that reminds me of New York. " She also asserted, "Pittsburgh residents bring their friends to show them the neighborhood, demonstrate that Pittsburgh is cool.

In part, the avoidance or rejection of the bohemian label by most Lawrenceville artists and other Lawrenceville residents could be due, at least in part, to the fact that they, like previous generations, have compared the realities of life in their artistic community to romanticized images of bohemia's past, and thus believe that the realities of their present community does not deserve the exalted bohemian label (Lloyd 2006). Like many of the artists studied by Lloyd (2006), several artists that I communicated with expressed the view that Lawrenceville "is not Paris in the twenties." The fact that they typically refrain from defining their community as bohemian, however, is, in my view, grounded primarily in the fact that in fundamental ways, their community really does diverge substantially from bohemian tradition. Echoing Florida's contention that contemporary artists have embraced a Big Morph of bohemian and bourgeois culture, a Lawrenceville artist and gallery owner maintained, "In my opinion Lawrenceville does not resemble bohemian communities of the past. The artists, even though they are of a freer spirit tend to… have homes and businesses to maintain" and "need to have a strong work ethic to keep the money coming in." An administrator for a local cultural organization argued that Lawrenceville's artistic community should not be defined as bohemian because "Bohemian has too much of an underclass connotation. It implies that society generally looks down on you, but that you don't care…." Bohemian

enclaves, as this administrator appreciates, have been centered on the activities of artists who were not property owners and who were, in the vast majority of cases, constituted an alienated and voluntary artistic underclass. Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, on the other hand, is centered on the activities of struggling artistic entrepreneurs who avoid underclass status via property ownership, and integration into a larger creative class.

6.6   An Artistic Creative Class Enclave

The case study presented here demonstrated that Lawrenceville's artistic enclave maintains a significant degree of continuity with the cumulative practices of bohemia. Like numerous classic and contemporary manifestations of bohemia, it is centered on the activities of struggling urban artists who moved to a gritty urban neighborhood in search of affordable, aesthetically interesting live/work space, culturally and artistically stimulating third places, and opportunities to express their artistic and personal freedom via alternative production and consumption. Unlike the denizens of classic (and neo) bohemia, however, their engagement with such practices does not appear to be animated by a cultural ethos that is distinctly bohemian. Instead, it appears to be animated by a creative ethos that transcends the bourgeois-bohemian divide via a morph of bourgeois economic practicality and hard work, and bohemian creative expressiveness. Lawrenceville artists, moreover, do not oppose, and welcome—as neighbors, collaborators, visitors, and customers —members of a larger creative class who have generally been viewed within bohemia as the "bourgeois other" (e.g., yuppies). They fear that the larger creative class could price them out of their neighborhood, but unlike those who have been relatively bohemian, they have not coped with this fear via resigned acceptance, or via attempts to alleviate it through social protest or anti-yuppie art. Instead, they have built a sustainable artistic enclave by engaging in (and rendering non-controversial) practices would be denounced (i.e., as "selling out" or "bour-geois") within an enclave whose ethos is more throughly bohemian. They have, that is, engaged in organized collaboration with a larger creative class, and with their city's creative class (corporate and governmental) establishment to purchase live/work and commercial space, integrate art and commerce, and market their art, artisan goods, and artistic atmospheres. Their artistic enclave thus constitutes a successful (i.e., sustainable) example of the creative class subtype that I previously defined as the ***Artistic Creative Class Enclave***, *a neighborhood based artistic enclave that is animated by a creative ethos that transcends the bourgeois-bohemian divide, and that endeavors to achieve long-term sustainability by welcoming, marketing to, and engaging in organized collaboration with members of a larger creative class.* In the next chapter, I maintain that this enclave constitutes a counterexample to the dominant academic narrative about post-industrial artistic enclaves, and compare and contrast it with related community types.

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Chapter 7
An Alternative to the Dominant Academic Narrative

Abstract Lawrenceville's artistic enclave is centered on the activities of struggling artistic gentrifiers within a post-industrial context. In this chapter, I begin by organizing existing scholarly research findings and theoretical assertions about such enclaves into four major themes. These themes constitute what I refer to as the *dominant academic narrative* about post-industrial artistic enclaves. This narrative maintains, in short, that in major urban centers, struggling artistic gentrifiers continue to express antagonism toward and opposition to a post-industrial bourgeoisie that welcomes and benefits from, but ultimately displaces their artistic enclaves. I then discuss Lawrenceville's *artistic creative class enclave*, maintaining that the existence of such an enclave constitutes an alternative to the dominant academic narrative. Finally, I compare Lawrenceville's artistic enclave to three related community types.

Keywords Bohemia · Neo-bohemia · Mele · Lloyd · Artistic enclaves · Artistic communities · Zukin · Loft living · Post-industrial city · Creative class

7.1 The Dominant Academic Narrative

A growing body of academic scholarship has studied artistic enclaves centered on the activities of struggling artistic gentrifiers within post-industrial society. This research has utilized a variety of disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives to assess the nature, characteristics, and ultimate fate of such enclaves in numerous urban contexts (e.g., Zukin 1982; Jaccoby 1987; Mele 2000; Lloyd 2002, 2006; Ley 2003; Brockbank 2006; Vivant 2010; Marti-Costa and Miquel 2012; Morgan and Ren 2012; Forkert 2013).[1] Although these assessments have been diverse, they have been consistent with, or offered at least some degree of support for four major themes.

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[1]Such assessments typically utilize the term bohemia to describe and conceptualize the communities under investigation. Scholars focused solely on artists as neighborhood gentrifiers (rather than as purveyors of a subcultural alternative) however, generally eschew this term (see, for example, Ley 2003).

First, creative artistic enclaves centered on the activities of struggling urban artistic gentrifiers continue to be constituted, at least in part, by animosity toward, and practical and/or ideological opposition to individuals (e.g., yuppies), organizations (e.g., corporations), and structures (e.g., urban establishments) that they view, in contemporary terms, as relatively bourgeois (e.g., as relatively mainstream, conventional, or commercial). Such animosity and opposition, though, has been constituted differently within different socio-spatial contexts, and has not necessarily been intense. In her pioneering study of post-industrial loft living, Zukin described the struggling artistic enclave that emerged in New York's Soho. This enclave obtained a modicum of support from the bourgeois establishment (i.e., government agencies and corporate foundations), and its artists typically expressed anti-bourgeois attitudes merely by creating avant-garde art that was no longer threatening to, and often embraced by the bourgeoisie. Some of the artists that she described, though, maintained anti-establishment attitudes and established art galleries dedicated to maintaining alternatives to the bourgeois commercialism of the dominant artistic venues.

Mele (2000)'s study of New York's Lower East Side's artistic enclave uncovered countercultural opposition that was relatively intense, but not uniform. This enclave, that is, was constituted by the emergence of cultural opportunism (among some artists), and by an intensified bohemian opposition (among other artists). In the 1970s, most Lower East Side artists saw themselves as countercultural. During the 1980s, they were surprised to learn that their countercultural art and lifestyle was of interest to the mainstream art world. A growing number of them marketed their countercultural art and activities as constituting an "East Village Style." Entrepreneurs created new East Village clubs to enable neighborhood visitors (e.g., yuppies) to experience a night in "bohemia" (e.g., "The Pyramid Club," "Bohemia after Dark"), and some of the areas visual artists (e.g., Basquiat, Haring) and musical artists (e.g., Madonna, Debbie Harry of Blondie) successfully marketed their East Village style to a mass audience. A growing number of East Village artists, on the other hand, were opposed to the dilution of bohemian culture via bourgeois commercialism. During the 1980s, such opposition grew, as the commercialization and gentrification of Soho, The Lower East Side and other Manhattan neighborhoods containing artistic enclaves led to the gradual displacement of Manhattan's artist population. By the end of the 1980s, numerous East Village artists had joined forces with housing activists, low-income Hispanic residents, and squatters (some of whom were also artists) to fight against the gentrification of their community by yuppies. Such artists, along with their allies, scribbled epitaphs such as "Die Yuppie Scum" on building walls, engaged in protests (e.g., the 1988 occupation of Tomkins Square Park) and viewed their art as an attack on yuppie gentrifiers, the police, and anyone (including artists) who worked for (or with) the political or cultural establishment.

Lloyd (2006) produced a highly detailed, and frequently cited ethnographic investigation of an artistic community that erupted during the late 1980s and early 1990s in Chicago's Wicker Park (see also Lloyd 2002). His investigation uncovered bohemian opposition that was substantial, and relatively uniform, although not as

intense as the opposition described by Mele (2000). Wicker Park artists viewed themselves as alienated outsiders, and maintained an ideology of classic bohemian opposition, although their oppositional rhetoric was directed at "soulless yuppies" and "faceless corporations" rather than bourgeois shopkeepers and a larger bourgeois class. They opposed gentrification by yuppies, and protested against cooptation by the mainstream (e.g., they protested against MTV's decision to film its program-The Real World-in their neighborhood). Like most of their nineteenth century Parisian predecessors, their attitude toward commercial success was marked by ambivalence. They were critical of those they viewed as overly commercial (e.g., Wicker Park's singer songwriter Liz Phair), but hoped to achieve commercial success within the art world, or within the commercial music or film industries.

Most Wicker park artists rejected corporate employment, and engaged in independent artistic production that they supported through full or part time employment in Wicker Park's hospitality industry (e.g., in bars and cafes). Some, however, were employed within graphic design firms that serviced major corporations. Lloyd referred to these artists as "digital bohemians," maintaining that they constructed a heroic bohemian aura around their decision to work in the creative and unstable world of graphic design, drawing on bohemian tradition to view themselves as "rejecting a more secure, conventional, and stultifying life" constituted by 1950s style "organization man" values and relatively few opportunities for creative expression (Lloyd 2006: 240). The distinction they made between themselves and a relatively conformist mainstream, however, was far more imagined than real. In reality, the economically secure, monolithic mainstream of Wicker Park's bohemian imagination no longer existed. The jobs of educated corporate urbanites, like the jobs of digital bohemian artists, are often constituted far more by creative labor and Post-Fordist insecurity than by routinized labor and the stultifying security and loyalty of the "organization man" (Lloyd 2006).

Second, contemporary academic scholarship has supported the theme that *artist animosity and opposition toward those deemed relatively bourgeois has not been mutual. Artists, even if they maintain anti-bourgeois sentiments and practices, have increasingly been welcomed by yuppies and by other members of the new urban bourgeoisie.* Zukin (1982) maintained that avant-garde art expressed the alienation and angst of the new middle class, and was often greeted with enthusiasm by art patrons, and by the dominant artistic venues. Because of this enthusiasm, efforts by artists to find refuge from the mainstream art establishment (e.g., by creating art to big to fit into commercial gallery space) were undermined (e.g., by commercial galleries that created bigger gallery space). Ley offered a similar view, aptly stating that "The related but opposing tendencies of cultural and economic imaginaries reappear; spaces colonized by commerce or the state are spaces refused by the artist. But, as scholars know, this antipathy is not mutual (Ley 2003: 253)." Mele (2000) pointed out that the anti-yuppie, anti-gentrification protests that later erupted on the Lower East Side had the unintended consequence of adding to the areas' allure (among yuppies) as a site of artistic and political subversion. Lloyd (2006) likewise found that the yuppies loathed by Wicker Park bohemians were not rigidly

bourgeois, did not harbor anti-bohemian sentiments, viewed gritty bohemian enclaves as glamorous, and often maintained fantasies of bohemian freedom.

Third, *artistic enclaves, even if they maintain oppositional intentions and/or sentiments, are generally functional for the post-industrial bourgeoisie*. Zukin (1982) maintained that in the final analysis, artistic enclaves function to prepare deindustrialized neighborhoods for post-industrial production, and upper class use. Lloyd (2006; see also Lloyd 2002) more recently offered an analysis of the functional nature of contemporary bohemian enclaves that is relatively extensive. He proclaimed that the artistic community that erupted in 1990s Wicker Park Chicago exemplified what he referred to as "Neo-Bohemia." The "neo" in Lloyd's conception of neo-bohemia does not refer to the fact that today's new bohemian communities are somewhat different than their predecessors; to some extent this has always been the case. All bohemias (except the first), that is, have constituted new versions of bohemia. The neo here refers to changes in the relationship between bohemian communities and post-industrial, post-Fordist society. Despite its oppositional ideologies and sentiments, that is, neo-bohemia has become increasingly functional for urban elites. Neo-bohemia infuses local cafes and boutiques with a hip and edgy vibe, thus supporting local hospitality industries (see also Zukin et al. 2009). It also offers edgy ideas to designers and other agents of post-industrial production (see also Silver and Graziul 2011), supplies design firms with a flexible artistic labor pool, and provides talent scouts from the corporate culture industry with informal recruitment sites (e.g., the recruitment of Wicker Park singer/songwriter Liz Phair) (Lloyd 2006; see also Lloyd 2002). Neo-bohemia, moreover, functions to attract gentrification by yuppies, turning gritty urban ghettos into glamorous and alluring sites of edgy bohemian culture. This ultimately leads to higher housing prices, and higher profits for developers despite the fact that this is *not* the objective of local bohemians and their communities (see also Zukin 1982; Cole 1987; Mele 2000; Solnit and Schwartzenberg 2002; Ley 2003).

Fourth, *within postindustrial cities, the growing appeal of artistic enclaves makes these enclaves unsustainable*. This proposition was first advanced in the urban Sociology literature by Zukin (1982), and subsequently supported by a substantial body of scholarship (e.g., Jacoby 1987; Mele 2000; Ley 2003; Forkert 2013). Zukin pointed out that Soho's post-industrial artistic enclave attracted relatively affluent middle class residents who identified with the lifestyle of the loft dwelling artist. These middle class residents, however, helped spark a complex gentrification process that displaced the vast majority of artists, and, in the final analysis, most members of Soho's middle class. Zukin, though, noted that some Soho artists used grant money to purchase their lofts, thus avoiding or postponing their displacement. Artist ownership of loft space, however, was not widespread, and was not highlighted by Zukin. It did little to offset the displacement of Soho's bohemian enclave. In the final analysis, Soho's bohemia functioned to prepare deindustrialized space for post-industrial production and upper class use (Zukin 1982).

Scholars concerned with urban gentrification have pointed out that urban gentrifiers may be motivated by supply side and/or demand side considerations. Supply

side considerations include a shortage of affordable middle class housing, and a desire by residents and developers to exploit the "rent gap" between the current and potential economic value of deteriorated urban neighborhoods (Smith 1987). Demand side motivation among potential urban gentrifiers has often the product of middle class desire to find a gritty urban alternative to standardized suburban boredom (Lloyd 2006).

Demand among gentrifiers for housing within gritty urban neighborhoods tends to be greatly enhanced by the presence of struggling urban artists. Relatively few non-artistic gentrifiers in search of a gritty urban bargain are willing to move to a dangerous and dilapidated urban ghetto that is devoid of an artistic presence. Struggling artists make such neighborhoods relatively alluring, signifying the presence of an artistic habitus (Ley 2003), artistic loft lifestyle (Zukin 1982), or bohemian tradition (Lloyd 2006) that non-artistic gentrifiers frequently wish to imitate. They also tend to establish edgy sites of artistic consumption that many non-artistic gentrifiers view as appealing (Florida 2002; Lloyd 2006).

Ley's (2003) analysis of urban case studies pointed out that artists tend to be "first stage gentrifiers" (Ley 2003) who pioneer the urban renewal of declining or vacant industrial space (see also, Ley 1996, and Zukin 2010). Eventually, they attract, and get displaced by subsequent waves of gentrifiers; each subsequent stage tends to be constituted by those with increasingly less cultural capital and increasingly greater economic capital (Ley 2003). Over time, the area's cultural authenticity and uniqueness (e.g., its artistic atmosphere and amenities) is replaced by high priced blandness (e.g., the development of mock artist lofts and high end chain stores and restaurants) (Ley 2003; see also Zukin 2010). Minton (2003) has referred to this phenomenon as a "buzz to bland cycle."

Numerous quantitative studies have produced evidence that is consistent with existing case studies of artists and gentrification (e.g., Gale 1984; Florida 2002; Ley 2003). The US National Endowment of the Arts pointed out that there is an association between a cities percentage of artists in the labor force and its rate of gentrification (Gale 1984). Florida (2002) found that artists tend to attract other members of a larger creative class. Ley (2003) demonstrated that the presence of artists in a census tract (within four Canadian Cities) was frequently associated with rapid increases in property prices, thus making these census tracts less affordable to artists.

The displacement of urban artists by those who are relatively affluent is not a new phenomenon. The Greenwich Village bohemia that emerged during the early twentieth century attracted a growing bourgeois presence, and subsequently faced gentrification and rising housing costs. During the 1920s, many bohemian artists chose to locate (or relocate) to less expensive and less commercialized parts of the Village. By the end of the 1970s, few bohemians could afford to live within the Village; most sought cheap housing elsewhere (e.g., Soho or the Lower East Side) (Jaccoby 1987). Jacoby (1987) pointed out, however, that the issue here is not "absolute novelty." The issue, rather, is the velocity with which such transformations occur. Since the 70s, this velocity has increased dramatically: "The Greenwich Village of cheap rents and cheap restaurants lasted roughly 75 years; SoHo, perhaps 10 years, and the East Village, even fewer…. Bohemian communities may

germinate but cannot take root before the boutiques and condominiums crowd them out… (Jacoby 1987, p. 51).

I view the four preceding themes as major components of what I refer to as the *dominant academic narrative* about struggling urban artists who gentrify postindustrial urban neighborhoods. This narrative maintains, in short, that *in the postindustrial city, struggling artistic gentrifiers continue to express antagonism toward and opposition to a post-industrial bourgeoisie that welcomes and benefits from, but ultimately displaces their artistic enclaves.*

7.1.1 An Alternative Narrative

In Chap. 1, I defined the artistic creative class enclave as *a neighborhood based artistic enclave that is animated by a creative ethos that transcends the bourgeois-bohemian divide, and that endeavors to achieve long-term sustainability by welcoming, marketing to, and engaging in organized collaboration with members of a larger creative class.* In the previous chapter, I presented a case study of a community that exemplifies and illustrates a successful (i.e., sustainable) example of such an enclave. The existence of such an enclave constitutes an alternative to key components of the dominant academic narrative, supplementing the oft told tragic tale of thwarted bohemian opposition with a tale of non-oppositional social relations and collaborative endeavors to enhance artistic sustainability. More specifically, the existence of a sustainable artistic creative class enclave presents an alternative to themes one (the theme of anti-bourgeois animosity and opposition) and theme four (the theme of artist displacement by those who are relatively bourgeois). The present analysis is consistent with, and does not attempt to offer an alternative to theme 2 (that artistic enclaves are welcomed by the new urban bourgeoisie), and theme 3 (that artistic enclaves tend to be functional for the new urban bourgeoisie). No contemporary case studies, I might add, have uncovered an artistic enclave which runs counter to these themes.

7.2 Artistic Enclaves in the Post-industrial City: Lawrenceville's Artistic Creative Class Enclave Versus Related Community Types

In this section, I attempt to clarify key differences between Lawrenceville's Artistic Creative Class Enclave, and three related types of post-industrial artistic enclaves described within other works. These three types were selected for comparative purposes because they are at least somewhat similar to yet distinct from the artistic enclave described here, and have been frequently cited within the literature on

contemporary artistic enclaves. Numerous colleagues, I might add, asked me how my findings could be distinguished from these three types. Specifically, I compare Lawrenceville's Artistic Creative Class Enclave to the *Soho Middle Class Artistic Enclave* described by Zukin, the *Partly Commercialized Lower East Side Bohemia* described by Mele, and the *Neo-Bohemian Wicker Park* described by Lloyd). I wish to note that Lloyd (2006) coined the term "neo-bohemia," but Zukin did not use the term "Middle Class Artistic Enclave," and Mele did not use the term "partly commercialized bohemia." These terms are used here to clarify, in a succinct way, distinctions between these three relatively well known artistic enclaves, and the artistic enclave presented here. The differences between these four types of enclaves are illustrated briefly in Table 7.1.

To some extent, *Soho's artistic middle class enclave* may be thought of as an early precursor of the artistic creative class enclave. Before Florida (2002) proclaimed that bohemians have become part of a broadly defined creative class, Zukin (1982) proclaimed that by the end of the 1960s, artists became harder to distinguish from a "broadly defined middle class" and went from "'beat' to 'bohemian' to 'middle class'" (Zukin 1982, p. 96). She pointed out that contemporary artists, like the larger middle class, were educated primarily in colleges and universities; in previous eras they often received much (or all) of their higher education in bohemian cafes and venues. Their art, furthermore, often came to express the alienation, angst, and critical worldview of their increasingly critical non-artistic peers. Artists, moreover, increasingly received patronage, grants and assistance from a middle and upper class arts establishment that was no longer culturally rigid and philistine, and not averse to supporting countercultural art. Zukin, however, pointed out that the integration of artists into the middle class was incomplete, and highly problematic. Many of the loft dwelling Soho artists that she described appear to have maintained an ethos that was relatively bohemian. They often shared a modicum of anti-bourgeois sentiment (they were mildly oppositional), and were highly fearful of gentrification by those who were relatively bourgeois. Most embraced the growing commercialization of art (they hoped to be highly paid art stars), but a significant number of them set up alternative art galleries that attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to resist the commercialization of their artistic mode of production. They engaged in organized collaboration with Soho's larger middle class, and with New York's urban establishment, but such collaboration was often done reluctantly, and accompanied by serious policy disagreements and mild opposition as well as structural contradictions. Soho's bohemian community publicized their need for artist lofts (in the media), and used their political connections (with art supporters and patrons) to successfully lobby for legal live/work space (i.e., artists lofts). They believed that their publicity campaign was necessary to secure political support, but (correctly) feared that it would glamorize their activities, and ultimately promote gentrification by relatively affluent members of the urban middle class. This fear led them to advocate a special rent stabilization program (for artists). The city administration legalized their use of lofts as live/work space, but refused to consider their special rent stabilization program. Their efforts at publicizing and legalizing artist lofts temporarily prolonged their ability to stay in Soho, but enhanced the cost

Table 7.1 The artistic creative class enclave versus related types of artistic enclaves

	Overall cultural ethos	General attitude toward those who are relatively bourgeois (e.g., yuppies)	Attitude toward gentrification by those who are relatively bourgeois (e.g., yuppies)	Attitude toward the commercialization of artistic activities	Organized open conflict with bourgeois establishment	Organized collaboration with bourgeois establishment (to enhance its sustainability)	Sustainability
Lawrenceville's artistic creative class enclave	Common creative ethos (mix of bourgeois and bohemian values)	Welcoming	Welcoming, but somewhat fearful; fears are coped with through substantial collaborative endeavors	Non-controversial (used as a vehicle for economic survival)	None	High	High (long-term sustainability was achieved—after 20 years of existence, the artistic community is still stable)
Soho's middle class artistic enclave (Zukin)	Middle class ethos, but many appear to be influenced by bohemian values	Mildly oppositional	Mildly oppositional, and highly fearful; fears coped with via a modicum of organized collaboration	Mixed: most artists accept commercialization, but a significant number seek alternatives to commercialization	Very mild (conflicts occurred in the context of collaborative relationships, and resulted in compromise)	Weak: collaborative relations are highly inadequate and accompanied by serious policy disagreements	Limited (collaborative relations extended the life of the enclave, and enabled some artists to maintain permanent residence)
Wicker Park's Neo-Bohemia (Lloyd)	Bohemian ethos	Antagonistic	Oppositional, and highly fearful	Mixed: most were somewhat oppositional, but "digital bohemians" were willing to accept employment as corporate designers	Weak: occasional social protests had little impact on community life	None	Low (enclave was quickly displaced; very few bohemians maintained residence in the community)

(continued)

Table 7.1 (continued)

	Overall cultural ethos	General attitude toward those who are relatively bourgeois (e.g., yuppies)	Attitude toward gentrification by those who are relatively bourgeois (e.g., yuppies)	Attitude toward the commercialization of artistic activities	Organized open conflict with bourgeois establishment	Organized collaboration with bourgeois establishment (to enhance its sustainability)	Sustainability
The lower east side's partly commercialized bohemia (Mele)	Mixed: bohemian versus commercialized bohemian ethos	Mixed: commercialized bohemians-welcoming, other bohemians—highly antagonistic	Mixed: commercialized bohemians-welcoming, other bohemians—highly oppositional and fearful	Mixed (commercialized bohemians-supportive, other bohemians-oppositional)	Mixed (commercialized bohemians-none, other bohemians-substantial and intense)	None	Low (enclave was quickly displaced; very few bohemians maintained residence in the community)

of local real estate, as real estate developers marketed their community to a growing number of middle class urbanites who wished to engage in relatively bourgeois manifestations of *Loft Living*. Soho thus became increasingly unaffordable to artists, the vast majority of whom were unable to purchase their lofts. In the final analysis, their artistic enclave was largely priced out of existence. This urban artistic tragedy is consistent with, and helped to establish what I have referred to as the dominant academic narrative about urban artistic enclaves.

Like the *Lower East Side's partly commercialized bohemia* (Mele 2000), the artistic creative class enclave is constituted by a significant degree of commercialization undertaken by bohemian artists, and generates an artsy environment that attracts non-artists (e.g., yuppies). Within the artistic enclave described by Mele, however, commercialization by bohemians and gentrification by those who are relatively bourgeois was controversial, and opposed (via a protest movement) by a growing portion of the community. Such opposition ultimately failed, as bohemian artists were quickly displaced by developers and yuppies. Within Lawrenceville, on the other hand, commercialization and gentrification by yuppies is non-controversial, and is not subject to organized opposition.

Like the bohemian artists of *Wicker Park's neo-bohemia* (Lloyd 2006), the artists of Lawrenceville's artistic creative class enclave exist within a new urban context constituted by post industrialism and post-Fordism. Wicker Park's artistic enclave, however, maintained an ethos grounded in bohemian tradition, while Lawrenceville's artistic enclave maintained a creative class ethos simultaneously constituted by a morph of bohemian and bourgeois values. These two enclaves, moreover, exemplify relationships between artists and society that are fundamentally different. The artists of Wicker Park's neo-bohemia maintained attitudes toward those deemed relatively bourgeois ("soulless yuppies") that were marked by antagonism. Their attitude toward gentrification was oppositional, and they engaged in a modicum of open conflict with a relatively bourgeois creative class establishment. Many were critical of commercialization, although the area's "digital bohemians" accepted employment in design firms with corporate contracts, and most of the area's independent bohemian artists hoped to achieve at least some degree of commercial success. All Wicker Park bohemians (including the Digital bohemians), viewed themselves as existing outside the "mainstream," and made no organized effort to prevent the displacement of their bohemian activities by collaborating with their city's corporate and governmental establishment. The artists of Lawrenceville's artistic creative class enclave, on the other hand, maintain positive attitudes toward, and welcome gentrification by a larger creative class constituted as customers, collaborators, and fellow community members rather than adversaries. They fear displacement by relatively affluent members of the creative class, but dealt with these fears by encouraging and enabling artists to purchase live/work space and by securing low cost artist community housing. They view the commercialization of their artistic activities as non-controversial, and have used such commercialization as a vehicle for their economic survival. As a result, their enclave has achieved long-term sustainability (i.e., it has been in existence for over 20 years and still remains sustainable).

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Chapter 8
Summary and Conclusion

Abstract I begin my concluding chapter by summarizing my overall analysis, and by arguing, in a preliminary way, that the central concept of this analysis, *the artistic creative class enclave*, is not a Pittsburgh anomaly. I also hypothesize that the artistic creative class enclave tends to be the only type of artistic enclave that has the capacity to avoid short-term existence and/or socio-spatial invisibility within major contemporary cities. I then offer a brief commentary on the policy implications of my analysis for those who wish to promote artistic creative class enclaves, and conclude by offering "two cheers" for this creative class subtype.

Keywords Lawrenceville · Pittsburgh · Artistic community · Artistic enclave · Creative class · Arts policy · Marketing · Selling art · Shopping malls · Urban sustainability

8.1 A Brief Summary

In *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida (2002, 2012) maintained that artists tend to play an important role in enabling cities to succeed in the postindustrial global economy. According to Florida, a city's ability to remain competitive is increasingly contingent on their ability to attract high tech entrepreneurs and other members of a rising creative class. To attract the creative class, it is not enough to have excellent universities and an advanced technological infrastructure. It is also necessary for a city to offer a stimulating creative atmosphere, and maintain a creative people climate that makes creative entrepreneurs, innovators, and eccentrics feel welcome. Artists are part of, and function to attract the larger creative class by creating creatively stimulating amenities (e.g., galleries, artsy cafes, musical venues), and by signifying (by their presence) that their city offers a culturally tolerant people climate. To attract the creative class, it is thus often helpful for a city to attract artists.

The present project, however, is not concerned with the ability of contemporary cities to attract the creative class; it is concerned with understanding the nature and characteristics of urban artistic enclaves. Florida did not focus on understanding artists or their enclaves, but offered a brief commentary on urban artistic life that is used here as a foundation for understanding at least *some* contemporary artistic enclaves. This commentary attacked the notion that contemporary artists are alienated bohemian rebels dedicated to opposing, and finding refuge from a relatively bourgeois mainstream. Florida proclaimed that artists, even those that display their work in edgy alternative galleries, often collaborate with, market to, and live amidst a larger creative class whose creativity is expressed within, and often integrates art, commerce, technology, and other occupational realms. Artists and other members of the creative class do not necessarily think of themselves as a class, but are increasingly part of a new mainstream animated by a *creative ethos* constituted by a morph of bourgeois and bohemian values. The creative ethos, in short, integrates the economic practicality and productiveness of the classic bourgeois mainstream with the creative and expressive values of the classic bohemian subculture.

Florida's brief commentary on urban artistic life constitutes an important part of his overall analysis, and has been increasingly influential within urban policy circles. This commentary, however, has not been accompanied by systematic scholarly attempts to describe and analyze artistic enclaves that illustrate its creative class perspective; existing studies of artistic enclaves illustrate bohemian alienation, opposition, and displacement (or marginalize or ignore issues of artistic community identity). A substantial amount of urban arts policy—some of which has been directed at enhancing urban artistic enclaves—has thus been based on a creative class perspective that has not been grounded in systematic analysis of actual artistic enclaves. The present project constitutes an initial attempt to provide this analysis, utilizing a systematic case study of an artistic enclave that emerged within Lawrenceville Pittsburgh to clarify, illuminate, and amend Florida's relatively brief comments on urban artistic life. I encourage sociologists and other urban scholars to draw on the analysis presented here to perform additional case studies of contemporary artistic enclaves. These studies could yield new insights and, perhaps, offer significant amendments to this initial effort.

The present study demonstrates, in short, that Lawrenceville's artistic enclave constitutes a successful example what I have defined as an *artistic creative class enclave*. Lawrenceville artists are not alienated artistic refugees from a relatively bourgeois mainstream. They are part of what Florida referred to as a new mainstream, maintaining a creative ethos that they share with a larger creative class constituted by an integration of bourgeois and bohemian values. This ethos animates their cultural practices, enabling them to become relatively well integrated into their city's creative class context, and secure a long-term presence in their postindustrial city.

The existence of a sustainable artistic creative class enclave contradicts and thereby constitutes a significant amendment to existing academic literatures (i.e., Urban Sociology and Urban Studies). These literatures have embraced, or failed to clearly amend Zukin's (1982) now classic claim that post-industrial urban artistic

communities face structural contradictions that will inevitably lead to their demise. These literatures generally assume that post-industrial urban artistic communities either fail to make reflexive attempts to confront such contradictions, or that such attempts are doomed to failure (i.e., due to the rising cost of neighborhood space). Neither Florida nor his academic followers, furthermore, have claimed that such contradictions have (or could be) resolved or greatly alleviated by artists who are part of a larger creative class. I maintain, however, that Florida's (2002, 2012) overall work is consistent with the proposition (developed within the present project) that we should amend creative class theory by positing that the displacement of gentrifying artistic enclaves is not inevitable. Artistic creative class enclaves, that is, may achieve long term sustainability via the integration of bourgeois and bohemian practices, creative class collaboration, and a concerted effort to secure long-term affordable space.

8.2   Is Lawrenceville's Artistic Creative Class Enclave a Pittsburgh Anomaly?

The City of Pittsburgh has earned a reputation for neighborhood-based collaboration. This reputation is at least partly a product of its topography, which is constituted by rivers and mountainous terrain. This may have fostered the development and persistence of relatively isolated close-knit *communities* located within the city limits (Bennett 1992). The city, furthermore, has encouraged collaboration within these close-knit communities by supporting Community Development Corporations and public-private partnerships (Gittell and Vidal 1998). Within this context, community level alienation and conflict between artists and other occupational groups (i.e., groups that are part of a larger creative class) is at odds with existing community norms, while collaboration between artists and other occupational groups is subject to encouragement by local organizations.

Is Lawrenceville's artistic creative class enclave, an enclave constituted by a substantial level of successful collaboration between artists and a larger creative class thus a Pittsburgh anomaly, or a relatively rare phenomenon? Perhaps. But I think that there is good reason to believe that this is *not* the case. Although few major cities within the USA and Western Europe match Pittsburgh's strong history of community based collaboration, they offer city level contexts that are relatively favorable to collaboration between artists and members of a larger creative class. Florida noted that the City of Pittsburgh did not encourage, and was slow to support alternative artistic endeavors. The case study presented here is not inconsistent with this assertion. Local artists created Lawrenceville's artistic enclave; government organizations merely went along with it. A growing number of postindustrial cities (and their communities) in the USA and in other western nations, on the other hand, have made the encouragement of artistic enclaves a matter of policy. These cities and communities have been encouraging, collaborating with, and striving to attract artists as part of a larger attempt to attract the creative class (Rosenstein 2011; Strom 2010). In part, such efforts are due to the growing influence of Florida's work

on urban policymakers (Peck 2005; Grodach 2011). These efforts, that is, may be partly a self-fulfilling prophecy. Members of urban establishments that are themselves part of a larger creative class have often viewed Florida as a prophet-like figure. They are not necessarily huge fans of artistic enclaves but are, in numerous cases heeding Florida's call to provide struggling artists, artistic institutions and artistic communities with at least some degree of encouragement and support. In this context, it is reasonable to posit that at least some artistic enclaves may view opposition to their cities creative class (and urban establishment) as unwise and perhaps unjustified, and may eschew bohemian alienation and opposition in favor of creative class collaboration, and endeavor to enhance their sustainability. It is thus reasonable to hypothesize that artistic creative class enclaves have emerged within some (or many) contemporary cities. Further research is needed to confirm this hypothesis, and to determine the extent to which such enclaves have been able to avoid the fate of enclaves that are relatively bohemian (i.e., achieve long-term sustainability).

8.3   The Artistic Creative Class Enclave Hypothesis

I do not claim, nor believe that all contemporary artistic enclaves are artistic creative class enclaves. Florida (2002) himself pointed out that the Big Morph of bourgeois and bohemian culture is far from complete, and has proceeded more quickly in some areas than others. Creative class support for artistic activity, furthermore, is often modest, difficult to obtain, and far from universal. Such support, furthermore, is often insufficient within major cities that are plagued by a relatively high cost of housing/living (e.g., global cities like New York or London). Artists are more likely than other professional groups to be unemployed or underemployed, and are often multiple jobholders (Menger 1999). Many bohemian artists are part of a *creative underclass* (Morgan and Ren 2012) or *artistic precariat* (Bain and McLean 2013) that is economically marginalized, faces poverty and precariousness, and is relatively alienated from society. In some cases, such artists engage in practices constituted by high levels of political opposition, and pursue bohemian poverty voluntarily, viewing it as a form of protest against the mainstream establishment (Morgan and Ren 2012; see also Lloyd 2006).

Bohemian enclaves, though, have been quickly victimized via gentrification by relatively affluent members of the creative class (see Jacoby 1987; see also Ley 2003; Lloyd 2006). The remnants of these displaced communities tend to be too small and/or spatially dispersed to constitute a substantial (and therefore visible) bohemian enclave. An artistic creative class enclave, on the other hand, is non-oppositional, and endeavors to create a visible, marketable, and relatively sustainable artistic alternative by embracing its creative class context. I am thus willing to hypothesize that the artistic creative class enclave tends to be the only type of artistic enclave that has the capacity to avoid short-term existence and/or socio-spatial invisibility within major post-industrial cities. I refer to this hypothesis

as the *artistic creative class enclave hypothesis*. A test of this hypothesis, of course, would require much more extensive data than the single case study that is presented here can provide. I thus offer the preceding hypothesis as a tool for future research.

8.4   Suggestions for Public Policy

The present case study could be utilized by those who wish to establish, maintain, or assist urban artistic enclaves. Artists, entrepreneurs, community members and organizers, and urban policymakers, that is, could utilize the case of Lawrenceville as an illustrative model, drawing on it to develop sustainable artistic enclaves in their cities and communities. Like those who developed or supported Lawrenceville's artistic enclave, they could encourage and facilitate collaboration between artists and members of a larger creative class, and implement policies designed to promote artist ownership (of residential and commercial space), publically owned artist housing, the integration of art and commerce (e.g., within alternative art galleries, artsy boutiques, and third places), alternative art fairs that receive corporate and governmental support, and neighborhood-based marketing and promotion.

Lawrenceville's artistic enclave emerged within the context of an urban establishment that offered passive support for its activities. It was, that is, a bottom-up rather than top-down project. Lloyd (2006) maintained that this is inevitably the case. Artistic enclaves, that is, are driven by an ethos of alienation and opposition, and must therefore be created primarily from below. Lloyd, however, was talking about bohemian enclaves. Artistic creative class enclaves are centered on the activities of artists who possess a creative ethos that transcends the bourgeois-bohemian divide, and are thus arguably more likely to welcome the initiatives of urban establishments and members of a larger creative class. I thus see no reason why the artistic creative class enclave has to constitute a bottom-up phenomenon.

Like bohemia, the artistic creative class enclave initiates or amplifies gentrification by relatively affluent members of a larger creative class, and thus contributes to the displacement of long-time residents (i.e., the working class). Gentrification and working class displacement has not been a widespread problem in Pittsburgh, but has been a widespread problem in numerous cities. Activists, policymakers, and others who wish to support artistic creative class enclaves, but have broader concerns about socio-spatial inequality should therefore supplement efforts to help struggling artists with efforts to help other low-income residents They could, for example, support affordable housing for artists *and* long-time working class residents of neighborhoods containing artistic enclaves. Such efforts, though, would generally constitute a tough sell, as cities increasingly pursue neo-liberal, pro-gentrification agendas constituted by the purposeful displacement of working class residents from the creative city (Peck 2005).

Those who wish to nurture artistic creative class enclaves face two major policy challenges. First, to enable artists to secure affordable live/work and commercial space and second, to enable these artists to sell their artistic work to the public. The

case of Lawrenceville demonstrates that the later challenge can be relatively diffi-
cult. Lawrenceville artistic enclave has been relatively successful when it comes to
securing affordable artistic space, but has found it difficult to sell its artistic work. It
has done an excellent job of marketing itself to and attracting creative class visitors,
but its artisan goods, and especially, its art have not been easy to sell. Its artists
have generally been able to survive, but are struggling economically.

The fact that Lawrenceville has had difficulty selling its artistic offerings is due
primarily to the fact that this community has faced structural obstacles largely
beyond its control. Like American cities more generally, Pittsburgh maintains an art
market constituted by a duel structure (i.e., upper income and middle income).
Upper-income (i.e., upper class and upper middle class) art buyers generally prefer,
and can afford to buy art produced by established or rising artists whose work has
been validated by the dominant (e.g., New York or LA) artistic venues (Zukin
1982). Such work is more prestigious, has better investment potential, and is, in most
cases, (arguably) artistically better. Middle-income (i.e., middle class and upper
working class) art buyers generally can't afford work sold by the dominant artistic
venues, but can often afford to buy low priced art that is (often) almost as good or (in
some cases) arguably as good or better than the work of established artists. Few
middle-income art buyers, however, are avid consumers of original art. Unlike their
upper-income peers, their class habitus (i.e., dispositions and habits) rarely produces
an inclination to purchase original art (see Zukin 1982; Abbing 2002).[1] Data that I
collected in coloration with Lawrenceville's Art All Night art fair, for example,
suggests that Pittsburgh's middle and working class consumers are much more likely
to spend their discretionary income on tickets to sporting events and sports mem-
orabilia than on the work of struggling artists. Within Pittsburgh's middle and
working class communities, such spending is framed as culturally important if not
essential, while art buying has been generally been confined to the cultural margins.

Public policy on the arts has been directed at supporting major cultural institutions
(e.g., museums) and, to a lesser extent, individual artists and their communities. It has
not created coherent strategies designed to produce substantial increases in art con-
sumption by middle and working class residents. The first cities to figure out how to get
such residents to purchase a more substantial amount of art will gain a well-deserved
reputation as artist friendly cities, and, in all likelihood, attract relatively high numbers
of struggling artists. If Florida is correct (i.e., that such artists tend to be creative class
magnets), such cities will also tend to attract relatively high numbers of the larger
creative class, and thereby tend to become more economically competitive.

Cities that wish to enhance their competitive position by attracting a greater
number of artists should thus figure out how to develop new habits of middle and
working class arts consumption. I suggest, as a starting point, that cities invest in
advertising campaigns designed to promote the consumption of art and artisan goods.
Such campaigns could utilize TV commercials and/or internet communications

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[1]Members of the middle class, though, are often socialized to appreciate art, attend museum
exhibits, and utilize gallery exhibits as free museums.

(e.g., social media). They could promote the view that having original art and artisan goods in ones home makes for a home environment that is more visually appealing, authentic, or cool. Other possibilities include the development of local TV shows and/or TV segments (e.g., on local news or home and garden shows) that promote home decoration constituted by original art, and publicize accounts of influential celebrities scouring local art galleries in search of artistic bargains.

Throughout urban America, art galleries are rarely found outside of artsy neighborhoods populated by artists, hipsters, or relatively affluent members of the creative class. This means that most potential art consumers do not live near, or grow up around an art gallery. As a result, they are provided with no opportunities, in their daily surroundings, to learn about, and develop a desire to consume the work of unestablished artists. It is generally accepted that every urban neighborhood should have schools, libraries, and police and fire stations. Cities that wish to support artistic consumption could promote the idea that every urban neighborhood should also have one or more art galleries. These galleries could run educational programs for children and adults in their community, provide art exhibitions and art parties, and attempt to sell art that appeals to and/or reflects the lived experience of local residents (e.g., art that reflects their economic, ethnic, racial, and community based experiences). If these galleries are unable to survive economically, they could (ideally) continue to serve their communities by getting public support in the form of tax credits, stipends, and free artistic space.

Policies designed to encourage the consumption of art could also include greater investment in K-12 arts education (i.e., art and art appreciation classes and after school art programs). Many cities have reacted to fiscal austerity by cutting—instead of increasing—arts education funding. I'm not an expert on arts education, but wish to offer one concrete suggestion. I suggest, that is, that programs designed to support arts education should include support for (and require) class trips to museums that are supplemented by trips to galleries containing the work of established and, more importantly, the work of unestablished artists. Class trip agendas that are "museum only" or "major gallery only" implicitly enforce the view that only historically established or rising art stars produce work that is worthy of admiration or consumption.

Many urban establishments have already made efforts to make their downtowns and upper income areas more artsy and creatively stimulating. Most urban residents, and most members of the creative class, however, don't live in these areas. They live in semi-suburban and suburban areas in which strip malls and in-door shopping malls dominate consumption. Urban and suburban establishments could strive to make these malls more artsy and creatively stimulating, and win a small victory for socio-spatial equality by encouraging (via private and/or public subsidies) struggling artists to create real art galleries, artsy cafes, and other artistic venues, and by employing these artists to paint portions of mall exteriors and interiors. They key here is to supplement mass production/consumption with the authentic, non-standardized work of real artists. Mass produced artistic or pseudo-bohemian establishments are certainly an option, but would likely be viewed (by most members of the creative class) as too standardized to exude an

alluring creative or touristy vibe. By employing real artists, and by encouraging artistic entrepreneurs (e.g., via free or reduced rate rent with or without government or foundation support), every mall could help democratize opportunities for artsy consumption by having a real (not-pseudo) artistic and creative wing or outpost designed to maximize its appeal to, and thereby attract creative class shoppers.

The emergence of an artistic creative class opens up new and perhaps unimagined opportunities for cities and communities that wish to benefit from artistic culture. Cities that figure out how to support artistic consumption via a comprehensive educational, cultural, and commercial policy will not only attract more artists, but enrich and democratize the cultural and intellectual lives of their citizens. If Florida is correct, they will also be able to attract other members of the creative class, and thereby enable their cities to be more economically competitive.

8.5   Two Cheers for the Artistic Creative Class Enclave

Florida's attitude toward the growing incorporation of artists into the creative class was clearly celebratory. In the present project, I have endeavored to be objective, but my own attitude toward what I have referred to as the artistic creative class enclave is marked by ambivalence. I myself am a fan of artistic culture, and am delighted by the fact that an increasing number of those who are part of the creative class enjoy, benefit from, and are attracted to artsy alternatives to corporate mass production, and to artistic venues that exist outside the dominant channels of artistic distribution. I am also delighted by the fact that this opens up the possibility of creating new artistic enclaves that are much more sustainable than enclaves that are relatively bohemian. I am, however, also an avid critic of class inequality under capitalism, and posit that artistic creative class enclaves tend to do relatively little to resist, and generally function to increase such inequality by incorporating bourgeois practices, and by maintaining organized ties to a larger creative class. The artistic creative class enclave is, in comparison to neo-bohemia, relatively well integrated into its contemporary capitalist context. Lloyd (2006) argued that neo-bohemia, despite its countercultural pronouncements, is generally functional for local and global capitalism, and helps facilitate the alienation and (ultimately) displacement of low-income residents. It is, in my view, reasonable to expect that the functional effects described by Lloyd will generally prove to be even stronger for the artistic creative class enclave, as its artistic members of the creative class collaborate with urban elites to welcome and adapt to, rather than resist gentrification by a larger creative class. The artists of Lloyd's neo-bohemia were ideologically opposed to gentrification by a larger creative class, and to the commercialization of their community. They also engaged in organized community protests against the corporate establishment. Artistic creative class communities welcome gentrification, and express unreluctant and uncontested support for an artsy commercialism that tends to attract relatively affluent urban gentrifiers. Individuals who are part of artistic creative class enclaves may maintain critical orientations (e.g., toward

capitalist society), and are free to participate in progressive social movements, but their enclaves maintain (and benefit from) organized ties to a creative class establishment that is relatively well integrated into capitalist structures of class inequality. We should thus not expect these enclaves to jeopardize these ties by organizing substantial practical or ideological offensives against these structures, or against the global, regional, and local creative class elites that help maintain them. I thus give *two cheers to the artistic creative class enclave*, a contemporary socio-spatial phenomenon that provides an artsy alternative to corporate mass production and the elite art world, and has the capacity to help struggling urban artists avoid displacement, but has an inherent tendency to sustain existing structures of class inequality.

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Appendix

Photos: Lawrenceville Pittsburgh

Geoffrey Moss

Much of the neighborhood has historic (mostly Victorian) or industrial age architecture

Not every block looks historic (part of
Butler Street)

Another (non-historic) part of Butler
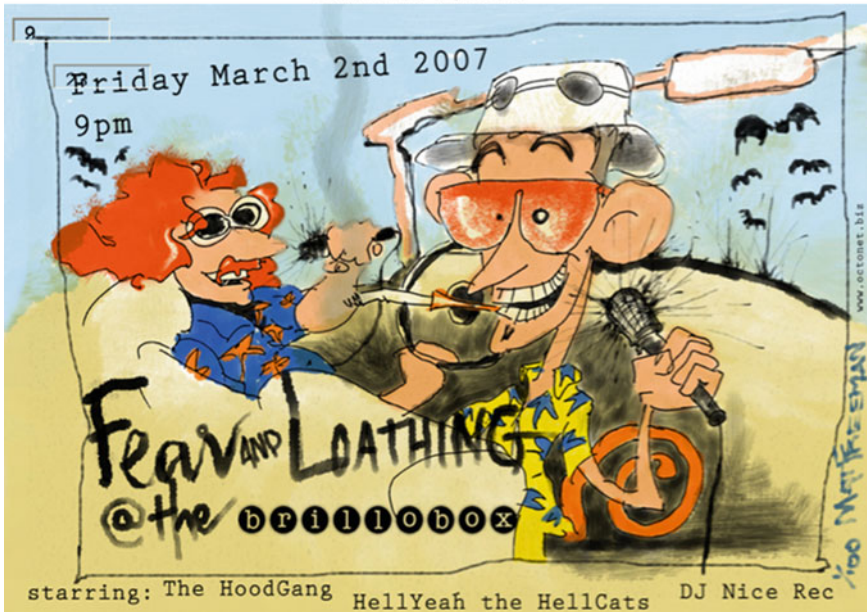Street

Coca Cafe

The Brillobox-Bar Area

Brillobox-Upstairs

Brillobox: a poster

Artists Studio Tour

Divertido "We choose interesting, skilled artists and artisans from Pittsburgh and beyond to offer you uncommon stock." 3701 Butler St

Everybody An Artist

Art All Night 2008

Art All Night 2008

Art All Night 2008