Culture, Community, and Development

Edited by RHONDA PHILLIPS,
MARK A. BRENNAN, and
TINGXUAN LI

Routledge

CULTURE, COMMUNITY, AND DEVELOPMENT

Culture is a living thing. In social settings, it is often used to represent entire ways of life, including rules, values, and expected behavior. Varying from nation to nation, neighborhood to neighborhood and beyond, even in the smallest localities, culture is a motivating factor in the creation of social identity and serves as a basis for creating cohesion and solidarity.

This book explores the intersection of culture and community as a basis for locally and regionally based development by focusing on three core bodies of literature: theory, research, and practice. The first section, theory, uncovers some of the more relevant historical arguments, as well as more contemporary examinations. Continuing, the research section sheds light on some of the key concepts, variables, and relationships present in the limited study of culture in community development. Finally, the practice section brings together research and theory into applied examples from on the ground efforts.

During a time where the interest to retain the uniqueness of local life, traditions, and culture is significantly increasing in community-based development, the authors offer a global exploration of the impacts of culturally based development with comparative analysis in countries such as Korea, Ireland, and the United States. A must-read for community development planners, policymakers, students, and researchers.

Rhonda Phillips, Ph.D., FAICP is a community development and planning specialist. Her first book, *Concept Marketing for Communities*, profiled towns using innovative branding strategies for arts-based development. She's presented arts-based development workshops across the US and globally as a Fulbright Scholar and with a US AID project. Rhonda is Professor and

Dean, Purdue University and author/editor of 26 books on community development and related topics. She is a member of the American Institute of Certified Planners College of Fellows.

Mark A. Brennan is Professor, Leadership and Community Development and UNESCO Chair in Community, Leadership, and Youth Development at the Pennsylvania State University. Dr. Brennan's teaching, research, writing, and program development concentrate on the role of civic engagement in the youth, community, and rural development process. He has over 25 years' experience designing, conducting, and analyzing social science research related to community and development.

Tingxuan Li is an Assistant Professor in the Graduate School of Education at Shanghai Jiao Tong University. Tina earned her Ph.D. in 2019 from the College of Education at Purdue University. At Purdue, she was a key personnel on multiple projects funded by the National Science Foundation as well as a member of Dr. Rhonda Phillips's research group. Tina was born and raised in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, China.

The Community Development Research and Practice Series

Volume 9

As the series continues to grow with the twelfth volume, it is our intent to continue to serve scholars, community developers, planners, public administrators, and others involved in research, practice, and policymaking in the realm of community development. The series strives to provide both timely and applied information for researchers, students, and practitioners. Building on a long history since 1970 of publishing the Community Development Society's journal, *Community Development* (www.comm-dev.org), the book series contributes to a growing and rapidly changing knowledge base as a resource for practitioners and researchers alike. For additional information please see the series page at www.routledge.com/books/series/CDRP/.

The evolution of the field of community development continues. As reflected in both theory and practice, community development is at the forefront of change, which comes to no surprise to our communities and regions that constantly face challenges and opportunities. As a practice focused discipline, change often seems to be the only constant in the community development realm. The need to integrate theory, practice, research, teaching, and training is even more pressing now than ever, given rapidly transforming economic, social, environmental, political, and cultural climates locally and globally. Current and applicable information and insights about effective research and practice are needed.

The Community Development Society, a nonprofit association of those interested in pushing the discipline forward, is delighted to offer this book series in partnership with Routledge. The series is designed to integrate innovative thinking on

tools, strategies, and experiences as a resource especially well-suited for bridging the gaps between theory, research, and practice. The Community Development Society actively promotes continued advancement of the discipline and practice. Fundamental to this mission is adherence to the following core Principles of Good Practice. This book series is a reflection of many of these principles:

- Promote active and representative participation towards enabling all community members to meaningfully influence the decisions that affect their lives.
- Engage community members in learning about and understanding community issues, and the economic, social, environmental, political, psychological, and other impacts associated with alternative courses of action.
- Incorporate the diverse interest and cultures of the community in the community development process; and disengage from support of any effort that is likely to adversely affect the disadvantaged members of a community.
- Work actively to enhance the leadership capacity of community members, leaders, and groups within the community.
- Be open to using the full range of action strategies to work towards the long-term sustainability and well-being of the community.

We invite you to explore the series, and continue to do so as new volumes are added. We hope you will find it a valuable resource for supporting community development research and practice.

Other books in the series:

Using Collective Impact to Bring Community Change
Norman Walzer and Liz Weaver

Community–Built
Art, Construction, Preservation, and Place
Katherine Melcher, Barry Stiefel, Kristin Faurest

Arts and Community Change
Exploring Cultural Development Policies, Practices and Dilemmas
Max O. Stephenson Jr. and Scott Tate

Social Capital at the Community Level
An Applied Interdisciplinary Perspective
John M. Halstead and Steven C. Deller

Knowledge Partnering for Community Development
Robyn Eversole

Schools and Urban Revitalization
Rethinking Institutions and Community Development
Kelly L. Patterson and Robert Mark Silverman

CULTURE, COMMUNITY, AND DEVELOPMENT

Edited by Rhonda Phillips, Mark A. Brennan, and Tingxuan Li

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

CONTENTS

CONTRIBUTORS

Rosanne Altstatt is an art historian and Assistant Dean for National and International Scholarships at Purdue University. Her curatorial projects include a broad spectrum of media art, a microradio station, a compendium of short graphic novels on the subject of cancer, and an exhibition of vernacular studio photography. She was the inaugural Artistic Director of the Edith Russ Site for Media Art in Oldenburg, Germany, Curator-Director of Videonale in Bonn, and Co-curator of the independent exhibition space Schnitt Ausstellungsraum in Cologne. She has taught curating and art history, and mentored artists at several institutions including Carl-von-Ossietzky University, Maine College of Art, and University of the Arts ZHdK.

Esteban García Bravo explores computational arts as a researcher, a practitioner and as an educator. He earned his M.F.A. from Purdue University in 2008, and a Ph.D. in Technology, also from Purdue, in 2013. His research has been featured in the annual meetings of international organizations such as SIG-GRAPH and ISEA, as well as in the publication *Leonardo Journal of Art, Sciences and Technology*. His artwork has been displayed internationally in media art festivals, public spaces, exhibits, and artist-in-residence programs, www.snebtor.org

Mark A. Brennan, Professor, Leadership and Community Development and UNESCO Chair in Community, Leadership, and Youth Development at the Pennsylvania State University. Dr. Brennan's teaching, research, writing, and program development concentrates on the role of civic engagement in the youth, community, and rural development process. He has over 25 years' experience designing, conducting, and analyzing social science research related to community and development.

John Davis is a Professor of Education at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland. He researches and writes on a range of topics and issues including childhood, disability, inclusion, social justice, and anti-discrimination.

Eoin Dolan is employed in Galway City as a youth project worker with Foroige in the Eastside area. With over 10 years' experience in the role, Eoin has combined his expertise in audio technology and music practice to create an extensive range of youth-led activities and programmes. Most notably Eoin is a co-founder of SoundSurfers, a youth-led programme that provides a safe, dynamic, and creative environment for young people aged from 10 to 18 years to empower themselves through music technology, practice, and public performance.

Pat Dolan is joint founder and Director of the UNESCO Child and Family Research Centre and an Academic Director of the M.A. in Family Support Studies at the National University of Ireland, Galway. Professor Dolan holds the UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement, the first to be awarded in the Republic of Ireland. He has completed an extensive body of research on family issues including longitudinal research on adolescents, their perceived mental health, resilience, and social support networks and has published in a wide range of academic publications. His major research interests are empathy, civic engagement in children and youth, family support, reflective practice, and service development.

Esther Farmer has been using theater as a tool for community development for 30 years. Her passion is to bring people together who are not "supposed to be" together through culture and creativity. She is a former ombudsman and manager for the New York City Housing Authority, where she received international recognition for her success in crime prevention, management, and staff development. She is the former lead facilitator for Plays for Living, where she worked with over 120 senior centers in New York in a theater residency project sponsored by the NYC Department of Transportation. She has been the United Nations representative for the International Association for Community Development and she is the author of several published articles on theater and community development. Esther is an active member of Jewish Voice for Peace where she has created several theatrical storytelling projects such as the Bubbe Brigade and a play called Wrestling with Zionism that includes Jewish and Palestinian stories. The play has been performed throughout the New York City metropolitan area, and has allowed members of these different constituencies to have new kinds of conversations that build community. She is currently co-editing a book on the same topic that will include Jewish and Palestinian stories, poetry, and art.

Farida Fozdar (aka Tilbury) is a Sociologist at the University of Western Australia with a research focus on migration, race and ethnicity, refugee settlement, racism, nationalism, and cosmopolitanism. She has published widely, with over a hundred journal articles, chapters, books, and reports. Farida joined UWA in 2011 as an ARC Future Fellow, and is now in a teaching and research role, Deputy Head of Social Sciences (Research) and Chair of the UWA Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Working Group. Farida has received over $1.5 million in grants to research topics ranging from refugee settlement and belonging, evaluations of settlement programs, migrant mental health and wellbeing, mobilities across the lifecourse, training, education, and employment issues for migrants, migration and media use, intercultural confidence among university students, creating inclusive school environments, international legal obligations and settlement support, and mixed race. Her 4-year Australian Research Council Future Fellowship explored contemporary Australian identity, particularly affective aspects of national versus transnational and postnational/cosmopolitan identities.

Mark A. Hager is Associate Professor of Nonprofit Leadership and Management at Arizona State University, where he is co-director of the graduate-level offerings in nonprofit and philanthropic studies. He is editor-in-chief of *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*. Hager earned his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Minnesota. He has a career research focus on the nonprofit organizations, volunteerism, and charitable giving. His published research includes studies of the struggles and failures of nonprofit organizations, fundraising strategies, volunteer management practices, and financial reporting. In 1999–2000, Hager had a short stint as research director at Americans for the Arts, which oriented him to arts and culture nonprofits and their role in community development. Since then, he has routinely returned to the topic of arts in community.

Jen Hesnan is the Programme Manager for TechSpace with social enterprise Camara Education Ireland. An experienced youth arts worker and creative facilitator she has spent the last 10 years engaging young people from disadvantaged socio-economic situations and marginalized cultural backgrounds through creative education and youth development. Jen advocates and facilitates the self-empowerment of young people by creating opportunities for them to actively and consciously engage in their own development and the development of society as a whole. She does this through youth-led creative projects and play-led recreational processes. Within this field, she has delivered various training in specialized programmes and facilitation techniques, including Techspace as Gaeilge through her native tongue, the Irish language. She is passionate about the power that music and digital media holds for social engagement empathy education and is currently working to establish a strong support network for young creators and educators across Ireland.

Justin B. Hollander is a Professor of Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning and Director of the C.A.G.S. in Urban Justice and Sustainability at Tufts University. His research and teaching is in the areas of shrinking cities, Big Data, brownfields, and the intersection between cognitive science and the design of cities. He is the author of seven books on urban planning and design, most recently *An Ordinary City: Planning for Growth and Decline in New Bedford, Massachusetts* (Palgrave, 2018) and *A Research Agenda for Shrinking Cities* (Edward Elgar, 2018). Professor Hollander has conducted extensive research exploring the relationship between urban development, planning, well-being, and health, including work for the Cities of New York, Baltimore, and Detroit, among others. His international research has been supported through grants from the Governments of Canada and Quebec, as well as through funding from Duy Tan University in Vietnam. He hosts the Apple Podcast "Cognitive Urbanism" where he talks about the big ideas of urban planning and community development.

Roland J. Kushner is Associate Professor and Director of the business program at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, PA. He has a B.A. from Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada), and M.B.A. and Ph.D. from Lehigh University. His research addresses strategic management and organizational performance challenges in nonprofit organizations, and the economics of cultural industries. He is published in *Journal of Cultural Economics*, *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, *International Journal of Arts Management*, *Journal of Arts Management, Law & Society*, *Nonprofit Policy Forum* (forthcoming), *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, and by Brookings Institution Press. From 2005 to 2016, he was research director of the Arts Index project of Americans for the Arts, and co-author of annual National Arts Index reports. From 2006 to 2016, he prepared Chorus America's Choral Operations Survey Report. He has consulted to American Red Cross International Services, RAND, Urban Institute, Americans for the Arts, Chorus America, and C.F. Martin & Co. He was founding managing director of Bethlehem Musikfest, development director for Bethlehem Bach Choir; founding president of Rose Garden Children's Festival; interim executive director of NPR affiliate WDIY-FM; and is currently Board member of The Sing Out Corporation and Martin Guitar Charitable Foundation, and Board president of New Bethany Ministries.

Tingxuan "Tina" Li is an Assistant Professor in the Graduate School of Education at Shanghai Jiao Tong University. She earned her Ph.D. in 2019 from the College of Education at Purdue University. At Purdue, she was a key personnel on multiple projects funded by the National Science Foundation as well as a member in Dr. Rhonda Phillips's research group. Tina was born and raised in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, China.

Brian McGrath is currently Lecturer and former Programme Director for the M.A. in Community Development 2000–2016. He holds a Bachelor of Social Science from UCC, an M.A. (Community Development) from NUI Galway and a Ph.D. (Land Economy) from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. He teaches at the undergraduate level and contributes toward the teaching programme and research supervision of the four taught M.A.s in the School of Political Science and Sociology (Social Work, Family Support and Gender, Globalisation, and Human Rights). His work combines both qualitative and quantitative methods of investigation, across a range of areas. Dr. McGrath is interested in connecting sociological theories with empirical evidence, particularly within areas of youth identities and community studies. His work has also revolved around generating stronger understanding and research evidence in such areas as: social support, policy interventions, civic engagement, and educational inclusion.

Rhonda Phillips, Ph.D., FAICP is a community development and planning specialist. Her first book, *Concept Marketing for Communities*, profiled towns using innovative branding strategies for arts-based development. She has presented arts-based development workshops across the US and globally as a Fulbright Scholar and with a US AID project. Rhonda is Professor and Dean, Purdue University and author/editor of 26 books on community development and related topics. She is a member of the American Institute of Certified Planners College of Fellows.

Christina Milarvie Quarrell is a self-taught Poet Photographer and Artist. The fourth of five daughters from a working-class catholic family, Christina was born in Govanhill and grew up in both the Govanhill and Gorbals Communities, taught by her Gorbals born and raised parents to value people before profit, and also schooled in the value and importance of contributing to her communities. Christina has four decades of life and work experience within working-class communities and grassroots community arts development. Christina strived to raised two sons with the same values taught to her. Art is her passion and Christina is currently part of community groups across Glasgow reclaiming and rewriting working-class stories into plays and songs. In 2016, within the Peoples Past Peoples Future group, one play was delivered free and enjoyed by many local groups. The drama piece told the story of Mary Barbour and her Comrades within the 1915 Rent Strike.

Jennifer Quinn is the Economic Development Manager for the City of Los Altos, California, and has previous experience in urban planning and real estate development. She is currently working on preparing Los Altos' Economic Strategic Plan and Economic Big Book.

Bruce Seifer is a consultant with deep experience in economic and community development. He led the City of Burlington, Vermont's Community Economic Development Office for three decades, providing technical assistance to 4000 businesses and helping create numerous nonprofits. He played an instrumental role in helping found the City's arts district as well as programs in community-based and employee-owned enterprises. He is co-author of the book detailing Burlington and Vermont's development successes, *Sustainable Communities, Creating a Durable Local Economy* (Earthscan/Routledge). Bruce frequently speaks at national forums on policy and strategy, city revitalization, and program design and evaluation.

Christopher A. Sparks is an anthropologist interested in culture, development, diversity, and identity. He first started working in higher education at the University of Central Florida and has taught in the Department of Anthropology at Texas A&M University and the Department of International and Regional Development at Yeungnam University. He spent over eight years living in South Korea where he additionally worked as a development policy researcher and an international director for a national traditional sports association. He has also filmed documentaries and written books about Korean culture.

HeeKyung Sung is Assistant Professor of Recreation and Tourism Management Department at California State University, Northridge. She earned her Ph.D. from Arizona State University. Her research focuses on the impacts and value of arts and cultural events on local community, relationships with community development and quality of life, and consumer behavior in the context of community well-being. Her publications include studies of community indicators, community well-being and development, consumer experiential values on local events, and local art agencies in cultural tourism management. From 2006 to 2009, she worked as an event planner at the Seongnam Performing Arts Center in Korea. Additionally, she currently is involved in research of experiential marketing, customer satisfaction, and well-being in the tourism, meeting, and event industry.

Simone Volet is Professor (Emeritus) of Educational Psychology in the School of Education at Murdoch University in Perth, Australia. She was the Dean of Education from 2000 to 2003. She was awarded an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Turku, Finland in 2011. Simone was born and educated in Switzerland, completed a Licence ès sciences de l'éducation at the University of Geneva, and a Ph.D. at Murdoch University. She has been engaged in research on learning, motivation, and cultural issues in higher education since the early 1990s and has been the Chief Investigator of many major projects funded by the Australian Research Council (Discovery,

Linkage, and Large grants schemes) and the Australian National Training Authority. Most of her previous and continuous research is collaborative in nature, some projects with well-known scholars in Finland, the U.S., and Germany, and others with Australian peers, postdoctoral fellows, and colleagues from other disciplines, including social psychology, sociology, information technology, computer science, and veterinary sciences. Simone has extensive experience of supervising doctoral students and mentoring junior researchers locally and internationally, with a number of invitations to contribute to summer schools for junior researchers in Europe. Simone had an on–going funded Visiting Professorship at the University of Turku, Finland between 2011 and 2016, which included extended visits every year for intensive collaborative work. Since 2017 she is a Senior Fellow at the University of Turku, Finland, within continuous collaborative research and co-supervision of doctoral students.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

This book provides several perspectives about culture, community, and development, via a decidedly community development lens. The developmental trajectories of communities are routinely explained by reference to economic history, human capital deficits, and/or the structure of local labor markets. Similarly, discussions of development are often rooted to national and/or regional levels, revealing little about the local community level, its identity, and its uniqueness. Local culture is far less often afforded a significant role in the community development process. There is relatively little explicit inclusion of culture in the current development analyses (Ray 1998, 2001; Johannesson et al. 2003; Panelli et al. 2003; Bayliss 2004; Juska et al. 2005; Brennan, Flint, & Luloff, 2009), thus, we believe that this book can help fill that void.

Empirical research has also largely failed to consider the role of local culture and significant cultural expressions in fostering a more complete understanding of community development. Despite advances in literature expressing its role, culture continues to be viewed as an outgrowth of a given region, reflecting extant economic and other experiences. For better or worse, such a perspective suppresses culture's role in shaping community debate and action. We suggest that, despite the understudy of culture, it is an essential consideration for understanding local community development options, community actions, histories, identities, and citizen responses to a variety of conditions.

Throughout this book, we seek to highlight culture and cultural attributes (music, arts, etc.) as a basis for development efforts. Scholars such as Banfield (1958) and Putnam (1993) pay great attention to the "culture" (as an overall set of values and behaviors) to explain various declines and shortcomings in our societies. While indirectly mentioned in some chapters, this book does not explore the role of local cultures and behaviors/values as the reasons for

development successes or failures. While this debate is important, it requires a much more in-depth social and psychological exploration of individual motivations than this book can provide.

The overarching goal of our volume is to explore the intersection of culture and community as a basis for locally/regionally focused development. To achieve this goal, we will focus on three core bodies of literature: *Theory*, *Research*, and *Practice*. Beginning with the *Theory* section, culture can be viewed from different structural and logical approaches. This section will explore some of the more relevant historical arguments, along with contemporary examinations. The *Research* section sheds light on some of the key concepts, variables, and relationships present in the limited study of culture in community development. Finally, the *Practice* section brings together research and theory into applied programming, examples, and evidence from on-the-ground, applied practice efforts.

Within this overarching goal, our book has three nested objectives: (1) to provide an overview of the central importance of culture, traditions, indigenous knowledge, and culturally significant activities as a basis for community-based social and economic development; (2) to explore how culturally important activities can serve as the basis for personal development, social change, and community capacity building; and (3) explore the program, policy, and research implications for recognizing culture as an essential component in local capacity building. By addressing these objectives, we attempt to provide a more complete understanding of the essential role that local culture can play in the practice of community development. Doing this will contribute to a renewal in and vitality of community studies while providing a better focus for ongoing research endeavors, and program and policy initiatives at the community level. As a result, we anticipate it will also contribute to wiser and more sustainable development of our communities while furthering dialogue among community scholars and practitioners. Emerging from these objectives, we seek to provide suggestions and implications for research, theory, program, and policy.

Overview of Chapters

Eleven chapters are provided, with three or four chapters per each of the sections, theory, research, and practice. Of these, four have been selected to reprint from *Community Development*, the journal of the Community Development Society. Each of these articles has been met with a high level of receptivity and interest and we feel that their inclusion adds to the depth and breadth of our book. Two of these are included in the theory section as they have helped contribute to the literature by fostering understanding of the relationship between theory and culture.

The volume begins with an exploratory chapter by the editors, "Culture, Community, and Development: A Critical Interrelationship." We provide an overview or scan of the literature as related to this area of study, providing insights into how local understandings of culture impact development, as well as exploring the loss of culture and community and the potential of a return to culture, given recent resurgence of interest. Finally, we provide a discussion of a field theoretical approach to understanding culture-community interrelationships.

Theory

We begin this section with a selection by Rosanne Altstatt and Esteban García Bravo. Their chapter, entitled "A Proposal: Stand for Civic Engagement," presents an idea for connecting the culture of participation that can be evident in the small town street with civic engagement at the local government level. It centers on ideas around reconfiguring government space as arts space, to encourage discourse and engagement with new pathways. One of our favorite aspects of this thought-provoking and wonderfully illustrated chapter is about collapsing artistic practice, local culture, and government spaces to empower community residents to "form their local culture into collective acts of social sculpture." This is indeed a powerful idea – "social sculpture," and given the context it is placed within (raging conflicts about flying the Confederate flag) this chapter elicits much consideration around culture's connection to civic engagement.

The third chapter by Farida Fozdar and Simone Volet, "Intercultural Learning among Community Development Students: Positive Attitudes, Ambivalent Experiences" is a selection from a 2012 issue of *Community Development*. It considers the diverse array of social and professional practice settings for community development students, using a case from an Australian university. Intercultural engagement is the focus of the study with the students, finding that there are cultural differences and implications for several theoretical constructs, including social identity and contact theories.

Research

This section provides examples of several approaches to research in culture and community development. We begin the section with a chapter by HeeKyung Sung, Roland J. Kushner, and Mark A. Hager, "Exploring the Dimensional Structure of the Arts in Communities."

Using the Americans for the Arts Local Arts Index, the authors complete a factor analysis on indicators and correlations to reframe the data. They present a validated framing of arts in local communities with indicators for arts businesses, arts consumption, and arts nonprofits. A conceptual guide for researchers is presented to support measuring the role of arts in community development.

Next, Christopher A. Sparks' "Traditions and Play as Ways to Develop Community: The Case of Korea's Belt-Wrestling Known as Ssireum" is presented. As a faculty member at Yeungnam University, he has had the opportunity to observe and study culture in tradition. This chapter explores adaptation of culture via disruptive events; using the case of Korea and the traditional folk game of wrestling, the author explores how new forms of social capital have aided in building a new identity. The chapter provides insight into how cultural traditions can be employed to counter development's disruptive tendencies through cultural and social capital.

The next chapter in this section on research is by John Davis and Christina Milarvie Quarrell of the University of Strathclyde, "Irish Diaspora and Sporting Cultures of Conflict, Stability, and Unity: Analysing the Power Politics of Community Development, Resistance, and Disempowerment through a Case Study Comparison of Benny Lynch and 'The Glasgow Effect'." This chapter considers the power politics of community work in Glasgow; highlights the importance of culture, sport, arts, and traditions in both Scotland and the USA; and illustrates the significance of indigenous knowledge in Canada and analyzes the stigmatization of culturally significant activities as a basis for community-based action. The chapter explores how culturally important activities and local history can serve as the basis for personal development, social change, and community unification.

The final selection in this section is by Brian McGrath and Mark A. Brennan, "Tradition, Cultures, and Communities: Exploring the Potentials of Music and the Arts for Community Development in Appalachia," is a reprint from *Community Development*. This has been one of the most frequently downloaded articles from the journal, indicating there is indeed interest in connecting culture and arts with community development. The authors begin with a discussion of the concerns around loss of traditional cultures and ways of life, and that better understanding these aspects of community life holds much relevance for community change and positive development approaches and outcomes. They found that traditions can serve as mechanisms for generating community interaction as well as retaining and communicating collective knowledge. An integrated conceptual model is presented to support traditions and culture connections to community development.

Practice

We start this section with a favorite from the journal *Community Development* with an article by Esther Farmer, who has worked in arts, culture, and community development, especially with youth and community groups. "Strange Bedfellows: Community Development, Democracy, and Magic" presents "magic moments" that enable people to feel a connection with a group, via facilitation or creation of environments to enable such transformative experiences. The author discusses ways that community developers can construct or use creative environments,

drawing from theater practices. The article also explores the impacts of such environments on democratic and community development processes.

Chapter 9 by Eoin Dolan, Pat Dolan, and Jen Hesnan of the National University of Ireland, Galway, explores the intersection of arts, technology, and youth in "Working with Young People through the Arts, Music and Technology: Emancipating New Youth Civic Engagement." As discussed in the prior chapter, the engagement of youth via arts and culture can play an essential role in development. This chapter advocates for ways that youth engaged in the arts can be viewed as actors who contribute civically through their involvement in community programs with others. In this light, the authors further suggest that a wider understanding of youth civic engagement needs to be considered. To illustrate this, case vignettes are utilized from two fledgling and innovative Irish music and music technology based youthwork projects as exemplary of enabling youth to engage and thrive.

In Chapter 10 Justin B. Hollander and Jennifer Quinn link the advancement of community development practice to the messaging found throughout our artistic ventures in "More than Noise: Employing Hip-Hop Music to Inform Community Development Practice." Here the authors argue that artistic expression, specifically hip-hop music, can provide a novel level of understanding of community dynamics to community development practice and research. In doing so, the authors provide a methodology that can be used to enable practitioners and researchers to effectively extract relevant details embedded within hip-hop music. Utilizing these methods, key relationships are found within the music, between the artists, and how they relate to their physical surroundings.

We conclude with the final chapter by Rhonda Phillips, Bruce Seifer, and Mark Brennan, "Connecting Industry and the Arts for Community Development: The Art Hop of Burlington, Vermont." This long-standing festival is a result of deliberate action by residents of the area and local government policy to connect an industrial district with arts and culture, helping transform it into a vibrant area supporting arts-based development alongside more traditional industry. The results are impressive, with its annual Art Hop drawing thousands of participants, including workers in the district's traditional industries who look forward to design and art competitions to showcase their imagination and talents each year at the festival. While decidedly a case study, it is the intent of this chapter to help foster understanding of how arts and culture can be embedded within community development policy, programs, and goals at the local level.

We sincerely hope that readers of this book will be both informed and inspired to explore more of the relationships between culture, community, and development. We encourage more investigation into theory for guidance, research approaches for deepening understanding, and innovative practices that yield benefits for communities.

– The Editors

References

Banfield, E. 1958. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Bayliss, D. (2004) Denmark's creative potential: The role of culture within Danish urban development strategies. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *10* (1), 5–28.

Brennan, M.A., C. Flint, and A.E. Luloff 2009. "Bringing together local culture and rural development: Findings from Ireland, Pennsylvania, and Alaska." *Sociologia Ruralis*, *49* (1): 97–112.

Johannesson, G. P., U.D. Skaptadottir, and K. Benediktsson. (2003) Coping with social capital? The cultural economy of tourism in the north. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *43* (1), 3–16.

Juska, A., A. Poviliunas, and R. Pozzuto, (2005) Resisting marginalisation: The rise of the rural community movement in Lithuania. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *45* (1–2), 3–21.

Panelli, R., O. Stolte, and R. Bedford (2003) The reinvention of Tirau: Landscape as a record of changing economy and culture. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *43* (4), 379–400.

Putnam, R.D. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ray, C. (2001) *Culture Economies*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Centre for Rural Economy Newcastle University.

PART I

Introduction

1

CULTURE, COMMUNITY, AND DEVELOPMENT

A Critical Interrelationship

Mark A. Brennan and Rhonda Phillips

Introduction

Far too often, developmental trajectories of communities are explained predominately by reference to economic history, human capital deficits, and the structure of local labor markets. These discussions are usually connected to national or regional levels, with less being revealed about the identity and uniqueness of local level communities. Coupled with a relative lack of empirical research considering the role of local culture and expressions, the role of culture in shaping communities and their development is not fully considered. Scanning development analyses, the inclusion of culture is apparent, but not overwhelming in its representation (Ray, 1998; Johannesson et al., 2003; Panelli et al., 2003; Bayliss, 2004; Juska et al., 2005; Brennan et al., 2007; Huggins & Thompson, 2015; Tubadji et al., 2015; Hudec & Džupka, 2016; Lysgård, 2016; Fredin & Jogmark, 2017).

In this chapter, we suggest that despite the understudy of culture, it is an essential consideration for understanding local community development options, community actions, histories, identities, and citizen responses to a variety of conditions. We begin with an overview of definitions and understandings around culture in the context of community and development. Following this, we explore varying perceptions of culture, given societal changes. Finally, we look forward to a return of the importance of culture and its attributes in communities.

Community, Culture, and Development

The underappreciation and lack of recognition of local culture as a basis for development remains well documented. For example, from an economic-based development approach, the practice and research literature is rife with examples of how

extra-local industry recruitment has become the norm in most settings. While examples to the contrary do exist, they are few and far between. In the end, the recruitment of a Walmart superstore, factory, prison, or other such entity has become the de facto practice, replacing locally owned small businesses and entrepreneurial efforts. Culture rarely, if ever, plays into this process. The same could be argued for social, political, and environmental efforts where the diversity, potentials, and possible obstacles of local culture are rarely given their due attention. To understand some of this dynamic, we provide the following exploration of culture, related research literature, and exploration of theoretical understandings.

Understanding and Defining Culture

In social settings culture is often used to represent entire ways of life, including rules, values, and expected behavior (Williams, 1970; Flora et al., 1992; Brennan et al., 2008; McGrath & Brennan, 2011; Tubadji et al., 2015). Culture can reflect either a homogenous environment where the characteristics of the few are presented, or a more heterogeneous structure bringing together the characteristics of a diverse locality. At its most basic level culture is understood as encompassing the shared products of a society (Park, 1950; Flora et al., 1992; Hoage & Moran, 1998; Brennan et al., 2008; McGrath & Brennan, 2011). Such products have a common meaning, reflect shared attachments among community members, and accumulate over time (Park, 1950; Williams, 1970; Salamon, 2003; Smith, 2015).

Culture consists of ideas, norms, and material dimensions (Sorokin, 1957; Williams, 1970; Flora et al., 1992; Hoage & Moran, 1998; Salamon, 2003; Brennan et al., 2008; McGrath & Brennan, 2011; Huggins & Thompson, 2015; Hudec & Džupka, 2016). Ideas include the values, knowledge, and experiences held by a culture. Values are shared ideas and beliefs about what is morally right or wrong, or what is culturally desirable. Such values shape norms and rules (or accepted ways of doing things that represent guidelines for how people should conduct themselves and how they should act towards others), or what some refer to as social mores. As Luloff and Swanson (1995) note:

> Culture frames value assumptions for individuals and communities about what is right and wrong and what ought to be, as well as notions on the means for achieving these values. Culture is not determined by socioeconomic structures, but rather interacts with these structures dialectically. Culture mediates individual and community perceptions about social conditions, and consequently influences both the perception of and reasoning process involved in making choices.
>
> *(p. 363)*

Values and norms are often taken for granted and assumed to reflect a common understanding. Both, however, have direct origins and develop in response to conflicts or needs. At their core is a process of interaction. This process shapes the actions of individuals and social systems. As Williams noted, values and norms are "never wholly divorced from the actual conditions of human interaction from which they emerge" (Williams, 1970, p. 29). Culture is a living thing and consists of elements of the past, outside influences, and new locally developed elements.

We provide the above definitions as explanations of culture. These are by no means complete as many fields see this entity differently, as do they see its role in shaping reactions or explanations of social interventions. We understand that the above definitions and discussions of culture may be in a general context. This is deliberate. Culture is a condition that can vary from nation to nation, city to city, neighborhood to neighborhood, and beyond even in the smallest localities (culture determined by race, religion, ethnicity). That said, the definitions we provide represent a wide range of the commonly accepted definitions of this rich and complex entity. Our definitions are a starting point. Through this chapter, we seek to better understand and integrate other ideas, concepts, and best practices that can be used as the basis of fostering and facilitating local development.

Differences between regions and localities are often largely cultural (Williams, 1970; Dove, 1988; Hoage & Moran, 1998; Ray, 2001). Community development practitioners need to consider the importance of culture in efforts to improve local well-being. By paying attention to, and incorporating cultural values, traditions, and related factors in community development strategies, more efficient and effective development efforts can be achieved (Dove, 1988; Ramsay, 1996; Phillips, 2004). Arts and culture can serve as powerful factors addressing social and economic needs of society (Markusen & Schrock, 2006; Foster, 2009; Zukin, 2010); and can be an attractive approach to community development, far beyond the aesthetic appeal of it (Aquino et al., 2013). Arts and culture can be part of creative placemaking strategies and plans, helping "address issues that prevent communities from being better places to live, work, and visit" (Vazquez, 2015, p. 307). Culturally sensitive and appropriate development can help address a range of issues while shaping and molding communities for the betterment of all. Indigenous community development, for example, seeks to empower residents while establishing culturally responsive and culturally viable development and planning, with values-based approaches.

Local understandings and interpretations of a community's history reflect past events feeding into, and partially driven by, the demands, sentiments, and interests of those in the present. Indeed, local culture has both backward and forward looking dimensions with implications for local opportunities (Massey, 1994; Brennan et al., 2008; McGrath & Brennan, 2011).

Local societies also consist of unique social groups or fields which have their own distinct cultures.

In some ways, this connection to the past is oftentimes very evident. For example, the role of culture and the arts in community development is long-lived, with roots tracing back to the City Beautiful Movement of the late 1890s. At the height of its popularity, this movement was known for integrating public art, public parks and other spaces, and beautiful architecture for public buildings. When the era of the City Beautiful Movement ended, the willingness to incorporate public art was practically lost until the resurgence of interest almost a hundred years later; this time, the interest in the arts exceeds a physical dimension of structures – it also includes recognition of the social and cultural impacts on community (Phillips, 2004). The idea of culture is sometimes subsumed in the term "cultural resources," with its contributions to community development including image modification so as to reposition places in the mental maps of external investors; cultural tourism development for increased consumer services; and increasing capacity for endogenous development (Williams et al., 1995, p. 73).

Local culture provides a sense of identity for communities and their residents. This identity provides a basis for common understandings, traditions, and values – each of which is central to taking action for improving well-being (Williams, 1970; Ramsay, 1996; Ray, 2001; Schmidt et al., 2002; Binder & Baker, 2017). Culture contributes to building a sense of local identity and solidarity. It influences the confidence of community members to come together to address specific needs and problems (Wilkinson, 1991; Luloff & Swanson, 1995; Bridger & Luloff, 1999; Schmidt et al., 2002; Brennan, et al., 2005; McGrath & Brennan, 2011). Local commitment among residents based on culture and common identity, regardless of economic or political conditions, serves as a valuable tool in shaping the effectiveness of development options and local actions (Wilkinson, 1991; Ramsay, 1996; Bridger & Luloff, 1999; Cawley & Gillmor, 2016).

Providing a local linkage and cultural basis for development is essential (Dove, 1988; Hoage & Moran, 1998; Ray, 2001; Salamon, 2003; Tubadji et al., 2015). People are likely to take part in and remain committed to development efforts to which they are directly connected (Dove, 1988). Development efforts considering or focusing on culture provide a mechanism for linking local residents to the development process. Through such efforts, local residents can encourage development which preserves and/or promotes their culture. Alternatively, where development is inhibited, creating an appreciation of cultural factors can help identify means for addressing these barriers and considering culturally sensitive alternatives. This is particularly important in efforts seeking local participation, voluntarism, and community action (Hoage & Moran, 1998). The social basis of culture, its relationship to interaction, and the types of

development and local actions it contributes to are each central aspects of the role of culture in the development process.

Culture is a motivating factor in the creation of social identity and serves as a basis for creating cohesion and solidarity. Solidarity is often seen as the central element for uniting and motivating communities (Sorokin, 1957; Williams, 1970; Durkheim, 1984; Bhattacharyya, 1995; Schmidt et al., 2002; Salamon, 2003; Smith, 2015). Solidarity reflects a shared identity, expected conduct, and commitment to community (Bhattacharyya, 1995; Huggins & Thompson, 2015). It also reflects the extent to which communities come together and offer members a sense of belonging. A commitment to common ideals and beliefs emerges through interactions cutting across different perspectives within a community (Wilkinson, 1991).

A Changing World and Perceptions of Culture

For much of human history, the local society and close social relations characterized communities. These places, whether they be in rural or urban settings, were represented by social groupings based on a common cultural background (ethnicity, religion, nationality). These communities were often seen as complete social spheres where the needs of local residents were met in the local setting (Wilkinson, 1991).

In many places throughout the world, such conditions (or at least the perceptions of them) began to change throughout the 20th century. The impacts of two world wars and the subsequent post-war restructuring and development efforts dramatically altered the social and cultural landscape (Stein, 1960; Warren, 1978). These impacts were evident, beginning in Europe and America, where between the 1940s and 1970s changes in economies, geographic mobility, and technology, as well as substantial social and cultural changes, significantly altered the fabric of social life. These also gradually altered the age-old environments and contexts in which we interacted with fellow citizens. Some scholars and critics saw these as signaling the end of "community" or the need for locally based actions, coordinated efforts, and the importance of local ties and networks in our modern world.

Physically, there was the visible change of massive suburban sprawl surrounding urban centers, the emergence of the suburbs, and the loss of a clearly defined boundary between the rural and urban environments (Stein, 1960; Shils, 1969; Warren, 1978). Increases in the availability of affordable housing and reliable employment drew many rural residents to such areas. New lifestyles and forms of employment in comparison with traditional rural livelihoods emerged. Finally, increases in transportation and communication technology created environments where people could work and interact with others over vast spans of geographic space. This was seen

as further eliminating a territorial linkage and social connection between people in rural communities (Shils, 1969; Warren, 1978).

Perhaps most identifiable in voicing concern over the eclipse and disappearance of community was the work of Roland Warren in *The Community in America* (1978). Central to this work was his notion of the "Great Change." He defines this change as one in which connections among various local institutions (horizontal ties) give way to ties with state, regional, or national counterparts (vertical ties) (Warren, 1978). In this debate, he and others stressed the belief that as communities became increasingly dependent on extra-local forces, such as government and outside development interests, local communities became less able to control their own destinies (Stein, 1960; Warren, 1978). This lack of local level decision making ability and control would, in his opinion, lead to decay in local solidarity and social cohesion. Earlier, Stein (1960) argued in the *Eclipse of Community* that increases in the size of modern cities and societies led to conditions where the community could no longer flourish. Stein saw more complex societies threatening the close personal relationships seen in communities. Losses in close personal relationships are often accompanied by growth in transitory weak ties (Warren, 1978).

Warren (1978) associated several conditions with the Great Change that he saw as transforming community life. Included were the division of labor, differentiation of interests and association, increasing systemic relationships to the larger society, and bureaucratization and impersonalization. Also included were the transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government, urbanization and suburbanization, and changing values. According to Warren, these have been constant factors of change during the past hundred years and have reshaped rural communities and cultures (Warren, 1978). The end result is a decrease in the importance of community and local social interaction.

Similarly, systemic relationships to larger society have increased. Increases in these relationships include a greater reliance on extra-local forces as local communities become more integrated into larger societies. As a result, individuals, local businesses, and organizations are often linked more closely with larger entities (corporation, agency, government). Consequently, these actors often must act in accordance with the rules or culture of the larger entity. Such practices may often be contradictory to local needs and wants. Environments such as that described above are characteristic of bureaucratization and the lack of personalization. While bureaucracies provide uniform criteria for action and decisions in a larger system, they ignore the unique needs and conditions of smaller communities. Finally, the transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government is reflected in the need for greater coordination of broad efforts as local communities become more integrated into larger environments. This need for coordination is in part due to specialization brought on by the division of labor, but also as a result of the diversification of function and services

incorporated into the larger society (Warren, 1978; Luloff, Bridger, & Krannich, 2002).

In the last two decades, the technological revolution has further accelerated and reshaped these perceived losses of community (Spracklen, 2015; Benghozi & Paris, 2016; Crane et al., 2016; Murphie & Potts, 2017). Within less than a generation we saw the emergence of the internet, cellular phone technology, social media, and an endless range of technological applications that shaped the ways, context, and depth of our interactions. Never before have we had the ability to constantly communicate, yet it can be argued that the depth and meaning of such communication is limited. Never have we had nearly limitless access to knowledge, while it can at the same time be argued that we are overwhelmed by it and have lost the ability to critically analyze the messages presented to us.

Perhaps more so than in the past, the impacts of technology are making us revisit the importance and uniqueness of local culture in a globally connected age (Spracklen, 2015; Crane et al., 2016; Murphie & Potts, 2017). Technology is also making us question the depth, context, and substance of our human interactions. We may also be questioning the importance of our cultures in highlighting our uniqueness and the issues we face, in an age of global connection. In the face of global connectedness, commerce, and access, can the uniqueness of place and the range of culturally based ideas, beliefs, music, arts, food, and traditions continue to exist?

Much like the debates of the past, we continue to argue that place matters. As in the post-war years, locality, society, and the components have changed. As always, this change has continued and evolved in recent decades. Nonetheless, we argue that such global and national changes remain as the backdrop for our daily lives. Technology certainly opens up new avenues for communication and knowledge attainment. Technology may certainly broaden the geographic boundaries of where we meet various needs and obtain services. All, if over relied upon, may limit our connection to others locally. That said, technology must be viewed as simply new dimensions of our lives, as new tools.

Our affinity for our electronic devices and the internet does not signal an end to community any more than the telegraph or television did. All advances are neither good nor bad, but neutral. It is how we as community members and participants in a common culture choose to use them. The reality is that most of our daily behavior and lives still remains rooted in our local (and extended) cultures and our locality.

Looking Forward: A Return to the Importance of Culture and Cultural Attributes

Throughout their history cultures ebb and flow, change and adapt, and evolve. Culture is a dynamic entity that responds to the stimuli it encounters. While

such evolution may be difficult to perceive or be easily ignored, cultural attributes such as music, art, literature, and other outlets, are keenly attuned to quickly adapting and reflecting the reality of our cultures and the world in which they exist. At the same time, these attributes are also particularly important in reflecting our past, heritage, traditions, and documenting ways of life. The latter can obviously be positive and negative, but both nonetheless show the powerful nature of these attributes to frame, reframe, and introduce alternate narratives.

Despite the massive global changes that we have witnessed, local life is still where the vast majority of our existence takes place. In this setting, culture still remains a uniting factor in a sea of technological and other distractions. Much like the concerns raised in the loss and eclipse of community literature, the world, our patterns of interaction, and our connections to each other are different today. Yet different does not equate to loss. Community, culture, and the basis for our collective actions remain the same: people who care passionately about the place they live and the people there.

Finally, culture serves to unite us based on our commonalities but, equally important, bridges our differences. This ability provides a critical basis for us coming together in these divided and troubled times. The wonders of our diverse music, art, food, celebrations, and other attributes that cut across our divisions also contribute to a broader body of knowledge that better prepares our communities to respond to a wide range of needs and wants. Similarly, these attributes raise awareness of the conditions facing different parts of our society and at times open up opportunities for other community members to be engaged in meeting local needs. In addition to opening our eyes, these serve as critical venues for interaction where we come to see each other as common citizens, as opposed to competing rival factions. The sharing of our various cultures shows our commonalities more than our differences and may serve as ways to bring together fractured societies.

This sharing of various cultures can also help build bridging capital, to connect people across differences. Culture and the arts can serve as powerful catalysts for rebuilding many aspects of community, not only the economic sphere which, as we noted, is often the focus of development efforts. Many more community developers and others interested in changing their areas for the better note that arts and culture can serve this role of "rebuilding." Several years ago, a regional development organization, in its work with the local communities it serves, described this ability of culture and arts as follows:

> The arts touch people on a personal, emotional level and have the power to rebuild the fabric of community where it has been torn apart by years of poverty and struggle. The arts can construct bridges across barriers of class, race, gender and age. The arts can interpret and

celebrate the past, present and future of a community to replace despair
and apathy with hope and creation.

(Rural Action, Inc., 2001, p. 7)

It is not hard to understand the ability of arts and culture to provide these
bridges, and oftentimes, it provides the links needed to connect people in
communities. We have seen this work in communities where racial, eco-
nomic, social, and political differences created divides, and the arts and cul-
ture were viewed as a platform around which to start healing.

The American politician Tipp O'Neill once noted that "All politics is
local." Like politics, community development is likely the same. Most, if not
all, effective and sustainable development originates out of the needs, wants,
uniqueness, and specialties found at the local level. The vast majorities have
their roots in local culture. These are often not based in nostalgia, but in age
old experiential learning, where extensive success and failure have led to sys-
tems that identify and work to meet uniquely local needs. Such is the basis of
culture's contribution to meeting the needs of our localities and regions. As
such, culture and cultural attributes can have significant impacts on well-being
and the human condition.

We must also not minimize the importance of local culture (arts, music,
etc.) as a mechanism for bringing people together in collective action. As
seen throughout this book, such action can be protective, celebrative, and
a mechanism for social advancement. All seek to link diverse local people
together in a common focus, action, and identity. As Paulo Freire taught,
participatory art (most notably in his work, theater) can help community
members see the situation lived by participants; analyze the root causes of
the situation, whether internal or external sources of oppression; explore
solutions as a group to these situations and problems; and take action to
change the situation using social justice precepts (Brecht Forum, 2014).

Lastly, the sharing of cultural behaviors and attributes with other cultures
can serve as the basis for advancement of the human condition. It can serve
to bridge the divides we witness in our communities. The sharing of music,
food, art, literature, and many other attributes is critical to our growth as
a society as well as individuals. Can we imagine a world where American
blues and gospel music never crossed over to other audiences and led to the
Beatles; imagine the cultural loss where the merging of cultural celebration
spread Octoberfest and St. Patrick's Day worldwide; the worldwide obsession
surrounding the Olympics and World Cup; or the countless festivals where
the foods of Asia, India, Africa, South America sit side by side in our cities?
Regardless of the context, harnessing these commonalities is the cornerstone
of development. In the end, culture brings us far more together than it div-
ides us. It is time for culture to take its place in community development
planning, actions, outcomes, and goals.

References

Aquino, J., Phillips, R., & Sung, H. (2013). Tourism, culture, and the creative industries: Reviving distressed neighborhoods with arts-based community tourism. *Tourism, Culture and Communications*, *12*(1), 5–18.

Bayliss, D. (2004). Denmark's creative potential. The role of culture within Danish urban development strategies. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *10*(1), 5–28.

Benghozi, P.J., & Paris, T. (2016). The cultural economy in the digital age: A revolution in intermediation? *City, Culture and Society*, 7(2), 75–80.

Bhattacharyya, J. (1995). Solidarity and agency: Rethinking community development. *Human Organization*, *54*(1), 60–69.

Binder, S.B., & Baker, C.K. (2017). Culture, local capacity, and outside aid: A community perspective on disaster response after the 2009 tsunami in American Sāmoa. *Disasters*, *41*(2), 282–305.

Brecht Forum. (2014). http://brechtforum.org/abouttop.

Brennan, M. & Luloff, A.E. (2005). A cooperative approach to rural development in Ireland: Cultural artifacts and the Irish diaspora as an example. *Journal of International Agricultural and Extension Education*, *12*(1), 15–25.

Brennan, M., Flint, C., & Luloff, A.E. (2008). Bringing together local culture and rural development: Findings from Ireland, Pennsylvania, and Alaska. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *49*(1), 97–112.

Bridger, J., & Luloff, A.E. (1999). Toward an interactional approach to sustainable community development. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *15*, 377–387.

Cawley, M., & Gillmor, D.A. (2016). "Culture economy", "integrated tourism" and "sustainable rural development": Evidence from Western Ireland. *Sustainable Rural Systems: Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Communities*, 145–169.

Crane, D., Kawashima, N., & Kawasaki, K. (Eds.). (2016). Global culture: Media, arts, policy, and globalization. Retrieved from https://ebookcentral.proquest.com.

Dove, M.R. (1988). *The real and imagined role of culture in development: Case studies from Indonesia*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Durkheim, E. (1984). *The division of labor in society*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Flint, C.G., & Luloff, A.E. (2007). Community activeness in response to forest disturbance in Alaska. *Society and Natural Resources*, *20*(5), 431–450.

Flora, C.B., Flora, J., Spears, J., Swanson, L., Lapping, M., & Weinberg, M. (1992). *Rural communities: Legacy and change*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Foster, D. (2009). The value of the arts and creativity. *Cultural Trends*, *18*(3), 257–261.

Fredin, S., & Jogmark, M. (2017). Local culture as a context for entrepreneurial activities. *European Planning Studies*, *25*(9), 1556–1574.

Hoage, R.J., & Moran, K. (1998). *Culture: The missing element in conservation and development*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing.

Hudec, O., & Džupka, P. (2016). Culture-led regeneration through the young generation: Košice as the European capital of culture. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *23*(3), 531–538.

Huggins, R., & Thompson, P. (2015). Culture and place-based development: A socio-economic analysis. *Regional Studies*, *49*(1), 130–159.

Johannesson, G.P., Skaptadottir, U.D., & Benediktsson, K. (2003). Coping with social capital? The cultural economy of tourism in the north. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *43*(1), 3–16.

Juska, A., Poviliunas, A., & Pozzuto, R. (2005). Resisting marginalisation: The rise of the rural community movement in Lithuania. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *45*(1–2), 3–21.

Luloff, A.E., & Swanson, L.E. (1995). Community agency and disaffection: Enhancing collective resources. In L. Beaulieu & D. Mulkey (Eds.), *Investing in people: The human capital needs of rural America* (pp. 351–372). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Luloff, A.E., Bridger, J., & Krannich, R. 2002. Community change and community theory. In A.E. Luloff (Ed.), *Persistence and change in rural communities: A fifty year follow-up to six classic studies*. Oxford, UK: CABI Press.

Lysgård, H.K. (2016). The "actually existing" cultural policy and culture-led strategies of rural places and small towns. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *44*, 1–11.

McGrath, B., & Brennan, M.A. (2011). Tradition, cultures and communities: Exploring the potentials of music and the arts for community development in Appalachia. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, *42*(3), 332–350.

Markusen, A., & Schrock, G. (2006). The artistic dividend: Urban artistic specialization and economic development implications. *Urban Studies*, *43*(10), 1661.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place, and gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Murphie, A., & Potts, J. (2017). *Culture and technology*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Panelli, R., Stolte, O., & Bedford, R. (2003). The reinvention of Tirau: Landscape as a record of changing economy and culture. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *43*(4), 379–400.

Park, R.E. (1950). *Race and culture*. London: Free Press.

Phillips, R. (2004). Artful business: Using the arts for community economic development. *Community Development Journal*, *39*(2), 112–122.

Ramsay, M. (1996). *Community, culture, and economic development*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Ray, C. (1998). Culture, intellectual property and territorial rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis*, *38*(1), 3–20.

Ray, C. (2001). *Culture economies*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Centre for Rural Economy Newcastle University.

Rural Action, Inc. (2001). *Community murals handbook and case study*. Plains, OH: Trimble.

Salamon, S. (2003). *Newcomers to old towns: Suburbanization of the heartland*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Schmidt, F., Skinner, E., Ploch, L.A., & Krannich, R.S. (2002). Community change and persistence: Landaff, New Hampshire. In A.E. Luloff & R.S. Krannich (Eds.), *Persistence and change in rural communities* (pp. 95–116). Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing.

Shils, E.A. (1969). The theory of mass society. In D.W. Minar & S. Greer (Eds.), *The concept of community* (pp. 298–316). Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing.

Smith, S. (2015). A sense of place: Place, culture and tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research*, *40*(2), 220–233.

Sorokin, P. (1957). *Social and cultural dynamics*. Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publishers.

Spracklen, K. (2015). *Digital leisure, the internet and popular culture: Communities and identities in a digital age*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stein, M. (1960). *The eclipse of community: An interpretation of American studies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tubadji, A., Osoba, B.J., & Nijkamp, P. (2015). Culture-based development in the USA: Culture as a factor for economic welfare and social well-being at a county level. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, *39*(3), 277–303.

Vazquez, L. (2015). Creative place making. In R. Phillips & R. Pittman (Eds.), *Introduction to community development* (pp. 306–307). London: Routledge.

Warren, R. (1978). *The community in America.* Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.

Wilkinson, K. (1991). *The community in rural America.* New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Williams, A., Shaw, G., & Huber, M. (1995). The arts and economic development: Regional and urban–rural contrasts in UK local authority policies for the arts. *Regional Studies*, *29*(Fall), 73–80.

Williams, R. (1970). *American society: A sociological interpretation.* New York, NY: Knopf Publishing.

Zukin, S. (2010). *Naked city: The death and life of authentic urban places.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

PART II

Theory and Framework

2

A PROPOSAL

Stand for Civic Engagement

Rosanne Altstatt and Esteban García Bravo

The talk of square feet, numbers of beds, and the resulting building costs during a presentation on a study for a new county jail was dry. It held my (Rosanne's) thoughts at a blurring distance in a way that only bureaucratic meetings can accomplish, but I wanted to know more about my community's plans to house its prisoners and tried to listen closely to the man reporting the numbers at this public meeting (TCBC, 2018). My mind took a little relief and a partial escape route by slipping into a fantasy that artist-activist Laurie Jo Reynolds would enter the room, step in front of the Board of Commissioners, and use the forum to re-enact her performance *Moment of Endurance*. For the original performance, Brenda Townsend, the mother of a former inmate at Tamms Prison in Southern Illinois; Reginald "Akkeem" Berry, himself a former inmate; and Darrell Cannon, a former inmate who had spent nine years in solitary confinement, stood on stage in silence for the duration of one minute per year they spent in solitary confinement (Carr, 2013). The audience was asked to sit in silence while the performers stood on stage. Berry departed first, Cannon second, and Townsend left the stage – relieving the audience. The occasion for the performance was the 2013 Leonore Annenberg Prize for Art and Social Change award ceremony, and Reynolds was receiving the prize for her instrumental role in the Tamms Year Ten campaign to close the prison. The facility had been designed for a one year "shock treatment" of prisoners via sensory deprivation, yet ten years later it still held a third of its original prisoners and was finally shut down by the efforts of the Tamms Year Ten campaign in 2013 (Pittendrigh, 2015). The performance was an abbreviated memory of time served in the past and a reminder that solitary confinement is still a common practice in U.S. prisons.

Had this performance been reenacted in the Tippecanoe County Board of Commissioners' meeting of 2018, the artwork's blend of memorial and protest would have re-centered the conversation to the human consequences of jail planning. Not only would it have made the meeting more interesting, but every number cited in the study would have been given an immediately apparent relevance.

Numbers have an air of the concrete, but easily become abstract in that they allow one to lose sight of what the numbers represent. The possibility of cost savings with dormitory style housing of multiple beds to a room was raised, but the answer was that the possibility of dormitory style housing would depend upon the type of prisoners being housed. In other words, decisions about beds are also decisions of crowd control, though this fact went unspoken. No other reference was made to the people who would be housed in this facility, though the subject matter at hand would dictate whether a person sleeps alone in a room, has a cell mate, or is barracked in with a large group. In addition to the performance's original focus on the psychological effects of time spent imprisoned alone and audience members making a remote connection to the endurance of captivity, a reenactment in this public meeting five years later would hold the possibility of influencing the planning of how real prisoners "do time." What happened instead was that the next stage of planning and study was approved, with no public commentary.

County jails mainly imprison local residents for, generally, up to a year (Indiana General Assembly, 2018), and local people, be they elected decision makers or concerned citizens, could better use their public forums to ensure that government decisions do not become distant from the needs of their neighbors. Our imagining of creative action within public meetings sprouts from a sense that there is a need for more local engagement in civic institutions that will break away from calcified practices and discourses in order to enact societal change. "Artists were fundamental to the campaign to close Tamms," writes Reynolds, "Accustomed to attempting the impossible, artists are well qualified to affect law and policy. And compared to the regular political players, they have the freedom of the outsider: they are in the world, but not of it" (Reynolds et al., 2013, p. 1). Local citizens can also take this position of acting in the world of political players, but not necessarily being of it. Every person has the potential to lend creative action to local government institutions where there is more ready access to decision making than at state and federal levels.

Civic Considerations

Increased civic and creative engagement is needed in this era when the power of the individual vote has been weakened: gerrymandered voting districts make jumping the hurdle to unseat a party in regional power nearly impossible

in many parts of the country; the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled in favor of states' rights to liberally purge voting roles; strict voter identification laws are largely perceived as an attempt to further disenfranchise low income voters; and twice in recent history the country has elected a President of the United States of America who lost the popular vote (American Civil Liberties Union, n.d). Voting is only one way to take part in a democratic system and, given the frustrations with what should be a simple act of voting, other avenues to shape society should be better utilized. Local government committees – the city council, school board, waterworks, and many other meetings designed to make government transparent is an effective place to begin. They all have public commentary forums that may be more effective at shaping local society than the individual vote. However, the question is one of activating more participation. How do we tap into American society's event culture, in which citizens do take part, to promote a culture of creative acts for civic engagement toward a betterment of local society?

Taking a Stand

To this end, we propose a public art project for our home of Lafayette, in Tippecanoe County, Indiana. What we have in mind is to create an incubator and launching pad for civic engagement that nudges the participatory culture of the small town street into the public spaces of government. The desire is to activate people to design their own means of breaking through convention in order to open new pathways and discourses as they engage in civic life.

It begins with an art object that is simultaneously an art venue, a pushcart that unfolds into a booth or stand, the "Stand for Public Engagement."

It has a literal physical dimension, taking its inspiration from circus wagons of old, which would parade on wheels to attract the attention of the public when the circus came to town. Some wagons were decorative, mobile animal cages while others were pretty containers that opened up to reveal unknown delights. When the circus stopped, some wagons had sides that folded out to create a backdrop and staging area. Magic acts, clown comedy, and alluring tales of the wonders of the greatest show on earth might take place. Unlike the ornate circus wagons, the "Stand for Public Engagement" will have a simple aesthetic that is versatile enough to suit the needs of any moment or issue at hand as it must remain a flexible shell for the art projects that the community devises (see Figure 2.1).

The cart will unfold to become a literal stand, one for the purpose of supporting civic engagement through art. Figuratively, it will facilitate others who desire to "take a stand." It can be placed close to wherever the action is on the street or can be parked in front of the county courthouse and used for performances, temporary installations, public commentary, disseminating information, or to support events as they occur in any of the forms that art can take.

FIGURE 2.1   Circus

It is itself a public art object to host public art, an object that resists slipping onto the tourist map of public art in the Cities of West Lafayette and Lafayette brochure (Visit Lafayette – West Lafayette, 2017). Should it happen to be captured by the Street View car for Google Maps, it will be a snapshot of a temporary action in a temporary space, not the depiction of a city fixture (Figure 2.2).

As a versatile artwork it must propel its users to envision possibilities in the minds of its viewers or participants, to be a cultural touchstone for community, and to appeal to the mind and creative sensibilities. Therefore, the Stand for Civic Engagement shall create:

• a space for art that facilitates public discourse on the street;
• a meeting spot to inform publics about civic happenings and gather before attending public meetings;
• artistic action in public space that acts as social sculpture.
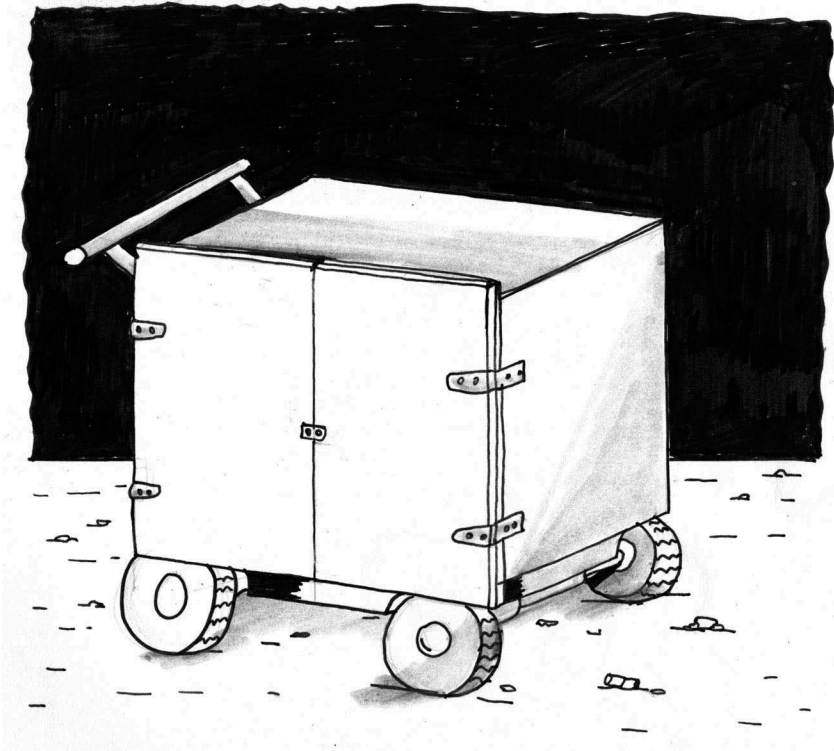
FIGURE 2.2   Picture of cart/box

The Context: Semi-Rural America

Greater Lafayette, in northwestern Indiana, accounts for some 188,000 people when every farm and hamlet is pulled in, but its core is slightly fewer than 117,000 combined in the municipal limits of City of Lafayette and of West Lafayette (United States Census Bureau, 2016a). The Wabash River is Lafayette's natural boundary between them and the train runs along the river. Four bridges connect the people of these twin cities, and when one crosses the river from West Lafayette to what is literally the other side of the tracks, it can be considered a "town and gown" inter-action. The social separation is not cut-and-dried, as many university employees and local industry leaders live in Lafayette along with a sizeable working class, but the free and reduced lunch rate, a marker of poverty rates, of the Lafayette School Corporation (71.5%) versus the two West Lafayette School Corporations' primary and secondary schools (15.9% and 11.4%) indicates a large socioeconomic distance between the populations of the two cities (Indiana Department of Education, 2018).

Lafayette is the County Seat of Tippecanoe County, which is notable for the 1811 Battle of Tippecanoe where William Henry Harrison, then-Governor of the Indiana Territory, led federal troops and Kentucky volunteers against a pan–Indian movement. Two brothers of the Miami Tribe were in the process of assembling to defend native lands when they were attacked in this pre-emptive strike (U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2014). The Euroamericans won the battle and it was considered a turning point toward the long-term defeat of the Native Americans, as evidenced by the location being referenced during the 1840 presidential campaign with Harrison's campaign slogan, "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too" when he ran for and won the U.S. Presidency. Almost 100 years later, in 1907, an 85-foot marble obelisk inscribed with the names of the fallen amongst Harrison's troops was erected on the site as the central feature of the 104-acre Tippecanoe Battlefield Park.

In contemporary politics, Indiana is a largely conservative state with 56.5% of the popular vote in the 2016 presidential election given to Donald Trump and his running mate, Mike Pence, who was recruited to be the Vice Presidential candidate while he was Indiana's sitting governor at the time (*The New York Times*, 2017). Tippecanoe County itself was included in this vote favoring Trump-Pence, but its residents also gave the majority of their votes to a Democratic gubernatorial candidate (who lost) to replace Pence. Yet the county leaned left in 2012, for Barack Obama, and in 2008 when Obama took the entire state (*New York Times*, 2008). While Indiana is traditionally conservative, this county's small population with a big university has a mix of political beliefs. The same can be said of the community's local culture which is classic Americana, characterized by parades, street festivals, and farmers' markets. Yet when that surface is scratched, the stereotypically homogenous image of the traditional Midwest becomes much more nuanced than it first appears.

The Christmas Parade Protest

On the cold, late-afternoon of December 7, 2016, one month after Donald Trump was elected President of the United States of America, people lined their lawn chairs up and down Main Street from Second to Tenth, and kids bundled up in winter jackets and scarves held empty plastic grocery sacks in the hope they would soon be filled with candy (Figure 2.3). They were waiting for Lafayette's annual Christmas Parade to come marching through. Firetrucks, girl scouts, local merchants, high school bands, and the Purdue marching band march in this parade, and the finale is a giant float with Santa and his reindeer. The parade probably looks much like it did decades ago and, in adherence to tradition, the Christmas Parade has not been renamed a Holiday Parade. This year there was more in store than the typical small town USA parade fare. The Lafayette Truck Squad was on the roster for the second year in a row

FIGURE 2.3 Picture of "I love a parade"

after its appearance in the 2015 Christmas Parade. Anyone can enter the Christmas Parade as long as they show no "displays that are deemed inflammatory or derogatory or considered political and controversial" (Bangert, 2016a, p. 1).

LTS (Lafayette Truck Drivers) or "The Squad," as it is known, had already been staging its own private parades for two years in the form of its members driving weighty pick-up trucks around town in convoy, prominently flying the Confederate flag and an assortment of others including the U.S. flag, the Gadsen Flag, or flags for special causes like breast cancer or fallen police officers (Bangert, 2016, p. 1). A few weeks before the parade, the local paper reported on the club's activities, including night parades, and asked LTS members about people's reactions:

> "We do parade around town. And we will have a select few who, if you will, will give us dirty fingers and, you know, dirty comments," Gary Waltz [Squad co-founder] said. "But for the most part, we have people who give us big thumbs up. They clap. They really appreciate what we're doing. We've had a lot more yeas than nays in this public. So, I think what we're doing is a pretty much a good thing."
>
> *(Bangert, 2016b, p. 1)*

In the same article, the LTS President also reacted to a negative comment on social media that characterized LTS as an embarrassment to the community, "'We still ain't figured out why. I guess they think we're white racists. Or KKK,' Duncan [Squad President] said. 'But an embarrassment to the community? That's a new one on me.'" LTS apparently does not deem being racists or KKK members an embarrassment to the community or, by extension, to the culture of the community.

The Squad did not always fly the Confederate flag but began the practice when a 21-year-old white supremacist, Dylan Roof, murdered nine African Americans and injured a tenth in a South Carolina church. His own supremacist website showed Roof holding up the Confederate battle flag to rally for a race war. When the Confederate flag was removed in the wake of the murders from the South Carolina Statehouse grounds (after decades of calls to take it down) and many stores purged the Confederate flag from their shelves, The Squad decided this was exactly the right moment to start flying the stars and bars. "It was like a heritage-not-hate, Southern thing. We wanted to defend their rights to defend the flag when everyone was trying to take it down," Gary Waltz said. "It seemed right to us." With the Southern flag and everything they imagined it stands for as its centerpiece, the Squad would grow from three to 35 members (Bangert, 2016b, p. 1).

Dave Bangert had written an article about LTS for the local newspaper, *Lafayette Journal and Courier*, 11 days before the Christmas Parade, and upon its publication a "Flag Down Hate" protest of approximately two dozen people was organized for the parade. Close to where the parade begins, at the corner of Eighth and Main Streets, there were chants and signs against LTS and some in the crowd spontaneously stood up to counter protest in favor of the Squad (Bangert, 2016a).

During the parade, some members of the Squad technically kept to the rules of no incendiary political decorations by wearing the Confederate flag on their clothing, as is protected by the First Amendment, as they marched alongside their vehicles instead of flying the flag from their (sparsely) decorated trucks.

> Lafayette Truck Squad drivers waved from behind the wheel. At one point a woman walking alongside in a club jacket – featuring a U.S. flag

and a Confederate battle flag crossed over the motto, "Freedom to fly them freely" – came up to protesters: "Candy, anyone?" When no one bit, she dropped the armload at their feet.

(Bangert, 2016a, p. 1)

At about this time, Squad supporters began live-streaming footage on Facebook of a protester booing and shouting, "We don't need racists in Lafayette!" (Bangert, 2016a, p. 1).

The cities of Lafayette and West Lafayette later received reactions from both sides, which – according to Bangert's second article, published only one day after the parade – skewed pro-Lafayette Truck Squad in the Inbox of the Lafayette Chamber of Commerce and anti-Lafayette Truck Squad by those who erroneously contacted the City of West Lafayette, which has no hand in operating the parade (Bangert, 2016b). The next year, the Squad opted not to take part. The media attention and protest seem to have been enough to tamp down the activities of LTS, which has stopped flying the Confederate flag on its trucks, but we see it still driving around town in its own private parade of large and loud trucks flying all the other banners (Figure 2.4).

FIGURE 2.4   Picture of Santa

Art for Public Political Discourse

The Christmas Parade protesters achieved their goal of removing the Confederate flag and identifying the racism that stands behind it, but a modus of discussion for public space that works against the polarizing effects of protest and social media can be developed with the Stand for Civic Engagement. We propose that the stand be brought into action for parades and street festivals as a venue for artistic projects that facilitate dialogues on subjects that are difficult to address, yet consistently flame up on the American stage. If not part of the parade itself, the stand can be pushed down the street ahead of the parade or set up on the sidewalk to serve the families that come to the event. *The Black Factory* (2004–2013) by artist William Pope.L is a model and an example of a recent, mobile public artwork that functioned in a similar vein. In a repurposed food truck, Pope.L and his team drove across the country to engage with publics across the nation and make art as an occasion to talk about race. At each scheduled stop, people would offer *The Black Factory* objects that they find represent blackness. These objects and the thoughts behind their choosing would be discussed and the objects were either altered into new art objects for resale, pulverized for raw material out of which completely new objects were made, and sometimes put on view in their altered form in an inflatable igloo that acted as a temporary gallery space (Museum of Modern Art, 2018). As the artists explored notions of blackness across the country, they held what is arguably the most difficult type of conversation, the one-on-one, but it is also individual conversations that have great potential to reach the hearts and minds of the participants.

Pope.L trained his team of artists how to engage with the public and they prepared for the journey by practicing scenarios of interaction (Lachance, n. d.), which is reminiscent of the civil rights movement and the passive-resistance training sessions protesters would undergo. "The *Black Factory* is an industry that runs on our prejudices," advertises the website, "That means you don't have to come to us, we come right to you! … We harvest all your confusions, questions and conundrums, and transform them into the greatest gift of all: possibility!" (Museum of Modern Art, 2018). The Stand for Civic Engagement is to be a host for exactly this type of artistic work and interaction. It can be set into a parade, a protest, or a parade protest and produce its own moments of transformation and awakened possibility. The Christmas Parade protest had all the basic ingredients necessary: objects with personal meaning (jackets emblazoned with the Confederate flag, protest signs), provocation, and people with differing perspectives who were seeking interaction. Yet there was no place or activity prescribed in which participants could intentionally engage in a discussion of their viewpoints and an opportunity for artistic engagement was lost.

The Stand for Civic Engagement is to act as an artistic public square, much in the way Pope.L envisioned *The Black Factory*.

> I think it's important to try to talk about difference, or what separates people, and what brings them together in a public way. The idea is to maybe bring back some sense of a public square kind of atmosphere. … You want people to feel that they can enter the discussion. At the same time, I don't want them to get the idea that the discussion is going to be easy.
>
> *(Lachance, n.d.)*

It may also be more productive, and more difficult, for local artists to hold those discussions in small towns where conversational partners are likely to meet each other again and again, rather than as artists travelling through with the best of intentions but never having to answer to the words he had with a stranger on a given stop. With its local focus, the Stand for Civic Engagement has the potential for sustained engagement. If it pops up at a parade on Main Street, it can carry any discussions it has into its next iteration in the city with the purpose of creating a culture of participation in civic life.

Social Sculpture

Through creative acts, every person has the ability to shape or sculpt society. This is the basic premise behind artist Joseph Beuys' concept of "social sculpture," and the Stand for Civic Engagement is a tool with which to produce social sculpture. The premise was put into action by Beuys with the supposition that every person is an artist in the sense that we may all use creative practices in everyday acts to contribute to society (The Estate of Joseph Beuys, 1990). In addition to creating sculpture and installations out of commonplace or impermanent materials such as felt or fat, he included moving in the political realm as part of his artistic activity: He co-founded Germany's Green party (Die Grünen), began the German Student Party (Deutsche Studentenpartei) with his art students, set up the Organization for Direct Democracy Through Referendum (Organization für direkte Demokratie durch Volksabstimmung) in 1972 at the international art exhibition *Dokumenta 5*, and founded the Free International University, which was a political move toward education for all in that it matriculated everyone who applied (Borer, 1997). With Beuys as its spirit-guide, the Stand for Civic Engagement will also enlist publics to sculpt society through its local government and invite artists to work with civic-minded groups on social sculpture.

Ideally, the stand will harness the energy and the people taking part in small town culture, and then funnel them into public meetings and other areas of

public interaction with government. It can be used as a platform for "Legislative Art," a term devised by Reynolds, whose performance was cited at the beginning of this chapter. Reynolds has worked through protests, education campaigns, and music and art events for 20 years to reform the public perception of prisoners and describes Legislative Art as creative practice with "no distinction between art and politics" and the aim to create or change legislation (Carr, 2013). Included in the Tamms Year Ten campaign were letter writing campaigns allying with 45 different groups ranging from Black People Against Torture to the Chicago County Fair and the Waukegan Coalition to Reduce Recidivism (Tamms Year Ten, 2009). This type of action can be carried out with the stand as a meeting spot and in tandem with projects such as Photo Requests from Solitary, in which prisoners requested photographs of anything they wanted, whether it be a person they know or a thing they imagined. Members of the campaign fulfilled those requests, and the stand can be used for the further fulfilment of the needs of underrepresented populations. Who is, in this case, more underrepresented than felons who have lost their right to vote? The stand can be used as a meeting spot on the street for the community aspects of Legislative Art in which people gather for letter writing, sign making, and all actions big and small that form social sculpture.

Meeting Spot

For those not involved in the democratic process or whose participation reaches its limits at voting, there can be a "threshold fear" when it comes to public meetings. It may stem from a feeling that others have been more deeply involved in public conversations and must have better knowledge of government or the issues. They are uncomfortable in the environment of a public meeting and hesitate to cross its threshold alone. Another function of the stand is to act simply as a meeting spot for people who would prefer to go to a public meeting with others. It will be set up near the space where a public meeting is to take place or close to others in targeted groups that can then travel together to a meeting.

   "Meeting Spot" events will be run in thematic series. The first series is "What Is Government Doing?" and is designed to educate the public about which public boards, councils, and commissions exist; the objectives of each; and gather information on the positions of the local officials who sit on those committees as an act of legislative mapping. How many people know that Lafayette has a Human Rights Commission that holds public meetings or who is on the commission? In this age of Black Lives Matter protests, Women's Marches, and #MeToo, the Human Rights Commission should have an important role in shaping public discourse, but potential publics must attend meetings to take part (see Figure 2.5). The stand as a cultural spot with lively

FIGURE 2.5   Picture of Black Lives Matter

events and a meeting spot for government meetings will aim to funnel local citizens into Lafayette's Human Rights Commission.

The people who use the stand and the settings in which it is deployed will ultimately fulfil its potential and we would like to make the student populations of Tippecanoe County – from the community colleges, university, and other institutions for higher education – among the first to use the stand as a meeting spot and to activate it with their own creative ideas. Given the average age when students enter higher education, they are often first- or second-time voters. As they ascertain which professions they will enter after finishing their degrees, it is important that their personal and professional experiences connect with the pursuit of the public good. Many student organizations are already working to create positive societal change. Students of Purdue Against Racism Coalition (SPARC), an entirely student run organization with a majority of undergraduate members, is one with great potential. Its mission is "to proactively educate Purdue and the surrounding community on issues centered around race, diversity, privilege, discrimination, and social justice" (Students of Purdue Against Racism Coalition, 2016). SPARC has campaigned against racism on campus by leading rallies and developing workshops such as "What is Whiteness?" or partnering with resident halls to stage the workshop series "Race and Privilege" (Students of Purdue Against Racism Coalition,

2016). It has sometimes included objects to accompany its actions, such as a book the group produced to document instances of racially motivated aggression on campus, which was presented to university's upper administration along with a list of demands. SPARC's brand of creative activism is directly transferrable to civic engagement in the local community and the stand could be lent out to the group for deployment near campus such as West Lafayette events and city meetings.

Reconfiguring Government Space into Art Space

The public commentary periods during public meetings is one government space that should be utilized as artistic space, as the opening fantasy of this chapter envisions, and would expand the history of art that uses government space as artistic space. Mierle Laderman Ukeles, whose artistic themes center around the value of manual labor, worked her way into the City of New York's Department of Sanitation beginning in 1977 and gradually became known as its artist in residence (Phillips, 2016). Her artistic practice explored the lowly status of mothers' work as women's work – the endless laundry, cleaning toilets, dusting – what she deemed "Maintenance Art." In the Sanitation Department she equated this with the low status of men's manual labor in New York, the repetitive, back-breaking daily work of hauling away garbage or snow on an almost unfathomably large scale as New York's "sanmen." She approached these two gendered types of manual labor as cut from the same cloth, though they are considered to be in completely separate realms. They are bound by a much larger societal system, which would break down if the work were not performed, and yet each is underappreciated and often looked down upon.

From this standpoint, Ukeles endeavored to make art that would reveal the system while demonstrating large-scale appreciation for manual labor. Her most well-known artwork is *Touch Sanitation Performance* (1979–1980), in which Ukeles shook the hands of 8,500 sanitation workers across all 59 New York City sanitation districts. This required mapping the districts in which workers would be at given times in order to reach them, take off her gloves, and shake the "garbage men's" hands. The Department of Sanitation provided Ukeles with a small office and a car for a year in order to reach her goal of shaking each sanman's hand. Embedded in this time and project, she would also give speeches about the value of this manual labor, their lives, and her work to audiences of sanman in the performance *Roll Call* (Phillips 99). In her 1984 writing "Why Sanitation Can Be Used as a Model for Public Art," Ukeles pinpoints the connectedness and responsibilities of a city's citizens to their public works departments:

> I am – along with every other citizen who lives, works, visits or passes through this space – a co-producer of Sanitation's work-product, as well as a customer of Sanitation's work. In addition, because this is a thoroughly public system, I am – we are – all co-owners – we have a right to a say in all this. We are, each and all, bound to Sanitation, to restrictiveness.
>
> *(Ukeles, 1984)*

The "right to a say" was seized by Ukeles through the monumental-scale, ambitiously labor-intense gesture of shaking thousands of hands, whether they be dirty or clean, and her message was one of appreciation and solidarity as a laborer for society. Not every person whose hand was shook will have understood the immediate relevance of what can seem like a crazy endeavor. Yet an artwork's hidden strength is the very fact that it is not always completely comprehensible because it makes us more comfortable with the fact that not all that is important is fully understood at the time of its happening.

The implications of Stand for Civic Engagement artistic acts will become apparent over time as they bring people together with thoughtful questions and curiosity. It may at first seem like an offbeat, utopian idea, but that is also its strength. When dreams and fantasies for the flowering of art through public action in government institutions are articulated, possibilities for unconventional engagement in more areas of government become imaginable and tangible. Collapsing artistic practice, local culture, and government spaces will generate new creativity and activity in which more citizens form their local culture into collective acts of social sculpture.

Bibliography

American Civil Liberties Union. (n.d.). Voting Rights. Website. 9 July 2018. www.aclu.org/issues/voting-rights.

Bangert, D. (2016a). "Bangert: Christmas Parade Turns into Protest over Flag." 9 December 2016. *Lafayette Journal and Courier.* Newspaper. 9 July 2018. https://eu.jconline.com/story/opinion/columnists/dave-bangert/2016/12/08/bangert-christmas-parade-turns-protest-over-flag/95134358/.

———. (2016b). "Bangert: In Lafayette's Confederate Flag Parade." 26 November 2016. newspaper. 8 July 2017. https://eu.jconline.com/story/opinion/columnists/dave-bangert/2016/12/08/bangert-christmas-parade-turns-protest-over-flag/95134358/.

Borer, A. (1997). *The Essential Joseph Beuys.* Lothar Schirmer (Ed.). Trans. Elaine Briggs Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Carr, J. (2013). On "Legislative Art": Laurie Jo Reynolds and Tamms Year Ten. (2013): n.d. online journal. 11 July 2017. http://brooklynquarterly.org/on-legislative-art-laurie-jo-reynolds-and-tamms-year-ten/.

Indiana Department of Education. (2018). Compass. 2017. Web site. 27 May 2018. https://compass.doe.in.gov/dashboard/overview.aspx.

Indiana General Assembly. (2018). "Article 3. County Jail Standards." n.d. *Indiana Administrative Code*. web document. 8 July 2018. www.in.gov/legislative/iac/T02100/A00030.pdf.

Lachance, J. (n.d.). "KGB Bar Lit Magazine." *Inside The Black Factory: William Pope.L on Art and Race*. Ed. Benjamin Carter Olcott. Brooklyn, web journal. http://kgbbar.com/lit/columns/inside_the_black_factory_william_popel_on_art_and_race.

Museum of Modern Art. (2018). *The Black Factory Archive*. n.d. Museum of Modern Art. archive document. 9 July 2018. www.moma.org/learn/moma_learning/william-pope-l-the-black-factory-archive-2004-ongoing.

Phillips, P.C. (2016). *Mierle Laderman Ukeles: Maintenance Art*. New York City: Queens Museum. Catalogue.

Pittendrigh, N. (2015). *Making Visible Invisible Suffering: Non-Deliberative Agency and the Bodily Rhetoric of Tamms Supermax Prisoners*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Reynolds, L.J. and Eisenman, S.F. (2013). "Tamms is Torture: The Campaign to Close an Illinois Supermax Prison." 6 May 2013. *Creative Time Reports*. Document. 11 July 2017.

Students of Purdue against Racism Coalition. (2016). *Students of Purdue against Racism Coalition*. 13 March 2016. Document. 26 July 2018. https://sparcpurdue.wordpress.com/.

Tamms Year Ten. (2009). Allies. Document. 19 July 2017. http://tammsyearten.mayfirst.org/node/6.

The Estate of Joseph Beuys. (1990). *Joseph Beuys in America: Energy Plan for the Western Man. Writings by and Interviews with the Artist*. Ed. Carin Kuoni. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows.

The New York Times. (2008). "Indiana: Presidential County Results." 9 December 2008. Web site. 8 July 2017. www.nytimes.com/elections/2008/results/states/indiana.html.

———. (2017). "Election 2016 Indiana Results." 10 February 2017. Web site. 8 July 2017. www.nytimes.com/elections/results/indiana.

Tippecanoe County Board of Commissioners (TCBC). (2018). "052118 Board of Commissioners Meeting." 21 May 2018. *Tippecanoe County Agenda Center*. web document. 8 July 2018. http://in-tippecanoecounty.civicplus.com/AgendaCenter/ViewFile/Agenda/_05212018-1074?html=true.

U.S. Army Center of Military History. (2014). "Battle of Tippecanoe, 1811." November 2014. Web site. 27 July 2018. https://history.army.mil/news/2014/141100a_tippecanoe.html.

Ukeles, M.L. (1984). "Why Sanitation Can Be Used as a Model for Public Art." In P.C. Phillips (Ed.). *Mierle Laderman Ukeles: Maintenance Art*, p. 217. New York City: Queens Museum.

United States Census Bureau. (2016a). "Lafayette City, Indiana." 1 July 2016. Web site. 26 July 2018. www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/tippecanoecountyindiana,westlafayettecityindiana,lafayettecityindiana/PST045217.

———. (2016b). "Tippecanoe County Indiana." 1 July 2016. Web site. 26 July 2018. www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/tippecanoecountyindiana/PST045217.

Visit Lafayette – West Lafayette. (2017). "Public Art Trail." 3 May 2017. *issuu*. Document. 8 July 2018. https://issuu.com/lwlcvb/docs/publicartbrochurelafayetteindiana.

3

INTERCULTURAL LEARNING AMONG COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STUDENTS

Positive Attitudes, Ambivalent Experiences

Farida Fozdar and Simone Volet

Introduction

Ethnic diversity on university campuses and in the professional lives of graduates from Australian universities is very high. Australia has the world's second most diverse higher education population – 25% of students come from overseas, joining an already diverse domestic student population (over 40% of Australia's population were born overseas or have at least one parent born overseas) (DEEWR, 2009; Jupp, 2007). While proportions of each group are from 'culturally similar' source countries, many come from countries with significant cultural differences. Overseas students come predominantly from India and China, although some hail from European countries and the USA – according to 2010 statistics over 60% of international students are from Asia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship [DIAC], 2011a). Many of these students ultimately settle in Australia, adding to the diverse settler population. Of the quarter of the Australian population born overseas, 30% come from Northwestern Europe, 17% from Southern and Eastern Europe and 13% Southeast Asia. The top five countries of birth (UK, New Zealand, China, USA, Japan) contribute 45% of the overseas-born population (DIAC, 2011b).

This diversity creates extensive opportunities for intercultural interaction and learning. Such opportunities are particularly salient for students of 'the helping professions' such as community development. It is reasonable to expect that students who select such courses are likely to orient toward diversity at the outset; to feel encouraged as part of their studies to become culturally sensitive and to develop an understanding of issues of racism and structural discrimination affecting minority communities; and to require cross-cultural communication skills and awareness as part of their professional practice. However, very

little literature exists focusing on community development students, let alone investigating their orientations to issues of cultural diversity generally, and their experiences of intercultural interactions specifically. The study reported in this article explored the initial orientations to diversity of first year community development students, through a survey comparing 47 students enrolled in a compulsory first year unit with 698 other first year students. This data is supplemented with the narratives of a small sample of second and final year community development students who undertook a group project with either mixed or homogenous groups.

Three research questions were generated for this study:

(1) What are community development students' orientations to cultural diversity when they start university, and how do these compare with those of other first year students? Based on prior research with students enrolled in social work courses (Weiss, 2005; Weiss et al., 2002, 2003), we expected that community development students would have more positive orientations to diversity.

(2) How do community development students' identities affect their orientations to cultural diversity? Since identity is an important factor affecting the nature of the intercultural relationship and its effects (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and the strength of ethnic identification affects orientations to diversity (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006), we expected students with more complex understandings of identity to be more open to diversity.

(3) How do community development students' orientations to diversity change as a result of mixed group work? Based on our previous research with other university groups, we expected that community development students might find culturally mixed group work more challenging than they had imagined, which would modify their initial positivity. This has important implications for the design of community development curriculum design and teaching practice.

Community Development in University Contexts

Universities are increasingly moving into areas which have traditionally been the domain of vocational institutions, providing practical and applied degrees quite removed from the traditional discipline areas (Coady, 2000; Considine et al., 2001). The teaching of community development is such an area, with students seeking a rather practical degree, with a broad esoteric goal of making things better for disadvantaged communities.

The experience of the first author, who teaches community development, suggests that students of community development generally have a positive orientation to issues of diversity. This is unsurprising as one of

the goals of community development is to engage with a diverse range of often disadvantaged communities to create more inclusive societies. While no studies have explored community development students' attitudes to diversity, several overseas studies of social work students indicate that they have broadly liberal values and seek to actively engage with victims of disadvantage. For example, Weiss (2005) and Weiss et al. (2002, 2003), in a cross-national comparative study that examined the commonalities and differences in professional ideology among social work graduates in ten countries, found substantial similarity in the students' professional ideology despite the different contexts of their professional socialization process. They recognized structural sources of poverty, expressed high levels of support for individual well-being, and saw social justice as a major goal of social work. While engagement with cultural diversity was not a separate aspect of this ideology, it fits with its general tenor. However, the research by Weiss (2005) and Weiss et al. (2002, 2003) did not compare social work graduates with graduates of other professional courses, so it is unclear whether these graduates were more concerned with such issues than others.

It is useful to consider how community development degrees are presented to potential students and the sorts of units included within the degree structures. In the Australian context, three universities offer a community development degree as such (six others offer international development, rural social welfare or community services). Course outlines for each of these identify issues of diversity and social justice as important course components. The Murdoch University website (2011) describes its course as follows:

> People involved with government, neighborhood groups, social action, overseas aid, schools, local councils, sustainability, Indigenous groups, social services, the arts, business and tourism are all talking about community development as a new way of doing things. This often involves improving and enhancing the conditions and circumstances of local people and helping community groups identify and obtain resources to deal with community problems and aspirations.

Accordingly, it is identified as suitable for those wishing to work in the following areas:

> Careers in local government, community services, remote area education, indigenous communities, community arts and cultural development, overseas aid work, sustainable development, social work-related areas, economic, social and urban planning.

(ibid.)

Units available as part of the degree include ones focusing on ethnic diversity, issues in Asia, and overseas development. Similarly, the University of Adelaide (2011) course is described as follows:

> This program investigates key global issues such as poverty, governance, debt reduction, inequality, human rights, HIV/AIDS, ecology, the environment, health and gender rights in developing countries. You will explore, question and analyze the impact of these issues on the social, economic and political structures of societies and develop necessary skills that will be useful in a wide range of careers, including government, aid and development organizations and the private sector.
>
> Your knowledge of global relations and developmental processes will grow through an interdisciplinary perspective that includes both theories and practices of development.
>
> Students are encouraged to develop their global awareness through a student exchange program with Indonesia. Units offered as part of the degree include anthropology, Asian studies and human geography units.

A related major in 'Community Planning and Development' at Edith Cowan University (2011) is described as follows:

> [The degree] provides students with an understanding of social planning and its role in the creation of socially cohesive and livable communities. It provides an appreciation of the principles of social justice and includes concepts of community engagement and the enhancement of community well-being.
>
> Units include several concerned with Indigenous issues, along with more generic units on human service provision.

The general community development degree (as opposed to international development) at Victoria University (2011) includes a unit focusing on cultural identity in a postcolonial world. Entry into the diploma level course can be achieved through experiences in:

> A wide range of tasks and roles in a variety of contexts, with complexity in the range and choices of actions required and including work with culturally diverse clients and co-workers.
>
> Thus experience in working with cultural diversity is beneficial in gaining entry to the degree.

Most of the Australian degrees include units on social justice, human rights and advocacy, and most provide the foundations of sociological understandings of structural disadvantage. Given that the word 'development' typically implies

improvement, it is likely that students opting to enroll in a community development degree would be keen to engage in assisting communities of whatever background to improve themselves.

Indeed, key texts in the area focus on how empowerment and capacity building among marginalized communities can be developed, frequently using a social justice and human rights perspective (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006; Kenny, 2007). A chapter in one of the texts used in Australian universities entitled 'Understanding and Responding to Difference' (Kenny, 2007: 273–303) deals predominantly with racial and cultural difference, including cross-cultural competence in practice. It contains a number of cross-cultural competence checklists for community development practitioners to use as self-assessments.

Thus community development, as taught at Australian universities, focuses on social justice, inclusion and structural disadvantage, often in relation to ethnic minorities. As such it is likely to attract students with an interest in such issues, and to foster such a concern in students. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that such students will have a positive orientation to diversity, will be interested in engaging with students of ethnically diverse backgrounds in formal and informal environments, and will see such opportunities as important for the development of their own professional competence. This study sought to determine whether this is in fact the case.

On campus, a key site for intercultural interactions is through group learning activities. Yet research on the extent to which such opportunities are taken up and are perceived as enriching learning experiences by university students has revealed a number of challenges (De Vita, 2002; Kimmel & Volet, 2010b; Montgomery, 2009; Volet & Ang, 1998), with evidence that students' attitudes toward engagement in culturally mixed groups do not become more positive over years of study in multicultural classrooms (Summers & Volet, 2008). The importance of context in the evolution of students' attitudes has also been highlighted (Kimmel & Volet, 2010a,b).

This study also sought, therefore, to investigate whether the more positive orientations to diversity that we anticipated are useful to help students address the challenges and avert the development of negative experiences.

The Study

The study is part of a larger three-year project aiming to understand the ways in which university students enrolled in 'professional' programs orient toward the diverse learning environments in which they find themselves, as well as to informal environments, and how their emergent social identities shape opportunities to mix with one another.

The research was undertaken on the primary campus of a medium-sized (2010 total enrolments were 14,481) metropolitan university in Australia. The institution is noted for its outreach to students from 'non-traditional'

backgrounds, particularly low–socioeconomic status students: students from this demographic comprise 16% of the domestic student population. Students also tend to be older than at some institutions: 28% of students are below the age of 21, and 24.4% are 31 and older. The student population is ethnically diverse, although not as diverse as some Australian higher education institutions. International students comprise 14%, with top source countries including the USA, Germany, Singapore and Malaysia. Within the domestic student population, 27% were born overseas and 10% speak a language other than English at home. At the time of the research, the institution had included 'global perspective' as one of its graduate attributes.

The main data collection tools included a questionnaire completed in class by first year students. The first stage of data collection focused on first year students in their first weeks of enrolment. Second and subsequent stages will determine how students' perceptions and expectations change over time. The data discussed in this article come from a sample of 745 such students drawn from first year Business, Community Development, Media Culture Communication, Engineering, Environmental Science, Computing, IT, Education, Nursing and learning support classes. Classes surveyed were selected to provide a range of sciences and arts; to focus on courses with larger proportions of 'local diverse' and international students; and to focus on students engaged in courses with a clear career pathway. Students were asked to complete the survey anonymously during a lecture in the first weeks of class. Of this sample, 47 students were from a compulsory community development unit and they serve as the focus for this article. In a separate sub-study, the entire class of a second and third year community development unit who had completed a group assignment was invited to participate in interviews about the experience. Interviews were completed with nine students, some of whom had worked in mixed and some in non-mixed groups. Data from these interviews provide insight into students' reflections on the target issues.

The questionnaire explored dimensions of students' entry profile including history of intercultural interactions; perceived cultural identity; sense of interdependence; orientation to cross-cultural experiences; expectations of peer interactions in class/outside class in first semester; goals; intercultural confidence; conceptions of learning; and orientations to group work. It included validated measures as well as a number of new ones. These include items based on aspects of the developmental approach to cross cultural awareness (Hammer et al., 2003) and the multicultural personality questionnaire (MPQ) (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven 2000, 2001). Other measures focused on personal goals for university study (adapted from Wosnitza & Volet, 2009) and attitudes toward mixing students from different cultural backgrounds for group learning activities (selected items from Summers & Volet, 2008).

The interviews were undertaken with students who had engaged in a group project to prepare and present an oral presentation as part of a unit looking at

community development across different sites and with different groups of people. Open-ended questions were asked about their experiences of group work, relevant aspects of cultural diversity and how these contributed to the benefits or challenges of the activity, their own identities and others' in the interactions and what they learned from the process.

Results

Community Development Students and Orientations to Diversity

The first research question aimed at comparing CD students' orientations to cultural diversity with other first year students. At the outset it was considered important to determine the extent to which students had had experience of mixing with those from backgrounds different from their own. They were asked the extent of their experiences of interacting with people from cultural backgrounds different from their own in the following contexts: within their family; socially – outside their family; at school; through travel; and through living in another country, on a scale of 0 = not applicable, 1 = minimal to 4 = extensive. As shown in Table 3.1, there were relatively limited levels of such interaction overall.

Students generally appeared to have interacted with those from cultural backgrounds different from their own as a result of travel (two-thirds selecting one of the top two choices), or through school (three-quarters) or socially (over two-thirds). One noteworthy finding was that around 45% of CD students had encountered significant diversity in their families, compared with only 30% of the total sample. Indeed, statistical analysis indicates that CD participants were significantly more likely than all students to rate that they have had more extensive interaction with people with cultural backgrounds different from their own within their family.

Students were also asked a set of questions about orientations to cultural diversity. As shown in Table 3.2, CD students generally agreed that a sense of world citizenship was preferable to nationalism, that minorities should not be forced to conform to the values and customs of the majority, and that people should be able to live anywhere regardless of race or religion. They generally agreed that they understood the point of view of cultural others but were slightly less confident in terms of their ability to resolve misunderstandings across cultures.

Statistical tests revealed that CD students were significantly less likely to agree with the statement 'minority groups within a country should conform to the customs and values of the majority' compared to all students. This indicates a more 'multicultural' or inclusive approach to diversity. They were also much more likely to strongly agree with the notion of world citizenship than other students (43.5% compared to 25%), although this did not yield statistical significance due to the spread.

TABLE 3.1 Mean and percentage range for variables measuring the degree of experience of interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds in different contexts

| | All students n = 501 | | | | | | | CD students n = 47 | | | | | | |
| | | % Range | | | | | | | % Range | | | | | |
Variable	Mean (SD)	0	1	2	3	4		Mean (SD)	0	1	2	3	4
Family[1]	1.64 (1.39)	29.6	19.7	19.5	19.3	11.9		2.07 (1.32)	1.70	17.0	21.3	29.8	14.9
Socially	2.84 (0.98)	1.8	7.2	24.7	37.8	28.5		3.00 (0.89)	0.0	6.4	19.1	42.6	31.9
School	2.89 (0.94)	1.8	6.0	21.5	43.2	27.5		2.68 (1.07)	4.3	10.6	19.1	44.7	21.3
Travel	2.71 (1.73)	8.7	9.8	17.6	29.1	34.7		2.83 (1.40)	10.6	10.6	10.6	21.3	46.8
Living in other country	1.74 (1.71)	42.2	9.5	7.1	14.5	26.6		1.83 (1.83)	46.8	2.1	4.3	14.9	31.9

Note: Rating scale: 0 = not applicable; 1 = minimal; 4 = extensive. T-tests comparing the mean rating of CD students and all students: [1]Family – t(537) = 2.119, p ≤ 0.05. The Other Tests Were Not Significant.

TABLE 3.2 Mean and percentage range for variables measuring orientations to cultural diversity

| Variable | All students n = 501 | | | | | | CD students n = 47 | | | | |
| | Mean (SD) | SD | D | A | SA | Mean (SD) | | SD | D | A | SA |
			% Range						% Range		
A	2.87	(0.85)	5.8	26.1	43.1	25.0	3.07	(0.92)	2.2	32.6	21.7	43.5
B[1]	2.24	(2.24)	19.1	43.7	31.9	6.2	1.89	(0.77)	32.6	47.3	17.4	2.2
C	3.31	(0.72)	2.2	8.7	44.8	44.3	3.38	(0.63)	6.5	2.2	45.7	45.7
D	2.54	(0.76)	7.6	38.8	44.1	8.8	2.64	(0.79)	4.3	40.4	34.5	14.9
E	2.85	(0.77)	4.1	25.2	51.1	19.4	3.01	(0.75)	2.1	21.3	48.9	27.6
F	1.28	(0.56)	76.0	20.0	3.4	0.6	1.28	(0.66)	80.4	13.0	4.3	2.2

Note: Orientations: SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; A = Agree; SA = Strongly Agree. Variables: A = It would be better to be a citizen of the world than of any particular nation; B = Minority groups within a country should conform to the customs and values of the majority; C = Any individual, regardless of race or religion, should be allowed to live wherever he or she wants to in the world; D = I find it easy to resolve misunderstandings with people from different cultures; E = I understand the point of view of people from other cultures; F = I dislike interacting with people from different cultures. T-tests comparing the mean rating of CD students and all students:
[1]Statement B t(534) = 72.910, p 5 0.01; the other tests were not significant.

To get a sense of how students felt about engaging with diversity in formal learning environments and more generally, students were asked: 'How often do you think you will try to mix with students with cultural backgrounds different from your own for the following activities?'. The goal was to understand in what circumstances students might make an effort to engage with diversity. The results, as shown in Table 3.3, indicate that the community development students were more inclined to engage with cultural 'others' than the total sample in on-campus activities, but less so in off-campus (although this should be read with caution as CD students are often of mature age and therefore married with families which may account for the very high proportion selecting 'not often').

Statistical analysis revealed that CD students were significantly more likely to think that they will interact with students with cultural backgrounds different from their own when doing group assignments and over coffee or lunch at campus, compared with the total sample. For both groups, however, the results produce a version of the Bogardus social distance scale, indicating that more distant interactions such as on-campus group work or having coffee are more positively seen than closer interactions off-campus.

Yet students simultaneously recognized the importance of cross-cultural understanding for both their course of study and for their professional practice. While results were high across the board, CD students were more likely to select the higher level options on the four-point scale (see Table 3.4).

TABLE 3.3 Mean and percentage range for variables measuring orientations to cross–cultural mixing in different environments

Variable	All students n = 501 Mean (SD)	Range 1	2	3	4	CD students n = 47 Mean (SD)	Range 1	2	3	4
A[1]	3.11 (0.72)	2.3	13.5	54.8	29.4	3.39 (0.65)	0.0	8.7	43.5	47.8
B[2]	2.8 (0.83)	7.0	25.9	46.9	20.1	3.11 (0.67)	0.0	17.4	54.3	28.3
C	2.73 (1.39)	7.3	29.1	46.2	17.2	2.91 (0.84)	4.3	26.1	43.5	26.1
D	2.52 (0.93)	16.6	31.2	35.9	16.2	2.50 (0.93)	13.0	41.3	28.3	17.4
E	1.91 (1.0)	50.2	19.2	19.9	10.7	1.57 (1.00)	68.1	17.0	4.3	10.6

Note: Orientations: 1 = not often and 4 = as often as I can. Variables: A = Group assignments when students can form their own group; B = Over coffee or lunch on campus; C = Studying outside class (informal study groups); D = Going out, e.g. at the movies, other social activities; E = Sharing accommodation. T–tests comparing the mean rating of CD students and all students: [1]Statement A t(541) = 3.119, p = 0.01; [2]Statement B t(540) = 3.393, p 50.001; the other tests were not significant.

TABLE 3.4 Mean and percentage range for variables measuring importance of cultural understanding in study and career

	All students n = 501						CD students n = 47					
			Range						*Range*			
Variable	*Mean (SD)*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*		*Mean (SD)*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
A[1]	3.35	(0.84)	3.5	13.0	28.5	55.0	3.81	(0.57)	2.1	2.1	8.5	87.2
B[2]	3.61	(1.30)	1.1	4.8	25.8	68.2	3.85	(0.55)	2.1	2.1	3.8	91.5

Note: Importance: 1 = not important; 4 = very important. Variables: A = How important is cultural understanding in your course of study?; B = How important is cultural understanding for effective professional practice in your future career? T-tests comparing the mean rating of CD students and all students: [1]Statement A t(543) = 4.43, p 50.001; [2]Statement B t(545) = 3.059, p = 0.01.

Statistical analysis revealed that CD students were also more likely than other first year students to believe that cultural understanding is important for their course of study and for effective professional development practice in their future career.

Interestingly, CD students clearly felt that it was important to interact with those whose cultural backgrounds differed from theirs, producing a significant difference from the others, and, like the other students, they were generally very confident in their ability to engage in such interaction (see Table 3.5).

In terms of the detail of such interactions, CD students felt confident that they understood the points of view of others, and, with slightly less confidence, could resolve misunderstandings with those of different cultures.

Students' reported confidence in understanding culturally different others contrasted with their attitudes toward mixing students from different cultural backgrounds for group learning activities. As can be seen in Table 3.6, while all students agreed that students should be encouraged to mix, they were less positive about spontaneously joining such groups or having teachers systematically mixing students.

Most significantly, CD students were more likely to agree with the statement 'I like to join groups that have students from cultural backgrounds different from my own for group learning', compared to the total sample.

The study was also interested in students' personal goals at university, including how students from different disciplines felt about group work generally, as well as about group work with students from different cultural backgrounds. Results shown in Table 3.7 indicate that CD students had different goals in relation to learning compared with students from other disciplines. On average, CD participants were significantly less likely to have the goal of getting the highest possible mark, compared to participants in other courses of study. This indicates that other goals are more important to them. Indeed, CD participants were significantly

TABLE 3.5 Mean and percentage range for variables measuring importance of and confidence in mixing with people from different cultural backgrounds

| | All students n = 501 | | | | | | CD students n = 47 | | | | | |
| | Mean (SD) | | Range | | | | Mean (SD) | | Range | | | |
Variable			1	2	3	4			1	2	3	4
A[1]	2.96	(0.83)	4.8	22.3	44.9	28.0	3.41	(0.71)	12.8	31.9	2.1	53.2
B	3.11	(0.77)	2.7	16.4	48.1	32.7	3.17	(0.76)	2.1	14.9	46.8	36.2

Note: Importance and confidence: 1 = not very; 4 = very. Variables: A = How important is it to you to interact with people with cultural backgrounds different from your own?; B = How confident are you interacting with people with cultural backgrounds different from your own? T-tests comparing the mean rating of CD students and all students: [1]Statement A t(539) = 4.813, p 50.001; the test for Statement B was not significant.

TABLE 3.6 Mean and percentage range for variables measuring attitudes to culturally mixed group learning

| | All students n = 501 | | | | | | CD students n = 47 | | | | | |
| | | Range | | | | | | Range | | | | |
Variable	Mean (SD)	SD	D	A	SA		Mean (SD)	SD	D	A	SA
A	3.34 (0.57)	0.9	2.2	58.6	38.1		3.46 (0.63)	2.1	2.1	44.7	51.1
B[1]	2.73 (0.81)	6.4	30.5	46.4	16.7		2.91 (0.82)	6.4	21.3	44.7	27.6
C	2.85 (0.75)	4.0	24.8	53.5	17.8		2.89 (0.73)	2.2	23.9	54.3	19.6

Note: Attitudes: SD = strongly disagree; D = disagree; A = agree; SA = strongly agree. Variables: A = Encouraging students from diverse backgrounds to mix for group learning is an excellent idea; B = I like to join groups that have students from cultural backgrounds different from my own for group learning; C = Teachers should systematically mix students from different cultural backgrounds for group learning activities. T-tests comparing the mean rating of CD students and all students:
[1]Statement B t(534) = 2.261, p = 0.024; the other tests were not significant.

TABLE 3.7 Mean and percentage range for variables measuring attitudes to group learning

Variable	All students n = 501						CD students n = 47					
	Mean (SD)	Range					Mean (SD)	Range				
		1	2	3	4			1	2	3	4
A	2.71 (0.84)	7.4	31.6	42.6	18.2		2.72 (0.90)	8.5	31.9	38.3	21.2
B[1]	3.67 (0.56)	0.4	3.2	25.5	71.0		3.43 (0.68)	0.0	10.7	36.1	53.2
C	2.64 (0.77)	7.6	30.9	50.1	10.5		2.77 (0.79)	6.3	25.5	53.2	14.8
D[2]	2.68 (0.81)	7.4	31.7	46.3	14.4		3.04 (0.83)	2.1	25.5	38.3	34.0
E[3]	2.80 (0.78)	4.1	28.1	56.1	19.6		3.09 (0.62)	0.0	14.9	61.8	23.4

Note: Attitudes: 1 = not important; 4 = very important. Variables: A = It is an important goal for me to do all that I can to ensure that all students in my classes learn as much as possible from each other; B = It is an important goal for me to get the highest mark possible in all of my units of study; C = It is an important goal for me to make sure other students can learn from me; D = It is an important goal for me to make a deliberate effort to share everything I learn with other students in my class; E = It is an important goal for me to make a valuable contribution to other students' understanding. T-tests comparing the mean rating of CD students and all students: [1]Statement B t(546) = 72.782, p = 0.006; [2]Statement D t(545) = 2.961, p = 0.003; [3]Statement E t(546) = 2.436, p = 0.015; the other tests were not significant.

more likely to have the goals of making a deliberate effort to share everything they learn with other students in their class, and making a valuable contribution to other students' understanding, compared to students in other courses of study. CD participants were also significantly less likely to agree with the statements 'If I'm unsure that I am right about something, I don't waste time listening to other people's arguments', indicating a greater likelihood of using a consultative approach to problem solving. They were also more likely than others to expect that their teachers will organize activities that require students to participate in class.

It is likely that these fundamental differences in the ways CD students approach learning, compared to students from other disciplines, influence their orientations to diversity in group work.

Identity – Complex and Contextual

The second research question aimed to explore the ways in which CD students' cultural identities affect their orientations to cultural diversity. Much literature on intercultural interactions and intercultural learning makes presumptions about the relevance of culture to the participants in the interaction, and to the interaction itself. According to contact theory, interaction between members of different groups should result in individuation, seeing the person as an individual rather than group member, or in a blurring of group boundaries, as assumed differences are proven wrong (Gaertner et al., 1994; Pettigrew, 1986). However, if group membership is not salient in interaction, generalization to the group may not occur and intergroup relations may remain unchanged (Brown & Turner, 1981; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Using social identity theory, other theorists conclude that contact only works when it changes the nature and structure of the intergroup relationship (see review by Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It is important therefore to consider how students identify culturally and how these identities mediate intercultural interactions. Since those members of majority groups with a strong ethnic identification tend to favor multiculturalism less, and those with weaker identifications are more open (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006), this is likely to affect their orientation to intercultural learning opportunities.

To establish how students see their cultural identity a question on self-identified cultural identity was included in the survey. After much discussion and trialing, the following wording was selected: 'Thinking about yourself, what is your own cultural identity(ies)?'. Students from the broader sample and from the community development sample recognized the complexity of cultural identity including aspects of racial, cultural, gendered and other dimensions such as class and sexuality.

Cultural identity was reasonably important to all students, who responded to the question 'How important is your cultural identity to you?' with 2.9 (0.96),

(2.93(0.75) for CD students) on a four-point scale. What that identity was, however, varied. The majority of students answered in terms of an ethnic or national identity, but within this there was much variation. Some Community Development students used a simple 'Australian' identifier although one was a little unsure, writing 'Aussie?'; others used hyphenated identities such as 'White Australian with a touch of Chinese', or 'Born in Australia of Japanese, Irish, Welsh and Scottish descent' or 'I was born in South Africa, my parents are Portugese [sic] and raised in Perth. So my cultural identity changes in different situations'. Many students took the opportunity to provide a broad background to themselves: 'Being Polish we celebrate things differently and see the significance of something, not just an excuse to party'; 'I am a born Australian and proud but am also very proud of my Italian heritage inherited from my grandfather'; 'I was born in Australia but having traveled extensively I call myself "universal"'; 'Multicultural background/understanding'; 'family interaction with others from the Middle East'. One wrote 'N/A' indicating either a reticence to answer or a sense that s/he did not have a cultural identity.

It is significant that community development students were more likely than others to choose multiple identifiers, rather than simply Australian. A Pearson's chi-squared test of contingences (with alpha = 0.05) was used to evaluate whether identifying as 'Australian only' and 'Australian and other' is related to the course code of first year students undertaking the survey. The chi-squared test was statistically significant w^2 (9, N = 360) = 21.31, p = 0.011) indicating that community development students were statistically more likely to identify themselves as 'Australian and other' than as 'Australian', compared with students from other courses such as Business, Education, English, Environmental Science, Computing, Media and Communications, and Nursing. This desire not to be seen as 'just Australian' may indicate that the community development students oriented to diversity as a preferred position in their self identification, and also that they were more aware of the complexities of identification.

The Complexities of Actual Intercultural Group-Work Based Interactions

The third research question addressed the issue of CD students' orientations to diversity resulting from mixed group work. The data source was a set of interviews with nine second and final year CD students who had engaged in group work as part of one of their units.

In interviews, students were unanimously keen on the idea of culturally mixed group work. However, students found the experience of mixed group work challenging, and, as a corollary, that group work with those of the same cultural background was 'easy'. Yet when asked about specific instances of

problematic group interactions, students were reticent to see these problems in terms of cultural differences, taking a 'color blind' approach (Frankenberg, 1993). Finally, this reticence seemed to be a subset of a more general reticence to 'see culture'. The ways in which students articulated these issues are illustrated below.

As noted, students generally were keen on the idea of culturally mixed group work, and this was often related to their sense of themselves as liberal open-minded people with a positive orientation to engaging with diversity. As one student said:

> I was happy to be working with a multiculturally mixed group because it's interesting to get other perspectives. But as we went on it got a lot harder. … It really challenged my thoughts as well. I always viewed myself as very accepting and non-racist. I still am, but I found that multicultural thing really hard to overcome. It was hard to communicate. I was worried about making them feel insulted if I told them what was wrong.
>
> *(Int 1, culturally mixed group)*

This quote illustrates the general positivity toward intercultural interaction and intercultural learning, common among those living in a multicultural country such as Australia where positive engagement with diversity has been part of the political agenda for decades (Jupp, 2007). It is also an orientation which, as shown above, is more common among those students engaged in degrees leading to the 'helping professions' such as community development. However, we also see clear evidence of the reality of the challenges faced in practice. Most interesting is the student's reconsideration of her identity as 'accepting and non-racist' as a result of the interaction; and her sensitivity about not wanting to correct 'them', but simultaneous absolute faith that she knows what is right, indicating a limited openness to difference. The way in which the student articulates the experience may go some way to begin explaining Summers and Volet's (2008) finding that attitudes toward culturally mixed group work are less positive in later years over the course of study – where students have an uncomfortable experience they may be more reticent to engage in mixed group work in the future.

The corollary of this experience of diversity as 'difficult' is that cultural homogeneity was seen as 'easy', requiring no effort – 'sameness' was seen as an advantage. For some, this was a positive thing, but others recognized that they had missed out on an opportunity for learning as a result. However, they also equated being in a mixed group with getting lower grades, once again making homogeneity an advantage.

> We ended up being four girls – four white Australian girls – in our group. It was extremely easy.
>
> *(Int 4, culturally homogenous group)*

Our group was all female, all white Australian. So it did make a difference – culturally it wasn't a challenge. Comparing to other group assessments I think it was a bit of an advantage, because we were all the same. In society and workplaces you have to work with completely diverse people, so we missed out on the experience of doing that. In terms of group dynamics and working with different types of people I think it would have helped [to have been a diverse group]. [In terms of assessment] seeing and knowing some of the challenges of the other groups, we probably wouldn't have got as good a mark as we got, but the experience would have been a bit more enriched.

(Int 6, culturally homogenous group)

It would have been good to gain other perspectives [in a mixed group] – seeing things in a particular way. But there would have been difficulties – just to get to that level of consensus with what everyone is doing, and a similar expectation for everybody. Our four had the same expectations.

(Int 8, culturally homogenous group)

When asked about the specifics of the interaction, some students identified cultural diversity as a factor affecting the success or otherwise of the group, but most were reticent to do so. For example, one student, when outlining a particular issue, said: 'the thing that affected it was individual not cultural' (Int 3). One group had a particularly bad experience. One of its members reflected on the difficulties which had occurred, but did not see the problem as being cultural but individual.

It was quite bad I guess, very difficult, very challenging. There was quite a lot of conflict of ideas. We had two people pretty enthusiastic about it and two people less enthusiastic. The two of us keen for it had to organize everything. The other two missed meetings and didn't contribute too much. … Everyone was different. There was someone from Senegal, I'm from England, there was a lady from Greece and an Australian. There were no problems because of it as such. The problems were with the ideas and how we should treat the assignment. We could communicate fine, but we interpreted it very differently. We had to keep reinforcing what we were meant to be talking about but at the presentation [one group member] talked about something completely different. … You learn how different cultures work because everyone has their different working method. I'm not sure if it was entirely cultural. Some people needed to plan out from the beginning and needed a structure whereas others cared less about time and the effort they put in generally.

(Int 5, culturally mixed group)

However, if we return to the student who was forced to re-think her sense of herself as non-racist, she clearly saw the group interaction, and problems that arose, as being based in culture, but she felt this recognition of cultural difference meant that it was then difficult to raise the issues for discussion and resolution. We include the following extensive section of transcript as it illustrates the ways in which she sees the problems that arose partly as the result of the usual challenges of group work, but notes that with cultural difference such problems are more difficult to overcome, not so much because of the cultural difference but because people are afraid to discuss it, due to the sensitivities of cultural difference. Interestingly, however, she simultaneously feels she learnt something from the experience.

> [Cultural diversity was] definitely relevant. Especially when we could tell there were going to be problems, we didn't want to bring it up. I didn't want to seem like I was pointing anyone out. I felt bad if I continually said 'Do you understand what we mean?'. At first we had talked about what we wanted to focus on – ethnic minorities [as a topic for the oral presentation group project] …. But there were just some misunderstandings. That's what happens with group projects. There always tends to be some misunderstandings, but it's easier to overcome if there are not also multicultural differences. People would have been scared to verbalize what the problems were.
>
> … In terms of communication, it made my understanding of that a bit deeper, and how hard it can be on a multicultural level – not just understanding English but putting your ideas across.
>
> … In a learning sense I would want everyone to be different [in my ideal group]. Also difference in ages. You get so many different perspectives. It's harder to work in but you probably learn the most. It was random how the groups were chosen. It made it hard because some of the other groups were not multicultural. Other groups didn't have that challenge. It would help if the other groups were structured in the same way for a level playing field.
> *(Int 1, culturally mixed group)*

Similarly, most students included cultural diversity as a characteristic of their 'ideal working group', when asked, but this was often tempered with a desire for at least some similarity.

> In this CD setting I like diversity but you do need some allies – someone with a similar world view. Straight away you are on the same page.
> *(Int 3, culturally mixed group)*

While these findings appear consistent with prior research reporting students' preference to work with their own groups even after a positive experience of

mixed group work (e.g. Volet & Ang, 1998), they appear inconsistent with other evidence (e.g. Kimmel & Volet, 2010a) that culturally diverse groups find their group experience less challenging than the non-diverse groups. Given these studies used different methodologies (subjective accounts from interviews in Volet and Ang (1998) and the present study versus ratings of measures of experience in Kimmel and Volet (2010a)), it is reasonable to expect that, given the sensitivity of the topic, subjective accounts of experience in interviews may generate more positive responses than those obtained from questionnaire ratings.

In the present study, students' reticence to see culture in the interaction translated into a reticence to see culture generally, including a clear preference not to 'see' cultural difference, even among classmates. This tendency has been noted as common in an environment where 'color blindness' is normative (Frankenberg, 1993). It assumes that if one does not 'see' race/ethnicity, then racism or cultural discrimination cannot occur. Given the necessity, as found in the literature, of seeing interactions in terms of culture, for positive changes to occur, this 'color blindness' may limit the opportunities for intercultural learning. When asked directly about how they thought the cultural mix of the group affected the success of the project students all demurred:

> No, in fact it came down to individual commitment to coming up with the quality of work. I don't think culture came in to it at all. He was working doubly hard – his work was brilliant, making sure he was emailing everybody.
>
> *(Int 2, culturally mixed group)*

The perception that the influence of culture in interaction belongs to members of the minority, rather than a recognition that everyone is cultured, is clear in this response. A question about the effects of culture is heard as a question about the contribution of the group member from a culturally diverse background. On the other hand, some students recognized that cultural diversity in the group meant considering the influences of culture on one's own behavior and values.

> Having the mix made you reflect on your own culture, invert your own gaze. And I thought about other people.
>
> *(Int 3, culturally mixed group)*

> Our group was culturally diverse; however I did not feel that this impacted on our group at all, neither positive nor negative. No, I do not feel that in this instance it was relevant in our group work.
>
> *(Int 9, culturally mixed group)*

The same student went on to reflect on the influence of culture, demonstrating a much more inclusive understanding.

> Even though I stated above that the cultural diversity in our group did not impact our group work, it was something that I noticed and was curious whether the differing cultural backgrounds would influence the understanding and interpretation of the material on youth that we were covering. However, I found that our understandings of youth were derived completely from the literature we were using and not reflecting our cultural backgrounds.
>
> *(Int 9, culturally mixed group)*

Conclusion

Community development students' willingness to take up opportunities for intercultural interaction both formally within their university studies, but also informally on and off campus, is vital in countries with culturally diverse populations. As graduates, they are likely to work with diverse communities as well as being required to engage with colleagues from diverse backgrounds. Thus, nurturing a positive orientation to diversity and sense of confidence in such interactions is an important part of their university education. Our data has shown that CD students begin their university careers having had considerable interaction with cultural others through travel, school, or within their families. They hold very positive orientations to diversity, preferring world citizenship to nationalism, and believing, more so than other students, that minorities should not be forced to conform to the values and customs of the majority. They are reasonably confident that they can understand the points of view of those from different cultures, and are confident with intercultural interactions generally. CD students are significantly more likely to see interacting with those from other cultures as a positive thing. This plays out in more positive orientations to intercultural interactions on campus, but not off campus. Indeed, CD students were significantly more positive about joining culturally mixed groups than the total sample, and this appears related to their different learning goals that focus more on collective achievement and collaborative learning. CD students almost unanimously feel that cultural understanding is important for their study and professional practice, statistical analysis revealing significant differences on both these items.

In terms of identity, community development students appear more aware of the complexities of cultural identity, as they were more likely to identify as 'Australian and other' than other students. It may be that this apparent desire not to be seen as 'just Australian' indicates an orientation to diversity as a preferred position in their self identification. As such it bodes well for their engagement with interculturality.

However, as the qualitative evidence demonstrates, their actual experiences with diversity on campus may prove very challenging, both to their sense of themselves as liberal, open-minded people who are positive about diversity, and to their sense of confidence in their ability to engage. This may result in them being less inclined to engage with diversity over time. Similarly, the inclination not to 'see' cultural difference may mean that opportunities for personal growth and development of intercultural competency skills are being missed. For universities to produce successful community development workers who are able to assist in creating a sense of and environment for social inclusion, specific interventions may be appropriate to encourage and facilitate positive intercultural encounters on campus.

Acknowledgements

References

Brown, R., & Turner, J. (1981). Interpersonal and intergroup behaviour. In J. Turner & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup behaviour* (pp. 33–65). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Coady, T. (Ed.). (2000). *Why universities matter.* St Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin.

Considine, M., Marginson, S., Sheehan, P., & Kummick, M. (2001). *The comparative performance of Australia as a knowledge nation.* (Report to the Chifley Research Centre). Melbourne: Monash Centre for Research in International Education.

De Vita, G. (2002). Does assessed multicultural group work really pull UK students' average down? *Assessment and Evaluation of Higher Education*, 27, 153–161.

DEEWR. (2009). 2009 full year student summary tables. Retrieved from www.deewrgov. au/HigherEducation/Publications/HEStatistics/Publications/Pages/2009FullYear.aspx.

Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2011a). Immigration update: July to December 2010. Retrieved from www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/immigration-update/update-dec10.pdf.

Department of Immigration and Citizenship. (2011b). Fact sheet 2 key facts in immigration. Retrieved from www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/02key.htm.

Edith Cowan University. (2011). Bachelor of planning: Major in community planning and development. Courses Information, Retrieved from www.ecu.edu.au/future-students/our-courses/view?sq_content_src¼%2BdXJsPWh0dHAlM0ElMkYlMkZ3ZWJzZX J2aWNlcy53ZWIuZWN1LmVkdS5hdSUyRmZ1dHVyZS1zdHVkZW50 cyUyRmNvdXJzZS12aWV3LnBocCUzRmFjdGlvbiUzRGRpc2Npc GxpbmVzX3pjYXIclMjMjZpZCUzRDAwMDAwMDIzMTklMjZpZF91bml0c2V0JT NETUFBQUNQJmFssbD0x.

Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Gaertner, S., Rust, M., Dovidio, J., Bachman, B., & Anastasio, P. (1994). The contact hypothesis: The role of a common ingroup identity on reducing intergroup bias. *Small Group Research*, 25, 224–249.

Hammer, M.R., Bennett, M.J., & Wiseman, R. (2003). The intercultural development inventory: A measure of intercultural sensitivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 421–443.

Hewstone, M., & Brown, R. (Eds.). (1986). *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Ife, J., & Tesoriero, F. (2006). *Community development: Community-based alternatives in an age of globalisation* (3rd ed.), Sydney, Australia: Longman.

Jupp, J. (2007). *From White Australia to Woomera: The story of Australian immigration*. Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press.

Kenny, S. (2007). *Developing communities for the future: Community development in Australia* (9th ed.), Sydney, Australia: Nelson ITP.

Kimmel, K., & Volet, S.E. (2010a). Significance of context in students' (meta)cognitions related to group work: A multi-layered, multidimensional and cultural approach. *Learning and Instruction*, 20, 449–464.

Kimmel, K., & Volet, S.E. (2010b). University students' perceptions of and attitudes towards culturally diverse group work: Does context matter? *Journal of Studies in International Education*. doi: 10.1177/1028315310373833.

Montgomery, C. (2009). A decade of internationalisation. Has it influenced students' views of cross-cultural group work at university? *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 13, 256–270.

Pettigrew, T. (1986). *Modern racism: American Black-White relations since the 1960s*. Cambridge, UK: Harvard University Press.

Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751–783.

Summers, M., & Volet, S.E. (2008). Students' attitudes towards culturally mixed groups on international campuses: Impact of participation in diverse and non-diverse groups. *Studies in Higher Education*, 33, 357–370.

University of Adelaide. (2011). *Program outline*. Bachelor of Development Studies. Retrieved from www.adelaide.edu.au/degree-finder/2011/bdvst_bdevstud.html.

Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2006). Understanding multicultural attitudes: The role of group status, identification, friendships and justifying ideologies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 1–18.

Victoria University. (2011). Diploma of community development. Courses. Retrieved from www.vu.edu.au/courses/diploma-of-community-development-chc50708.

Volet, S.E., & Ang, G. (1998). Culturally mixed groups on international campuses: An opportunity for intercultural learning. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 17(1), 5–23.

Weiss, I. (2005). Is there a global common core to social work? A cross-national comparative study of BSW graduate students. *Social Work*, 50, 101–110.

Weiss, I., Gal, J., Cnaan, R., & Maglajlic, R. (2002). Where does it begin? A comparative perspective on the professional preferences of first year social work students. *British Journal of Social Work*, 32, 589–608.

Weiss, I., Gal, J., & Dixon, J. (2003). *Professional ideologies and preferences in social work: A global study*. Connecticut, CT: Praeger.

Wosnitza, M., & Volet, S.E. (2009). A framework for personal content goals in social learning contexts. In M. Wosnitza, S.A. Karabenick, A. Efklides & P. Nenniger (Eds.), *Contemporary motivation research: From global to local perspectives* (pp. 49–67). Göttingen and New York: Hogrefe & Huber.

PART III

Research

4

EXPLORING THE DIMENSIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARTS IN COMMUNITIES

HeeKyung Sung, Roland J. Kushner, and Mark A. Hager

The arts manifest in a variety of ways in local communities, from aesthetics, to avocation, to contributions to economic vitality. As in many fields of social endeavor, those manifestations invite measurement and evaluation. In the early 2010s, with investment by policy interest groups and philanthropies, interest at the local level, and the ubiquity of Richard Florida's creative economy ideas, several schools of measurement of the arts emerged. Some simply track and report arts activity, while others seek to provide understanding of the dimensions of arts in U.S. communities. Both have value, but improved understanding of the dimensional structure can lead to better selection and utility of indicators.

This chapter concerns the dimensional structure of the arts in local communities. It proceeds in four parts. First, we discuss the state of the field in measuring arts impacts at the community level. Second, we introduce a data set of arts and culture in U.S. counties, and present the dimensions that motivated that assembly of indicators. Third, we document a factor analysis of those indicators with the intent of validating the original scheme. Fourth, we compare results of the analysis to that original scheme, with special consideration of the representation of *local cultural character* and other unmeasured attributes in a full measure of community arts. We conclude with implications for further research and for communities.

Value of the Arts in Communities

Much research makes efforts to reveal the impact and value of arts and culture on the quality of life of people and the development of the community where they live (Galloway, 2006; Guetzkow, 2002; Michalos, 2005; Michalos & Kahlke, 2008). Arts and culture, in its many forms, provides a vehicle for

developing and expressing creativity. It can also be a tool for economic and social growth for communities. Cultural industries attract people to communities. Cultural industries yield arts and culture products to both local residents and tourists. Growing cultural consumption has a role as a new economic resource for local development (Lavanga, 2006). Also, arts and culture serve as a means of connecting people across cultural boundaries (Moore & Moore, 2005). It increases both sense of self and collective identity as a united community (Moscardo, 2008). Empirical evidence for the impacts and values of the arts has been reviewed by numerous studies, especially focusing on quality of life, education, economic development, community regeneration, and social health (Borgonovi, 2004; Jackson et al., 2005; Lowe, 2000; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Matarasso & Chell, 1998; Michalos & Kahlke, 2010; Parks, 2018; Ruppert, 2006).

While literature from arts and cultural industry fields commonly claims arts impacts on communities, comparatively little attention has been focused on the method of measurement of arts and cultural assets. Accordingly, researchers have periodically criticized the reliance on anecdotal evidence and subjective accounts of people who are involved in the arts as participants or organizers (Guetzkow, 2002). To accurately assess the role of arts and culture in communities, researchers must gather robust data and employ replicable methods. Thus, as statistical evaluative measures, *indicators* are an essential tool to understand the importance of art and culture at individual, organizational, community, regional, and national levels.

Arts Indicator Research

Arts indicator projects fall into three main streams. One stream is primarily scholarly, spanning urban affairs, planning, public administration, and cultural policy. A second source is local community organizers and regional planners, along with private and government funders, who focus on the instrumental benefits of economic impact and social well-being that the arts are said to generate. These actors seek to validate decisions to invest in arts and culture (rather than competing methods of enhancing the community), so have conducted or consulted empirical studies of the roles and impacts of arts and culture investments and programming. A third source of empirical studies of arts in communities has been nationally oriented arts advocacy organizations. These include recent efforts by the Western States Arts Federation, the National Center for Arts Research, and Americans for the Arts.

Some indicator-based studies focus on individual organizations, while others focus on some level of community, whether local, regional, or at the state level (Keating, 2002; Phillips, Sung, & Whitsett, 2013). The value of indicators for individual organizations is exemplified by the long-standing monitoring of museums, with data collection geared toward improved management and

operations (Jackson, 1991; Schuster, 1997; Weil, 1994). In contrast, community-level indicator projects tend to address broader conceptions of social health, and to increase understanding of its drivers and change over time. Indicators are pieces of information that collectively document a larger concept (such as *arts vitality*) that might not be easily captured by measurement of a single empirical item (Badham, 2010; Kim, 2016). Multidimensional measures seek to provide a dynamic and holistic picture of a community's vital signs (Castillo, 2017). Historically, indicators are used to gauge performance and predict systems, inform evidence-based policy, and promote public engagement around important local issues. Thus, indicators are more than just statistics: They enable communities to improve self-management and self-consciousness, as well as provide a shared sense where they should be going (Innes & Booher, 2000); they can serve as useful tools to inform policy making (Phillips, Sung, & Whitsett, 2013).

An early example of community-level cultural indicator monitoring was the Urban Institute's Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project (ACIP) (Jackson, 1998). This project defined cultural vitality as "evidence of creating, disseminating, validating, and supporting arts and culture as a dimension of everyday life in communities" (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, & Herranz, 2006, p. 13). Against this backdrop, they sought to integrate arts and culture-related measures into neighborhood quality-of-life indicator systems. As a model for community cultural vitality, the ACIP framework emphasized three dimensions: *presence of the arts* (opportunities for cultural participation, including nonprofit, public, and commercial), *participation in the arts* (enrollment or membership in arts institutions, and audience participation), and *support for the arts* (i.e., public and philanthropic sources of support).

Articulation of such conceptual dimensions is relatively common, but these projects typically evade the question of whether those conceptions are empirically verified, or verifiable (Guetzkow, 2002). The underlying dimensionalities of the indicators are assumed rather than tested. Matarasso (1999) identifies *input* (institutions, infrastructure, investment, and distribution), *output* (activity and participation, diversity, education, and training), and *outcome* (personal and community development) indicators as conceptual dimensions. Badham (2010) also builds conceptual categories, suggesting an arts indicator framework derived from six major categories: (1) culture as a *way of life*; (2) culture as a *resource* (i.e., investment); (3) *high culture* (i.e., arts excellence); (4) *cultural vitality* (i.e., art participation, access, and support); (5) *creative vitality* (i.e., arts occupations and community arts); and (6) *cultural industries* (i.e., art production). Table 4.1 provides an overview of some notable arts and culture indicator studies.

Emerging projects not included in this table deserve special mention. One is the *Arts Vibrancy Index*, promulgated by the National Center for Arts Research at Southern Methodist University (in 2018, its name changed to SMU DataArts). That index is described in its project materials as a "counting

TABLE 4.1 Prior selected arts and culture indicator studies

Authors	Topic	Research Strategy	Observations

Matarasso (1999)	Local culture index	Develop a local culture index to measure the cultural vitality of communities	Total 55 indicators were divided into three dimensions:
			
			• Input indicators
			
			  – Infrastructure and investment
			  – Access and distribution
			
			• Output indicators
			
			  – Activity and participation
			  – Diversity
			  – Education and training
			  – Commercial creative activity
			
			• Outcome indicators
			
			  – Personal development
			  – Community development

Urban Institute (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, & Herranz, 2006)	Arts and culture indicator	Develop a local arts and culture indicators to measure the cultural vitality of communities	• Understanding of a community's cultural vitality
			• Indicators identified by three domains:
			
			  – Presence of opportunities for cultural participation
			  – Cultural participation
			  – Support for cultural participation

Source	Focus	Description

New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2009)	Cultural indicator	Design to measure the state of cultural activity in New Zealand	• Providing measures of the contribution of cultural activities to well-being of New Zealand
			• Indicators identified by five domains:
			  – Arts and cultural engagement
			  – Cultural identity
			  – Diversity
			  – Social cohesion
			  – Economic development

Simons and Dang (2006)	Cultural indicator	Review cultural indicators among English-speaking countries	• Indicators were categorized into six common themes which included:
			  – Environmental enhancement and regeneration of place
			  – Individual well-being and personal development
			  – Social capital and community building
			  – Economic development
			  – Cultural vitality
			  – Health and sustainability of the cultural sector

Cultural Ministers Council in Australia (2008); Ferres, Adair, & Jones (2010)	Arts and culture in Australian life	Provide secondary data to reflect on Australia's dynamic arts and cultural sector	• Indicators identified by six categories in the arts and cultural sector:
			  – Employment and work
			  – Attendance and participation
			  – Indigenous arts and culture

(*Continued*)

TABLE 4.1 (Cont.)

Authors	Topic	Research Strategy	Observations
Badham (2010)	Arts indicator	Develop a conceptual tool to measure the instrumental and intrinsic values of the arts	• Indicators identified by six categories: – Culture as a way of life – Culture as a resource – High culture – Cultural vitality – Creative vitality – Cultural industries
Americans for the Arts (Cohen, Cohen, & Kushner, 2012)	Local Arts Index	Analysis of 81 county-level arts and culture activity indicators from 2010 to 2012	• Understanding of the cultural vitality • Indicators identified by four dimensions: – Arts activity – Arts resources – Arts competitiveness – Local cultural character
Americans for the Arts (Kushner & Cohen, 2014)	National Arts Index	Analysis of 81 national-level arts and culture activity indicators from 2001 to 2012	• Arts and culture activity measured by the 81 indicators • Indicators identified by four dimensions: – Financial flow

–	Cultural spending
–	Cultural spending by government
–	Cultural industries

			- Capacity and infrastructure
			- Arts participation
			- Competitiveness
			- Provide index score (97.3), with 2003 as a benchmark year
Ortega-Villa and Ley-Garcia (2017)	Cultural indicator	Analyze 35 cultural indicators related papers to construct a common classification	• Indicators identified by 15 dimensions:
			- Infrastructure and equipment
			- Economic participation if the art and cultural sector
			- The whole cycle of production–circulation–consumption
			- Arts and cultural consumption
			- Arts and cultural production
			- Formal and non-formal education on cultural activities
			- Culture and human rights
			- Social participation
			- Human, social, and/or institutional capital
			- Cultural heritage
			- Governance
			- Individual participation
			- Information and communication technologies
			- Culture and human development
			- Indicators in the UNESCO Culture for Development Indicator

Source: Partially adapted and modified from Galloway, Table 4.1 (2009, p. 134); Sung, Table 4.2 (2016, p. 25); with more studies added

mechanism" using data gathered from public sources and from industry trade groups. A second current effort is the *Creative Vitality Index* developed by the Western States Arts Federation to "measure the relative economic health of a region's creative economy and allowed for the comparison of that health with other regions" (CVSuite.org, nd). Research by Moldavanova, Pierce and Lovrich (2017) summarizes results from that data, but does not seek to validate the dimensions.

From 2010 to 2016, Americans for the Arts (AFTA), a national arts advocacy and research nonprofit in the United States, documented these manifestations (and their annual ebb and flow) at the national level, through the National Arts Index (Kushner & Cohen, 2011, 2017). Its nominal focus was "the vitality of arts and culture in the U.S." From 2012 through 2016, AFTA had an equivalent project at the county level, the Local Arts Index (LAI). LAI's purpose was to measure the vitality of arts in local communities. As the LAI project evolved, it assembled a broad array of county-level indicators of arts and culture. Like other projects described above, it relied on conceptual categories to group those indicators.

The LAI data set and its conceptual categories are the starting point for the analysis that follows.

One goal of this chapter is to present a test of the validity of the assignment of LAI indicators to conceptual categories that may help illuminate the underlying dimensions of arts in communities, and to test the veracity of the categories themselves. Its primary aim is a careful categorization (through factor analysis) of indicators of the extent to which the arts manifest in communities, at the county level. In the same tradition of these earlier indicator treatments, this chapter documents indicators of the individual, institutional, and technological presence of arts and culture in geographic areas. Unlike other such studies, however, this chapter focuses self-consciously on the empirical relationships among and between the various measures. Our approach is to compare the "naïve" conceptual model generated for the LAI project (what was called the Community Arts Vitality Model) with categories derived from a careful empirical examination of its indicators.

The Community Arts Vitality Model

The National Arts Index annual study featured a robust array of 81 arts indicators measured annually at the national level, with data from the late 1990s through 2013 (Cohen, 2012; Kushner & Cohen, 2011, 2017; National Arts Index n.d). It was designed to examine arts and cultural vitality and make data easily accessible to researchers, planners, students, policy makers, and others interested in arts vitality from neighborhood to national levels. NAI indicators measure arts and culture-related nonprofits and commercial organizations,

artists, consumer spending, arts participation, support for the arts, arts education, and more (National Arts Index n.d).

Local data and stories provide a basis for local action. After the NAI was produced and published, communities asked AFTA to develop a local equivalent of the NAI so they could understand where their locale stood on key indicators of *local* arts vitality. AFTA subsequently developed a LAI project (the source for the data analyzed in this chapter). The LAI data were gathered from secondary sources such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Census Bureau, the Internal Revenue Service, and other commercial vendors and research offices that report data at the county level. Measures were scaled to *per capita* levels where possible and appropriate. The time period covered by the initial LAI data was mainly 2009 to 2011.

An organizing framework was needed to facilitate presentation of the initial 53 LAI data indicators. So, to accommodate explanation and reporting, Cohen, Cohen, and Kushner (2012) articulated a "Community Arts Vitality Model" (CAVM) that organized measures into four dimensions of arts in community: *arts activity*, *resources*, *competitiveness*, and *local cultural character*. Figure 4.1
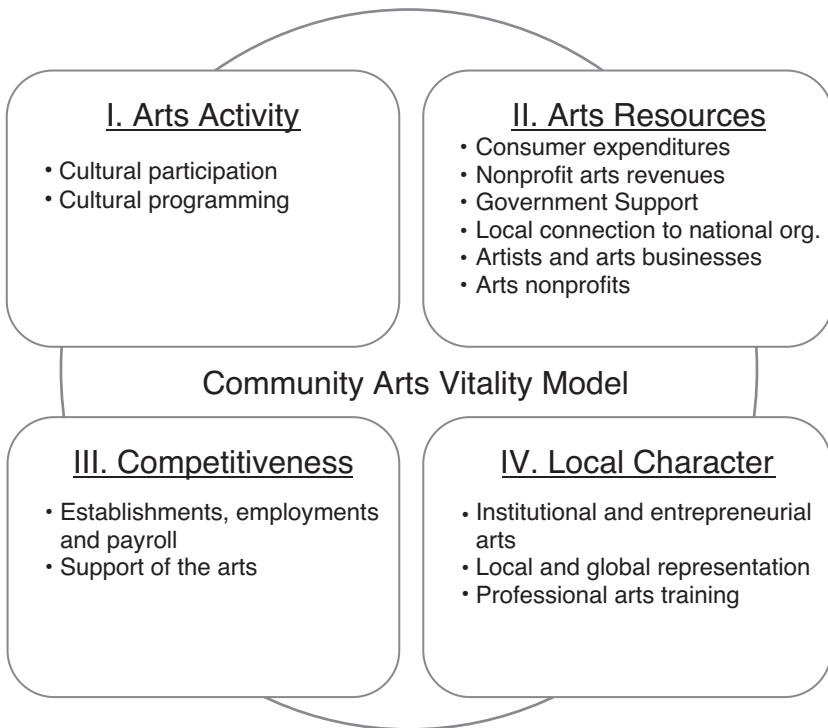
FIGURE 4.1   Four dimensions of CAVM

Source: Cohen, Cohen, & Kushner, 2012

presents these four conceptual dimensions of the CAVM and the indicators that comprise them.

The principle purpose of the CAVM was to provide a dimensional framework for a rapidly growing data set in a way that could be easily conveyed on a website and in project reports. However, like most of the other arts indicators projects described above, the CAVM categorization scheme was not subjected to statistical evaluation of the reliability of those dimensions. Those tests follow. How well does the CAVM represent the dimensions of its various indicators? Factor analysis of these indicators shines a bright light on this question, although the empirical analysis leaves a critical question regarding local character open for future research.

Empirical Categorizations of Index Indicators

This section reports how we analyzed LAI indicators to identify the underlying dimensions, to the extent allowed by available data and the analytic demands of the method. Factor analysis derives underlying dimensions from patterns of correlations among variables. The outcome reduces a large set of data to a smaller number of representative factors, with techniques that highlight a reliable subset of variables and construct new or composite dimensions from the original ones (Hair et al. 1998; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

We screened data from the 53 Index indicators to ensure they satisfied several basic conditions. First, we studied their inter-relationships to avoid multi-collinearity or singularity issues. One indicator, for example, "Overall participation in arts and culture activities" was developed by adding measures of participation in various arts activities. In the screening, the individual measures are retained but the "overall participation" indicator used in LAI is excluded from the present study's data set. Since our analysis does not rely on the longitudinal nature of the data, some multi-year indicators are aggregated into a single variable. For example, variables such as "Total nonprofit arts revenue per capita 2009" and "total nonprofit arts revenue per capita 2010" were averaged.

We also excluded "orphan" Index indicators that appeared to be wholly unrelated to other Index indicators. A necessary standard for coherent factors is to exclude indicators that are not correlated at least 0.3 with other indicators (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) considered for study. For example, applying this criterion resulted in dropping an indicator counting newer "millennial" non-profits established since 2000, which is an indicator in the CAVM *local cultural character* dimension. We also removed indicators for other reasons related to method; for example a measure of historic sites in a county was excluded because of construct validity concerns. Some Index indicators fell out because they were collected for too few counties. Ultimately, all CAVM measures of *local cultural character* fell out of our study, raising questions about how

effectively our final model captures a new empirical representation of community arts vitality. We address these in our conclusions.

The screens described above resulted in 32 indicators used in the initial analysis. These variables are measured in the larger 518 U.S. counties, whose aggregate population is about two-thirds of total U.S. population (Cohen, Cohen, & Kushner, 2012). This number also satisfies the sample size standard of N ≥ 300 cases required for factor analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), or a minimum ratio of five cases to each variable (and the preferred 10 to 20 cases per variable) suggested by Hair et al. (1998). These 32 indicators are listed in Table 4.2, along with their descriptive statistics.

The objective of this analysis is to explore underlying factors in these variables to compare to the original CAVM model and its four dimensions (*arts activity*, *arts resources*, *arts competitiveness*, and *local cultural character*). We examine the 32 screened indicators to determine whether they can be grouped into meaningful categories of empirically distinct forces, either reflecting the CAVM dimensions, or otherwise. Additional statistical evaluations further winnowed the data set, as described below.

Steps in Exploratory Factor Analysis

Factor analysis consists of the following steps: 1) selecting and measuring a set of indicators; 2) determining whether the data is appropriate for the factor analysis; 3) extracting a set of initial factors from a correlation matrix; 4) determining the optimal number of factors indicated by the matrix; 5) rotating the factors to make factors more interpretable; and 6) interpreting the results (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Using the remaining LAI indicators, we proceeded to determine their appropriateness for factor analysis. One element of appropriateness of data is to ensure that outliers do not compromise the distribution of a given indicator, and another is that data are normally distributed. Outliers were identified using z-scores and Mahalanobis D (Bandalos & Finney, 2006), and the distribution of each variable was assessed by skew, kurtosis, and various graphical methods (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). If skew was greater than |3|, and/or kurtosis was greater than |10|, we considered an indicator's distribution to be "extremely" non-normal (Kline, 2005), and we subjected them to mathematical transformations to increase normality. Arcsine transformation was executed on variables expressed as a proportion (Kirk, 2013); otherwise we chose transformation by natural logarithm (Osborne, 2002). The initial variables are shown in Table 4.3, with transformations noted. Normality was tested again using the transformed variables in scatterplots to inspect whether they show oval-shaped organization of points as evidence of linear relationship.

For the factor analysis to be considered appropriate, the data matrix must reflect sufficiently high correlations. Most correlations were significant at the $p < 0.01$ level, providing a basis for using the Bartlett's test and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO)

TABLE 4.2 Index variables (32) initially screened for factor analysis

Items	Description	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Attending popular entertainment	Adult population share attending popular entertainment, 2009–2011	0.20	0.05	–0.04	0.37
Visiting art museums	Adult population share visiting art museums, 2009–2011	0.13	0.07	1.77	5.43
Attending live performance	Population share attending live performing arts, 2009–2011	0.25	0.09	0.60	0.56
Visiting zoos	Adult population share visiting zoos, 2009–2011	0.25	0.11	0.59	–0.15
Music purchase online	Adult population share purchasing music online, 2009–2011	0.13	0.04	0.70	1.87
Attending movies	Adult population share attending movies, 2009–2011	0.49	0.08	–0.22	0.21
Entertainment admission fees	Expenditures on entertainment admission fees per capita, 2009	24.45	5.08	0.19	0.48
Recorded media expenditures	Expenditures on recorded media per capita, 2009	57.82	11.39	0.62	0.58
Musical instruments expenditures	Expenditures on musical instruments per capita, 2009	11.91	5.60	0.25	–0.01
Photo equipment expenditures	Expenditures on photographic equipment and supplies per capita, 2009	41.22	8.57	0.19	0.05
Reading materials expenditures	Expenditures on reading materials per capita, 2009	164.73	33.53	0.08	0.68
Arts education nonprofits	Arts education nonprofit organizations per 100,000 population, 2011	0.64	0.77	2.49	10.99
Collections based nonprofits	Collections-based nonprofit organizations per 100,000 population, 2009–2010	2.49	2.65	2.22	5.90
Humanities/ heritage nonprofits	Humanities and heritage nonprofit organizations per 100,000 population, 2009–2010	2.46	2.27	2.38	8.60
Media arts nonprofits	Media arts nonprofit organizations per 100,000 population, 2009–2010	0.88	1.26	4.00	24.94
Performing/ events nonprofits	Performing arts and events non-profit organizations per 100,000 population, 2009–2010	3.80	3.62	4.25	38.91
Field service arts nonprofits	Field service arts nonprofit organizations per 100,000 population, 2009–2010	1.80	2.02	4.06	27.42

TABLE 4.2 (Cont.)

Items	Description	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Visual arts nonprofits	Visual arts nonprofit organizations services per 100,000 population, 2009–2010	0.48	0.65	2.48	8.75
Other arts nonprofits	Other arts nonprofit organizations per 100,000 population, 2009–2010	0.72	1.03	3.89	24.77
Total nonprofit arts expenditures	Total nonprofit arts expenditures per capita, 2009–2010	87.31	296.96	12.01	168.35
Total nonprofit arts revenue	Total nonprofit arts revenue per capita, 2005–2010	88.18	295.15	12.12	172.74
State arts agency grants	State arts agency grants per capita, 2003–2009	5.66	9.08	5.01	37.86
Solo artists	Solo artists per 100,000 population, 2009	199.46	142.59	4.62	38.35
Creative industry (CI) businesses	Creative Industries businesses per 100,000 population, 2011	273.05	125.29	2.37	12.74
Arts/cultural (AC) establishments	Arts and culture establishments per 100,000 population, 2011	54.07	41.91	6.81	85.43
AC share of all establishments	Creative Industries share of all businesses, 2011	0.02	0.01	2.82	15.81
AC share of all employees	Creative Industries share of all employees, 2011	0.01	0.01	3.61	22.53
AC share of all payroll	Arts and culture share of all establishments, 2011	0.01	0.01	3.61	23.71
CI share of all businesses	Arts and culture share of all employees, 2011	0.04	0.01	1.14	4.02
CI share of all employees	Arts and culture share of all payroll, 2011	0.02	0.01	2.53	17.14
Visual/performing arts degrees	Visual and performing arts degrees 2003–2009	227.56	376.08	3.72	18.79
Donation to arts and culture/public broadcasting	Household share donating to public broadcasting or arts and culture, 2009–2011	0.19	0.06	0.90	2.02

Measure of Sampling Adequacy. The Bartlett's test of sphericity measures the presence of correlations among all variables, testing the hypothesis that the correlations are zero. If the null hypothesis is rejected, the correlation matrix has significant

TABLE 4.3 Descriptive statistics of initial variables (32) with data transformation

Items	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Attending popular entertainment	518	0.20	0.05	−0.04	0.37
Visiting art museums	518	0.13	0.07	1.77	5.43
Attending live performance	518	0.25	0.09	0.60	0.57
Visiting zoos	518	0.25	0.11	0.59	−0.15
Music purchase online	518	0.13	0.04	0.70	1.87
Attending movies	518	0.49	0.08	0.22	0.21
Entertainment admission fees	518	24.45	5.08	0.19	0.48
Recorded media expenditures	518	57.82	11.39	0.62	0.58
Musical instruments expenditures	518	11.91	5.60	0.25	−0.01
Photo equipment expenditures	518	41.22	8.57	0.19	0.05
Reading materials expenditures	518	164.73	33.53	0.08	0.68
Arts education nonprofits (LN)	518	0.41	0.39	0.83	0.44
Collections based nonprofits (LN)	518	1.04	0.63	0.36	−0.09
Humanities/heritage nonprofits (LN)	518	1.08	0.57	0.19	0.08
Media arts nonprofits (LN)	518	0.50	0.47	0.99	1.31
Performing/events nonprofits (LN)	518	1.36	0.67	−0.23	0.14
Field service arts nonprofits (LN)	518	0.86	0.56	0.31	0.42
Visual arts nonprofits (LN)	518	0.32	0.35	1.15	1.16
Other arts nonprofits (LN)	518	0.44	0.43	0.99	1.22
Total nonprofit arts expenditures (LN)	518	3.47	1.34	0.11	0.12
Total nonprofit arts revenue (LN)	518	3.51	1.32	0.08	0.21
State arts agency grants (LN)	514	1.41	0.93	0.50	-0.32
Solo artists (LN)	516	5.14	0.54	0.22	1.54
Creative industry share of all businesses	518	0.04	0.01	1.14	4.02
Creative industry (CI) businesses (LN)	518	5.53	0.42	−0.03	0.87
Arts/cultural (AC) establishments (LN)	518	3.84	0.55	0.16	1.26
AC share of all establishments (T)	518	0.29	0.06	1.33	5.15
AC share of all employees (T)	518	0.16	0.09	0.33	1.57
AC share of all payroll (T)	518	0.16	0.09	0.63	1.95
CI share of all employees	518	0.26	0.06	0.87	3.55
Visual/performing arts degrees (Natural log)	518	3.74	2.48	−0.53	−1.19
Donation to arts and culture/public broadcasting	518	0.19	0.06	0.90	2.02
Valid N (listwise)	512				

Note: LN[variable] denotes natural logarithm transformation; T[variable] denotes Arcsine Transformation.

correlations among at least some of the variables selected for factor analysis (Hair et al. 1998). In addition, the KMO Measure of Sampling Adequacy quantifies the degree of inter-correlations among the variables. It compares a ratio of the sum of

squared correlations to the sum of squared correlations plus sum of squared partial correlations.

The Measure of Sampling Adequacy for individual variables is examined first through the Anti–image Correlation Matrix; variables falling below 0.5 should not be used for analysis. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) suggested 0.6 as the minimum value required for a good factor analysis. As shown in Table 4.4, the initial Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Measure of Sampling Adequacy (for 32 candidate variables) was 0.934, exceeding the recommended value of 0.5 (Kaiser, 1970, 1974), and the χ^2 for Barlett's test of sphericity with 406 degrees of freedom was 11,749.8, reflecting statistical significance. Further, no individual variable falls below the unacceptable mean square adequacy threshold. These tests flagged three variables with a high degree of overlap (multicollinearity) with other variables, and these were removed from analysis. In sum, prior to the factor analysis, variables were examined for missing values, normality, and the assumptions of multivariate analysis such as linearity and multicollinearity. Because the remaining variables are sufficiently correlated, the data supports factorability of the correlation matrix.

Factor Extraction and Rotation

We chose the principal axis factoring method. Contrary to principal component analysis, which uses total variance to reduce the original information to a minimum number of factors, factor analysis primarily identifies underlying dimensions based on common variance, excluding error and unique variance (Hair et al. 1998). Common variance is defined as variance that is shared with all other variables in the analysis. This shared variance is estimated by communalities that show how much of the variance in each item is accounted for by factors. Thus, low values (less than 0.3) indicate that the variable does not fit well with the other variables (Pallant, 2010). If an item had communality less than 0.3, it is regarded as ineligible and dropped from final models, thus increasing communality and variance.

TABLE 4.4 Initial KMO and Bartlett's test of sphericity, 32 initial indicators

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		*.934*
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi–Square	11,749.804
	df	406
	Significance	.000

Hair et al. (1998) suggested that factor loadings greater than 0.3 are considered adequate; factor loadings of 0.4 are considered important, and factor loadings over 0.5 are considered practically significant. Costello and Osborne (2005) argue that the "cleanest" factor structure has the best fit to the data with item loadings above 0.3, no or few item cross-loadings, and no factors with fewer than three items. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) supported 0.3 as a minimum threshold; Stevens (2002) suggested a loading criterion above 0.4 as the threshold in order to interpret the factor. Gänswein (2011) argued that to differentiate factors, loadings > 0.4 on the expected factor combined with cross-loadings less than 0.4 on other factors are needed. Factor loadings are influenced by sample size and statistical significance (Hair et al., 1998). Sample sizes of 250 require minimum factor loadings of 0.35 for significance at $p < 0.05$, whereas, sample sizes of 350 require minimum factor loadings of 0.3 for significance at $p < 0.05$ (Hair et al. 1998).

We used Kaiser's criterion (eigenvalue > 1) and the scree test to determine an optimal number of factors (Henson & Roberts, 2006). As an initial run to estimate possible number of factors, we subjected the data to principal components extraction with varimax rotation. Five factors had eigenvalues larger than 1.0. However, the scree plot indicated a clear break between the third and the fourth factors, and the fifth factor had only one variable. We next used principal axis factoring, eliminating unique and error variance from each variable, to find a final solution and to specify the optimal number of factors. A trial principal axis factoring with four factors was performed, resulting in elimination of four more variables with communalities less than 0.3 (as suggested by Pallant, 2010). The eigenvalue for the fourth factor was less than 1.0 (Kaiser criterion), so *three factors* with eigenvalues over 1.0 were chosen for follow-up runs. After beginning with 32 candidates, we ultimately selected 17 variables as the best technical representation of the Index data. However, by this point, all original CAVM measures of *local cultural character* had been removed.

The next step was a rotation method, selected based on the initial factor correlation matrix. Tabachnick & Fidell (2007) suggested that if correlations exceed 0.32, the oblique rotation method is best. So, promax rotation, a common oblique rotation procedure based on varimax, was used with a *Kappa* value of 2 (k = 2). Promax takes the rotated matrix provided by varimax, and the orthogonal loadings are raised to a stated power (k) (Tataryn, Wood, & Gorsuch, 1999). As a result, values for smaller loadings become much smaller with the promax solution, while the larger loadings are not reduced as much. Promax has an advantage of reaching a simple structure, particularly for larger data sets (Finch, 2006). Tataryn, Wood, & Gorsuch (1999) suggest 2, 3, or 4 as values for *k*. Hendrickson & White (1964) described that lower k value is acceptable even though the optimal value for k is 4. Table 4.5 shows that the correlation between factors 1 and 2 (0.357), and between factors 1 and 3 (0.391) exceeded Hair's suggested 0.32. Therefore, principal axis factoring extraction with promax (k = 2) rotation was used to derive the final analytic solution.

TABLE 4.5 Factor correlation matrix

Factor	1	2	3
1	1.000		
2	.357	1.000	
3	.391	.180	1.000

Note: Extraction method: Principal Axis Factoring; Rotation method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization

Technical Factor Results

Using these techniques and guidance, we identified three underlying dimensions for the 17 final variables. As noted earlier, principal axis factoring considers only common variance associated with a set of variables, and the estimates of communality (squared multiple correlations) are in the diagonal of the observed correlation matrix. We re-calculated the KMO and Bartlett tests on the 17 final variables, as reported in Table 4.6. The KMO index of 0.908 exceeded the recommended value of 0.5 (Kaiser, 1970, 1974). Barlett's test of sphericity (χ^2 (df: 136) = 7469.3) reached statistical significance (p < .001). Cumulatively, these tests show that the set of correlations in the correlation matrix (see Table 4.7) was significantly different from zero and appropriate for factor analysis. Also, communalities were examined for these 17 final variables; ranging from 0.43 to 0.86, they all exceed the cut-off value of 0.3. Extracted communalities ranged from 0.30 to 0.92, indicating the amount of variance in a variable that is accounted for by the three factors taken together. We were satisfied that these 17 indicators were primed for factor analysis, although cognizant that the original measures of *local cultural character* had escaped analysis. The question we consider in our conclusions is how *local cultural character* was represented by the selected indicators in the resulting factors.

A three-factor solution using these 17 indicators explained a total of 65.9 percent of the variance, with factor 1 contributing 47.7 percent, factor 2 contributing

TABLE 4.6 Final KMO and Bartlett's test of sphericity, 17 indicators

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		*.908*
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi–Square	7469.278
	df	136
	Significance	.000

TABLE 4.7 Correlations, measures for sampling adequacy, and partial correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Attending live performance	**.945**	.540	.641	.355	.460	.674	.487	.324	.663	.636	.239	.351	.569	.507	.500	.569	.630
2. Online music purchase	−0.11	**.969**	.517	.433	.421	.569	.257	.054	.504	.433	.071	.198	.364	.329	.314	.418	.499
3. Entertainment admission fees	−0.05	−0.06	**.847**	.423	.254	.802	.324	.136	.576	.515	.080	.291	.411	.369	.352	.488	.616
4. Recorded media expenditures	0.13	−0.06	−0.024	**.864**	.507	.554	.162	−.146	.391	.384	−.089	.138	.311	.239	.240	.335	.490
5. Musical instruments expenditures	−0.12	−0.13	0.386	−0.318	**.794**	.501	.215	.136	.391	.413	.055	.178	.306	.267	.274	.273	.386
6. Photo equipment expenditures	−0.35	−0.10	−0.647	−0.136	−0.353	**.800**	.200	.012	.486	.448	.009	.266	.349	.237	.209	.379	.571
7. Total nonprofit arts revenue	−0.04	0.01	−0.028	−0.064	0.034	0.07	**.941**	.621	.632	.689	.521	.520	.739	.608	.660	.558	.567
8. State arts agency grants	−0.08	0.10	−0.066	0.322	−0.144	0.096	−0.286	**.875**	.424	.495	.430	.428	.516	.394	.476	.305	.305
9. Solo artists	−0.13	−0.13	−0.153	0.013	−0.101	0.135	0.016	−0.063	**.948**	.838	.318	.406	.717	.621	.711	.751	.850
10. Arts/cultural establishments	−0.05	0.04	0.025	−0.019	−0.132	−0.017	−0.03	−0.164	−0.107	**.935**	.346	.443	.737	.724	.812	.737	.865
11. Collections-based nonprofits	−0.05	−0.01	0.037	0.152	0.01	0.058	−0.213	0.018	−0.092	−0.074	**.866**	.546	.471	.250	.277	.137	.196
12. Humanities/heritage nonprofits	0.04	0.00	−0.036	−0.058	0.05	−0.124	−0.121	−0.1	−0.036	−0.128	−0.317	**.899**	.550	.246	.302	.203	.317

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
13. Performing/events nonprofits	-0.11	-0.03	0.058	-0.139	0.055	0.009	-0.291	-0.088	-0.153	-0.074	-0.114	-0.179	**.957**	.567	.627	.553	.662
14. Arts/cultural share of all employees	-0.12	-0.05	-0.09	0.008	-0.035	0.06	-0.103	0.07	0.134	-0.011	-0.037	0.092	-0.015	**.894**	.870	.666	.635
15. Arts/cultural share of all payroll	0.04	0.03	0.005	-0.009	-0.011	0.136	-0.039	-0.073	-0.10	-0.317	0.07	-0.007	-0.008	-0.648	**.886**	.738	.696
16. Creative industry share of all employees	-0.13	-0.04	-0.036	0.015	0.067	0.054	-0.142	0.077	-0.184	0.025	0.122	0.106	0.07	-0.004	-0.234	**.951**	.774
17. Creative industry businesses	0.12	0.01	-0.021	-0.128	0.12	-0.196	0.003	0.102	-0.345	-0.483	0.061	0.123	-0.084	-0.037	0.065	-0.247	**.914**

Note: Diagonal values in bold are MSAs for individual variables; correlations are above diagonal; and partial correlations are below the diagonal.

TABLE 4.8 Results for the extraction of common factors

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues				Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	Percent of Variance	Cumulative Percent		Total	Percent of Variance	Cumulative Percent
1	8.38	49.30	49.30		8.10	47.65	47.65
2	2.45	14.41	63.72		2.07	12.18	59.83
3	1.35	7.96	71.68		1.03	6.05	65.88
4	0.87	5.09	76.77				
5–17	3.95	23.23	100.00				

Note: Extraction method: principal axis factoring; rotation method: promax with Kaiser normalization.

12.2 percent, and factor 3 contributing 6.1 percent (see Table 4.7). These three factors were retained for further analysis. Factor solutions collectively accounting for 60 percent of the total variance are considered satisfactory (Hair et al. 1998), a threshold that our final three-factor solution met. At this point, we were confident that our surviving measures represented a three-prong structure for arts in communities.

Rotation of factors simplifies the factor structure and makes its interpretation clearer. This is achieved by rotating the primary axes for the data plot so as to redistribute the variance and achieve a more meaningful factor pattern. For example, the sums of squared loadings before rotation were 8.10, 2.07, and 1.02 respectively. At rotation, the sums of squared loadings adjusted to 6.40, 5.04, and 3.83; the variance in each variable accounted for by each factor was redistributed, so that the second and third factor could account for more variance. Furthermore, while orthogonal rotation should maintain the 90 degree axes rotation, the new axes in oblique rotations are free to take any position, allowing correlations among factors (Abdi, 2003; Hair et al. 1998). Hair et al. (1998) noted that the oblique solution represents more accurate variable clusters because each rotated factor axis can be close to the respective group of variables.

Promax oblique rotation with $k = 2$ yielded the results in Table 4.8: the pattern and structure matrices with the factor loadings for each variable on each factor greater than 0.40 (Bandalos & Finney, 2006; Gänswein, 2011; Stevens, 2002). The structure matrix is the factor loading matrix, representing the variance in a measured variable explained by a factor on both a unique and common contribution. Simply put, it represents the correlations between the variables and the factors. In contrast, the pattern matrix contains loadings that represent the unique contribution of each variable to the factor.

Interpretation of the Factors

A first step in interpreting factors is assessing the statistical significance of factor load-ings to test if variables account for the expected relationship. As shown in Table 4.9, all 17 of the indicators loaded significantly on at least one factor. For this study, a loading criterion above 0.4 suggested by Stevens (2002) was used to interpret the factor.

For the first factor, pattern coefficients ranged from 0.59 to 0.93, includ-ing six variables: arts/cultural share of all payroll; arts/cultural share of all employees; creative industry share of all employees; arts/cultural establish-ments; creative industry businesses; and solo artists. Arts and cultural busi-ness-related variables tended to have high loadings (coefficients) on this

TABLE 4.9 Pattern/structure matrix coefficients and communalities (h^2)

Variables	Pattern Matrix			Structure Matrix			
	1	2	3	1	2	3	h^2
Arts/cultural share of all payroll	**0.93**			**0.94**		0.41	0.88
Arts/cultural share of all employees	**0.82**			**0.84**			0.70
Creative industry share of all employees	**0.78**			**0.82**	0.48		0.72
Arts/cultural establishments	**0.69**			**0.87**	0.56	0.54	0.87
Creative industry businesses	**0.64**	0.45		**0.80**	0.68		0.82
Solo artists	**0.59**			**0.80**	0.62	0.49	0.80
Photographic equipment expenditures		**0.99**			**0.95**		0.92
Entertainment admission fees		**0.71**		0.40	**0.76**		0.60
Recorded media expenditures		**0.62**			**0.64**		0.44
Online music purchase		**0.60**			**0.66**		0.45
Attending live performance		**0.58**		0.55	**0.71**	0.41	0.64
Musical instruments expenditures		**0.49**			**0.54**		0.30
Collections-based nonprofits			**0.74**			**0.72**	0.53
Humanities/heritage nonprofits			**0.73**			**0.73**	0.56
State arts agency grants			**0.57**	0.47		**0.66**	0.51
Total nonprofit arts revenue	0.48		**0.56**	0.70		**0.74**	0.74
Performing/events nonprofits			**0.51**	0.67	0.45	**0.70**	0.72

Note: Extraction method: principal axis factoring; rotation method: promax with Kaiser normaliza-tion; 6 iterations required; all values less than .40 were omitted; communality values (h^2) are not equal to the sum of the squared loadings due to the correlation of the factors.

factor, followed by creative industry-related variables. Also, the solo artists variable fell into this factor. Because these variables all describe commercial activity in the arts, we label factor 1 as *Arts Business*.

In contrast, the second factor reflects the consumption of arts and cultural facilities and resources. The pattern coefficients ranged from 0.49 to 0.99 for six variables: Photographic equipment expenditures, entertainment admission fees, recorded media expenditures, online music purchase, attending live performance, and musical instruments expenditures. All variables presented in this factor reflect arts-related consumption in the forms of expenditure, activity, and participation. Hence, this factor is labeled *Arts Consumption*, to describe how people engage in and spend money on art-related activities, providing insight into the demand side of the arts and cultural market.

The third factor covers the institutional scope of the nonprofit arts sectors. The pattern coefficients ranged from 0.51 to 0.74, including five variables: collections-based nonprofits; humanities/heritage nonprofits; state arts agency grants; total nonprofit arts revenue; and performing/events nonprofits. Given that many arts and cultural facilities and programs are run by nonprofit organizations, total nonprofit arts revenue per capita captures how broadly nonprofit arts organizations are available. In addition, humanities and heritage nonprofit organizations include ethnic and historical organizations, while performing arts and events cover music, theatre, dance, other arts performance, and fairs and festivals. Collections-based nonprofits cover a variety of museums such as arts, history, and science museums. Furthermore, obtaining state arts grants can be a sign of the competence of these local arts nonprofits. We label this third factor *Arts Nonprofit*.

Internal consistency describes the extent to which the variables in a factor measure the same concept. The results show that all variables in each factor "hang together" to reflect a given concept. This is tested with Cronbach's coefficient *alpha* (α), which applies to the consistency among the variables in a factor (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Cronbach's *alpha* ranges between 0.0 and 1.0; the closer it is to 1.0, the greater the internal consistency of the items in the scale. Although Schmitt (1996) avers that the social sciences have not converged on a sacred level of acceptable *alpha*, general rules-of-thumb range from 0.70 to 0.95 (DeVellis, 2003; Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994; Tavakol & Dennick, 2011), and even above 0.60 in exploratory research (Hair et al. 1998). Low estimates of internal consistency are more likely to have an unstable factor solution with relatively weak relationships (Bandalos & Finney, 2006).

The *alpha* based on standardized items is calculated from the correlations matrix, appropriate when the variables use different measurement units (Falk & Savalei, 2011). In this study, the value of α for all three factors range from 0.85 to 0.95: The six variables in *arts business* (n = 516) generated α of 0.95.

The six variables in *arts consumption* (n = 518) indicated α of 0.863. The five *arts nonprofit* measures (n = 514) reflect α of 0.85.

At the end of this rigorous application of factor analysis procedures and conceptual interpretation, we were satisfied that the variables available for analysis from the Local Arts Index are best represented by this three-factor solution.

Discussion

A primary thrust of this chapter is to test the validity of the naïve Community Arts Vitality Model (CAVM), developed by Kushner and colleagues to guide presentation of the Local Arts Index. The CAVM has four dimensions: *arts activity*, *arts resources*, *competitiveness*, and *local cultural character*. The first three are based on variables that map to different factors in our analysis. As we note throughout the chapter, however, the fourth – *local cultural character* – falls out of the factor analysis either because of missing data or because its variables do not pass our screens. This poses the conceptual question of whether and how a distinct local character should be retained in our final model, or set aside. We discuss this in the following section, followed by our summary of study contributions and limitations.

The Place of Local Cultural Character

Kushner (2014) argues that differences in local environments and leadership determine the vibrancy of arts entrepreneurship. Similarly, the character of arts organizations and arts businesses helps create distinctive characteristics of a community. The community atmosphere (such as whether or not arts organizations are new or old, commercial or nonprofit, and what kinds of arts organizations and businesses are mainstream) arguably forms important local arts market conditions. Also, the presence of higher arts education institutions such as arts degrees and professional arts training programs promote the image and character of local culture.

Arts activities organized or promoted by local ethnic organizations also help to mold a community's unique identity. Local historical sites reflect heritage characteristics of a community. Arts and culture amenities attract visitors and tourists. In this sense, arts and culture can represent a local community's character and image. Table 4.10 lists the indicators in the CAVM that fall out of our analysis, raising the question of their place in a full model of community arts. Perhaps they do not fall into the same empirical framework because they are qualitatively different from the other indicators; while the surviving indicators in the three-factor solution tend to be about "how much" of a certain community attribute is associated with the arts, the indicators originally associated with cultural character conceived of differentiation between places on the basis of characteristics that are situational and distinctive – a community's

TABLE 4.10 Indicators of local cultural character in the CAVM

Institutional and Entrepreneurial Arts	Millennial share of all arts nonprofits
	Revenue share of millennial arts nonprofits
	Competitive environment for the nonprofit arts
	Nonprofit share of arts establishments
Local and Global Representation	Cultural and ethnic awareness nonprofits per 100,000 population
	National register of historic places sites per 100,000 population
Professional Arts Training	Accredited degree granting programs
	Visual and performing arts degrees per 100,000 population

heritage, longevity, entrepreneurial vitality, and diversity. For example, some older communities in the Northeast U.S. have more formally recognized historic places than ones settled centuries later. This is not so much a matter of vitality, but of unique identity. Local culture is important conceptually, but has an unclear relationship with the indicators used in this study.

As indicated in Table 4.11, our final model does not include this explicit local character dimension. This has mixed consequences. We contend that local character is represented, at least to some extent, in the study's factors. The *Arts Business* factor represents the local arts economy in that arts businesses illustrate direct economic impact of arts and cultures. The *arts Consumption* factor includes six variables regarding people's mostly local participation and expenditures of arts and culture. In CAVM, participation and expenditure are presented in *arts activity* and *arts resources* respectively (see Table 4.11). However, all the variables can be broadly construed as peoples' arts consumption. As indicated in Table 4.11, arts and cultural participation and expenditures account for *Arts Consumption* as a result of the factor analysis. Individual expenditures of time and money on arts and cultural activities reflect the demand for the arts in a community, a mark of a distinctive local arts scene. *Arts Nonprofits*, with five variables, encompasses the scope of the nonprofit arts sector in a community. The number and range of nonprofit arts accessible in a community provide insight into the scope of the arts nonprofit sector. Moreover, government support, such as state arts agency grants and nonprofit arts revenue, are important income streams. So, we see local cultural character as not only important conceptually, but also empirically embedded in indicators spread throughout the study. Whether it is better theorized as an independent construct is a question we leave to future work, although its independence is not supported by the empirical analysis detailed in this chapter.

TABLE 4.11 Comparison between original CAVM and current factor model

CAVM	Categories of Variables	Factor Model
Arts activity	Cultural participation	Arts consumption
Arts resources	Consumer expenditures	
	Nonprofit arts revenues	Arts nonprofit
	Government support	
	Arts nonprofits	
	Artists and arts businesses	Arts business
Competitiveness	Establishments, employments, and payroll	
Local character	Entrepreneurship, representation, training	

Contributions

The goal of this chapter was to compare conceptual categories of the value of arts in community with empirically derived categories for a particular case. In illustrating the differences between the naïve and empirically derived models, we call into question the veracity of schema that perform no empirical valid- ation of the relationships between and among their indicators. Future scholar- ship can point to this chapter to warrant a claim that conceptual categorization may provide a biased or otherwise inaccurate picture of communities, or that an aggregation of random measures may be inefficient in capturing that pic- ture. While purely empirical categorizations have their own limitations, they can provide a vital corrective to categorizations that are derived from thin air. In addition to documenting this disconnection between conceptual and empir- ical categorization, this study makes four other contributions.

A second contribution is that this chapter provides a model and roadmap for future analysts who seek to test how well their candidate indicators hang together to capture dimensions of community (or whatever their indicators are geared to indicate). Our factor analysis documents procedures, guidelines, and decisions that future researchers can use as a benchmark for their own analyses, in the arts or other sectors.

A third contribution is micro-theory building. While some results reinforce the conceptual relationship between arts activity and *Arts Consumption*, arts resources and *Arts Nonprofits*, and competitiveness and A*rts Business*, other find- ings call into question these intuitive relationships. The use of empirical results to adjust our conceptual or theoretical understandings helps us to build theory on the dimensions of community and how best to measure them. As we hint throughout this chapter, we also believe that our unexpected loss of *local cul- tural character* variables from our factor analysis opens up new conceptual ques- tions about the place of local character in the appropriate framework for measurement of arts in community.

A fourth contribution is expansion in the set of indicators used in community-level indicator studies. Although the Local Arts Index project has ended, efforts at the Western States Arts Federation's *Creative Vitality Suite*, National Center for Arts Research's *Arts Vibrancy Index*, and DataArts measures might use an approach like ours to evaluate the dimensionality of their measures. Future arts indicators projects might benefit from a list of potential indicators and the relationships we document between them.

Lastly, a fifth contribution of this study is information for policy makers, funders, and advocates about the variety of ways that arts can differ across communities. This study does not report results across counties, but such results are primary outputs of many indicator studies. Better data and analysis will provide better information for shaping policies aimed at improving the health of communities. A possible policy consequence of this research would focus the attention of policy makers on these three areas in particular: commerce in the arts, the health of the nonprofit sector, and fostering of demand for the arts. This last one in particular differs from cultural policy recommendations focusing on making a better place for the arts by having more arts available (more supply). The factor solution suggests that demand-based solutions that encourage consumption and participation might be more promising tools. Beyond policy implications, better data also provides value for funders in grantmaking aimed at supporting specific arts activities, for advocates who seek support for arts and cultural organization at all levels, and for broader community development and "creative placemaking" efforts that emphasize the role of arts and culture.

Limitations and Future Directions

While this analysis is based on a large and varied data set of numerous indicators for many U.S. counties, the data are not exhaustive. No single data source can easily describe all characteristics of an area's cultural markets. By adopting *county* as the level of analysis, the LAI was restricted to what could be quantified across all counties. Many indicators dropped out of the set during the factor analysis, but these are a non–random subset of all indicators that were not (and in practical terms could not have been) in the data set to begin with. For example, local cuisine is viewed as a distinct characteristic of local culture. However, no data set exists that documents the diverse cuisine of every county in the U.S., or local preferences for literature, or the role of ethnic groups in the cultural life of a community, or other distinctively local attributes of arts and culture. Our study, like most indicator projects, is limited to available data.

Losing *local cultural character* variables from the factor analysis is an artifact of the data set; their loss is a limitation of the study. The three-factor solution resulted from a process of data reduction, identifying the meaningful

underlying factors for the variables used in this study. However, the process of winnowing the original LAI indicators to the 17 used in the factor analysis eliminated some indicators associated with character and identity of a community's arts ecology. Communities vary in heritage, history, demography, and location, the sources of unique cultural identity. Consequently, one implication and caution for this empirical study is that using arts indicators measuring economic activity may not fully capture the arts and culture characteristics of a community. Current policy approaches such as creative placemaking (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010) emphasize the individual identities of communities as key drivers of their cultural vitality.

We urge future community indicators projects to empirically validate the theoretical categories that group their indicators. Beyond this, scholars should consider the relationship between these indicators and broader outcomes. One clear direction is exploration of the link between arts vitality and broader community development. Much scholarship has addressed social consequences of arts in the community, as researchers have sought empirical evidence for the impacts and values of the arts (Merli, 2002). These have ranged from studies on health (Stuckey & Nobel, 2010) and well-being (South, 2006), quality of life (Michalos & Kahlke, 2010), helping at-risk youth (Rapp-Paglicci, Ersing, & Rowe, 2007), education (Ruppert, 2006), social networks (Greaves & Farbus, 2006), social inclusion (Goodlad, Hamilton, & Taylor, 2002), social identity (McClinchey, 2008), community engagement (Johnson & Stanley, 2007), community economic development (Borrup, 2006; Stern & Seifert, 2010), and community regeneration (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris 2007). Researchers and advocacy agents have used arts and cultural assessment to support their claims that arts and cultural prosperity has a strong correlation with community development such as regional economies and social health (Borgonovi, 2004; Jackson et al. 2005; Lowe, 2000; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Matarasso & Chell, 1998). Schuster (1997) focused on how indicators of arts and culture can strengthen public commitment to arts and culture, especially when it is used for not only monitoring supply and demand for the arts, but also affecting, evaluating, and inferring arts and cultural behaviors. The first step is in appropriately monitoring the arts environment. With hard-won technical indicators in hand, studies of the relationship between arts and community development will follow.[1]

Acknowledgements

Note

1 In 2018, the entire LAI data set including the 53 indicators examined here, and others added in subsequent years, was deposited at the National Archive of Data and

Culture at the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan. It is available at www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/NADAC/ studies/36984

References

Abdi, H. (2003). Factor rotations in factor analyses. In M. Lewis-Beck, A. Bryman, & T. Futing (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of social sciences research methods* (pp. 1–8). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Badham, M. (2010). *The menace of measurement: A discussion about arts indicators*. Melbourne: Saskatchewan Arts Alliance, University of Melbourne.

Bandalos, D.L., & Finney, S.J. (2006). Factor analysis. In G. R. Hancock & R. O. Mueller (Eds.), *The review's guide to quantitative methods in the social science* (pp. 93–114). New York, NY: Routledge.

Borgonovi, F. (2004). Performing arts attendance: an economic approach. *Applied Economics*, *36*(17), 1871–1885.

Borrup, T. (2006). *The creative community builder's handbook: How to transform communities using local assets, art, and culture*. Saint Paul, MN: Fieldstone Alliance.

Castillo, E.A. (2017). Voices from the field: Vital signs—Catalyzing community well-being indicators. *Nonprofit Quarterly*, https://nonprofitquarterly.org/2017/12/07/ vital-signs-community-wellbeing/, accessed November 3, 2018.

Cohen, M., Cohen, R., & Kushner, R.J. (2012). *Local arts index: A project of Americans for the arts*. Arlington, VA: Americans for the Arts.

Cohen, R.I. (2012). Local Arts Index: The competitive environment for the nonprofit arts. *Artsblog* post, June 04. accessed November 3, 2018.

Costello, A.B., & Osborne, J.W. (2005). Best practice in exploratory factor analysis: Four recommendations for getting the most from your analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, *10*(7), 1–9.

Cultural Ministers Council (2008). Arts and Culture in Australian life: A statistical snapshot 2008. www.arts.gov.au/publications/arts-and-culture-australian-life-statistical-snapshot-2008, accessed November 3, 2018.

CVSuite (n.d.). History and future of CVSuite. https://cvsuite.org/about-2/, accessed November 3, 2018.

DeVellis, R. (2003). Scale development: theory and applications. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), *Applied social research methods*, Vol. 26. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Falk, C.F., & Savalei, V. (2011). The relationship between unstandardized and standardized alpha, true reliability, and the underlying measurement model. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *93*(5), 445–453.

Ferres, K., Adair, D., & Jones, R. (2010). Cultural indicators: Assessing the state of the arts in Australia. *Cultural Trends*, *19*(4), 261–272.

Finch, H. (2006). Comparison of the performance of varimax and promax rotations: Factor structure recovery for dichotomous items. *Journal of Educational Measurement*, *43*(1), 39–52.

Galloway, S. (2006). Cultural participation and individual quality of life: A review of research findings. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, *1*, 323–342.

Galloway, S. (2009). Theory-based evaluations and the social impact of the arts. *Cultural Trends*, 18, 125–148.

Gänswein, W. (2011). *Effectiveness of information use for strategic decision making.* Wiesbaden, Germany: Gabler Verlag.

Goodlad, R., Hamilton, C., & Taylor, P. (2002). *Not just a treat: Arts and social inclusion.* Glasgow, UK: The Scottish Arts Council.

Greaves, C.J., & Farbus, L. (2006). Effects of creative and social activity on the health and well-being of socially isolated older people: outcomes from a multi-method observational study. *The Journal of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health*, *126*(3), 134–142.

Grodach, C., & Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2007). Cultural development strategies and urban revitalization: A survey of US cities. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *13*(4), 349–370.

Guetzkow, J. (2002). *How the arts impact communities: An introduction to the literature in arts impact studies.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies.

Hair, J.F., Anderson, R.E., Tatham, R.L., & Black, W.C. (1998). *Multivariate data analysis* (5th ed.) New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Hendrickson, A.E., & White, P. O. (1964). Promax: A quick method for rotation to oblique simple structure. *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, *17*(1), 65–70.

Henson, R.K., & Roberts, J.K. (2006). Use of exploratory factor analysis in published research common errors and some comment on improved practice. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, *66*(3), 393–416.

National Arts Index (n.d.). *National arts index reports download center.* www.americansforthearts.org/by-program/reports-and-data/research-studies-publications/national-arts-index-reports-download-center, accessed November 3, 2018.

Innes, J.E., & Booher, D.E. (2000). Indicators for sustainable communities: a strategy building on complexity theory and distributed intelligence. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *1*(2), 173–186.

Jackson, J., Houghton, M., Russell, R., & Triandos, P. (2005). Innovations in measuring economic impacts of regional festivals: A do-it-yourself kit. *Journal of Travel Research*, *43*(4), 360–367.

Jackson, M.R. (1998). Arts and culture indicators in community building: Project update. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, *28*(3), 201–205.

Jackson, M.R., Kabwasa-Green, F., & Herranz, J. (2006). *Cultural vitality in communities: Interpretation and indicators.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Jackson, P.M. (1991). Performance indicators: Promises and pitfalls. In S. M. Pearce (Ed.), *Museum economics and the community* Vol 2 (pp. 41–64). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, V., & Stanley, J. (2007). Capturing the contribution of community arts to health and well-being. *International Journal of Mental Health Promotion*, *9*(2), 28–35.

Kaiser, H.F. (1970). A second-generation Little Jiffy. *Psychometrika*, *35*, 401–415.

Kaiser, H.F. (1974). An index of factorial simplicity. *Psychometrika*, *39*, 31–36.

Keating, C. (2002). *Evaluating community arts and community well-being: An evaluation guide for community arts practitioners.* www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/evaluating-community-arts-and-community-wellbeing, accessed November 3, 2018.

Kim, Y. (2016). Community wellbeing indicators and the history of beyond GDP. *Research & policy brief*, Vol. *73.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

Kirk, R.E. (2013). *Experimental design: Procedures for the behavioral sciences* (4th ed.) Los Angeles: Sage.

Kline, R.B. (2005). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (2nd ed.) New York: Guilford Press.

Kushner, R.J. (2014). Cultural enterprise formation and cultural participation in America's counties. In M. Rushton (Ed.), *Creative communities* (pp. 144–165). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Kushner, R.J. & Cohen, R. (2011). Measuring national-level cultural capacity with the National Arts Index. *International Journal of Arts Management*, *13*(3), 20–40.

Kushner, R.J., & Cohen, R. (2014). *National Arts Index 2014: An annual measure of the vitality of arts and culture in the United States.* Washington, DC: American for the Arts.

Kushner, R.J. & Cohen, R. (2017). Creating a Policy Index for the Arts. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, *15*(4), 48–53.

Lavanga, M. (2006). The contribution of cultural and creative industries to a more sustainable urban development: The case studies of Rotterdam and Tampere. Paper presented at the Association of Cultural Economics International conference. Vienna, Austria.

Lowe, S.S. (2000). Creating community: Art for community development. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *29*(3), 357–386.

Markusen, A., & Gadwa, A. (2010). *Creative placemaking.* Washington DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Matarasso, F. (1999). *Towards a local culture index*: *Measuring the cultural vitality of communities.* Gloucester, UK: Comedia. www.culturenet.cz/res/data/004/000570.pdf, accessed November 3, 2018.

Matarasso, F., & Chell, J. (1998). *Vital Signs: mapping community arts in Belfast.* Gloucester, UK: Comedia.

McClinchey, K.A. (2008). Urban ethnic festivals, neighborhoods, and the multiple realities of marketing place. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *25*(3-4), 251–264.

Merli, P. (2002). Evaluating the social impact of participation in arts activities: A critical review of Francois Matarasso's. *Use or Ornament? The International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *8*(1), 107–118.

Michalos, A.C. (2005). Arts and the quality of life: An exploratory study. *Social Indicators Research*, *71*, 11–59.

Michalos, A.C., & Kahlke, P.M. (2008). Impact of arts-related activities on the perceived quality of life. *Social Indicators Research*, *89*(2), 193–258.

Michalos, A.C., & Kahlke, P.M. (2010). Arts and the perceived quality of life in British Columbia. *Social Indicators Research*, *96*, 1–39.

Moldavanova, A.V., Pierce, J.C., & Lovrich, N.P. (2017). Sociopolitical sources of creative cultural capital in US counties. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *40*, 1–25.

Moore, M.H., & Moore, G.W. (2005). *Creating public value through state arts agencies.* Minneapolis, MN: Arts Midwest.

Moscardo, G. (2008). Analyzing the role of festival and events in regional development. *Event Management*, *11*, 23–32.

New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2009). *Cultural indicators for New Zealand.* https://mch.govt.nz/research-publications/cultural-indicators-new-zealand-2009, accessed November 3, 2018.

Nunnally, J.C., & Bernstein, I.H. (1994). *Psychometric theory* (3rd ed.) New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Ortega-Villa, L.M., & Ley-Garcia, J. (2017). Analysis of Cultural Indicators: A Comparison of Their Conceptual Basis and Dimensions. *Social Indicators Research*, 1–27.

Osborne, J. (2002). Notes on the use of data transformations. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, *8*(6).

Pallant, J. (2010). *SPSS survival manual: A step by step guide to data analysis using SPSS*. UK: Open University Press.

Parks, J. (2018). *Stronger Than Steel. Forging a Rust Belt Renaissance*. Bethlehem, PA: Rocky Rapids Press.

Phillips, R., Sung, H., & Whitsett, A. (2013). State level applications: developing a policy support and public awareness indicator project. In J. Sirgy, R. Phillips, & D. Rahtz (Eds.), *Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Best Cases VI* (pp. 99–118). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Rapp-Paglicci, L.A., Ersing, R., & Rowe, W. (2007). The effects of cultural arts programs on at-risk youth: Are there more than anecdotes and promises? *Journal of Social Service Research*, *33*(2), 51–56.

Ruppert, S.S. (2006). *Critical evidence: How the arts benefit student achievement*. Washington, DC: National Assembly of State Arts Agencies.

Schmitt, N. (1996). Uses and abuses of coefficient alpha. *Psychological Assessment*, *8*(4), 350–353.

Schuster, J.M. (1997). The performance of performance indicators in the arts. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 7(3), 253–269.

Simons, D. & Dang, S. (2006). *International perspectives on cultural indicators. A review and compilation of cultural indicators used in selected projects*. Burnaby, British Columbia: Creative City Network, Simon Fraser University: Centre of Expertise on Culture and Communities.

South, J. (2006). Community arts for health: An evaluation of a district programme. *Health Education*, *106*(2), 155–168.

Stern, M.J., & Seifert, S.C. (2010). Cultural clusters: The implications of cultural assets agglomeration for neighborhood revitalization. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *29*(3), 262–279.

Stevens, J.P. (2002). *Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences* (4th ed.) New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Stuckey, H.L., & Nobel, J. (2010). The connection between art, healing, and public health: A review of current literature. *American Journal of Public Health*, *100*(2), 254–263.

Sung, H. (2016). *The Influence and Role of Arts on Community Well-being* (Doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University).

Tabachnick, B.G., & Fidell, L.S. (2007). *Using multivariate statistics* (5th ed.) Boston, NJ: Pearson Education.

Tataryn, D.J., Wood, J.M., & Gorsuch, R.L. (1999). Setting the value of k in promax: A Monte Carlo study. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, *59*(3), 384–391.

Tavakol, M., & Dennick, R. (2011). Making sense of Cronbach's alpha. *International Journal of Medical Education*, *2*, 53–55.

Weil, S.E. (1994). Performance indicators for museums: progress report from Wintergreen. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, *23*(4), 341–351.

5

TRADITIONS AND PLAY AS WAYS TO DEVELOP COMMUNITY

The Case of Korea's Belt-Wrestling Known as Ssireum

Christopher A. Sparks

The very idea of development suggests change, but even change for the better is disruptive. New ways of speaking, thinking, and doing emerge within communities when accommodating development. Inevitably these changes led to a reordering of the structures of the community's life-in-common. Community identity is rooted in the mutual interaction of its members and is expressed through the interactive signs and values transmitted in their speech, thoughts, and behavior. Changes in community interactions are a stressor to the cohesion provided by community identity. When community identity is weakened, the quality of interactions among members is reduced as those relations produce less value. Ironically, it seems that the pursuit of development can inadvertently lead to reduced social capital and community capacities.

The history of development in South Korea[1] shows how communities have an innate resilience towards disruptions brought about by change. In adapting to change community members employ tradition to maintain cohesion. These traditions are often distilled from a collective library of signs and values to invoke an image of an invariant past. They use ritual and repetition to maintain community boundaries, inculcate values, and legitimize authority. Whereas ordinary daily life in a community is flexible and continually renegotiated, tradition is different because it represents invariance in the face of change. As Korea experienced massive social upheaval under colonization, civil war, and modernization the emphasis on tradition increased to compensate. Modern Korea is rife with tradition. Controlling the discourse of these traditions is a way for community members to direct the identity of "Koreanness" and the social capital it represents.

The diverse types of play that communities practice are well disposed to becoming traditions because of their associational nature. Play is an experience

of embodied identity, a way of *doing* a type of *being*. It involves activities whose meaning is produced by community interaction. When a type of play becomes a tradition, as with sports, it becomes a community wide performance of identity. In the case of South Korea, a regionally practiced form of belt wrestling known as ssireum transformed into a traditional ethnic sport during modernization. (See Figure 5.1 for a photo of two wrestlers playing ssireum.) While there is a long history of belt wrestling in Korea, its signs and values were regularly renegotiated (Sparks, 2011). It was not until the modern development of Korea that it became a tradition (Sparks, 2010). As ssireum emerged as a Korean tradition it contributed to the formation of social capital and is associated with many milestones in Korea's development. The modification of ssireum's features along the way demonstrates how traditions are made and to what ends they can be used.

Play is an essential form of interaction in any community. When community life is disrupted by development, historical forms of play can be the basis for the creation of traditions. These traditions can contribute to the solidarity and cohesion of a community, but at the risk of presenting an invented and fixed image of the past. While the security of invariance offered by tradition can build social capital, it can also lead to unwanted side effects. Rigid community identities derived from the image of an invariant past encourage authoritarianism and isolation. The same formalization that empowered ssireum in the beginning of the 19th century eventually gave way to marginalization a century later. Within the

FIGURE 5.1   Modern wrestlers playing ssireum in 2013

Source: Yeong-seok Seo, Korea Ssireum Association

field of community development, ssireum offers a unique case study of the power and limitations of play that contribute to social capital. It also illustrates the process by which this occurred. The case of ssireum provides implications for policy approaches that can maximize the benefits of involving tradition in development while minimizing the unintended consequences.

Development as Cultural Change

The field of development studies is predicated on the idea of a better tomorrow lurking within reach – that a course of right action will enable people to do more, and to do it better. That it is possible. That it is good. And that there are ways to measure the goodness. In this sense, development is the successor to modernization – an ideology of improvement in the vein of what Bauman (2001) referred to as, "[The] call to fulfillment." But there is a parallel notion buried in such sentiment – that the way things are now is wrong or somehow lacking. Insufficient, stagnant, and somehow untenable. Without this obverse meaning the urge for development lacks legitimacy. There would be no moral imperative to change if the present condition was enough to satisfy a community at length. Development demands a fundamental change in the way things are done.

Foundations of Community Life

Community life is based upon its modes of interaction, which are determined by the community's organizational structures. When structures change, interactions change, and so does community life. Development presents a risk to community identity. Much has been said about the social capital of community life (Bourdieu, 2011; Burt, 2005, 2009; Coleman, 1990, 1988; Erickson, 1996, 1998; Lin, 1999; Lin, Cook, & Burt, 2001; Portes, 1998; Portes & Landolt, 1996, 2000; Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1993). In short, social capital is the ability of community members to extract value from their mutual interactions. The associational relationships maintained by community identity provide social capital. If identity is at risk, so is social capital. As development involves new ways of doing things community members are confronted with a dilemma. Ways that are too divergent from the present will contribute to the dissolution of their place within the community. If new places do not await them, or cannot be created along the way, then change is a risk to their solidarity. As members attempt to negotiate this scenario the community may succumb to anomie if a new identity cannot be fostered. Durkheim referred to this issue in *Suicide*, noting that sudden economic changes in communities – both windfalls and losses – disrupt life to the point that culture must be reordered accordingly before members can comprehend and carry on in their new condition.

   Culture is what people say, think, and do. Culture is observable in the content and forms of a community's speech, values, and behavior. Overarching cultural patterns emerge across adaptations to changing times and locations. Culture informs how people live, and in turn is informed by their lived experiences. Development is a culturally disruptive force because movement towards progress inevitably leads to changes in speech, values, and behavior. Some ways of being are lost, others are modified, and yet others still are newly created. It is therefore that development as a notion of progress will inevitably lead to cultural change.

Identifying a Community

Communities are social groups. There are at least two types of meaning invoked by the concept of community: geographic, and relational (Gusfield, 1975). Community at times can indicate a specific region, though more often it points to a group of people engaged in some mode of regular interaction (whether they occupy the same space or not). In other words, a culture. While geography may influence patterns of interaction it does not completely limit them, and not all residents in a region are disposed to being mutually interactive anyway. Caution is warranted when discussing communities in terms of their "culture-bearing-ness." There is a temptation to rely upon the features of a community – some discreet aspect of its culture – to illustrate its boundaries in a forensic capacity. However, this is a mistake. It implies a level of homogeneity or permanence that is neither objective nor useful. Almost no discreetly measurable feature can withstand the ordinary permutations that both time and space affect upon culture, let alone the ones brought about by development. The language, kinship, religion, subsistence, occupations, and genetics of any given community are forever prone to change.

   As an alternative to cultural, feature-based definitions of communities, Barth (1998) suggested using identity – a community's own self-categorization. This self-categorization is based on the qualities that members determine as relevant to defining themselves. He described it as governed by two orders of processes: signs, which are the features that are used to express an identity; and values, the standards by which enactments of identity are judged. Critically, this allows indigenous concepts of community to drive data collection and analysis for policy, as opposed to giving that authority to (even well-meaning) outside experts who may define communities in ways that are not practically relevant. Much like Durkheim, Abrahams (1978) wrote that community members understand themselves through their shared "life-in-common", and changes in identity occur when the organizational structures of that life are altered or disrupted. New signs and values emerge in communities as they experience change because community life is a process of interaction, not contemplation. Revision in community identity only takes place when existing categories are

inadequate to sustain interaction. When structured mutual interactions are too few or too infrequent a community can lose its identity if its categorical sense of self becomes obsolete.

Community as a Dynamic Experience

Ideally, communities adapt to incorporate new interactions that will achieve some desired improvement in their shared life. Development leads to new cultures, which should be "better than now." Some ways of living are lost, others are added. These ways change how members of a community interact and how they see themselves. Development, even in its most noble pursuits, is a disruptive force. Revolutions within industries, education, and democracy will affect the social relations and structures which serve as the basis for any community. Community development can target specific outcomes, but it is critical to consider how those outcomes will alter community relations. And here again is the dilemma. Even change for the better can threaten the solidarity of a community. There should be plans to accommodate and transition members from current roles to new ones that still connect to a meaningful and useful identity – one with enough social capital to sustain them during development. Barring that, the solidarity of the community is at risk.

An example of development's disruptive capacity can be found in Scott's (2008) ethnography of displaced tenant farmers in Malaysia. Local resistance movements were brought about by a green revolution style World Bank development project that was started in 1966. Modern farming techniques such as irrigation control, engineered cultivars, fertilizer, and mechanization doubled annual harvests. More economic activity was created, more people were fed, and prosperity seemed abundant. While measurable progress in development was achieved in some areas, local inequality increased dramatically. The structural economic relations and social bonds of obligation which helped to mitigate the pre-development economic gap between landowners and tenants were eroded. There was a massive loss of social capital within these communities as tenant labor was unintentionally commodified and made disposable. People who could flee did, and those who could not leave resorted to resistance to ensure their survival. This is just once case of development occurring alongside the simultaneous erosion of social capital.

Fortunately, communities are adaptable. The case of South Korea's development illustrates one of the most important mechanisms by which communities intrinsically maintain cohesion – the creation of tradition. As a community, Korea experienced a series of brutally disruptive changes. Colonization by Japan, civil war and political fragmentation, decades of dictatorship, and then rapid global economic market integration all fundamentally altered social relations within the country. During these tumultuous experiences a host of Korean traditions emerged which helped lend solidarity to the community. Tradition is a countervailing force against disruptive cultural changes, including development.

Tradition as Adaptation in South Korea

It is almost impossible to discuss contemporary Korean society without also addressing the community's modernization and development, the so-called "Miracle on the (River) Han." The penetration of new economic ideologies into Korean society through forced global market integration was a culturally disruptive event. The Korean life-in-common had been under structural assault since the 19th century when Japan began its colonization there. The ensuing series of nationally transformative events that took place over the next century led to the creation of a new community identity (Kim, 2007). It raised the issue of what it meant to be Korean (Han, 2003). The adaptation to these changes falls under what Hobsbawm (in Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012) dubbed the invention of tradition – invoking a fictitiously invariant image of the past to structure modern life. Invented traditions are ritualized and symbolic practices which inculcate norms through repetition. They are governed by rules that are either directed or tacitly accepted. Practicing these traditions automatically implies continuity with a favorable past. According to Hobsbawm, "Where the old ways are alive, tradition need neither be revived nor invented." That is, traditions are not mundane activities; ordinary, everyday practices do not have the same significance as "tradition." Disruptive social changes in communities produce new traditions which draw upon the existing symbolic library of the group; thus these new traditions look or feel familiar despite their novelty. These traditions inculcate values, legitimize authority, and maintain community boundaries.

After national liberation and post-civil war reconstruction, a dialog emerged that began enumerating the features of Korean culture (Han, 2003; Yi, 2003, p. 20). The first formal attempts at documenting Korean culture did not start until around the time of Japanese colonization when Korean academics were "trained" by Japanese historians, and this introduced a colonial ideology into their work (Palais, 1995). Until recently, most research on Korean culture focused on its economic and political modes (colonial ideologies having been replaced with neoliberal market ones). The tautological rationale in both cases seems to be that deeper studies were not warranted – Koreans intuitively understood Korean culture because they were Korean. Shortly before the turn of the 21st century this began to change. A reflexive examination of Koreanness has since developed, particularly with regard to changes in traditions stemming from development. This has covered marriage practices (Kendall, 1996), religion (Kendall, 2003), populist movements (Yea, 1999), festivals (Jeong & Santos, 2004; Moon, 2005), education (Chun Kim & Cho, 2005; Finch & Kim, 2009; Lee, 2009), and arts (Lee, Yun, Yoo, & Nelson, 2010) among others. These works point to the connection of development's effects in daily life, often with nationalism and tradition as mediating agents. Contemporary Korea is a place rife with tradition.

The emergence of Korean traditions offset the disruption threatening the community's social solidarity. In discussing the link between communities and traditions, it is worthwhile to paraphrase Dundes' (1965) work on folk groups: a community is any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor. It does not matter what the linking factor is. What is important is that a community formed for whatever reason will have some traditions which it calls its own. Even though any member of a community is unlikely to know all the other members, each will have some common understanding of the core traditions that provide their sense of identity. These traditions are learned and maintained by the group's mutual interactions.

Play, Tradition, and Sport

Imitation and play in childhood are the foundation for how culture is transmitted across generations (Nielsen, 2012). Even outside of childhood, play is common to all human communities and the forms it takes are diverse. In Huizinga's classic treatise on play, he observed that, "[Play] promotes the formation of social groups" (Huizinga & Hull, 1949). It is inherently social. While common to all humans, the content of play is culturally specific (Miracle, 1992). Its understandings are subjective (Csikszentmihalyi, 1981). The meaning of play is realized through the solidarity of mutual interaction – it is *doing* a way of *being*. Play is an end to its own means. It is part of the life-in-common for communities and is fertile ground for the creation of traditions such as sports. To play is to engage in a kind of identity. To play sports is to perform an identity across a community.

The utility of sport in studying culture is indisputable. There are several reasons why sports reproduce cultural identities. Sports are laden with values (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2013; Tomlinson & Young, 2006). They meet social demands, and different sports reflect different needs (Bourdieu, 1978; Green & Svinth, 2010). They are an essential sphere of social interaction in which dramatic tensions produce a sense of being part of a community or what Turner called *communitas* (Turner, 1995; Turner & Schechner, 1988). Evidence suggests that these psychological effects have a physical dimension as well; community members exhibit sympathetic physiological responses to performance events (Konvalinka et al., 2011; Xygalatas, Konvalinka, Bulbulia, & Roepstorff, 2011). Examining the ways in which sports are organized and their skills transmitted along their symbolic ritual and ceremonial features yields insight into the cultures in which they are practiced (Peterson, 1983).

Korean Play and Sport

Within the Korean community there is a very old form of belt wrestling currently known as *ssireum* that transformed into an ethnic wrestling sport during the community's development in the 20th century. At one time, indigenous

sports in Korea included archery and ball-games (Young Moo, 1986). But none of those forms survived into the present. Discussion of Korean sport is mostly limited to the pre-modern past (Nah, 1986). Taekwondo developed alongside ssireum in recent history, but it relied upon heavy backing from both the government and military; it was also a relatively modern invention of Japanese origins (Burdick, 1997; Capener, 1995). Taekwondo is a better case study of tradition being imposed on a community rather than a community creating a tradition for itself. The history and process behind ssireum's transformation demonstrates the innate resilience of communities when using tradition to counter disruptive cultural change. As a type of wrestling, ssireum engaged the community in several ways. Wrestling is a common way to perform identities among many cultures (Alter, 1992, p. 199; Levi, 1997, p. 199; 2001; Sériba, 2005). It is an essential dramaturgy that frames the human form in competition with itself (Feigenbaum, 2001; Jenkins, 1997; Mazer, 1990; Rickard, 1999; Saunders, 1999; Workman, 1977). As a result, it is adept at embodying the tension of cultural change within its performance (Chehabi, 1995; Hershiser, 2000; May, 1999). As such, the case of ssireum offers implications for development researchers, policy makers, and community leaders as related to community identity and social capital.

Pre-Traditional Belt Wrestling

Information about the history of belt wrestling in Korea is a combination of archaeological evidence, historical documents, historical artwork, and folk knowledge. Everything except the folk knowledge can be independently verified as cultural artifacts, though in most cases the meaning has been utterly lost. It is possible to infer limited things about belt wrestling based on the context in which these artifacts exist. Folk knowledge provides additional interpretations, but it projects backwards in time from the preset; this knowledge is almost exclusively modern and reflects the roles that ssireum has already assumed in contemporary Korean society. Folk knowledge should not be disregarded because it lacks verifiability; rather, its discourses should be examined for the signs and values they carry. Based on inferences from context alone it is quite clear that ancient belt wrestling had very little in common with the contemporary sport of ssireum. The basic physical forms appear similar, but what they mean was obviously different (compare Figures 5.1 through 5.3 for an idea of how similar they look despite existing in very different societies). Folk histories generally agree that they are different, though still sharing some common essence. Still, there is little to suggest that belt wrestling was understood to be a traditional practice throughout most of its history. Based on how much it changed over time it is likely that it was an ordinary part of the Korean community's shared life-in-common. In other words, belt-wrestling was an important cultural activity, but not a tradition.

Wrestling's Mythical Origins

Based on archaeological evidence from the Jeulmun and Mumun pottery periods, the Korean peninsula appears to have been occupied by *Homo sapiens* as far back as 8,000 BCE. In terms of invented traditions, Korean public schools teach that Korean culture itself is an unbroken legacy some 5,000 years old. There is no concrete evidence for belt wrestling from Korea's primordial past, but folk histories indicate it originated as an ancient form of self-defense against the savagery of wild animals and people. Considering that the mythical origins of the Korean people are pegged to this period, suggesting that they practiced something like ssireum gives the sport a similarly mythic origin. As previously mentioned, communities will attempt to connect their traditions to a suitably favorable past whenever feasible. This contributes to a positive identity.

Likewise, there is no evidence for belt wrestling in either the Gojoseon or Proto-Three Kingdoms periods. These are the eras usually presented as giving rise to Korean civilization as a political and military force in the region. Archaeological evidence indicates these people practiced agriculture, experienced population growth, advanced in material technology complexity, and probably practiced some form of animistic shamanism. Agricultural cultures around the world tend to incorporate cyclical harvest events into their rituals. If those ancient Korean communities played belt wrestling, it may have been connected to agrarian culture. At present the timing of major events in ssireum revolves around an agrarian schedule (spring planting, fall harvest, and lunar new year tournaments) and symbols (especially bovids as prizes). Folk histories of ssireum reference its agrarian past, especially in explaining why major competitions coincide with agrarian holidays and why the bull (or its likeness) is awarded as a prize.[2] However, these things may have been incorporated later in ssireum's history.

Wrestling's Historical Record

It is not until the Three Kingdoms period that there is any concrete evidence for ssireum. There is an ancient Chinese text, *The History of the Later Han*, that mentions a belt wrestling tournament held for royal entertainment during a meeting between a Chinese and Korean delegation. The oldest archaeological evidence of belt wrestling dates to this time. There are a pair of tomb murals in an elite burial mound found in northeastern China in an area that was previously part of the Goguryeo culture zone. Goguryeo was a militaristic Korean culture that grew in regional power until it was defeated through a Sino-Korean alliance of rival communities. In the burial mound a large single wall mural depicts two men wearing shorts and belts belt wrestling in a position clearly evocative of modern ssireum. A third man in a robe watches them. There are also nature motifs, including a tree with birds perched in it, as well as clouds (see Figure 5.2). A smaller mural depicts two men belt wrestling; more abstract in design, it is part of a collage and

FIGURE 5.2 Mural from elite 6th century burial mound

Source: Christopher Sparks

surrounded by other possibly religious symbols and motifs. Presumably the elite burial houses royalty and by association it is inferred that belt wrestling was a high-status activity at that time. There is debate about how to interpret the larger mural. Theories suggest the players were performing for either a king or a god/nature spirit. It is generally agreed that this activity had some religious or political significance. There is no way to know accurately as there are no descriptions of what belt wrestling meant to these people or even how it was played. Moreover, there are practically no indications of what belt wrestling "means" until ssireum's modern history. Contemporary ssireum came to look more like these images over time as more proximate historical details were ignored during its formulation into a traditional sport.

The warring Three Kingdoms period ended with political unification in the Korean peninsula under the Goryeo Dynasty. As the state religion changed from Buddhism to Confucianism, education in Confucian classics provided the basis for civil authority. Korean culture was divided into two general strata of scholarly and military leadership. Belt wrestling was associated with the military branch (which was the lower status of the two). The first written accounts of ssireum start to appear around this time, but they use Sino-Korean logograms to refer to belt wrestling. Ssireum itself is an indigenous Korean word that is written exclusively in the Korean phonetic system known as Hangeul, which would not be developed until hundreds of years after these early texts. There is little consistency in how belt wrestling was written in ancient Sino-Korean terminology. The texts that do mention belt wrestling are narrowly focused on the

bureaucratic goings-on of the elite literate class that ruled at that time. There are practically no accounts of commoners' ordinary life. For example, *The History of the Goryeo Dynasty* has an entry reprimanding King Chunghye for neglecting his duties to play belt wrestling inside the palace grounds with an errand boy. Supposedly his enthusiasm for the pastime endured despite the criticism.

Ancient Changes in Community and Wrestling

By the time of the Joseon Dynasty, Neo-Confucian political reforms further deteriorated the status of physical culture such as belt wrestling. Social hierarchies had become a matter of state designation and the only path for advancement was academic. Physical pastimes fell out of favor among elite classes. A few court records mention belt wrestling. These include tournaments held for King Sejong's amusement, but for the most part the rest are negative. One proclamation bans belt wrestling on palace grounds (though children were still allowed to play). And a few others record acts of violence connected with belt wrestling competitions. Further knowledge about belt wrestling comes from various folk life paintings made at the time. The paintings counterbalance the skewed emphasis on elite life found in written records. In the paintings, people in ordinary clothing are shown wrestling outdoors surrounded by spectators. These scenes evoke a public, market-life feeling. Women are not featured in these paintings. The paintings focus on groups of men and feature male subjects in the midst of belt wrestling; they do not depict what happens before or after a match. The paintings are either untitled or use Hanja, and some of the artists are anonymous.

Up until the military occupation and colonization of Korea by Japan there was nothing to indicate that belt wrestling was a traditional activity or cultural adaption in community identity. Rather, it appears to have been a feature of the various Korean communities' life-in-common that was subject to ordinary variation. At one time belt wrestling was associated with an elite status, though that declined until the late 19th century when it was emblematic of ordinary folk life. It is from this pre-modern period of incomplete records, varying statuses, and diverse cultural signs and values that modern ssireum would be crafted. It is not clear what belt wrestling meant to the people who played it as they never commented on it. No one would until after it had already become ssireum.

Disruption and the Birth of Ssireum

The colonization of Korea by Japan was culturally disruptive on a scale that is unimaginable. It ended the traditional dynastic political rule of Korea, abolished the state sanctioned caste system, divided Koreans into rival factions of sympathizers and nationalists, pushed the mechanization of industries, introduced commodified labor, and attempted to drag the economy into global market

integration. There remains popular debate on how to interpret the role of Japan in the creation of the modern Korean republic. Some maintain that Japan contributed to Korea's modernization if not directly, then by means of its influence.

The late Korean dictator/president-for-life Park Chung-hee was a noted admirer of Japan; it is frequently said that his policies for national development were modeled on the Japanese. Park's authoritarianism and connection to Japan prevent any simple narrative of Korea's modernization. Park graduated from the Imperial Japanese Army Academy and served as a lieutenant in the Manchuko Imperial Army where he reportedly engaged in counter-intelligence against Korean armed resistance during colonial occupation (Sullivan, Foss, & Committee, 1987). Conversely, Park presided over Korea during the period of its most rapid economic development. Within contemporary Korea many "traditions" that are popularly recognized as Korean actually stem from Japanese cultural influences during colonization or its legacy. During the colonial period traditions that were ostensibly free from foreign influence represented a countervailing prestige.

If development is a series of revolutions such as those Inkeles (2001) referred to, then Japan's role in Korea's development was modest at best for several reasons. First, the technological improvements it introduced were demonstrably deleterious and retarded development. For example, national agricultural and industrial production under Japanese rule measurably decreased (Haggard, Kang, & Moon, 1997). Second, more historically proximate forces played a larger role in Korea's successful globalization. After Japan's occupation ended Korea would go on to experience invasive levels of American, Chinese, and Russian involvement in community affairs. And, of course, Japan practiced an active policy of cultural disruption as it sought to dismantle the Korean community and rebuild it in a Japanese mode. This is quite literally the opposite of capacity building.

What Japan did do, albeit surely inadvertently, was instigate the birth of modern Korean traditions. Conventional knowledge about belt wrestling converges at a time when Korean culture was under this existential threat. The growth of documenting and formalizing belt wrestling as a traditional ethnic sport began under the menacing shadow of colonial development. Physical culture was not highly regarded in early 19th century Korea, but by the end of the century western sports were becoming established. This was first through the Protestant missionaries and headmasters who brought soccer (Ha & Mangan, 1994; Im, 1962). And then later under Japan when they introduced western boxing (Svinth, 1999, 2001). From then on the development of modern sport in Korea was linked to changes in the community's political, economic, cultural, and social climates (Nam–Gil & Mangan, 2002). Ssireum became the first national Korean sporting tradition.

Wrestling as Anti-colonial Social Capital

The earliest examples of belt wrestling approximating anything like contemporary ssireum originate during the colonial occupation of Korea. Being a "purely

Korean" cultural form that was tolerated by the colonial government, belt wrest-ling was a form of regular social interaction that contributed to (anti-colonial) social capital in a way that was uniquely community driven. No government recognized or promoted belt wrestling. Instead, it was the Korean community that put forth efforts to build its status.

The first sponsored belt wrestling competition took place in 1912 at the Danseongsa Theater in Seoul. It was held by the Yugakkwon Club, which took its name from the first syllables of three different martial arts: *yudo* (judo), *gakgi* (belt wrestling), and *kwontu* (boxing). In 1915 a ssireum competition was held at the Kwangmundae Theater in Seoul that lasted for several weeks and awarded an ox as the grand prize. (See Figure 5.3 for a photo of how ssireum was played at the turn of the 20th century.) There are no records of how these competi-tions were conducted or how ssireum was played. Regular record keeping began around the same time, though it focused almost exclusively on competi-tion results. The National Sports Festival was launched shortly after colonial occupation and has run continuously ever since (aside from a few years at the end of occupation). It is the most important national high school and college sports event in Korea. The Festival's history from its inception until 1990 is
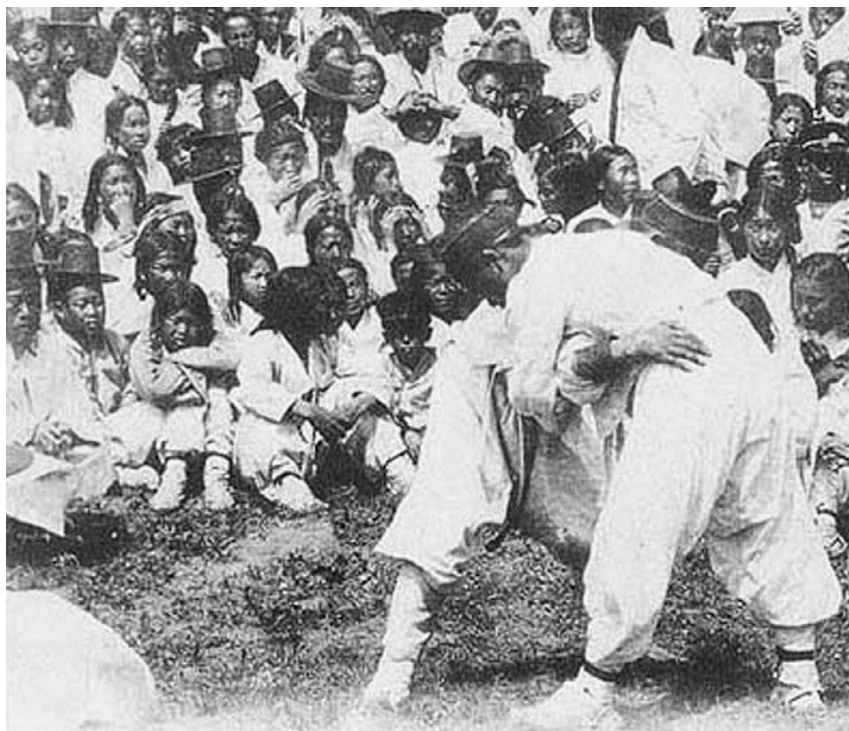
FIGURE 5.3   Ssireum competition, Joseon dynasty (date unknown)

Source: Unknown, Korea Ssireum Research Institute

chronicled in the exceptional *70 Years of the Korean Sports Council* published by the *Korea Herald* (Kim, 1990). The two-volume tome extensively documents the Festival and provides unique insight into the history of Korean sports a decade after the official installation of the Japanese colonial regime. The Festival started with baseball and expanded to include soccer and lawn tennis in its second year. In 1924 it added track and field. Aside from a missing 1923 newspaper article, *70 Years* is the oldest known record of ssireum match results available.

The Joseon Ssireum Association (JSA) was the first community organization to promote belt wrestling as ssireum. Prior to its inception, ssireum appears to have been decentralized with events negotiated by community members at large. The JSA's first competition was held in 1927 at Hwimun High School in Seoul, thus connecting ssireum's roots as an organized sport with public school education. Ssireum was added to the Festival in 1929, six years before the Japanese sports of judo and kendo, and 30 years before taekwondo. The JSA would go on to sponsor ssireum at the Festival for several years with the results documenting some of the active involvement of the JSA.

Reconstructing Wrestling's Technical Features and Growth

The Festival also reveals a number of other important details about ssireum, such as women playing ssireum in 1933, sponsored teams in 1934, variations in regional styles of play (right-side, left-side, and waist), and many other changes relating to individual and team play. (See Figure 5.4 for a photo of

FIGURE 5.4   Ssireum team under Japanese colonial rule in 1934

Source: Unknown, Korea Ssireum Research Institute

a colonial era ssireum team.) For example, the format in which the results are presented allows for mathematical inferences about how many teams played and in what format (e.g. round-robin vs. elimination brackets).

From 1920 to 1934 all sports competitions at the festival were cohosted under a Joseon heading (thus evoking an ethnic identity connected to the Kingdom that Japan deposed). By 1935 the JSA's involvement as indicated in competition results ceases, but ssireum continued to be played every year the Festival was held without interruption. Throughout this period of history, the trend is that early years had greater variation in styles of ssireum both conceptually and practically. The results of ssireum competitions indicate the surprisingly diverse ways it was played. The way the community understood ssireum as a competition changed often in the beginning. As time went by these changes grew less frequent and by the late 1980s ssireum mostly formalized into a standard format.

In 1936 the Chosun Daily News Auditorium held a Joseon Ssireum Championship as well, the first collaboration between a mass media entity and belt wrestling as a sport. Events such as this along with the Festival paint an interesting scenario. Despite Japan's violent efforts to extirpate Korean culture, ssireum was allowed to not just exist but publicly thrive. Folk knowledge says this was because the Japanese thought Korean belt wrestling was similar to the Japanese wrestling form of *sumo*. By the same token, ssireum competitions were said to be used as excuses to publicly congregate, and to engage in covert anti-colonial resistance planning without attracting undue attention. Whether this is true or not is irrelevant. It is an accepted part of the community discourse on ssireum that connects the sport to ethnic solidarity in the face of oppressive change.

Foundations for Inventing Tradition

The changes in the Korean community brought about by colonization were horrific, but also unintentionally introduced some things that would eventually lead to the rebuilding of social capital. Despite the colonial ideological bias, Korean scholars began to document their community's culture. They focused on forms to the exclusion of context, and this was a misstep. In leveraging tradition to contribute to social capital it is critical to observe and record the diversity of forms alongside the contexts that produced them. Recording an event is not the same as recording the different *hows* and *whys* of the event. The earliest grassroots organization in support of promoting ssireum developed under colonial rule. It's management activities and partnerships would go on to play a pivotal role in the future direction of ssireum as a sport. The connections with public education and mass media also helped anchor ssireum in the public consciousness. Education and mass media work best with commodified, easily distributable forms and this encouraged the formalization of ssireum. The diversity of ssireum started to be reduced during the colonial era, but it achieved recognition within the community and the groundwork that would help it ascend as a traditional emblem of community identity following independence

Rising and Falling Social Capital

It is not unreasonable to expect that community members will fight for control over a tradition once its value has been recognized. As traditions are social capital, those with more influence over the resource can extract greater value from it. The gains could be as modest as prestige, or they could be profitable economic clout. The community members who can become gatekeepers or agenda-setters for the tradition will be able to exert an influence in the community and direct the future of the tradition. Often there will be multiple members attempting to assume these roles and this can lead to conflict within the community, or fragmentation of the tradition. Members who can connect with other seats of power can leverage media or political support and are more likely to prevail. This was the case in Korea with ssireum. Several associations developed and fought for legitimacy within the sport. And a handful of key individuals exerted their influence through force of personality and reputation. For better or for worse, this history ultimately led to the national standardization of ssireum as regional variations were abandoned. (See Figure 5.5 for a photo of women playing ssireum; the formalization of the sport after independence would lead to their marginalization as they were deemed "not traditional." At the same time, society at large viewed sports as inappropriate or women – especially powerful or aggressive sports.)

FIGURE 5.5 Women's ssireum competition shortly after the Korean civil war in 1954

Source: Unknown, Korea Ssireum Research Institute

Emergent Organizations, Signs, and Social Capital

The JSA rebranded itself as the Korean Ssireum Association (KSA) in 1946. Its aim was the restoration of traditional Korean sports and the promotion of physical activity through competition. Note that this goal is a relatively modern concept. Prior to the introduction of western sports in Korea through the Japanese colonial government, concepts such as tradition and sportsmanship were alien. The social status of "athlete" was unknown. Moreover, notions of standardized organizational control and competition management were not of community origin. This is just another example of how development disrupted community life, though the experience was used later in serving community interests during the reconstruction period following the Korean Civil War.

   The prestige that excellence in a tradition affords is a type of social capital. This can benefit individuals, and create a feedback effect in which, as people become better at a tradition, they are able to exert more influence of its development. While the KSA was busy building a political and economic support base, legendary ssireum player Yun-chul Ra was traveling around the country and using the strength of his reputation to standardize the form of ssireum. Born around 1909 in a part of Daegu City, he was most active from 1938 to 1949. Ra was a very large man at the time (supposedly 180 cm tall and 90 kg) and worked as a wrestler, coach, and referee. Folk knowledge says it was because of him that regional variations in belt position were abandoned and that he created some of the first unified terminology for techniques. Ra supposedly started his travels in the southeastern provinces and slowly worked his way across the country towards the north. In 1946 he was the head of referees at a national competition in Seoul where the crowd cheered for him to compete as well; he obliged the audience and soundly defeated all eight finalists and the champion as well. Shortly after he continued moving north.

Politicization of Tradition and Socioeconomic Capital

After the Korean Civil War, Ra ended up in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea) and continued his exploits with ssireum. Supposedly it is because of his singular efforts to promote ssireum that the North Korea government designated it as Korean national heritage. In 1956 he was named the "Laureate of Ssireum" by North Korea leader Il-seong Kim. In 1965 he became the Chairman of North Korea's Ministry of Physical Education. Knowledge about the history of ssireum in North Korea is scarce, but the major competitions and festivals follow a similar agrarian schedule to that of South Korea. The most important competition, the Great Bull Guerdon, awards an ox and a golden bell to the winner. The details of North Korea's management structure and the context under which community members play

is uncertain. Presumably, because of the government's anti-capitalist stance, it is more amateur oriented than professionalized. The players wear different uniforms and the technical terms are somewhat different in name (but similar in form). The goal of ssireum in North Korea is to promote the solidarity of spirit among laborers.

As Ra was developing ssireum in North Korea, the KSA was busy exerting influence over the sport in South Korea. By managing the sport at the level of national competitions, the KSA was building alliances that would enable ssireum to continue to grow over time. A watershed moment in the sport's history would come in 1972 when the KSA cohosted the first national televised ssireum competition with the nascent Korean Broadcasting System (KBS). The event was dubbed the KBS-Cup National Grand Championship and attracted over 10,000 spectators. The success of the event persuaded KBS to add ssireum to its regular lineup of programming. But building media alliances would prove contentious. While the KSA cohosted the event, KBS' interest was economic. They intended to host additional events, but there was too much irregularity with the KSA's competition schedule and management. Within nine years KBS would help establish the Folk Ssireum Committee (FSC), the first professional commercial management organization in the sport's history. At this point it can be said that the concept of ssireum athletes was well established in the community.

Community Leadership Defining Values

Seong-ryul Kim, born in Changwon City around 1948, ended up carrying on the work of standardization begun by Ra in the south. Whereas Ra contributed to the standardization of signs in ssireum, Kim contributed to the values that define it. Through his excellence, Kim became a living emblem for the ideals to which players should aspire. By the time Kim was in middle school his reputation as a ssireum virtuoso was well established. He competed in the inaugural KBS-Cup and upon winning soundly became the first national media celebrity in ssireum. He continued undefeated for many years and by the time he retired in 1983 to become a professor at Masan University (now Kyeongnam University) he had amassed over 100 head of cattle as prize winnings. On the streets of his hometown Kim was affectionately known as "The Legend of Ssireum" and the constabulary honorifically referred to him as "The General." The most famous ssireum stars of the 20th century came from within the ranks of his students, including contemporary media personalities Man-ki Lee and Ho-dong Kang. When Kim passed away in 2004 a regional championship was created in his hometown and named after him – the only event to be named after a player in the history of ssireum. Kim was honored by the national government as one of the 100 most influential Koreans of the 20th century. It would be difficult to overstate the effect of his legacy in South Korean ssireum. As the first in the community's line of larger than life characters,

his personality and philosophy set the tone for ssireum as a modern traditional sport. Reportedly, he was a modest and generous person of immense strength and skill, ideals which continue to be the standard for evaluating ssireum players in the community.

Social Capital and Economic Conflict

As ssireum became a profitable source of social capital there were battles to dominate its future. The history of ssireum management groups following the sport's demonstrated financial capacity is convoluted (see Sparks, 2011 for a truly exhausting review). The FSC and KSA merged in 1983 to combine efforts in promoting professional ssireum. In 1985 they split and in 1986 the FSC resumed operations without the KSA. In 1990 the KSA split into two associations, one of which wrested control of the FSC. Also in 1991 a new association formed called the Korea Folk Ssireum Association (KFSA), and emulated the activities of the recently dissolved FSC. Shortly thereafter the KFSA was rechristened the Korea Ssireum Federation (KSF) and it launched most of the major national championships still in operation at present. The stated goal of the KSF was the preservation of Korean ethnic heritage, enhancement of national unity, promotion of physical activity, and internationalization of Korean sports. Despite the KSF's successes it was unable to take any power away from the KSA.

Amidst this fighting, commercial professional teams were formed. From 1984 to 2000 there were 16 such teams launched. Ssireum had become a major professional sport and a career as a ssireum athlete was feasible. Salaries for players were well above the national average, often players earned more than $100,000 annually before factoring in signing bonuses and prize winnings. The industry was profitable until the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, known as the IMF Crisis in Korea. The Crisis gutted the economic base of the ssireum industry and both KBS and corporate sponsors began dropping the sport. National and regional events were scaled back, and within a few years after the Crisis all the professional teams except for one were disbanded. While the Korean economy would later recover, the infrastructural damage done to ssireum was severe. Sponsorship and support for baseball and soccer teams replaced the once thriving support for ssireum. However, ssireum is still widely played in elementary, middle, high school, collegiate, semi-pro, and amateur competitions around the county.

Organizational battles for control over the various segments of ssireum came to a head in 2005 when the KSF, weakened by the financial crisis, was forced to open their competitions to the semi-pro teams that were managed under the KSA. This allowed the KSA to finally subsume all the KSF's activities and the latter was shuttered. From 2008 onward, all elite ssireum activities were managed by the KSA. The KSA continued to consolidate its control over the various segments of ssireum until 2014 when a unification of sorts was achieved. By this time there was not much in the way of social capital growth to be fought over.

Development Builds and Displaces Traditions

Ssireum emerged from the history of belt wrestling in Korea under a period of intense cultural disruption. The periods of stability following independence and post-war reconstruction saw the community engaged in a scramble to identify traditions and define an emergent identity. There were many legacies that were eventually labelled traditional, but ssireum is unique in the depths of its history, public performance, and positioning to offer an alternative community-based form of social capital. Playing ssireum and hosting competitions is a complex social phenomenon that requires both regular maintenance work year-round along with punctuated periods of intensive activity around competitions. The urge to direct this process was strong and many organizations fought over it. Many forceful personalities also contributed to the formalization of ssireum in its present sense by virtue of the prestige this social capital afforded them. In the era of ssireum's emergent potential there were both intense efforts at control and conflict for that control. This continued until it was clear that ssireum's social capital was being replaced with other community activities that were connected to yet another emergent identity – one of Korea as a global economic power.

What Does Ssireum Mean

So far ssireum has been referred to vaguely here as a type of belt wrestling. This has been to differentiate ssireum as a traditional sport from whatever historical types of play preceded it. The fact is that despite its striking similarities to the historical images of belt wrestling in Korea, no one knows how belt wrestling was played or what it meant to the community. There is no record of that. Furthermore, when it comes to ssireum, there is likewise no record. That is, knowledge about how to play ssireum and what it means came directly from the experiences of key figures in the community. There was no template for how to play ssireum as a type of belt wrestling aside from what community members recognized already through their life in common. It was not until the 20th century that there is any recorded commentary about how ssireum is played, why it is played that way, and what that means to the community. Even still, such commentary is rare and the bulk of material about ssireum is generally technical or devoid of any rich contextual details. As a tradition ssireum essentializes everything that came before it as being fundamentally similar. Despite the clear record of modification over time, as a tradition ssireum implies that it has always been the way it is. When pointing to the historical record this view deflects all other counterfactuals. Yes, ssireum may have been different before, but it is still the same game.

Ssireum's Bricolage

If doing ssireum was an intuitive process, the issue of formalization was not. Even within the folk knowledge of the community there were many types of belt wrestling, different terms for it, and positions of political and economic authority that needed to be sorted through. This was not a smooth process. When looking at contemporary ssireum, it is a pastiche of historical symbols that has been distilled down into a relatively fixed form through community interaction. The signs, values, and rituals of ssireum are not a natural product. They are a deliberately created tradition. Hobsbawm (1973) discussed the concept of tradition in terms of its function (i.e. symbolizing group membership, legitimizing authority, and inculcating belief systems), method (i.e. repetition, ritualization), and rationale (i.e. invariance as a response to change). The connotation of ssireum as a traditional sport in the Korean community is not dissimilar. First, it implies that ssireum came from Korea – and only Korea. Second, it implies a deep history of continuity that projects the contemporary community identity backwards in time. Third, it implies an ideal of invariance, that despite its transformations over time ssireum shows an abiding essence. Koreans are the community that plays ssireum. By participating in the rituals of play, members align themselves with the values set by the leadership in the community.

So, what is ssireum? It is a form of belt wrestling, a genre of grappling that revolves around gripping an opponent's belt while performing a test of physical strength and skill. (See Figure 5.6 for a photo of a modern competition.)

FIGURE 5.6 Modern ssireum championship in 2013

Source: Yeong-seok Seo, Korea Ssireum Association

Belt wrestling as a sport genre is not unique to Korea as many different cultures have their own forms; for example, *Lucha Canaria* from Spain, *Schwingen* from Switzerland, or *Bökh* from Mongolia. Different types of belt wrestling have different objectives and values.

In the case of ssireum, two opponents bow to each other and enter a sand circle wearing a special belt that has been looped about their right thigh and waist. Belts are color coded so that one player wears blue and the other red. They kneel and grip each other's belts with their right hand around the waist and the left hand around the right thigh. After they have taken their grips, they stand and begin to play when signaled by a referee. The winner is the first one to make any part of their opponent's body from the knee up touch the ground.

Injurious motions are forbidden, so there is no punching, kicking, headbutting, etc. Skills are typically divided according to body part; there are arm/hand skills, leg/foot skills, and torso/back skills. Match winners are usually determined by the "best out of x rounds" format, or $\frac{x+1}{2}$. Matches usually have time limits. Team (sequential matches) and individual play are possible. Competition levels are segmented into public school (elementary, middle, high), college (typically private schools), semi-pro (including municipal teams), and amateur. Some levels of play use uniforms for referees and players; male players usually wear color coded short-pants to distinguish them while women also wear shirts. Men and women play within their respective sexes. Players are divided by weight classes (named after famous Korean mountains). Competition seasons are annual. Prizes may be monetary, natural agricultural goods, merchandise, trophies (often featuring oxen), or social prestige (e.g. peer approval, bragging rights).

Ssireum's values are different than its features. The technical definition covers the features of ssireum. They provide structural insight into how it is played *now*. But as with Barth's caution against relying on cultural features, this reveals little information about what it means to play ssireum. These features have changed over time and are likely to continue to do so if history is any indication.

The context of why all the different community members play ssireum is complex and beyond the scope of the present work. The short version is that as the associational product of mutual interactions, ssireum embodies the spirit of their identity. In the words of a former KSA president, "Ssireum is the essence of human movement." The objective is not to win – the goal is to never give up.

Through their struggle players create an emotional experience for everyone involved that brings them all closer together. Ssireum is social capital because the closeness it creates has a functional value built into it. It orients participants in a changing world by ritually connecting them to the past. It provides a way of understanding the world, legitimizes that world view, and maintains the boundaries of the community. It also translates into multifaceted relationships, trust, careers, and prestige. All members of the Korean community will have some knowledge of ssireum, though the depth of their familiarity and extent of their social capital in it vary.

Cultural symbols in Ssireum provide a common "vocabulary." There are several key symbols and values in ssireum. Firstly, nearly all the terminology in ssireum is drawn from indigenous Korean root words as opposed to Chinese loan words (the latter of which outnumber the former more than two to one in the Korean language). This distances ssireum from any foreign influence and legitimizes it as "purely Korean." Other important symbols include the belt, the sand, the color motifs, and the community space.

The belt is called a *satba*, without which ssireum cannot be played. Because of the belt, there can be no striking involved – only pushing, pulling, or lifting. The typical medium of play is a sand circle. It is expensive to transport and maintain sand for competition, but the industry is reluctant to change that in favor of more efficient modern substrates. This despite one of the earliest descriptions of ssireum mentioning that any flat grassy or earthen space will suffice (Im, 1962). The red and blue (and occasionally gold) color motifs used in play are drawn from the *taegeuk*, the Korean symbol of cosmic balance or *eum-yang* (or "yin-and-yang"), also featured on the Korean national flag. Players are literally called "red belt" and "blue belt" during competition. The clothing of officials and referees is based off popular amalgamated representations of historical Korean clothing styles. Winning champions' ceremonial robes are styled to look like royal clothing. Other Korean traditional dances, music, comedy, and food are also found at ssireum events.

Ssireum's rituals are as important as the value and symbols. A key feature of rituals is their communicative nature (Rappaport, 1992). Repeating an act or sequence builds an index of values for evaluating later performances. The insistency on repetition in rituals creates a social space in which new meanings can be developed (Kapferer, 2008). Rituals can generate new realities (Turner, 1995). Rituals are not invariant, but an inherently reflexive mode of social interaction because they function to organize and disseminate symbolic content. The symbolic content of any tradition like ssireum is effective only so long as it is circulated. The lives of players, the sequence of events in competition, and the arrangement of physical space for audiences sensitizes the community to the meaning of ssireum. To paraphrase Durkheim (1912), the symbols in ssireum are neither intrinsically sacred nor profane; their meanings are produced and reproduced in the collective process of ritualization and symbolization. What these things mean at any given time depends upon their use.

There are orders of repetition to the events in ssireum – from the individual competition level all the way up the structural level of the sport. When entering the sand circle, players bow at the edges, kneel in the center, take grips on their belts, stand, start, struggle, fall, and repeat. Each competition season follows an agrarian lunar calendar with major events such as Lunar New Year Championship and Fall Harvest Championship. Each cycle opens with a seasonal festival, the first competition of the year and first competition with incoming players, and then culminates in an Annual Championship, the last

competition of the year and final competition of departing players. Through-out each season there will be special accessory holiday events as well as the occasional municipal or corporate events. The timing between official season events and accessory events may overlap, though this is not always the case. For example, the Lunar New Year Championship may regularly occupy an official seasonal slot while the Masan City Championship only does so occa-sionally. The timing does two things. It frames ssireum as a special activity, one not performed daily. And it aligns ssireum with major national cultural holidays and festivals as a performance of community identity.

The Combination Produces the Effect

The value of any tradition in building social capital depends upon its ability to bring people together regularly and engage them in the performance of an agreed-upon library of symbols. Without this mutual interaction or shared symbolic repertoire, a tradition would have little ability to instill values, con-nect participants with a source of authority, or illustrate the boundaries of the community. With that in mind, the performance of tradition as writ-large upon the community does not require everyone to participate directly. Even being part of the audience or backdrop against which these performances take place is enough to inscribe notions of a life-in-common on the community. Again, not every Korean knows this much detail about ssireum – but all Koreans know ssireum. This is what helped support the Korean community in pursuit of a better future.

The Dark-side of Tradition

As mentioned previously, development should not be accepted uncritically. Nor should tradition as a form of social capital. While traditions can mobilize communities and help offset the costs of development there are still power dynamics that must be considered. Who will benefit from the tradition? Who will pay the price? How can identity be balanced with exclusion?

Depending on Players without Serving Them

There is much more to be said about the lives of ssireum players, though not enough space for it. They have their own life cycles and networks that develop unique experiences and social capital. Some of that is shared with the commu-nity at large, and some is specific to their status within the community. There are costs to this life as well. Life as a wrestler is not a democratic endeavor. Players surrender control of their schedules and goals to their coaches and asso-ciation. There is practically no feedback from players up to the top association management. There are no official channels for this. Any advocating for

players is interpersonal. As a result, the practical welfare of players is not a main concern within the highest levels of the industry. Within the association management, the big picture is mired in economics and politics – too little of the former, too much of the latter. There have been no concrete efforts to provide financial security for players or prepare them for life after retirement from the sport.

Ineffective Practical Leadership

Long-term planning for the stewardship of the tradition is similarly lacking. The 1997 IMF Crisis is evidence that the patron–client relationship was not sustainable. The failure of ssireum to rebound following the market recovery, as well as the popularity that it lost to sports such as baseball, shows that not enough attention was given to maintaining the status of ssireum. As a sport, baseball is a means of reproducing wealthy, high status identities that engage the "global village." Because it did not adapt, ssireum is the opposite – it is provincial, historical, and recruits from the lower socioeconomic ranks of the community. Ssireum was important when domestic social capital was in short supply as the community struggled to redefine itself as a nation. Baseball took over that role when a globally economically integrated Korea looked for social capital as a world power. Among the leadership in the ssireum industry, those people with children generally refused to allow them to play; instead, they preferred their children to study for high status careers in government, medicine, or law.

Inequality Maintained

The Korean community in general is characterized by patriarchy with large social-power distance between age groups. There is relatively high inequality in economic status, gender, age, and regional development. These inequalities are maintained in ssireum. With very little democratic decision making, the needs and interests of more marginal groups have never been pursued. When ssireum proved to be an economically remunerative tradition, players became something of a labor class that worked to advance the interests of broadcasters, sponsors, owners, industry, and coaches. In the period of ssireum's growth, players could participate in capitalistic opportunities for personal development; in the period of decline, like Hobsbawm's (1973) peasants, they generally seek to work the system to their minimum disadvantage.

There have been no sustained efforts to promote women as equal participants to men. Female players are not regarded as traditionally correct, despite the evidence of their participation even under colonial rule. As a key feature of social status, age is a determining factor in disputes about authority; that is, conflicting positions are easily resolved in favor of older individuals.

Cultural Isolation

Attempts to involve foreign audiences or promote ssireum abroad as cultural heritage were never seriously considered. It has only been within the last couple of years that any attempt was made to register ssireum as an intangible cultural asset with UNESCO. Limited efforts were made to involve traditional belt wrestlers from other countries in ssireum championships for the benefit of Korean audiences, but practically no efforts were made to market or share ssireum with foreign audiences – including foreigners living in Korea. By and large, the political management of ssireum was oriented towards maintaining the standard identity politics rather than adapting them. That is, the industry leadership chose to emphasize positive ethnic group distinctiveness through traditional stereotypes (while aiming them at an increasingly disinterested domestic audience). Change was generally perceived as antithetical to ssireum's status as a tradition.[3]

Dark Capital

These observations in ssireum are akin to Portes and Landlt's (Portes, 1998; Portes & Landolt, 1996, 2000) discussion of the potential negative consequences of social capital. Strong social ties in a community can lead to the exclusion of outsiders. Closed communities can inhibit the success of their members if there is no way to discourage free-riding. Too many restrictions on personal freedom promote conformity and reduce autonomy. Downward levelling can result from solidarity based on resistance to other communities. Tradition can reduce social capital by removing the ability to productively dissent and adapt to changing contexts.

While authors such as Putnam (Putnam, 2000) pointed to the ability of play and sport to restore lost social capital, it is not a panacea. Sport and art do not always facilitate bridging links between those in positions of authority with those in disadvantaged communities (Stolle, 1998; Stolle & Rochon, 1998). This was the case in Korea during colonization when Korean athletes were forcibly used as international representatives for Japan; some of Japan's first Olympic medalists were conscripted Koreans. And in modern Korea as ssireum's social capital increased it moved closer towards economic profiteering and further from its roots as a force of community solidarity. Young players are some of the most vulnerable members of the community and they still have no advocacy or access to the seats of authority.

The rhetoric of traditional culture to contribute to social capital through play or sport is appealing. There is evidence that it can work, but there should be close attention paid to under what conditions it works best. The value of culture in community development should not be accepted uncritically. If activities like sport help to build social capital it is as a right to self-realization rather than simply leisure or entertainment. "Right" in this case means an obligation exists

between those in power to all members of the community to facilitate their participation on whatever terms best serve said members.

It is unrealistic to expect traditions to be completely responsible for providing social capital to a community. However, tradition has the potential to make contributions in that direction when it brings people together in mutual interaction. Through these associations, community members can develop positive identities and foster relationships that facilitate other activities outside of the sphere of tradition or sport. The quality of these interactions is paramount. To sustain them there must be some obligation of those in power to serve communally rather than commercially.

Summary and Implications for Community Development

Traditions have been recognized as a means by which communities maintain continuity across time and space. This continuity is itself a type of social capital because it reinforces regular interaction among members of the community. While the diversity of forms that traditions take is nearly endless, sports are particularly well suited to cultivating social capital because they are public performances of community identities. Their associational nature creates a focal point of interaction among members. Sports allow communities to publicly perform their identities, they draw people together in extended webs of mutual interaction, and they can transmit values across generations.

There exists a commonsense view of sports as something which is good for communities. Yet the highly particularized nature of sports has made it difficult to generalize findings across communities for several reasons. First, sports are a mediating force in communities which continuously change to address the needs of the groups that play them. The results of studying one sport in a community at a given time may not apply to the same community at a later time. This leads to another reason – there is a tendency in studying sport to focus on the features of its various forms rather than the mechanisms of social interaction underlying the proliferation of those forms. This correlates with a similar tendency in the study of tradition and culture. It is easy to get lost in the details of a form and thus end up overemphasizing them as indicators of its distinctiveness; yet these forms tend to be particularized diversifications or permutations that can be situated in a larger history. The minutiae are important in so much as they reveal greater trends.

In the present case, focusing on how ssireum is different than other forms of ethnic belt-wrestling is less important than the issue of how it became associated with a particular ethnic identity. There are many types of belt-wrestling and while their features are interesting to consider, understanding the process by which they have become traditionalized is of greater socio-cultural significance. Features change often, so understanding what drove their traditionalization reveals more about humanity as a whole.

If development is recognized as a disruptive force, then it should be expected that communities will naturally turn to traditions in response. Indeed, this is seen as various societies have gone about taking inventory of their cultural heritage to demonstrate and preserve their distinctiveness as global market integration draws them closer together. The concept of multiple modernities itself developed from discussing the relationship between the integrating experience of modernization and the parallel regional emphases on cultural distinctiveness (Eisenstadt, 2000). However, tradition can also have a dark side in that it can isolate rather than integrate. The challenge is to approach tradition in a way that promotes inclusive participation and obligations to serve all members in order to maximize its benefits. Sports, and play in general, are a viable target for intervention because they are embodied markers of identity and community. By fostering openness, service, and democracy in sports the disruption of development can be mitigated while also promoting traditions that preserve, restore, and build social capital. Sports can increase the value of social interaction. As a genre of identity performance they are likely to be self-sustaining even if the practices in the genre change over time.

As Seen in Korea

In the case of Korea, there is a long history of sports or sports-like games, of which ssireum has the longest continuity in the community. There were already changes in ssireum's status in the Korean community that reflected changes in the surrounding social structures even before colonization by Japan. But during colonization it became a way to perform Korean identity, and that identity had value in promoting solidarity and mutual interactions alongside a positive sense of community membership. Ssireum promoted social capital because only Koreans play ssireum. After the disruption of the Korean civil war, ssireum underwent a period of rapid commodification as it incorporated modern organizational structures, technology, and commercial interests. As the first televised national sport in Korea it continued to generate social capital and this lasted until the Korean IMF Crisis in 1997. The crisis affected the for-profit structural basis for ssireum, and its symbolic value with regard to social capital was gradually replaced by other sports. Incomplete sociocultural documentation of its diversity and role in society, exaggerated effects from prestige feedback, a lack of long-term nonprofit organizational planning and preservation, fighting over control of power and resources, overreliance on commercialization, and a lack of promoting inclusivity, openness, and democracy were factors that worked against ssireum's ability to sustain widespread, positive social capital. Ssireum continues on, but there are some lessons to be learned for designed interventions that seek to use traditional culture in development.

Separating Good from Bad Capital

Communities turn to traditions when continuity is threatened and sport can build social capital to serve their needs during these experiences. Sport physically brings people together. By supporting the identification of traditional forms of play or sport it is possible to cultivate social capital. The preconditions for "good" social capital are democratic inclusivity and an obligation to serve all segments of the community. It is possible to instigate "bad" social capital by excluding outsiders, closing communities, encouraging conformity, and relying on oppositional solidarity. Best policies include identifying communities where there is a need to form or strengthen social capital by looking for structural disruptions such as market transformations (which can lead to both fortune and poverty) – specifically the most marginal or at-risk segments of the community. From there, it is important to look for indigenous forms of play, including sports, that involve coordinated group efforts to perform and sustain. The historical and existing forms of play in the community should be documented as thoroughly as possible, paying close attention to diversity and context (not just their features). The implementation of new forms or modification of existing forms should also be closely documented with the expectation that they will inherently change – and that change is positive under the right conditions.

Need for Sustainable and Responsible Management

Anyone involved in the development process should anticipate community conflicts over control of these forms and the future development of formal organizational structures. Non-profit long-term planning can help avoid conflicts over capital, though it reduces the ability to leverage the power of rapid commercialization and the influx of funds it brings.

Organizational safeguards via management policies should be implemented to promote democracy and obligations to – and from – members, while also mitigating "bad" influences such as forceful personalities that pursue conformity. If warranted, the community should try to extend logistical support through connecting with national and international mechanisms of recognition in media and politics. People in the development process should be prepared to link sport to other community development efforts to synergize their effects. There should be efforts at continuous monitoring to ensure that the needs of marginalized community members are being represented so that they are brought upwards rather than the sport levelling the community downwards. The community itself may be reluctant to do this, especially if it means disrupting existing power relations, so external incentives to reward or encourage representation may be warranted.

Dynamic Traditions as Buffers to Disruption

By treating cultural traditions like sport as a fundamental right, policy makers can establish a strong foundation for applying them to capacity building. The associational nature of these activities can help in the production and reproduction of social capital. However, they are not enough to sustain development on their own. Culture is not always a positive force in community development initiatives. While culture alone is not the solution to community problems, it can be part of the solution. Communities themselves change over time and the relationship of a community to any cultural activity is similarly dynamic. Communities and cultures are never homogenous or static. Accordingly, policy makers and researchers should be cautious when designing development initiatives in the mode of leveraging sport or play to build or foster social capital. Having tempered and clear expectations to guard against overly optimistic predictions is useful. Any intervention should be empirically tested as thoroughly as possible before major rollouts.

Embodied cultural activities such as ssireum are tight approximations of the social worlds in which they exist. Their performance within a community frames questions such as, "Who are we? How do we know each other? Where are we going?" Communities will naturally draw upon tradition to reassure their continuity when their fundamentally organizing structures are threatened by disruption. Development is a disruptive process. To maximize the potential of culture to facilitate adaptation, policy makers should have reasonable expectations about the possibly messy, limited, and contested aspects of this process in addressing social capital. Above all, they should have a willingness to work alongside the community rather than above it.

Notes

1 Herein, the Republic of Korea (ROK) is referred to simply as Korea, except when distinguishing it from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). In those cases, the former will be noted as South Korea and the latter North Korea.
2 Elder members of the ssireum community have said to the author, "The ox is the farmer's best friend," "Cattle are friendly to farmers," and (most directly), "Farmers like cattle." The author has also witnessed live oxen being awarded as prizes, though this is rare at present and trophies shaped like bulls are much more common.
3 In the interest of full disclosure, the author served as the first foreign director in the history of the Korea Ssireum Association for several years. He advocated for registering with UNESCO, promoting ssireum to foreigners, increasing female participation, recognizing players' rights, and adapting to appeal to younger audiences. There were only modest advances in the areas of gender equality and internationalization. The author represented the KSA in pursuit of UNESCO recognition several times and those efforts may eventually come to fruition.

References

Abrahams, R. D. (1978). Towards a sociological theory of folklore: Performing services. *Western Folklore*, *37* (3), 161–184.

Alter, J. S. (1992). *The wrestler's body: Identity and ideology in North India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Barth, F. (1998). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Bauman, Z. (2001). Identity in the globalising world. *Social Anthropology*, *9* (2), 121–129.

Bourdieu, P. (1978). Sport and social class. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, *17* (6), 819–840.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital. (1986). *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*, *1*, 81–93.

Burdick, Dakin. (1997). Taekwondo's formative years. *Journal of Asian Martial Arts*, *6* (1), 30–49.

Burt, R. S. (2005). *Brokerage and closure: An introduction to social capital*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Burt, R. S. (2009). *Structural holes: The social structure of competition*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

Capener, S. D. (1995). Problems in the identity and philosophy of T'aegwondo and their historical causes. *Korea Journal*, *35* (4), 80–94.

Chehabi, H. E. (1995). Sport and politics in Iran: The legend of Gholamreza Takhti. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *12* (3), 48–60.

Chun Kim, Y., & Cho, J. (2005). Now and forever: Portraits of qualitative research in Korea. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *18* (3), 355–377.

Coleman, J. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*, S95–S120.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1981). Some paradoxes in the definition of play. In A. T. Scheska (Ed.) *Play as context* (pp. 14–26). West Point, NY: Leisure Press.

Dundes, A. (1965). *The study of folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Durkheim, E. (1912). *The elementary forms of the religious life*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Eisenstadt, S. N. (2000). Multiple modernities. *Daedalus*, *129* (1), 1–29.

Erickson, B. H. (1996). Culture, class, and connections. *American Journal of Sociology*, *102* (1), 217–251.

Erickson, B. H. (1998). Social capital and its profits, local and global. Sunbelt XVIII and 5th European International Conference on Social networks, Sitges, Spain.

Feigenbaum, A. D. (2001). Professional wrestling, sports entertainment and the liminal experience in American culture. University of Florida thesis.

Finch, J., & Kim, S. (2009). Thinking locally, acting globally: Redefining traditions at the Korean Minjok Leadership Academy. *Korean Studies*, *33* (1), 124–149.

Green, T. A., & Svinth, J. R. (2010). *Martial arts of the world: An encyclopedia of history and innovation* (Vol *2*). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Gusfield, J. R. (1975). *Community: A critical response*. New York: Harper & Row.

Ha, N.-G., & Mangan, J. A. (1994). A curious conjunction—sport, religion and nationalism: Christianity and the modern history of Korea. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *11* (3), 329–354.

Haggard, S., Kang, D., & Moon, C.-I. (1997). Japanese colonialism and Korean development: A critique. *World Development*, *25* (6), 867–881.

Han, K.-K. (2003). The anthropology of the discourse on the Koreanness of Koreans. *Korea Journal*, *43* (1), 5–31.

Hershiser, C. M. (2000). *Blood honor and money: Turkish oiled wrestling and the commodification of traditional culture*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI.

Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (2012). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1973). Peasants and politics. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *1* (1), 3–22.

Horne, J., & Manzenreiter, W. (2013). *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Huizinga, J., & Hull, R. F. C. (1949). *Homo ludens: A study of the play-element in culture* [Translated by RFC Hull]. Abingdon: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Im, S. (1962). Development of modern games. *Korea Journal*, *2* (11), 13–14.

Inkeles, A. (2001). Convergence in societal systems. In E. Ben Rafael & Y. Sternberg (Eds.), *Identity, culture and globalization* (pp. 161–175). Leiden: Brill.

Jenkins, Henry. (1997). Never trust a snake: WWF wrestling as masculine melodrama. In A. Baker & T. Boyd (Eds.), *Out of bounds: Sports, media, and the politics of identity* (pp. 48–78). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Jeong, S., & Santos, C. A. (2004). Cultural politics and contested place identity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *31* (3), 640–656.

Kapferer, B. (2008). Beyond symbolic representation: Suomen antropologi. *Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, *33* (4), 5–25.

Kendall, L. (1996). *Getting married in Korea: Of gender, morality, and modernity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kendall, L. (2003). Gods, markets, and the IMF in the Korean spirit world. In T. Saunders and H. West (Eds.), *Transparency and conspiracy*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kim, J. (1990). *70 years of the Korean Sports Council* (Vols *1-2*). Seoul: Inside Outside Economic Press.

Kim, K. J. (2007). *The development of modern South Korea: State formation, capitalist development and national identity*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Konvalinka, I., Xygalatas, D., Bulbulia, J., Schjødt, U., Jegindø, E.-M., Wallot, S. et al. (2011). Synchronized arousal between performers and related spectators in a fire-walking ritual. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *108* (20), 8514–8519.

Lee, I. (2009). Situated globalization and racism: An analysis of Korean high school EFL textbooks. *Language and Literacy*, *11* (1), 1–14.

Lee, R. M., Yun, A. B., Yoo, H. C., & Nelson, K. P. (2010). Comparing the ethnic identity and well-being of adopted Korean Americans with immigrant/US-born Korean Americans and Korean international students. *Adoption Quarterly*, *13* (1), 2–17.

Levi, H. (1997). Sport and melodrama: The case of Mexican professional wrestling. *Social Text*, *1*(50), 57–68.

Levi, H. (2001). *Masked struggle: An ethnography of Lucha Libre*. New York: New York University.

Lin, N. (1999). Building a network theory of social capital. *Connections*, *22* (1), 28–51.

Lin, N., Cook, K. S., & Burt, R. S. (2001). *Social capital: Theory and research*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

May, V. (1999). Cultural politics and professional wrestling. *Studies in Popular Culture*, *21* (3), 79–94.

Mazer, S. (1990). The doggie doggie world of professional wrestling. *TDR (1988-)*, *34* (4), 96–122.

Miracle, A. W. (1992). Play. In R. Bauman (Ed.), *Folklore, cultural performances, and popular entertainments* (pp. 60–66). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Moon, O. (2005). Hahoe: The appropriation and marketing of local cultural heritage in Kore. *Asian Anthropology*, *4* (1), 1–28.

Nah, H. (1986). A survey on Korean athletics of the pre-modern era. *Korea Journal*, *26* (8), 4–18.

Nam-Gil, H., & Mangan, J. A. (2002). Ideology, politics, power: Korean sport-transformation, 1945-92. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *19* (2–3), 213–242.

Nielsen, M. (2012). Imitation, pretend play, and childhood: Essential elements in the evolution of human culture?. *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, *126* (2), 170.

Palais, J. B. (1995). A search for Korean uniqueness. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, *55* (2), 409–425.

Peterson, E. (1983). American sports and folklore. In R. M. Dorson (Ed.), *Handbook of American Folklore* (pp. 257–264). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *24* (1), 1–24.

Portes, A., & Landolt, P. (1996). The downside of social capital. *American Prospect*, 26, 18–22.

Portes, A., & Landolt, P. (2000). Social capital: Promise and pitfalls of its role in development. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *32* (2), 529–547.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Culture and politics* (pp. 223–234). New York: Simon & Schuster.

Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. Y. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic institutions in modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rappaport, R. A. (1992). Ritual, time, and enternity. *Zygon*, *27* (1), 5–30.

Rickard, J. (1999). "The spectacle of excess": The emergence of modern professional wrestling in the United States and Australia. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, *33* (1), 129–137.

Saunders, T. M. (1999). Play, performance and professional wrestling: An examination of a modern day spectacle of absurdity. University of California dissertation.

Scott, J. C. (2008). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sériba, M. L. (2005). Traditional wrestling in Niger: Between state voluntarism and ancestral symbolism. *Tydskrif vir letterkunde*, *42* (2), 18–32.

Sparks, C. A. (2010). Korea: Ssireum. In T. A. Green & J. R. Svinth (Eds.), *Martial arts of the world: An encyclopedia of history and innovation* (Vols *1-2, 1*, pp. 190–194). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Sparks, C. A. (2011). *Wrestling with Ssireum: Korean folk game vs. globalization*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University.

Stolle, D. (1998). Bowling together, bowling alone: The development of generalized trust in voluntary associations. *Political Psychology*, *19* (3), 497–525.

Stolle, D., & Rochon, T. R. (1998). Are all associations alike? Member diversity, associational type, and the creation of social capital. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *42* (1), 47–65.

Sullivan, J., Foss, R., & Committee, A. F. S. (1987). *Two Koreas–one future?: A report*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Svinth, J. R. (1999). Fighting spirit: An introductory history of Korean boxing, 1926-1945. *Korean American Historical Society, Occasional Papers*, *4*, 111–132.

Svinth, J. R. (2001). Fighting spirit II: Korean American boxers. *Korean American Historical Society, Occasional Papers*, *5*, 135–154.

Tomlinson, A., & Young, C. (2006). *National identity and global sports events: Culture, politics, and spectacle in the Olympics and the football World Cup*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Turner, V. (1995). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Turner, V. W., & Schechner, R. (1988). *The anthropology of performance*. New York: PAJ Books.

Workman, M. E. (1977). Dramaturgical aspects of professional wrestling matches. *Folklore Forum*, *10*, 14–20.

Xygalatas, D., Konvalinka, I., Bulbulia, J., & Roepstorff, A. (2011). Quantifying collective effervescence: Heart-rate dynamics at a fire-walking ritual. *Communicative & Integrative Biology*, *4* (6), 735–738.

Yea, S. (1999). The culture and politics of resistance in South Korea. *Futures*, *31* (2), 221–234.

Yi, J. D. (2003). What is Korean culture anyway? A critical review. *Korea Journal*, *43* (1), 58–82.

Young Moo, L. (1986). In search of past games: Changch'igi, Ch'ukkuk & Nongju, P'yonsa, Hyangsarye. *Korean Journal*, *26*, 35–41.

6

IRISH DIASPORA AND SPORTING CULTURES OF CONFLICT, STABILITY, AND UNITY

Analysing the Power Politics of Community Development, Resistance, and Disempowerment through a Case Study Comparison of Benny Lynch and 'The Glasgow Effect'

John Davis and Christina Milarvie Quarrell

Introduction: Defining Anti-discriminatory, Culturally Sensitive, Socially Just, Strength Based and Inclusive Community Development

Early writing in the USA on community development concerning the urban renewal of the 1950s and 1960s tended to focus on analysing the utility of local projects such as housing associations and non–profit-based community organisations in a manner that underplayed the political and cultural context of our work. It is argued that as the discipline emerged it became associated with tight and somewhat limited notions of social economic development-led community development to become associated with public administration, public policy or urban planning degrees. It has been suggested that this meant that though the ethos of community development suggested it was for all people, in practice community and economic developers could broadly be classified into two basic groups: paid professionals and volunteers. It is further argued that within the profession of community development there were two types of professionals: specialist community workers, e.g. in health/housing, and, professionals in local services with knowledge of community capacity building.

Community development research defines capacity building as processes that seek to: change the local environment (e.g. poverty, crime, housing, etc.); strengthen local organisations (e.g. through training, resource, policy or practice

development); foster local relationships, networks and social organisation (e.g. that provide informal support, group cohesion activities and bridging alliances); and enable systemic approaches that seek to connect local leadership, services and frameworks.

Often community development is discussed in academic circles as if it is in some way divorced from power politics. Yet, the political context of such work has never been far away from our lived realities. For example, in the USA in the 1970s there was a shift to 'conflict-based' ways of perceiving community support as necessary to self-emancipate and liberate ourselves from oppression. Yet, by the 1980s and 1990s such perspectives were seen as reasons to cut funding to community organisations (Emejulu, 2015) as 'assets-based' practice emerged from a discourse that suggested there was a disappearance of a locally identifiable and accountable 'enemy' and therefore community capacity building needed to focus on: identifying the assets and weaknesses of local services; producing the resources necessary for a capitalist economy; training for relationships; stimulating consensus-based partnership initiatives and uniting public, private and community-based actors. Similar ideas were imposed on the ex-mining areas Scotland and the UK that had experienced tremendous upheaval during the 1980s miners' strike (Emejulu, 2015), in the sense that communities were blamed for: 'pointless radicalism'; lacking the nous to develop appropriate local assets that would stand the test of time; or, even, for fostering their own self-distraction by 'wilfully' attempting to block the tide of time that ushered in a new cuts-based economic model.

The shift from advocating 'conflict' based to promoting 'asset' based working in the 1980s and 1990s in the USA resulted in 'successful' communities becoming defined as those who sought to engage with new economic models and unsuccessful communities who were defined as having a fatalistic attitude towards change. Hence, writing on community development has always involved a tension between models that presume a deficit concerning specific communities and models that assume people's ability to self-organise can be hindered by socio-political barriers that communities encounter on a day to day basis (MacLeod and Akwugo, 2014).

In recent times then, community development in Scotland and the USA has been hijacked by the ideas that it should be about: 'cultivating leaders of job creation'; 'enabling strategic planning for prosperity (no matter how poorly paid the jobs)'; and that community initiatives should 'surf the whims' of national, regional and local economic interests. Such thinking has been criticised for continually asking communities to survive and prosper by reinventing themselves through processes of: internal examination, community asset assessment, self-identification of weaknesses, deficit model thinking, SWOT analysis and planning for global sustainability (MacLeod and Akwugo, 2014).

It has been argued that such broad definitions are a far cry from the 1950s' birthing ideas of community development, which sought to enable a fixed set

of goals, processes and outcomes to be defined, developed and achieved within local social and geographical contexts. Though there are great similarities between this process in the USA and Scotland there are also differences in terms of how we define assets-based community development (MacLeod and Akwugo, 2014). Later in the chapter we will discuss the idea that unlike the USA, in Scotland assets-based thinking is connected to issues of: rights, disproportionate resource distribution, material inequality, social inequality, unfair allocation of funding to vested interests and various definitions of social injustice such as inequitable access to legal, housing, social and health services (Davis, 2011; MacLeod and Akwugo, 2014).

Indeed, terms such as anti-discriminatory, participatory and inclusive practice are much more routinely employed alongside the term holistic strength-based working in Scotland than in some research of community development in the USA (see Davis, 2011; Davis and Smith, 2012; Davis et al., 2014 for further discussions of the conceptual, policy and practice context of this shift in relation to community, family and children's services).

In particular, research in Scotland has drawn from Canada where various researchers have argued that community based and integrated service provision with First Nation aboriginal people needs to be built on holistic provision that connects with local cultures, values and practices (Ball and Sones, 2004; Moore et al., 2005). And, that professionals need to have a greater engagement with the socio-cultural history of the people they work with. Key issues in Canada include the impact over 60 decades of a shift from seasonal to sedentary housing; the fracturing of families by racist and abusive social service cultures that removed children far from their families and communities to be exploited as cheap labour; and the imposition of 'outside help' whether communities wanted it or not (Moore et al. 2005).

Research concerning culturally sensitive and anti-discriminatory community development raises questions about the difference between community self-instigated development and development initiated by professionals who don't live within a community or understand the everyday cultural issues that specific community members experience. Such research requires us to question our ability to be involved in culturally sensitive community processes of self-governance (Ball and Sones, 2004). It also asks us to make connections between the different aims of community development e.g. to support community health, boost local employment or address social justice issues, including the recognition of past injuries (Ball and Sones, 2004; Davis et al., 2014).

This research questions processes of community development where service providers are 'outsiders' and service users are characterised as powerless locals (Ball and Sones, 2004; Moore et al. 2005). Indeed, such writers argue that a shift in the power relations of local service development can only be achieved when the community development activity is perceived to be a collaborative learning process where all community members, children, young people, parents,

professionals, relatives etc., are recognised as being the experts regarding their own lives, contributions and aspirations (Davis, 2011; Moore et al., 2005).

The research on politically nuanced approaches to community development encourage us in the second section of this chapter to pose questions about the political context of Benny Lynch's life and to utilise his life as a case study from which to understand the experience of the Irish diaspora in Glasgow and how some sports, e.g. boxing, have acted to provide a locus where supporters of different religions could come together as a class and celebrate the achievements of 'one of their own'. Similarly, the third section of this chapter examines how the power politics of community development in Glasgow cannot be disassociated from 60 decades of political disempowerment particularly experienced by migrant communities. It utilises the Glasgow Effect report on the causes of 60 decades of ill health and illnesses of despair to demonstrate that community development in Scotland, like the USA, must stop making false dichotomies between structural, cultural and individual oppression if it is to address issues of inequality and social justice. Finally, the fourth section of this chapter poses the question what are the barriers to community self-empowerment? And, how do local power politics play in relation to the ebb and flow of stability, disempowerment and conflict in local community work?

This final section seeks to connect Glaswegians' love of Benny Lynch to the ideas that he provided recognition for his fellow Glaswegians' way of life and to the idea that Lynch never lost sight of his roots. Our chapter also attempts to utilise Lynch's story to work through fluid notions of identity, success, respect and social justice in light of the 2014 independence redefinition of what it is to be Scots – as a person who lives and works in Scotland, rather than a person who can claim allegiance to some sort of ethnic nationalism. In so doing it seeks to build on the idea that sport can be a resource of hope, support our aspirations for change, develop our capabilities and enable the 'impossible to become possible' (Jarvie et al. 2017).

In particular, the last section examines the media coverage of Benny Lynch and The Benny Lynch Statue campaign which seeks to have a statue erected to commemorate Benny Lynch's life. It also argues that media attempts to associate the Benny Lynch story with notions of shame – continually fall flat in the face of working-class Glaswegian oral history which still celebrates Lynch's contribution to his fellow citizen's sense of equity, fairness, recognition and well-being. The chapter concludes that self-empowerment does not happen in a vacuum and change makers will always be confronted by vested interests and attempts to re-establish the status quo.

Methods

This paper employs the life of Benny Lynch as a case study from which to shine a lens on the tension and political contexts of community work. In so

doing it draws inspiration from researchers in community development who argue, utilising feminist interpretivist theories, that the analysis of community work in Glasgow utilises processes of critical inquiry and reflection to explore the dynamics between particular social relations and social phenomena, including social injustice and social inequalities. (MacLeod and Akwugo, 2014). Indeed, case study analysis can enable writers to develop a more in-depth representation of the complex concepts and processes at play in social relationships (Eisenhardt, 2002), as well as highlight and unpack the complex and interconnected relationships within a social phenomenon (Yin, 2014). This paper utilises the community campaign to raise a statue to Benny Lynch as a vehicle around which to explore the cultural and political dynamics at play in community development and as a suitable case for elucidating a deeper theoretical understanding of the role (how and why) of stigmatisation in community development, and to explore the evolution of the political ebbs and sway of community development over recent decades.

This chapter draws from the notion that there is no one way to define 'the case' (Creswell, 1998; Gomm, 2004; Yin, 2014) and that it can be a specific unit, people or organisation; a context specific learning process; and/or a theoretical abstraction that seeks to explain a phenomenon (De Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2014). In this case we seek to employ the life of Benny Lynch as a resource from which to draw out own understandings of community development, drawn from decades of being involved in community work processes.

In this sense, our case study (following Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000; Yin, 2014) becomes a location from which to create a theoretical abstraction that seeks to advance, construct and form a better understand of the role of culture and politics in community development. Yet, our abstraction is not some perfect generalisable entity. Our case study is inexact and we take pride in following other authors who encourage us to celebrate the inexact, incomplete and ambiguous nature of the research processes (Riessman, 2008).

By comparing our case study to research that examines the evolution of community development in Scotland and the USA we seek to provide an innovative and unique example for our readers that brings them to new places, ways of thinking and practice (Rapley, 2007) but we do not wish to be overly prescriptive concerning the route that journey may take, nor the end point it may reach; other than to say, that we would encourage our reader to utilise our case study to reflexively analyse the power politics at play during the different stages of their community development journeys.

Hence, our chapter is inter-subjective, in the sense it builds on themes across a range of writers, but rigorous, in the sense that the research reports we draw from are both empirical (e.g. Glasgow Effect report analyses 60 decades of statistics) and rigorous in the sense that many of the sources we employ have involved hundreds of hours of dialogue, participant observation and qualitative analysis. Therefore, we seek not to provide a unified, generalisable

set of research data to prove our point but, rather, to paint a creative and pol-
itically nuanced picture of what we see as the tensions in writing and research
on community development.

Sport, Religion and Radicalism: Disempowerment, Self-organisation and Unifying Moments Based on Class-Consciousness

The largest group of immigrants to ever settle in Scotland are the Irish, yet
much early Irish immigration was intermittent and seasonal; for example, in
the 1800s lowland Scottish improvements in farming led to temporary jobs in
farming. Large-scale Irish settlement didn't occur until the famine of 1846–47.
The Irish population that accounted for 4.8% of the population in the 1841,
7.2% in 1951 and 3.7% in the 1911 census, was only 1% in the 2011 census.
Yet, many Scots will have an Irish-born ancestor. Most migration was to the
west (29% of the population of Glasgow in 1851 compared to 6.5% in Edin-
burgh) and sectarianism, poor housing, a lack of access to education and lan-
guage (Gaelic) discrimination hindered the Irish population's prospects (Devine
and McCarthy, 2018). Indeed, such was the divisive nature of Scottish politics,
at one point in the 1920s a campaign was mounted to have Irish Catholics
deported 'back' to Ireland.

Despite discrimination and low wages, Irish folk saw to it that schools,
churches, sports and social services were developed within and for local
people. For example, Celtic football club was established in 1887 with the aim
of alleviating poverty in the Irish community of the east end of Glasgow and
also with the aim of enabling Irish Catholic identity and sporting ability to be
celebrated and recognised (Bradley, 2008).

Celtic Football Club was founded by and for the Irish Catholic immigrant
diaspora in the West of Scotland, yet the history of Irish contribution to com-
munity and political development in Scotland tends to be underplayed (Brad-
ley, 2008) and the role of Irish people in the development of the Scottish
nation and Scottish culture has only recently become a central part of socio-
political analysis (Bradley, 2008; Devine and McCarthy, 2018). Indeed, rather
than highlighting sport's integrative potential, the unifying role that specific
Irish-Glaswegian sportsmen, e.g. Benny Lynch, have played and the huge con-
tribution that Irish migrants to Scottish community development, the media
tends to focus on playing up the role of sport in fostering religious divisions in
Glasgow (e.g. between the majority Catholic supported Celtic and Protestant
supported Rangers football club) (Bradley, 2008).

In a similar way to the lack of in-depth attention in the USA to the devel-
opment of community practice models based on the world view of African
Americans, and non-White migrant communities, it is only recently that Irish

community-based and cultural institutions have begun to be recognised for their immense contribution to community cohesion.

The way that Irish migrants mobilised community support from the 1920s onwards in the face of desperate conditions is similar to mobilisation in later decades in the USA where, for example, Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) advocated for Black African Americans to rise up against self-oppression and mobilise different types of community support to solve their own life problems.

We can read of the ability to rise up from difficult and oppressive circumstances in the life of Benny Lynch, the son of Irish immigrants to Glasgow. Lynch was not only a successful boxer, he was a generous hero and to this day there are people who can testify to how he helped their kin folk keep the bailiffs from the door, put food in their 'wains'' hungry bellies and set up local clubs for young people. Generosity is a trait that Glaswegians have been known for. But, such ways of being raise questions about how we support our fellow human beings without disempowering them. It also poses a question as to where this generosity came from. Writers indicate that Benny and his brother were taken in by a woman, who may have been a distant relative, called Maw Kelter when their own parent's marriage split up.

We see connections here with writing in America on the UNIA which sought to raise cultural consciousness through grassroots and organisation-based recruitment to structures that had the specific objective of addressing a social ill. In the case of Glasgow this social ill that needs to be addressed presently is the lack of recognition for, and silencing of, the community development by Irish migrants who sought to foster a sense of identity whilst overcoming poverty. The concept of intersectionality has been employed by academics who explore the connections between identity issues such as disability, gender, religion, sexuality, class and ethnicity. It enables us to consider how societal barriers, discrimination and injustice stem from more than one single issue. The term intersectionality is also applied to situations where people are 'silenced', e.g. their identities are not given credence in established and establishment thinking and writing. Racism, class-based discrimination, exploitation of the poor and disability-discrimination were all at play throughout Benny Lynch's life.

Glaswegians and in particular the women of the Gorbals where Benny Lynch was born, have always sought (whilst still enabling people's dignity) to combat their living conditions by being generous, pooling resources and supporting each other's sustenance, spirits, humour and resistance in the face of multiple adversity (Milarvie-Quarrell and Davis, 2016). Again, we see connections between this ability and the research on community development which highlights how Black African Americans sought to generate events and process that recognised and celebrated the identities of community members that others had sought to oppress.

In the 1920s in spite of their living conditions the population of Glasgow were often unified through self-organised activities such as music, dancing and sports clubs. Boxing particularly, acted to unify everyday folk across religious divides – e.g. Benny Lynch was celebrated by the whole of Scotland for his boxing achievements, which included him winning the world title on January 9, 1937 (over 90 years ago) against Small Montana of the Philippines at the Empire Pool London (Wembley Arena). Lynch returned to Glasgow Central Station to be met by a crowd of 100,000 and even more of his fellow Glaswegians lined the streets to his home. Benny Lynch, like Barry McGuigan in later years in Belfast, unified the populace during troubling times.

There are also connections here to civil rights Black African American activism in the USA. Martin Luther King and others in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) sought to utilise their moral and religious code, especially in relation to non-violent protest to unify people against racism and worker exploitation. One aspect of their approach involved an appeal to leaders in non-Black religious groups to join and support their cause. Hence, King saw no contradiction between seeking recognition of your own identity and culture and finding ways to make common cause with others. We would argue that for many decades Glasgow sectarian and working-class politics have involved a constant ebb and flow between periods of community division and connection and that in recent times the independence referendum was a demonstration of such a time. When the majority of working-class voters came together to vote for independence (as did the city of Dundee which also features in the Glasgow report), they moved beyond old sectarian divides but were let down by risk-averse elderly middle-class voters who decided to give unionism one last chance.

Sport unified in the late 1800s and early 1900s, in the face of anti-empathetic political mismanagement, low wages, lack of land rights, poor quality peripheral council housing, low investment in repairs, insufficient support for migrants and a pre-devolution 'democratic deficit' (Maclean, 2013). It united Glasgow again prior to the referendum vote when the city hosted the Commonwealth games and demonstrated the outward looking and internationalist face of Scotland.

Boxing events have long seemed able to move beyond sectarianism; generally, which side of the city you came from would influence who you chose to support rather than your religion. In Benny Lynch's case coming from the Gorbals meant that he was originally a hero of the east-end working class for his ability to defeat other Glaswegian and Scottish boxers. Since Benny Lynch other boxers such as Jim Watt and Ken Buchanan have also been able to unite the populous. Here we see links again to the ideas of Garvey, 1970s' community conflict notions of community development and also the Black Panther movement, which associate mobilisation with identifying a common enemy. Anthropologists have long argued that sport allows for a legal setting in which

battle and war can be safely played out with the perceived enemy – yet we would not want to over play such patriarchal notions – we would rather highlight the ability of sport to unit rather than divide.

Sporting success and failure has often been utilised to illustrate the connections between culture, identity and the political contexts that influence our lives. For example, over 20 years ago prior to the establishment of the devolved Holyrood Parliament, academics charted the diverse ways that sport had influenced ideas of Scottish political nationhood:

> What is true of heroes and heroines is also true of sporting occasions. The context and timing of rugby at Murrayfield in the 1990s was different from that of soccer at Hampden or Wembley in the 1960s or 1970s, but the symbolism was similar. These phenomena, in turn, were symbolically different from the politics of nationhood associated with sport in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Shinty and the Highland Land League activists of the 1880s, the actions of those crofters who tore down deer fences in protest against the development of sporting estates, and the symbolism of crown, state and nation associated with Queen Victoria, Braemar Highland Games and Balmoral during the 1840s and 1860s all contributed to different expressions of sport, culture and nationhood. Nonetheless the likes of Denis Law (football), Liz McColgan (athletics), John Murdoch (shinty) and Archibald Chisholm (founder of Strathglass Shinty Club) have also expressed a sense of belonging to the idea of a Scottish nation or solid community and have contributed to the processes of defining what it meant to be a Scot in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. They all implicated sport in these processes.
> *(Jarvie and Reid, 1999)*

Unifying sporting heroes have occurred within football including Scots football coaches such as Bill Shankley, Alex Ferguson, Jock Stein and Matt Busby who managed teams that won trophies in England and, or, in Europe. Most recently the national Women's football team has been more successful than the men's at qualifying for major tournaments such as the World Cup and European Championship. Yet, whilst sport has contributed to both Scottish cultural and political nationalism, these writers have also warned against assuming that there is any kind of 'nominal unity' amongst the different voices, histories and personalities that have contributed to the idea of a common Scots nationhood. That is, they argue that sport unifies in a transitory way that is very much dependent on issues of class/culture and evolving political contexts and that unifying moments do not mean that there is cultural homogeneity (Jarvie and Reid, 1999). Indeed, recently such arguments have led to the suggestion that rather than identities being forged through sports participation – we tend to seek recognition of our identities, capabilities and cultures through our and

our fellow citizens' sporting success (Jarvie et al., 2017). But, we would put forward an even more nuanced perspective: we are of the view cultural identity formation, consciousness and mobilisation cannot be separated out from each other as if chicken and egg; they are equal, necessary, and inseparable parts of processes of self-emancipation. To demonstrate this conundrum the next section discusses how identity and sense of self is crushed when community mobilisation and consciousness are thwarted.

The Glasgow Effect Report: How Long Will We Kill Our Prophets Whilst We Stand Aside and Look

John Maclean the Glaswegian political activist, socialist and education campaigner complained, the year Benny Lynch was born (Maclean, 2013), that local politicians had failed to address chronic housing conditions because they were too focussed on lining their own pockets and that middle-class do-gooders who sought to 'teach' working-class people how to make better health choices were part of the problem not the solutions to health inequality. Maclean's own solutions included immediate wealth redistribution, mobilisation of workers, education for innovation and a shift in power in society.

Lynch's childhood living conditions were bleak. Illnesses such as typhoid, cholera and tuberculosis were rife in Glasgow up to the end of the 19th century. Lynch was born on the 2nd of April 1913, only three years after an outbreak of the plague had killed at least 900 in 1900. Tuberculosis killed more than 200 people per 100,000 in 1910; and rates of measles (above 12,000 per 100k), whooping cough (almost 6000 per 100k), diphtheria (over 2000 per 100k) and scarlet fever (around 5000 per 100k) only started to reduce after 1930.

Think of these figures for a moment: one in eight got the measles, one in 16 whooping cough, one in 20 scarlet fever and one in 50 diphtheria. Add to the health conditions the carnage, trauma, injuries and loss of the First World War, the 1929 Wall Street Crash and a decade of depression and it is no exaggeration to say these were troubled times. That Benny Lynch could rise above such conditions to become a world champion is indeed remarkable and the love that he received from family, friends and neighbours owes much to him having been a beacon of light amongst the pain and the hardship.

The political context of decades of premature deaths in Glasgow have recently been clarified in what has become called the 'Glasgow effect' report. The May 2016 report by the Glasgow Centre for Population Health, NHS Health Scotland, the University of the West of Scotland and University College London, entitled; 'History, politics and vulnerability: explaining excess mortality in Scotland and Glasgow' (see Walsh et al. 2017) argues that for at least six decades politicians failed to take decisions that enabled protective factors to develop in Glasgow – factors that helped people to stay healthy in Liverpool and

Manchester, such as: local amenities, power over your housing, involvement in local decision-making and access to health services.

Over those decades Glasgow was controlled by local politicians and Westminster politicians from political parties that in later years campaigned against Scottish independence. This report condemned the contemptuous way that those politicians treated the local population. The report argued that a combination of inaction and deliberate disempowerment resulted in 30% more deaths from cancer, strokes and heart disease; and 300,000 more premature deaths in comparison to Liverpool and Manchester (Walsh et al. 2017).

The report argued that Scots in urban settings under the age of 65 experience 'excess mortality' compared to countries with similar socio-economic profiles and that such premature deaths were greatest in Glasgow and the West of Scotland:

> 5,000 more people die every year in Scotland than should be the case. This excess plays a major role in explaining why Scotland has both the lowest life expectancy, and the widest mortality inequalities, in Western Europe. Although usually expressed in statistical terms (such as standardised rates or ratios or expected years of life), behind such summary epidemiological expressions lie genuine human tragedies: individual stories of shortened, wasted lives, pain, sickness, early death and grief, affecting individual men, women and children, their families, friends and communities.
>
> *(Walsh et al. 2017)*

Unlike asset-based approaches to community health development in the USA, Scottish research connects health inequalities with social inequalities exacerbated by politicians (Emejulu, 2015). The Glasgow effect report moves away from the tradition of blaming early death on the individual health choices of specific communities. It specifically states that such deaths are caused by mass and historical deprivation such as: housing overcrowding; inadequate physical environments ('specifically in relation to levels of vacant and derelict land'); Scottish Office decisions (which at that time were controlled by Labour and Tory governments at Westminster) and policies on new towns which moved young families away from their supportive networks:

> In as damming a report as you could ever read, the local authority and Scottish office are accused of generating the Glasgow effect by providing inadequate support to the different phases of migrants coming to the city, carrying out 'larger-scale slum clearances and demolitions' that broke supportive local relationships; creating 'larger within-city (poor quality) peripheral council house estates'; putting 'greater emphasis on high-rise development; and failing to invest in quality housing. The report specifically states that there, 'crucially', was: 'much lower per capita investment in

housing repairs and maintenance of the public housing stock'. In short, politician's deprived Glasgow's citizens of the necessary housing, living conditions, social relationships and community networks that enable people to lead healthy lives. Politicians, not local people, are to blame for Glasgow's plight. Politicians, not people like Benny Lynch, created the conditions where, what the report calls, 'diseases of despair' took hold, multiplied and flourished.

(*Milarvie-Quarrell and Davis, 2016*)

In contrast to Glaswegian and Scottish Office politicians, the politicians in Liverpool and Manchester created 'protective factors' that lengthened the lives of their cities' inhabitants. Local and Westminster politicians moved people away from their structures of support and provided them with no services, no amenities and no hope. A deliberate policy of disempowerment of working-class communities, carried out by unionist politicians, caused ill-health:

The vulnerability of the Scottish (including Glaswegian) population was potentially enhanced by the negative impact of the so-called 'democratic deficit' of that period, characterised by feelings of despondency, disempowerment, and lack of sense of control (recognised 'psychosocial' risk factors with links to adverse health outcomes).

(Walsh et al. 2017)

In short, a democratic deficit – a lack of local accountability and democracy – prematurely killed urban Scots by increasing their likelihood of experiencing illnesses of despair. When comparing communities that created their own local associations with those who were subject to external housing control, reduced public spending and changes to social security, it is clear that disempowerment led to premature deaths (Riddoch, 2013; Walsh et al. 2017). In a statement, hauntingly reminiscent of John Maclean, the Glasgow Effect Report called on politicians to redistribute income and wealth across Scottish society through: taxation policy; policy changes regarding ownership of capital and assets; fair wages; and poverty proofed political decision-making (Walsh et al. 2017).

The Glasgow Effect report mainly reinforced what the people of Glasgow, particularly the east end, have known since John Maclean's time. The people of Glasgow did not need the academics of the Glasgow Effect report to tell them that there was a democratic deficit – they demonstrated to us that they understood this when they voted for independence (Milarvie-Quarrell and Davis, 2016).

As the report points out, the sad fact is that Glaswegians knew only too well that relationship-ripped and structural-produced disempowerment, discrimination and poverty was killing their loved ones and this knowledge further fuelled their sense of despondency. Indeed, in 2013 Kelda Gaffney, daughter of Christina's sister Loretta, was involved in the You Are Not Alone campaign

which highlighted the emotional impact of poverty on Glaswegians and the need to change the benefits system – build a community response to austerity; prevent the process of labelling and shame in local and national service provision; and work to eradicate poverty as a human rights issue. Loretta Gaffney was also one of the nine women tasked by the local community development hero Bob Holman to produce the Our Lives Challenging Attitudes to Poverty report 2015 which highlighted the dislocated and systemically disempowered nature of women and children's lives in austerity-hit contemporary Glasgow that included injustices such as the bedroom tax, a punitive welfare service and blame/shame tactics of politicians.

Hence, by 2014 Glaswegians understood that political mismanagement on and in their own communities had impacted their family members' health. The Glasgow Effect report is a terrible indictment of Local labour politicians who, during many of these decades, were supposed to be members of a socialist party that sought to overcome worker oppression and yet did nothing compared to their fellow Labour politicians in Manchester and Liverpool to alleviate Glaswegians' experiences of dislocation. It also leads to the conclusion, on our part, that spending on health czars, public health campaigns and advertising that for several decades sought to shame the populous of Glasgow into changing their individual health choices, were simply window dressing that failed to engage with the root causes of ill health in Glasgow.

Indeed, writers have been aware of the politics of community development on health issues in Glasgow for some time. For example, Riddoch (2013) reported on interviewing participants from a self-empowered community health project that was having a significant impact on addressing local health issues only to find out that their funding was subsequently cut and they were closed down. Christina had first-hand experience of a similar situation where a radical and self-empowering service Ballantay Castlemilk Well Women's Project, run by her sister Jaqueline Small, was also forced to close despite being recognised as a model of excellence and featuring evidence to parliament of pioneering work.

More recently, a successful community initiative called Gal Gael that, amongst other things, supported male mental health by enabling community members to come together to work with their hands to build boats and launch them on the Clyde has also had its funding reduced. And as we write the community swimming baths across Glasgow and People's palace/Winter Gardens in the east end of Glasgow are under threat of closure, despite millions being spent in the West end of Glasgow on culture and arts buildings in the affluent area of the city.

When the power politics of local funding interact with different vested interests, local council managers, who often lack vision and insight into what a service means to a community, close services because they do not understand the contribution that they make to working–class Glaswegians. Indeed, it is often the case that projects developed by local people's own hands are the first to be targeted.

The ability to celebrate our identities and our cultures by using our hands and our minds to create valuable things and moments is key golden strand anti-discriminator community work. Indeed, 'hand-made' cultural products, sporting clubs, empathetic local dramatic shows or local community music events act as anti-dotes to today's liberal induced inequality by bringing people together and sharing common goals and aims. Co-constructed cultural outputs enable collective community work, creative activities, peer support, empathy and perspective taking that values the lives of all our citizens (Davis and Smith, 2012). Yet, the suspicion is that public officials downplay the contribution of these processes when they are connected to Irish, Gaelic and working-class culture. This raises questions, in a similar way to the writing in the USA and Canada cited earlier, as to what cultures are recognised as significant and valuable in local town halls and community development research and practice and you only have to read the comments made concerning Romany and Traveller communities in the minutes of local parish community council meetings to understand that racism is still a blight on our society, in spite of the political shift during the referendum.

In this sense, the experience of local community groups (including those involving migrants from various parts of the world) who, for decades, have striven for self-emancipation in Glasgow against the backdrop of institutional disempowerment is similar to that of Black activists in the USA who, were targeted for cuts because they rocked the status quo. Indeed, radical community development is often targeted for stigmatisation because it involves radical reassessment of taken for granted discrimination, develops militant critical consciousness and enables local people to take control in a manner that challenges traditional orthodoxies. The final section of this paper discusses the ebb and flow of stigmatisation and self-empowerment in relation to the current community campaign to raise a statue to Benny Lynch.

The Ebb and Flow of Stability, Stigmatisation, Disempowerment and Conflict in Local Community Work

The previous section raised questions about who is, and who isn't, recognised as an appropriate community group and how we define appropriate community support. Assets-based approaches to community development have been accused of blaming individuals in communities for having a fatalistic approach to change. Asset-based approaches have also been critiqued within childhood studies in Scotland for promoting normative criteria that over-emphasise the deficits of communities and individuals (Davis, 2011; Davis and Smith, 2012). In previous sections we have associated asset-based working with tactics of divide and conquer that seek to ignore the power politics of how local cuts to community groups are made. Hence, it is no wonder that some local people have a fatalistic approach to community development when the power politics

of local funding mean that groups with culturally different aspirations from the status quo experience oppression and disempowerment in the form of political disassociation, attempts to silence and attempts to publicly stigmatise. Whilst it is important that we are self-critical of our community development approaches and are able to reflexively examine our practices when they do not work, we must also recognise that community development is not a neutral space and shame can be employed by powerful local interest as a tool to thwart change.

The Benny Lynch campaign to raise a statue to commemorate Lynch and his achievements has experienced similar issues with national media outlets running one-sided and derogatory stories concerning Lynch's life story. Throughout Lynch's life he was hounded by the press and his family were forced to leave Glasgow after his death due to their treatment at the hands of print reporters. In death, as in life, Lynch is not allowed to rest. Similar controversies have arisen concerning attempts in Glasgow to raise a memorial to those lost in the Irish Famine. This leads us to conclude that though things change they also remain the same and the ebb and flow of sectarianism and anti-Irish prejudice means that barriers can be put up when it comes to local decision-making and the recognition of locally instigated projects to celebrate the contribution and experiences of Irish folk in Scotland.

However, we would not want to paint a rigid picture – the situation over the years has always been fluid, and examples exist in Glasgow of unifying and stable projects that have lasted over time, e.g. the St Rocks Junior football team, the Invisibles, is able to cross sectarian divides, challenge prejudices and contribute new ideas in the form of the homelessness football movement. Similarly, the work of the St Francis pipe band still crosses sectarian divides after 100 years and Glasgow being UNESCO city of music, music still plays a large part in community development that reaches across divides. Benny Lynch is associated with the Kelvin Armature Boxing Club (ABC boxing club) which has a strong anti-gang, anti-substance abuse and anti-sectarianism reputation and has been providing a community service for over 30 years and its organisers and members have been extremely active in the Benny Lynch statue campaign. Other successful approaches include the anti-knife crime project started by health professionals and the police that drastically reduced the violent crime rate in Glasgow, Father Gregg Boyle's work with street gangs, the Jeely Piece Club Castlemilk, the work of Reverend John Millar and credit unions developed by Robert Wray. Boyle was famous for saying he never met a gang member who joined because they had hope, and the idea of hope, common good and self-empowerment are strong political themes in Glaswegian working-class politics.

Throughout Scottish history there has been a clear distinction between those who seek to promote the common good and those who overlook the life inequalities of their fellow citizens. Benny Lynch's story reminds us that sport has often offered a focus for those who wish to reacquaint us with our

common values, sense of togetherness and need to support each other's well-being (Jarvie et al. 2017).

Lynch's story connects poverty, class, immigration, exploitation and inequality and the incredible endurance of Glaswegians who stood up to decades of exploitation, inequality, ill health and political mismanagement (Westminster and the local corporation/council). To this day, newspaper reports can set out to stigmatise Lynch and unreflexively reproduce deficit thinking concerning Irish Scots – Lynch was no doubt an imperfect human being but that is why he was and is still loved so much in Glasgow. His perfection in the boxing ring and human imperfection in everyday life stood out as counter discourses to the stigmatising ideas of his time – the Irish folk and folk from the east end couldn't amount to anything – to show the world what Irish working-class Scots are capable of. Benny Lynch is loved because every day Glaswegians look on him with empathetic eyes.

Here, as we draw to the end of this chapter we would like to emphasise the difference between media techniques and local power political discourses that seek to shame and empathetic approaches that promote the idea of perspective taking. 'Affective' empathy involves 'mirroring' where a person feels what another person is going through and 'Cognitive' empathy involves taking another's perspective. Empathetic people are more likely to help others (even when it goes against their own interest). Empathy reduces bullying (e.g. racism), enables intimacy (e.g. in relationships), makes people more likely to stand up against inequality and ignites a willingness to work together across social groups (Thomas, 2002.

Shame is experienced in different ways internally, externally, emotionally and physically, yet, shame is not an emotion known to all classes in the same way; indeed, it has been argued that those who exploit working-class citizens are less likely to experience shame (Maclean, 1913; Thomas, 2002). Similarly, middle-class professionals are less likely to unpack children's subordination, fail to challenge institutional practices that silence and are prone to glossing over racism experienced by children in educational settings (Konstantoni, 2013; Kustatscher, 2017). Ginwright (2016) argues there are four key ways we can move to more healing centred and less deficit shame/blame ways of being.

- By shifting the political power that young people experience in their schools and communities
- By cultural-supporting identity, music, creative expression, dream and imagination
- By viewing community members, children and young people as having assets and as agents in the creation of their own well-being rather than victims of traumatic events.
- By critical reflection, empathy, loving action and holistic restoration of well-being that includes working intergenerationally with child and adult community members.

Similarly, arguments exist to the idea that if we foster Social Support (Reciprocal, Resilience (Protective) and Self-Efficacy (Mastery, Belonging, Independence, Generosity), then we can develop socially just communities that recognise each member's strengths and capabilities. Dolan argues that both social responsibility (a value orientation representing an individual's concern and regard for the welfare of others) and civic engagement (a type of prosocial activity directed at the community or wider society) are essential aspects of this process, and in a recent review of research argued that empathy was fostered by;

- **Contextual Influences** including parenting, relationship with peers, school climate, community, neighbourhood and culture
- **Individual Differences** gender, personality traits, self-efficacy and emotion regulation skills
- **Social responsibility and Success** e.g. through involvement in sport, volunteering, academically, music, leisure activities and other hobbies.

Dolan (2008) argues that being able to learn about and action empathy is contingent on the social, cultural and community spaces and process that we encounter growing up. What is important here is that living in difficult times does not automatically lead to children developing an individual lack of empathy (as we can see with Benny Lynch's lifetime of generosity); rather, the economic issues that reduce the availability of clubs etc. may result in opportunism to learn about empathy becoming restricted. This might also explain some class differences relating to empathy where research has suggested that working-class children are more likely to be involved in larger social and community groups and regularly interact with greater numbers of other children locally (Davis, 1996).

An empathetic analysis might explain why Benny Lynch was so loved in his community, he rose up but never lost the ability to empathise and support his fellow Glaswegians with humour, money or warmth. Hence, it is not only that sport enables our silenced capabilities to be recognised in a single moment of sporting success but that the notion of a successful sports person is helpful for enhancing our sense of self when that person is one of us and understands the way we feel and our daily struggles, and yet is able to overcome our daily barriers.

Such ways of thinking make sport an important place where social justice is enacted and our sense of possibility is stimulated. As such, sport, when connected to identity and empathy, is a resource that constantly replenishes (even when other resources are scarce). It provides us with a moment's release from the daily grind and yet also stimulates our ability to demonstrate empathy for others over the longer term and within our communities.

In the early 20th century Benny Lynch's community of the Gorbals endured terrible life conditions that not only included the illness that killed his sister before he was born but also exploitative working practices that led to deaths in the work place – such as that which occurred to Lynch's older brother James

(aged only 19). James was Benny's role model, mentor, protector and first boxing instructor, who died as a result of a head injury sustained whilst working at an iron foundry, when Lynch was 16 years of age. Subsequently, Lynch's manager, Sammy Wilson, would fulfil a mentorship role as well as providing the types of financial support that Muhammad Ali received from his sponsors. In this sense Wilson's role reminds us that that the solutions to poverty (in the longer term) have to go beyond understanding, empathy and kindness and centre on processes of material, structural and cultural change. Wilson provided a solid economic as well as emotional foundation upon which Lynch's talents could be developed.

Sport is not the antidote for a lack of resources and poverty; indeed, poverty restricts sports participation, but sporting success enables us to resist the stigmatising assumptions that others make about us because of where we come from − never was this more apparent than in 1967 when Billy McNeil, the captain of Celtic football club, the club that was invented to foster Irish community activism against poverty, lifted the European Cup in Lisbon to the roar of his compatriots who had travelled to Portugal to cheer on their team.

But, sport is not always about the winning and the winning never comes easy. When highlighting Lynch's role in celebrating his community and confronting stigma we should also be aware that Lynch's wish to help his fellow human beings came at a cost:

> He was also constantly haunted by the fear of failure and is reputed to have said that prior to winning the world championship he was concerned that he should not let his fellow countrymen down.
>
> *(Milarvie-Quarrell and Davis, 2016)*

We do not believe that such pressures were the single factor that caused Lynch's death. When others say that Benny Lynch died of alcoholism, they reduce his life down to one single causal factor. As Ginwright (2016) tells us, they judge Benny Lynch's life by his worst attributes and downplay the complexity of his being. Lynch died relatively young at the age of 33 (Glasgow life expectancy at the time he was born in Glasgow was around age 48 Crawford, 2007) and most writing connects his death to individualist and deficit notions that blame him for his own life outcomes.

Benny Lynch's success owed much to four people: Maw Keilter (the woman who took him and his brother in), Annie Lynch (his wife), James Lynch (his older brother and first trainer) and Sammy Wilson (the man who trained him to be a world champion). Men and Women featured equally as the building blocks for Benny Lynch's success.

The voice of Annie Lynch (nee McGukian) is often underplayed in explanations about Benny Lynch's life and death; she sought always to emphasise his attributes and to point out the impact that 114 fights and head injuries caused

by several car accidents had on his health – we would add to this an intersectional analysis that he had to combat racism and sectarianism that was rife in his lifetime, poor housing, the impact of poverty on his health in his childhood years, the experience of losing siblings at a young age and of parental divorce/ dislocation. Added to that, Lynch suffered financial ruin and, like countless boxers since, felt that he had been conned out of money he was due. The 'drank himself to death' stereotype seeks to reproduce the stereotypes about Irish men and reduce his identity down to a single deficit. Indeed, Benny's son Bobby, still alive, has consistently confronted the stereotype when talking of his father to the media and reminding them of what a kind and considerate person he was.

In relation to understanding Benny Lynch's story, patriarchal approaches promote a hierarchical form of masculinity based on the idea that men should be dominant, supreme and man up. They do not place women as equal to men. In contrast, equitable approaches (e.g. 'peaceable masculinity') involve: dialogue, shared decision-making, mutual-respect, celebration of each other's abilities and recognition of the use and mis-use of power (Goulter and Minninger, 1993). The 'drank himself to death' stereotype plays down Benny Lynch's wife's perspective in a very patriarchal and dismissive way.

These portrayals ignore 'intersectional' theories from Black American feminist writers such as Kimberley Crenshaw that seek to investigate the interconnected contexts of our lives and to explore the connections between equity issues such as disability, gender, religion, sexuality, class and ethnicity. Such writers argue, in relation to family and childhood, that discrimination and injustice are related to a complex interplay of factors, that no single issue can fully explain our lived experiences and that the discrimination we experience involves our voices and life stories, e.g. the voices of black working-class women, being 'silenced' in historical and contemporary writing (Konstantoni and Emejulu, 2016). The silencing of Annie's perspective on Benny Lynch's life, when understood from the perspective of intersectional theory, is an example of Irish perspectives being written out of Glasgow media representations of Glasgow in a way that prefers to employ deficit approaches of shame and blame rather than consider the complex nature of Benny Lynch's life.

A healing centred approach focusses more on the assets, strengths and capabilities of people who have experienced traumatic life events and looks for how we can address the root causes of life's traumas in neighbourhoods, families and schools rather than 'blame' individuals. In so doing, it focusses on how we create, support and sustain the economic and emotional building blocks for well-being (hope, happiness, imagination, aspirations, trust, etc.) within communities (Davis, 2011; Ginwright, 2016). Despite dying at an early age, Lynch did so much to support concepts of well-being in the Gorbals community that he came from – he will never be forgotten and a sculpture is soon to be commissioned (as a result of fundraising by his

community) to produce a statue of his likeness to be erected in memory of his contribution.

Benny Lynch was always going to die young – he came from a community with horrendously short life expectancy. What is remarkable is not the way he died but the way he lived his life.

More thoughtful and intersectional analysis of Benny Lynch's achievements has recognised his incredible fortitude when the odds were so stacked against him (see Milarvie-Quarrell and Davis, 2016). Benny Lynch was successful in spite of the local inequalities in Glasgow, a lack of sporting facilities, a dearth of health care and a scarcity of affordable and healthy food.

By adopting a non-judgemental approach to the analysis of Lynch's life, we have sought to encourage the thoughtful and intersectional consideration of the circumstances of Benny Lynch's death and to recognise that Lynch succeeded in spite of the terrible conditions created by those who sought to exploit everyday working and Irish people in early 20th-century Glasgow (Milarvie-Quarrell and Davis, 2016).

One key conclusion to draw out from Benny Lynch's story is that rather than blaming individuals for illnesses of despair, it is time to hold the unionist establishment to account for their 60 decades of political negligence. It is time to remove the democratic deficit that limits life expectancy in Glasgow and Scotland. This raises questions about how we go about confronting discrimination, stigma and disempowerment.

Conclusion

This chapter has utilised the Life of Benny Lynch to discuss issues of sporting success, national identity, culture and empathy. It has sought to provide a complex analysis that moves away from a deficit model and simplistic ideas of nationhood, ill health and trauma to promote a healing and strength-based approach that recognises the way that economic, cultural and emotional issues impact on our ability to celebrate our better selves. In so doing, we have demonstrated that the economic and emotional context of Benny Lynch's life and death are complex and we have also connected this complexity to notions of disempowerment recognised in the Glasgow Effect report and experienced by Irish and working-class community development projects.

This chapter has enabled us to build upon the five-component theory of African American culture-based organising, which includes (a) a definition of the target community, (b) a definition of community problems, (c) empowering oration, (d) antiracist hegemony focus and (e) strategies that challenged existing power relationships – to conclude that we need to also understand that these power relations ebb and flow and therefore, as great Glaswegian community development workers have always taught us, there is always hope of a way forward no matter which part of the dark side of the moon we find ourselves upon.

Similarly, we have also sought to build on MacLeod and Akwugo's (2014) argument to argue that not only do Scottish signs of hope, regarding socially just community development, spring from the fact that health reports actually connect ill health to poverty and inequality but that those reports single out politicians as the people who fostered the processes of disempowerment in Scotland. We conclude that this awareness has led the people of Glasgow to shift their political radar towards independence and to, in the case of the Benny Lynch campaign, carry on in their work in spite of establishment opposition.

We would like to end this chapter with three further straightforward conclusions:

1. Sport can act as: a space where people can develop empathy; a process through which a community confronts stigmatising discourses; and as a place where our complex identities can be celebrated.
2. Benny Lynch knew this and recognised his role in contributing to the well-being of his fellow human beings.
3. This role related as much to their ability to redirect resources towards those most in need as to their ability to stand up and be powerful in the face of forces that sought to down play Black American and Irish/Scots abilities.

This legacy – to be able to act as a counter discourse to stigmatising discourses – inspired us to write this chapter and we hope this chapter can inspire others to take a lead from the men and women of Glasgow who have always striven to: bring us together, support our fellow human beings, confront the structures of poverty; advocate for social justice and, in keeping with Freire, help us forge and re-forge our identities.

References

Ball, J. and Sones, R. (2004). *First Nations Early Childhood Care and Development Programs as Hubs for Intersectoral Service Delivery*. Paper Presented at The Second International Conference on Local and Regional Health Programmes. Quebec City, October 10.

Bechhofer, F. and Paterson, L. (2000). *Principles of Research Design in the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge.

Bradley, J.M. (2008). Celtic football club, Irish ethnicity, and Scottish society. *New Hibernia Review*, 12, 1, pp. 96–110.

Broadhead, P., Meleady, C., and Delgado, M.A. (2008). *Children, Families And Communities: Creating And Sustaining Integrated Services*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Campbell, J. (2008) *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Oakland, CA: California New World Library.

Crawford, F., Beck, S., and Hanlon, P. (2007). *Will Glasgow Flourish? Regeneration and Health in Glasgow: Learning from the past, analysing the present and planning for the future*. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health.

Creswell, J.H. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Davis, J., Hill, L., Tisdall, EKM, Cairns, L., and McCausland, S. (2014) *Social Justice, The Common Weal and Children and Young People in Scotland*. Glasgow: The Jimmy Reid Foundation.

Davis, J.M. (2011). *Integrated Children Services*. London: Sage.

Davis, J.M. and Smith, M. (2012). *Working in Multi-professional Contexts: A Practical Guide for Professionals in Children's Services*. London: Sage.

De Vaus, D. (2001). *Research Design in Social Research*. London: Sage.

Devine, T.M., and McCarthy, A. (eds) (2018). *New Scots: Scotland's Immigrant Communities Since 1945*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Dolan, P. (2008). Social support, social justice and social capital: A tentative theoretical triad for community development. *Community Development*, 39, 1, pp. 112–119.

Dolan, P., Canavan, J., and Pinkerton, J. (2006). (eds) *Family Support as Reflective Practice*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Eisenhardt, K.M. (2002) Building theories from case study research. In Huberman, A.M., Miles, M.B. (eds), *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Emejulu, A. (2015). *Community Development as Micropolitics: Comparing Theories, Policies and Politics in America and Britain*. London: Policy Press.

Ginwright, S. (2016). *Hope and Healing in Urban Education*. London: Routledge.

Gomm, R. (2004). *Social Research Methodology − A Critical Introduction*. New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.

Goulter, B. and Minninger, J. (1993). *The Father Daughter Dance*. London: Putnam.

Davis, J.M. (1996). *Sport For All*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.

Davis, J.M. (2011). *Integrated Children's Services*. London: Sage.

Davis, J.M. (2016) Learning from the greatest: Muhammad Ali's life offers lessons for today's disadvantaged common space Article 9th June 2016.

Jarvie, G. and Reid, I.A. (1999). Sport, nationalism and culture in scotland. *The Sports Historian*, 19, 1 (May 1999), pp. 97–124.

Jarvie, G., Thornton, J., and Mackie, H. (2017). *Sport, Culture and Society*. 3rd edn, London: Routledge.

Konstantoni, K. (2013). Children's rights-based approaches. the challenges of listening to taboo/discriminatory issues and moving beyond children's participation. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 21, 4, pp. 362–374.

Konstantoni, K. and Emejulu, A. (2016). When intersectionality met childhood studies: The dilemmas of a travelling concept. *Children's Geographies*, 15, 1, pp. 6–22.

Kustatscher, M. (2017). Young children's social class identities in everyday life at primary school: The importance of naming and challenging complex inequalities. *Childhood*, 24, 3, pp. 381–395.

Maclean, J. (2013) Justice. 4 January 2013. Published online at www.marxists.org/archive/maclean/1913/scottish-notes.htm accessed 29th Nov 2018.

MacLeod, M.A., and Akwugo, E. (2014). Neoliberalism with a community face? A critical analysis of asset-based community development in Scotland. *Journal of Community Practice*, 22, 4, pp. 430–450.

Milarvie-Quarrell, C. and Davis, J. M. (2016) It is time to raise a statue up to the best of Benny Lynch. Edinburgh, People's Republic of Escotia Blog published online at https://peoplesrepublicofescotia.com/accessed 29th Nov 2018.

Moore, S., Tulk, W., and Mitchell, R. (2005). Qallunaat crossing: The southern-northern divide and promising practices for Canada's inuit young people. *The First Peoples Child & Family Review*, 2, 1, pp. 117–129.

Rapley, T. (2007). *Doing Conversation, Discourse and Document Analysis*. London: Sage.

Riddoch, L. (2013). *Blossom: What Scotland Needs to Flourish*. Edinburgh: Luath Press.

Riessman, C.K. (2008). *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Thomas J. (2002). Working class emotions and relationships: Secondary analysis of classic texts by Sennett and Cobb, and Willis. In B. Phillips, H. McKinnon, and T.J. Scheff (eds), *Toward a Sociological Imagination: Bridging Specialized Fields*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 263–292.

Walsh, D., McCartney, G., Collins, C., Taulbut, M., and Batty, G.D. (2017). History, politics and vulnerability: Explaining excess mortality in Scotland and Glasgow. *Public Health*, 151, pp. 1–12.

Yin, R.K. (2014). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

7

TRADITION, CULTURES, AND COMMUNITIES

Exploring the Potentials of Music and the Arts for Community Development in Appalachia

Brian McGrath and Mark A. Brennan

Introduction

In the face of modernity and a host of social and economic challenges facing our communities, the loss of traditional cultures and ways of life has become an ever increasing concern. This is particularly disturbing in areas characterized by strong oral traditions and unique characteristics largely shaped by their cultural behaviors, such as storytelling, music, and social integration mechanisms. The concern for personal, social, and community well-being is a palpable one in many small communities that have been devastated by contemporary economic, technological, and political influences. Tunnell (2006), for one, presents a bleak picture of what he describes as the "social disorganization" of many parts of rural America. In Appalachia, for example, the places that once provided venues for interaction and opportunities for social gatherings to discuss family life or debate politics—the country stores, town halls, seed and feed stores, local garages and small diners—have descended into a terminal decline. In this setting, many small communities have witnessed a persistent exploitation of their human and natural resources, resulting in socially unsustainable economies, depopulation, school consolidations, and the loss of key services. This experience is all too often part of what has been characterized as one of "disaffection" (Lulo & Swanson, 1995).

The scale and pace of change in small communities is of course a variable one, but the message is clear: the interactive dimensions and spaces that can be argued as key to the formation of "community" (Bridger et al., 2009; Wilkinson, 1991) are changing, in ways unrecognizable to older generation members and quite often with dramatic consequences for the well-being of younger and other residents. Such polarized conditions hinder the interaction between

generations, directly contributing to a loss of culture, socialization, and intergenerational transfers of knowledge.

Such conditions are often seen as indicative of the loss of community (Warren, 1978). In this setting the need for community-based solutions focusing on arts and traditional cultures is essential. Nonetheless, for many observers, community persists in our modern, sometimes disconnected world. It exists in, and through, its distinct cultures, traditions, and symbols (Cohen, 1985). However, despite the central role of culture and cultural traditions in shaping local life, there is scant community development based research and theoretical literature exploring this process (Brennan et al., 2009). In the current environment of change and cultural loss, we believe that aspects of traditional culture deserve more attention in understanding contemporary community change and positive development (Phillips, 2004). Based on exploratory research conducted throughout Appalachia, we explore the process and significance of creative cultural practices, particularly based on "tradition," as mechanisms for generating community interaction, retaining and communicating collective knowledge, and the implications of such practices on community and social well-being.

As such, we present an integrated conceptual model to demonstrate what we see as significant connections and justifications in making the case for endogenous culture and traditions as beneficial to the emergence of "community." To illustrate our case we draw on several examples of traditional practices: old time music and dance; the oral tradition of storytelling; and the craft activity of quilting. In exploring the importance of traditional cultural outlets as a strategy for community and intergenerational development, we utilize an interactional approach to community. While most theories of community revolve around structure, the interactional approach is tied to a dynamic process. This perspective focuses on diverse local citizen interaction, mobilization, and residents across different ages working together as they address issues important to their communities and culture. Before presenting our conceptual framework, we first present a brief overview of the broader literature within which our study is framed and details of our exploratory research study.

Review of Literature

Community as "Interaction"

The interactional perspective emphasizes the central roles that local interaction and capacity play in the emergence of community among people who share a common territory. Included in this common territory are the often shared common histories, traditions, and cultures unique to the place. From this perspective, community is best thought of as a dynamic process. It represents a complex social, economic, and psychological entity reflective of a place, its

people, and their myriad relationships (Bridger et al., 2003, 2009; Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1991). As a field of social interactions, community emerges from the collective actions of its diverse members. This collective capacity allows citizens to participate purposively in the creation, articulation, and maintenance of efforts designed to support and/or change social structures. Included are activities designed to promote, retain, and preserve local cultures.

What is unique about the interactional approach is its emphasis on the emergence of community. Unlike other theories of community organization (structuralism, social systems theory, social capital), community is not taken as a given. Instead, it is developed, created, and re-created through social interaction (Bridger et al., 2009; Wilkinson, 1991). In this process, the collection of diverse individuals creates an entity whose whole is far greater than the sum of its parts. In the context of culture and cultural preservation, the interaction across age ranges is essential to local development and well-being. In all localities, there are groups of people that are organized around various interests and goals. Instead of describing these entities as well-defined systems or subsystems, they are viewed as relatively unbounded fields of interaction from an interactional perspective. Examples of such social fields include local groups exclusively addressing issues such as education, economic development, social services, health care, and recreation. Social fields can also be reflective of other types of groupings that represent age, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and other personal characteristics.

For community to emerge within a local society there must be a mechanism or process capable of connecting the acts occurring in the special interest fields into a cohesive whole. This is accomplished by the development of the broader community field. Like other social fields, the community field is made up of actors, agencies, and associations. However, unlike these more narrow fields, the community field does not pursue a single set of interests. Instead, it creates linkages and channels of communication between and among the actions and interests of other social fields (Wilkinson, 1991).

The community field cuts across organized groups and integrates these other fields into a generalized whole. This is accomplished by creating and maintaining linkages among fields that otherwise would not interact and would generally be focused on more individual interests. Through this process of interaction, an awareness of common interests emerges, as do opportunities for involvement in activities for meeting common needs. In the course of this process, the community field creates a larger whole—one that is unbounded, dynamic, and emergent. As it builds linkages across class, race, and ethnic lines; organized groups and associations; and other entities within a local population, the community field provides the interactional context supportive of individual and social well-being (Bridger & Alter, 2008). As these relationships are strengthened, they simultaneously increase local capacity to address the many problems and issues that inevitably cut across special-interest fields.

As the community field arises out of the purposive interaction among various special interest fields in a locality, it in turn influences those special interest fields and asserts the wider community interest within local social activity (Wilkinson, 1991). Because the community field plays such an important role in fostering general well-being, it is the primary focus of community development efforts. In short, the main goal of development is to strengthen and institutionalize the community field by finding points of intersection between and among other social fields. This includes the establishment and maintenance of communication channels and other efforts cutting across typically diverse social and community divides.

As the various social fields adapt to and act in response to a constantly changing environment, groups and organizations take on the quality of "agency," which reflects not only the motives of people to act, but also their capability to do so (Brennan, 2007; Lulo & Swanson, 1995; Wilkinson, 1991). This adaptive capacity is reflected in the ability of people to manage, utilize, and enhance those resources available to them in addressing local issues (Brennan & Lulo, 2007; Bridger & Lulo, 1999; Wilkinson, 1991). Community agency reflects the creation of local relationships capable of increasing the adaptive capacity of people within a common territory. The key component to this process is found in the creation and maintenance of linkages and channels of interaction across local social fields that otherwise are directed toward more limited interests (Brennan et al., 2009; Lulo & Bridger, 2003; Theodori, 2005).

When considering cultural preservation and intergenerational development, the ability to establish communication and interaction between young people and older members of the community can directly shape the preservation of cultures, while contributing to individual and community well-being. Activities focusing on traditional music, storytelling, and other related activities would be seen as excellent venues for interaction and communication.

Loss of Community

Cultural preservation, social inclusiveness, and community based solutions to local problems are particularly relevant in light of the perceived loss of community in many locales. It is also important to consider how this perceived loss contributes to a lack of action and power among locals (Brennan & Israel, 2008). Such conditions can also serve as the basis for extra local exploitation (Gaventa, 1980).

Perhaps most identifiable in voicing concern over the eclipse and disappearance of community was Roland Warren in The Community in America (1978). Central to this work was his notion of the "Great Change." He defines this change as one in which connections among various local institutions (horizontal ties) give way to ties with state, regional, or national counterparts (vertical ties) (Warren, 1978). In this, he and others stressed the belief that as communities became increasingly dependent on extralocal forces, such as government and

outside development interests, they became less able to control their own des-tinies (Lulo et al., 2002; Stein, 1960; Warren, 1978). This lack of local level decision-making ability and control would, in his opinion, lead to decay in local solidarity and social cohesion. Earlier, Stein (1960) saw more complex societies threatening the close personal relationships seen in communities. Losses in close personal relationships are often accompanied with growth in transitory weak ties (Warren, 1978).

Warren (1978) associated several conditions with the Great Change that he saw as transforming community life. Included were the division of labor, differenti-ation of interests and association, increasing systemic relationships to the larger society, and bureaucratization and impersonalization. Also included were the transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government, urbanization and subur-banization, and changing values. According to Warren, these have been constant factors of change during the past 100 years and have reshaped rural communities and cultures (Warren, 1978). Such conditions are certainly present throughout Appalachia. The end result of such conditions is a loss not of community, but of community capacity, agency, and the ability of local communities to act.

The debate over the loss of community has raised numerous issues and has highlighted the need for a better understanding of the community develop-ment process (Lulo et al., 2002). While conceptions of community and society have changed under modern conditions, these changes have not signaled the loss or eclipse of community. With changes in social structures and lifestyles, it is likely that the frequency and types of interaction have changed. With decreased or less purposive interaction, community may be a far less frequent thing than in the past. However, it is not something that has been eclipsed or lost forever. The need for local action and other forms of interaction is there-fore vital in contributing to the emergence of community and to maintaining channels of communication and interaction.

"Traditional" Cultures and Community

At the center of our analysis is what can be regarded as "traditional" cultural practices that, in the lives of many people, formed a central part of their everyday worlds. "Tradition," like identity or memory, is a somewhat contentious and open concept. We accept tradition as a symbolic construction of the present (Handler & Linnekin, 1984), but take tradition to mean that which forms endur-ing features in the "sociobiographical memory" of a place and its people (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 123). Tradition requires the creation of collective meaning and in the process, both participation and reification are necessary (Brennan et al., 2009; Thomas, 2001). While the former requires actors to actively engage with others, the latter refers to "the process of giving form to our experiences by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness'" (Wenger, 1998, p. 58, cited in Thomas, 2001, p. 174). Such objects create points of focus,

whether they exist in the form of melody, dance, story, or craft. The social contexts and settings of activities and objects that can claim to be traditional have changed but for something from the past to continue as tradition requires contemporary interpretation and performance. As Handler and Linnekin propose "[G]enuine cultures provide individuals both with a rich corpus of pre-established (traditional) forms and with the opportunity to 'swing free' … in creative endeavors that inevitably transform those forms" (1984, p. 287).

While traditions, such as music, are in many contexts intimately connected with place and place-making (Hudson, 2006), people must in certain ways become aligned to or "electively belong" (Savage et al., 2005) to traditions, much in the same way they may do to places (Thomas, 2001). In cases such as musical and craft traditions, there is a definitive need for the "handing down" or "passing on" of distinct idioms or skills, which are of course then subject to individual interpretation, creativity, and meaning. Without "generativity," Erikson's developmental term, "expressed through teaching, leading, and nurturing the next generation" (Piercy & Cheek, 2004, p. 20), tradition becomes more museum-piece than cultural continuity and creativity.

In general terms, we see culture (and such practices termed traditional cultures) as a motivating factor in the creation of social identity with considerable potential for creating cohesion and solidarity among community members (Phillips, 2004). The problem, as we see it, however, is that contemporary living patterns, such as privatized lives, new technologies, smaller and single families, and increased rural outmigration, can threaten to rupture the connection between people, place, and identity; thereby undermining "tradition as a process that involves continual re-creation" (Handler & Linnekin, 1984, p. 287). Without channels of communication, interaction, and agents to interpret the creativities and customs of people within place, then tradition becomes fractured, and as this occurs, the nature of well-being can be adversely affected. Without continuity and reinterpretation, communities are at risk of losing vital assets and resources.

Research Methodology

This exploratory and inductive study was designed to provide a better understanding of, and ability to measure, the impacts of traditional community arts and other culturally significant activities on local community development and well-being. To accomplish this, multiple research sites in southern Appalachia were studied.

To achieve our research goals, a case study approach utilizing a mixed methods research framework consisting of three major steps was conducted (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Yin, 2003). The southern region of Appalachia served as the geographic focus of this research. Included were communities in southwestern Virginia, central/eastern Tennessee, and eastern Kentucky. This geographic area presents a mixture of diverse remote and urban proximate rural

communities. This region was selected because of its history, presence of cultural preservation organizations, and a cultural heritage that is rich in music, storytelling, and other culturally significant activities.

In our exploratory fieldwork, we were particularly taken by the significance of storytelling in one community, Cowen Creek, located some five miles from Whitesburg in southeast Kentucky. At the local community center, the Cowan Creek Community Action (CCCA) group has been involved in storytelling and music projects that involve both older and younger members of the community. Similarly, the non-governmental organization, Appalshop was focused on. Also located in Whitesburg, this organization was formed during the War on Poverty years of the 1960s. It is one such organization that has utilized various media—documentary film-making, theatre, music, radio—to involve its diverse local population in creating a positive sense of identity and awareness and continuing a strong heritage of traditional music, craft, and culture. While its involvement in some issues has not always created cross-community consensus (such as mountain top removal), it has certainly continued what Eller describes as Appalachian consciousness routed in principles of social justice and equity that emerged in the 1960s (Eller, 2008). This period spawned much local collective action in response to natural resource management issues and local development strategies.

A series of steps were taken to gather information relevant to the role of traditional arts in the development of community and well-being of local residents. Included was a thorough review and assessment of current academic and rural development research literature. This included fields of study representing sociology, community development, and performing arts. In addition, local/regional newspapers, websites, research reports, newsletters, and newspaper articles related to the cultural heritage of Appalachia were reviewed. Next, data was collected through a series of key informant interviews and focus groups to document the role of culturally significant activities in social, cultural, and economic development within the region.

Key Informant Interviews and Focus Groups

Initial onsite research and primary data collection took the form of key and action informant interviews and small group discussions with local residents, program directors, grassroots activists, and community development agents. Key informants are individuals who, as a result of their knowledge, experience, or social status in a community, can provide insights and access to information valuable in understanding the issues, problems, and needs of a local society (Elmendorf & Lulo, 2001; Krannich & Humphrey, 1986; Schwartz et al., 2001).

During August 2008, 26 key informant interviews and three informal focus group discussions were conducted. These individuals consisted of public officials, program managers, nonprofit organization representatives, activists, residents,

local business members, and rural development agents. These individuals were identified in directories, suggested by community members, and mentioned by members of formal and informal organizations. Key informants were identified based on their involvement in local development, the arts, nonprofit organizations, and local government. Additional interviewees were identified through "snowball sampling," a technique where each key informant was asked to identify other knowledgeable individuals to interview. Snowball sampling is appropriate when a study is primarily explorative, qualitative, and descriptive (Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

A series of open-ended questions were used in all interviews. These general questions focused on the central conceptual areas identified in the review of literature. Questions included the importance of the arts in fostering personal and emotional expression, how such activities facilitate social interaction and participation, and the emergence of intergenerational relationships and generativity as a result of involvement in traditional arts. Additional questions explored how these concepts shaped interpretations of local life/history and transformed "personal" to "community" narratives. Finally, questions were asked to explore how all of the above contributed to community agency, and ultimately the emergence of community.

Responses were assembled and analyzed by compiling all responses to specific questions; identifying key phrases, words, and concepts; and summarizing emerging themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). As themes emerged, the information or views obtained were not attributed to specific stakeholder groups. Similarly, cross-case and within-case analyses were used to determine social networks, common issues/context, and time order events that shaped local responses to resource management (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Theoretical Model for Culture, Intergenerational Development, and Community Building

Based on this research, we present the following theoretical framework which attempts to bring together a series of related constituent elements (Figure 7.1). There are several levels which we feel justify the merits of traditional creative art forms and practices.

At the center of our analysis are traditional expressive forms of creativity, which bind people, objects, and practices. As the diagram suggests, the starting point of this process is the very personal and emotional appeal that inheres within the creative processes surrounding such art forms. Its attractiveness lies in its individual personal expressive qualities, both for those engaged in creating such art forms and among those who come to subjectively appreciate and gain pleasure and meaning from its inhering qualities. The personal appeal of the art forms we suggest, however, does not exist in a contextual vacuum, but is linked to the wider social environment from which it derives its inspiration.
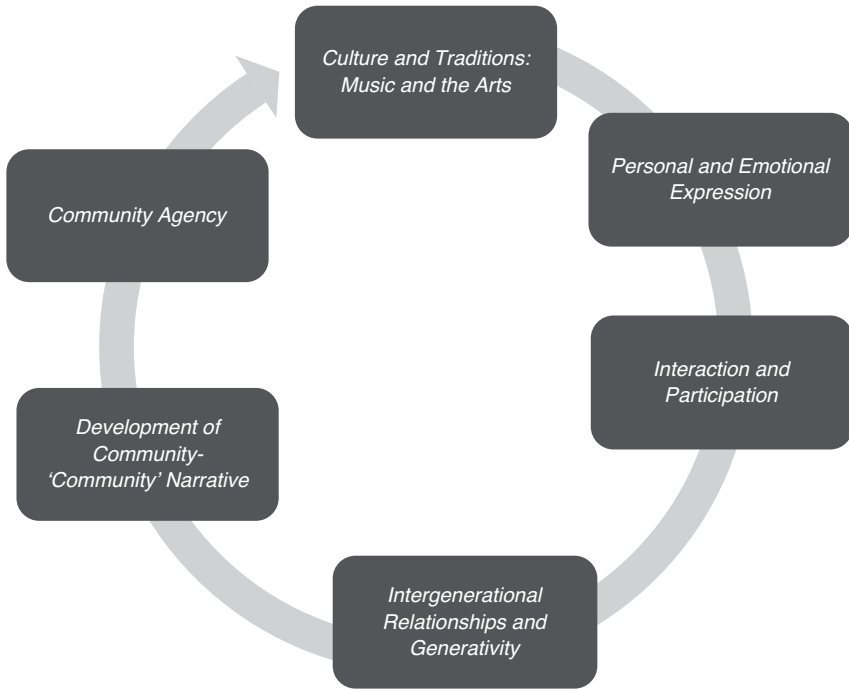
FIGURE 7.1 Conceptual model for the interrelation of cultural traditions and community development

Here, we shift our emphasis towards a community perspective; to underscore the connectedness between traditions as derived from the substantive and symbolic features of community life, past and present.

Traditions are intrinsically connected with the symbolic construction of community; much of what it is exists in symbolic form which provides the "capacity to make meaning" (Cohen, 1985, p. 15). In the process they can also serve to contribute towards the formation of boundaries and are intrinsic to social and self identity. The nature of tradition is such that it requires ongoing interpretation and continuity with the cultural repertoires and practices associated with other generations. This leads to the third key dimension of our framework, which is the significance of social interaction and participation for traditions and cultures to prosper. Without open, accessible avenues and channels for actors to meet and interact together, traditional art forms are likely to decline and be lost. On the basis of this interaction and participation, we then come to the final point of our perspective, which is that arising from the commonalities of these relational elements, community agency unfolds, forming the bedrock of further organized efforts and ultimately stronger potential for personal and social well-being in contemporary community life.

For continuity in tradition to exist requires actors who can act as bearers of community traditions. Our fourth point then is that intergenerational relationships are necessary and can be strengthened in order for traditions to continue as living practices. The notion of generativity is introduced as a guiding mechanism through which tradition can gain continuity and be passed on. In turn, such processes can lead to the development "of" community, as community narratives emerge in the interactions of individual actors across the generations. Our final point is that these processes in their entirety help to develop community agency.

We now elaborate is somewhat more detail these conceptual strands which we seek to tie together based on our research findings.

1.   Personal and emotional expression

At its most basic level, music and other performative traditions provide an immediate source of individual self-expression and creativity. People engage in such creative outlets for the positive feelings they encounter through performance, interaction, private practice, or as listeners. Wood and Smith (2004) suggest that the appeal of music lies in its constitution of "emotional geographies." In other words, music as it is performed—in the theatre, the house gathering, the outdoor concert, the jamboree—has a remarkable way of engaging and tapping into people's emotionality. From both the perspective of performer and listener, music performances especially can provide a means of communicative exchange not based on language but rather through a relational emotional space.

DeNora (2000) notes that the self is very much invoked within music and argues convincingly the case that "musical materials are active ingredients in identity work, how respondents 'find themselves' in musical structures" (p. 68). Like other art forms, music materials are actively utilized for their transformative power: to change and enhance mood; to encourage particular activities, to express and affirm emotional states of sadness, happiness, and anger; to highlight identity to others and to enrich one's own sense of self. Music is a powerful semiotic mediation through which memories are brought back to life, and which can help relive, albeit in altered ways, experiences of another time. The associational qualities can be profound. Leonard's (2005) research among younger people in the UK reveals that Irish music as a style or genre can have positive emotional appeal, as many associated the music with natural landscapes of rural Ireland and the "socio-scapes" where music invariably can be heard, such as pubs or farmhouses.

Cheek and Piercy's (2008) research among quilters in Amish, Appalachian, and Mormon communities reveals the multiple psychological needs that are resolved through this expressive activity: the satisfaction of leaving a legacy, giving to others, passing on traditions and teaching/skill building. Creative and artistic activity therefore has profound meaning in the lives of many over and above the actual activity itself. Such activity firmly connects with defining

who people are to themselves and as part of a wider community; and in this sense, the "personal" often implicates the "community."

The opportunities presented for personal expression and personal development cannot be overlooked. Such activities not only contribute to the development of the self but also of the individual's roles, responsibility, and connection to the community itself. This sell actualization also sets the stage for more focused purposive involvement in the community development process to take place.

Applications of this finding could take the form of partnerships between local community groups, historical associations, schools, and others interested in promoting arts and cultural heritage. Equally important would be the support and funding of arts/music programs in primary and secondary schools, as well as the promotion of such activities by youth and community. Such investments should not be seen as minor efforts; as such activities provide a clear connection between the individual and the community development process.

2.   Interaction and participation

In previous generations, music making and other cultural practices held particular meaning in the everydayness of family and community life. The interactive effect of such actions cannot be overlooked. Quilting, for instance, was a creative social process with utilitarian functions, to keep one's family and others warm (Cheek & Piercy, 2008; Piercy & Cheek, 2004). Such activity usually involved several persons, working in "bees" or "guilds," and constituted an expression of solidarity in the face of hard times. These activities also provided social support to families dealing with the harsh realities of rural mining life, with social groups quilting in the dark hours prior to and after sending loved ones off to the often dangerous mines.

Similarly, old time music played a central role in the lives of many residents and the community in general. The distinctiveness of old time and other traditional music, aside from obvious rhythm, tunings, and melody, is the nature of the social practices associated with performance; that is, in the social nature of interaction and the communality that exists between musician and the listeners or dancers, at square dances, jamboree, house gatherings, or wherever the opportunity exists to perform.

In Thomas's (2001) account of the formation of community in the world of clog dancers in Appalachia, she notes "the group's eagerness to include new faces in their ranks accelerates the formation of bonds of affinity among individuals" (p. 176). In other words, active efforts are needed to build pathways into the group so that the tradition can be recreated. Indeed, Thomas illustrates very well the highly social nature of traditional clog dancing. Participation and encouragement within the clog dancing group defines the creation of a "community of practice."

In a broader community development setting, music, storytelling, and other similar activities provide invaluable venues for interaction that might not otherwise exist in the community. As such, diverse local residents can come together in an informal setting, and through interaction understand their shared general interests as well as unique challenges that they may be facing. It is in these settings that channels of communication and more sustained and focused interaction can emerge. The power of such interaction should not be underestimated, for it is the seeds of community development and collective capacity building. Culturally based activities might actually be among the more beneficial venues for interaction, in that they celebrate a local connectedness that often transcends our various local divides. One key informant described this process:

> We found that this storytelling project we did last spring, it brought people out who had not been involved with us before and it was because it was bringing back a time that was no longer talked about very much. And it was placing that on the forefront, giving it importance. And it was just so good to see people coming out to hear those stories and being proud of them.

As Cheek and Piercy's (2008) research reveals, involvement in creative crafts such as quilting provides benefits and opportunities for the development of friendships and bonds between family members and fellow craft workers. The women in their research valued this aspect as much as the quilting itself and the authors rightly suggest that such activity forms the bedrock of social support for these women in older life. As Leonard's (2005) research makes the point, without organized classes and social events for young musicians, the sense of collective identification would be weaker since community members certainly would have less motivation to come together. For many of the teenagers in her study, again the social aspects of the music scene were important, that is, having friends and being able to socialize with others of the same age as well as being able to travel to events.

According to Thompson and Moser (cited in Hyde, 2006), aside from the entertainment value that storytelling has played within Appalachian community life, it also employs a symbolic role and function in the nature of interaction that unfolds. They maintain that storytelling:

> creates a social bond between and among teller and audience members. Some stories, for example, those of the trickster Jack, model such socially accepted behavior as cleverness, generosity, and hard work and deride such antisocial and foolish behaviors as selfishness, dishonesty, and egotism. Listeners and storytellers alike can explore the intricacy of relationships, the difficulties of growing up, or other psychological issues through following the characters in traditional stories.

To build community, the enhancement and promotion of venues for social interaction should be seen as a priority. Such venues can take a variety of physical and social forms. Included are the establishment of community centers, town halls, parks, and other facilities open to all residents and which serve as a location for a variety of services, functions, and events. These venues could provide an environment where residents can meet, interact, and discuss general issues relevant to the entire community.

This leads us on to the next connection: the importance of intergenerational relationships and generativity for cultural continuity. Without a legacy of past practices that are sustained by key carriers, masters, and inspiring bearers of traditions, there is little opportunity for tradition to continue in the interpretations of younger members of the community.

3.   Intergenerational relationships and generativity

Cheek and Piercy's research (2008; Piercy & Cheek, 2004) among female quilters in three distinct American communities, illustrates the significance of generativity to these women in their mid-late years. We suggest this is an important conceptual consideration in locating the significance of intergenerational relationship building. The authors apply Eriskson's term to analyze how quilting fulfils this need for generativity which they suggest,

> In a broad sense … encompasses learning to involve oneself in the care and nurturance of the next generation, and the failure to accomplish its central tasks leaves a person with a sense of personal stagnation, a lack of purpose, and a feeling of not having left a mark on the world.
>
> *(2008, p. 13)*

Several elements were identified as important: the women felt valued for their expertise, knowledge, and skill of the craft and in passing on the tradition; they valued the bonds and relationships that grow, very often with grandchildren; the women keenly welcomed the legacy they left in quilts that are special to family life and imprint upon the memory of family; and the women valued their contribution to wider community effort, for example, donating quilts for annual auctions to support community services such as the local fire department, to pay community school taxes or for local medical services (Cheek & Piercy, 2008, p. 21).

We would argue, that this need to share and provide is an important resource for building relationships between older and younger generations, particularly through community traditions. The research underscores the significance of such craft activity not solely as self-expression but in terms of the wider contribution that processes of generativity create and the positive sense of personal development and satisfaction that arises from this. Older people

take great pride in being able to pass on that which has formed a key part of their lives. The same processes are likely to be in evidence in other creative artistic forms, including music.

Appalachia is one region, as elsewhere, where traditional music forms have grown from and contributed towards its distinctiveness. Across Appalachia, a multiplicity of "old time" music styles coexist where distinctiveness is typically associated with musical repertoire, and the presence (and legacy) of particular local personalities (master musicians) who have come to symbolize stylistic variations. Traditional forms of music as practiced and performed can represent a continuity with a place and members of its past. Again, in our exploratory fieldwork, the Action Group in Cowan Creek offers a cultural program that includes the Cowen Creek Mountain School, a weeklong school held every year in June since 2001. The Mountain School specializes in Kentucky Mountain Music.

A community organization, Appalshop, was the original initiator of this school in partnership with the Cowan Community Action Group, but since the second year, it has been produced and managed by the Action Group with support from Appalshop's Traditional Music Program. Workshops are provided on string band instruments, singing, square dance, and storytelling at several levels, from beginners to advanced. The school also features a Master concert series, nightly square dances, jamming sessions, special interest workshops, and field trips. The school offers young people the opportunity to learn the traditional repertoires and styles of playing that define the east Kentucky region, and in particular the music of Letcher county. The intergenerational dimension of this process was noted by one of our key informants:

> We usually run it out of the school. Basically afterschool, musicians will meet with young students, and their parents, grandparents, teachers, anyone who wants to take classes and teach them the local traditions of the area. The repertoire depends on the musician who is teaching the program … It was something that grew out of the Cowan Creek Music School as a way to have a year-round program where kids could learn by ear and be mentored by older people in the community.

What is critical though is that there is a corpus of older and younger traditional musicians with the skills, understanding, and capacity to teach a growing audience of keen musicians. For tradition to be a living and meaningful presence, the need and opportunities for interaction and participation are vital. The Action Group hopes to develop another Appalshop initiative, the "Passing the Pick and Bow" program which offers free after-school old time music classes in fiddle, banjo, guitar, and mandolin to children and youth aged 8 to 18 in three counties in Southwest Virginia and Eastern Kentucky. As with much

tradition, the program revolves around learning by ear and students are taught to play in a string band through monthly square dances and/or jam sessions. Monthly old time jam sessions are held through the winter and fall and these are regarded as vital to building an audience. It is thereby recognized that interaction and participation are key to the vibrancy of local culture and "cultural persistence" (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 129); a key point which we return to below.

Finally, the intergenerational aspect of the arts also reflects a venue of enhanced social support. The ability of younger and older citizens to support each other in times of emotional need and major life events is significant. One of our key informants highlighted this impact with two events:

> Last year right during one of the music schools we had one of our little girls from here and her father died right at the time. She had been taking music classes at the school and this really is her playground since she is from right around here. At the nighttime after the music schools every night we have a square dance and then clean up. I'll always think what a significant role it (the music and school) played for her to be able to spend time here away from a lot of that grief. You could just see it. She would just sit up on one of those tables, in the middle of the table, and play her fiddle while we'd be cleaning up. You just know that we're important in this community if just to be able to do that for that one little girl.
>
> You know when you are changing the life of a child. I remember coming in here last week and there was a little boy sitting over there with a young college student playing fiddle tunes onto a cassette tape to send to his father in Afghanistan. That's such a significant thing. How in the world do you even evaluate what that means to that child and that dad to be able to connect that way?

The possibility for intergenerational collaboration is particularly appealing to the development of community. In the settings younger citizens can learn skills, culture, and the arts from knowledgeable and experienced elders. Such activities are relevant to youth development, but also contribute to the well-being and development of older community members. Through this unique form of interaction, as young people interact with older residents, focusing on the arts, the opportunity to develop community emerges.

In this setting youth learn life lessons along with skills, while older citizens pass on their knowledge, and at the same time attaining important social supports. From a youth development standpoint this form of interaction is particularly unique. It is far different than the usual coach or mentor relationships that characterize traditional adult–youth development. This form of interactions and mentoring allows youth and elders to interact as equals and directly learn from each other.

Applications for this funding can take many forms. Most obvious would be community-based efforts where young people and older residents are encouraged to take part. Community bands, music festivals, arts festivals, and storytelling events would all be useful applications. Through these, older residents could be actively sought out and invited to mentor youth. Similarly, young people, through schools or their organizations could be made aware of their importance in passing on traditional cultures and arts and be invited to take part.

4.   Towards "community" narrative—the development of "community"

Storytelling is a unique cultural practice that engenders community in symbolic ways (Cohen, 1985), inculcating people's own personal narratives to locate themselves, others, and historical events within the knowledge frame of community life (see Bellah et al., 1985; Olick & Robbins, 1998). The personal is very evident in the oral tradition of storytelling, which can be seen as forming important mechanisms in the formation of narratives of place and its people; its "sociobiographical memory" (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 123). As symbolic and social constructionists maintain, people are continuously engaged in ways that seek to define who they are, from what they are not, and is evident "in the discussions and gossip of everyday life that constructs the discourse relating to the collectivity" (Mewett, 1986, p. 74).

In many ways, music and storytelling is a means for creating community in a symbolic way as it draws on stocks of knowledge that locate individuals, local sites, social practices, and events of the past and present. The capacity to contribute and understand the import of such narrative construction can be a source of community identification and attachment, much as gossip forms an overall function to the formation of community narrative (Peace, 2001).

Storytelling in our view is best described as a form of "memory talk" (Degnen, 2005) which is important to how people relate to one another, amid ongoing change in the places they inhabit. Degnen's (2005) research in the UK reveals the importance of "talk"—of local personalities and characters, webs of relations, and local sites that once existed—in making sense of the present and figuring out people's family and historical connections:

> Part of figuring out who is who in the village necessitates a referencing back in time to activities, relationships, and places of habitation occupied by the person in question previously. What is particularly striking in memory talk is how place operates within this shuttling back and forth between past and present. Both places and people are named explicitly in this discourse, and are explicitly linked.
>
> *(p. 733)*

One of our key informants, a community activist, spoke of how older women had described their involvement in the project as "therapeutic", in terms of socially reconnecting them with others in ways once familiar in small community life; thereby providing space to talk about their lives in the present and the past. This process was recounted as:

> During our meetings through the winter months we had women come in here in tears, saying "this is like therapy for me. It is just so good to sit amongst you." Which is things we used to do. It used to be part of our culture, to gather on our porches and share our heartaches and talk about our lives. And you know, we don't do that anymore. They needed so much to interact again with people in their community and talk about all that has gone on. There is a lot of significance in us working toward keeping that going.

In particular, the case was recalled of one particular woman living in a quite remote part of the mountains, who up until her participation in the project had rarely interacted with other members of the community. She became involved in the storytelling project and her participation was viewed as highly significant to remembering key ways of life (that others had not) and her personal contribution could be viewed as an important piece of the community's narrative and memory. Her story was described as such:

> One of the ladies that participated in the project is someone who lives on top of one of our mountains. I mean so isolated. So she started coming to our meetings. She came to our first meeting. She did not miss a meeting. And she was such a vital part of that. If she had not been part of it, we would have missed something. But that has meant so much to that woman to be a part of it. And she told many many stories of what life on the mountain was like, going into the caves, and all kinds of things like that. It was really exciting.

Despite the variations in the individual experiences and meanings of places and community life "memory talk is inherently framed by shared memories, shared experiences, and place" (Degnen, 2005, p. 734). Storytelling is perhaps somewhat more ritualized than what Degnen describes, but it is nonetheless an "organic," "active, processual and performative" (ibid., p. 737) form of community engagement.

There is a further collective identification dimension to this type of activity. Reliving the life of Appalachia through story can constitute an important corrective and resistance to the negative stereotyping and myth-making that surrounds Appalachia and its people. For those involved, sharing stories of hard work and solidarity counters much of what has been contained in dominant discourses about the region.

The organizers of the storytelling project believe it is vital to share with younger members of the community knowledge of what life was like in the mountains in days gone by, as a way of instilling pride and positive identification with their place of origins. It also can be used to explain to insiders and outsiders alike the context, history, and environment in which the uniqueness of local life evolved. Such narratives counter prevailing stereotypes and firmly place the culture in a context in which actions, behaviors, and beliefs can more completely be understood.

The project has also involved young teenagers from the community initiating their own storytelling performance, which was performed locally and ultimately at a large event in New York City. Throughout the key informant interviews it was noted how cultural differences led to acceptance and also misinterpretations of life in Appalachia. Noted were some initial condescension and misinterpretation of their style of storytelling by urban cultural elites; to those from Appalachia, this was a celebration of their lives in their own terms and communicative style. Interestingly, the audience that proved most receptive to their style and content was young African-American and Latino communities, whose own stories are so often occluded from the mainstream. Such was the ability of storytelling to transcend social and ethnic divides, while at the same time reaffirming individual group identities. In this way, storytelling, like music, "is central to the constitution of cultural and individual identities" (MacCarthy, 2004, p. 56). We believe that participation in such activity proves fundamental to deepening a sense of attachment and belonging to a place and its community narrative.

The transition from personal to community narrative is particularly interesting and important for application. Such community narratives transcend the individual, or personal, and reflect the wider development of community. These narratives also firmly place the individual within a wide historical and social context. Applications of these findings can take many forms. Included are focused local efforts to instill common sense of identity history, culture, and knowledge. Such commonalities can be promoted through celebrations of common culture in events, newspapers, cultural outlets, public announcements, and a variety of other media.

Additionally local program activities that cut across distinct local groups with the intention of forming a cohesive local narrative would also serve this purpose. Included will be community based festivals, music exhibits, and other activities that stress the commonalities of local people and cultures. These would also provide the key venues for interaction that are seen as essential to the emergence of community. Such activities would also present a setting where diverse individuals could interact in a non-formal manner, thus leading to the building of purposive networks of communication and interaction.

5.   Community agency

Through this process of interaction, an awareness of common needs and interests emerges among local citizens, as do opportunities for involvement in

activities for meeting common needs. As interaction builds linkages across age, class, race, and ethnic lines, organized groups and associations, and other entities within a local population, the community field emerges and provides the interactional context supportive of individual and social well-being (Bridger & Alter, 2008). As these relationships are maintained and strengthened, they simultaneously increase local adaptability and capacity to address the many problems and issues which inevitably cut across special interest fields. This process and focus on interaction has been seen in a variety of research focusing on locally based collective action. Included are natural resource management (Brennan et al., 2005; Flint & Lulo, 2007), community development (Bridger et al., 2009), and youth development (McGrath et al., 2009).

Throughout our exploratory research, key informants routinely cited the importance of the community narrative as it is presented in various artistic forms. They also identified the arts as a common general focus of action that cuts across local divides and differences. The importance of this narrative and its relationship to identity and local cultural uniqueness allowed for the mobilization of local people, the emergence of community agency, and a clear focus for local action efforts. One key informant described these actions as:

> One of the primary things we are trying to do here is preserve our history and preserve our cultural arts, because they are dying. They are becoming a thing of the past. We realized that we weren't having many square dances. We weren't having people learn to play the banjo. We were not having anyone learn to play the fiddle. Not only did people not play those instruments, very few people even listened to the music and thought it was important. We realized that if we did not train up a new generation it would be gone.

The application of efforts designed to facilitate the development of community agency is essential. This development of local capacity to act is essential to future action efforts and community-based development. Without the ability for locally based self-help strategies, rural communities will likely exhibit gradual erosion of their culture and in many cases find themselves at the mercy of extralocal forces.

A wide range of literature focuses on efforts to link local groups and build collective local capacities. Local groups and organizations would do well to focus on activities which bring such diverse local citizens groups together. Included are local planning, vision, and action efforts designed to increase citizen involvement in local decision-making. The initial focus on local culture, arts, and related commonalities can be seen as the beginning stage for the emergence of community agencies and ultimately the development of community.

In this setting it's particularly important that locally based development focusing on the arts is not seen as simply a one-off occasion. Moreover, these should be seen as activities that are one of many connected to a wider community development effort. To help build such local capacity a variety of resources exist. These include programming provided by local universities, cooperative extension, community-based organizations, professional organizations, and rural development centers. All can assist local communities and provide ongoing support, training, and consultation as they seek to build local collective capacity and enhance the community.

Conclusion

Differences between regions and localities can be seen as largely cultural (Dove, 1988; Hoage & Moran, 1998; Williams, 2004). Rural and community development practitioners need to consider the importance of culture in efforts to improve local well-being. By paying attention to, and incorporating cultural values, traditions, and related factors in their community development strategies, more efficient and effective development efforts can be achieved (Dove, 1988; Ramsay, 1996).

Local culture, and related traditional expressions of culture, provide a sense of identity for rural communities and residents. In turn, this identity provides a basis for common understandings, traditions, and values—each of which is central to taking action to improve well-being (Brennan et al., 2009; Ramsay, 1996; Williams, 2004). Culture contributes to building a sense of local identity and solidarity. It influences the ability of community members to come together to address specific needs and problems (Brennan et al., 2005; Bridger & Lulo, 1999; Lulo & Swanson, 1995; Wilkinson, 1991).

Local commitment among residents based on culture and common identity, regardless of economic or political conditions, serves as an invaluable tool in shaping the effectiveness of development options and local actions (Bridger & Lulo, 1999; Ramsay, 1996; Wilkinson, 1991). As long as people care about each other and the place they live, there is potential for agency and the development of community. In this context, activities such as traditional music, quilting, or storytelling cut across the divides of age and bring focus to common aspects of local life valued by all. These efforts serve as a basis for the development of community, but also serve to maintain cultural traditions and ways of life in an age of considerable change and dislocation.

Finally, through such development, community and cultural identities are reinforced and collective identities strengthened. Such interaction can lead to an improved state of community and social well-being. The conceptual framework presented in this chapter outlines a host of interconnections in the ways that traditional cultural practices impact on personal and community interaction and identity. We hope this will serve as a starting point for further research interest and dialogue on such a neglected aspect of community life.

Acknowledgements

References

Atkinson, R., & Flint, J. (2001). Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations: Snowball research strategies. Social Research Update 33. Retrieved on September 18, 2007 from www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU33.html

Bellah, R.N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S.M. (1985). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Brennan, M.A. (2007). The development of community in the West of Ireland: A return to Killala twenty years on. *Community Development Journal*, 42, 330–374.

Brennan, M.A., Flint, C., & Lulo, A.E. (2009). Bringing together local culture and rural development: Findings from Ireland, Pennsylvania, and Alaska. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 49, 97–112.

Brennan, M.A., & Israel, G. (2008). The power of community: Advancing community theory by understanding community power. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, 39(2), 82–98.

Brennan, M.A., & Lulo, A.E. (2007). Exploring rural community agency differences in Ireland and Pennsylvania. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23, 52–61.

Brennan, M.A., Lulo, A.E., & Finley, J.C. (2005). Building sustainable communities in forested regions. *Society and Natural Resources*, 18(9), 1–11.

Bridger, J.C., & Alter, T.R. (2008). An interactional approach to place-based development. *Community Development: Journal of the Community Development Society*, 39, 99–111.

Bridger, J.C., Brennan, M.A., & Lulo, A.E. (2009). The interactional approach to community. In J. Robinson & G. Green (Eds.), *New perspectives in community development* (pp. 85–100). Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Bridger, J.C., & Lulo, A.E. (1999). Toward an interactional approach to sustainable community development. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 15, 377–387.

Bridger, J.C., Lulo, A.E., & Krannich, R.S. (2003). Community change and community theory. In A.E. Lulo & R.S. Krannich (Eds.), *Persistence and change in rural communities: A 50-year follow-up to six classic studies* (pp. 9–21). London: CABI.

Cheek, C., & Piercy, K.W. (2008). Quilting as a tool in resolving Eriskon's adult stage of human development. *Journal of Adult Development*, 15, 13–24.

Cohen, A. (1985). *The symbolic construction of community*. London: Routledge.

Degnen, C. (2005). Relationality, place, and absence: A three dimensional perspective on social memory. *The Sociological Review*, 53(4), 729–744.

DeNora, T. (2000). *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dove, M.R. (1988). *The real and imagined role of culture in development: Case studies from Indonesia*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Eller, R.D. (2008). *Uneven ground, Appalachia since 1945*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

Elmendorf, W., & Lulo, A.E. (2001). Using qualitative data collection methods when planning for community forests. *Journal of Arboriculture*, 27(3), 139–151.

Flint, C.G., & Lulo, A.E. (2007). Community activeness in response to forest disturbance in Alaska. *Society and Natural Resources*, 20(5), 431–450.

Gaventa, J. (1980). *Power and powerlessness: Quiescence and rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Handler, R., & Linnekin, J. (1984). Tradition, genuine or spurious. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 97(385), 273–290.

Hoage, R.J., & Moran, K. (1998). *Culture: The missing element in conservation and development*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

Hudson, R. (2006). Regions and place: Music, identity and place. *Progress in Human Geography*, 30, 626–634.

Hyde, G. (2006). Handbook describes storytelling tradition. Appalachian Voice (October edition). Retrieved from www.apppvoices.org

Kaufman, H.F. (1959). Toward an interactional conception of community. *Social Forces*, 38, 8–17.

Krannich, R., & Humphrey, C. (1986). Using key informant data in comparative community research: An empirical assessment. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 14, 473–493.

Leonard, M. (2005). Performing identities: Music and dance in the Irish communities of Coventry and Liverpool. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6(4), 515–529.

Lulo, A.E., Bridger, J., & Krannich, R. (2002). Community change and community theory. In A.E. Lulo (Ed.), *Persistence and change in rural communities: A fifty year follow-up to six classic studies* (pp. 9–21). Oxford, UK: CABI Press.

Lulo, A.E., & Bridger, J.C. (2003). Community agency and local development. In D.L. Brown & L.E. Swanson (Eds.), *Challenges for rural America in the twenty-first century* (pp. 203–213). University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Lulo, A.E., & Swanson, L. (1995). Community agency and disa ection: Enhancing collective resources. In L. Beaulieu & D. Mulkey (Eds.), *Investing in people: The human capital needs of rural America* (pp. 351–372). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

MacCarthy, M. (2004). Changing cultural landscapes: The co-existence of musical genres in Irish culture and education. *Irish Studies Review*, 12(1), 51–61.

McGrath, B., Brennan, M.A., Dolan, P., & Barnett, R. (2009). Adolescent well-being and supporting contexts: A comparison of rural adolescents in Ireland and Florida. *Journal Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 19, 299–320.

Mewett, P.W. (1986). Boundaries and discourse in a Lewis Crofting community. In A.P. Cohen (Ed.), *Symbolising boundaries* (pp. 71–87). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Miles, M., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Olick, J.A., & Robbins, J. (1998). Social memory studies: From "collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 105–140.

Peace, A. (2001). *A world of fine difference: The social architecture of a modern Irish Village*. Dublin: UCD Press.

Phillips, R. (2004). Artful business: Using the arts for community economic development. *Community Development Journal*, 39(2), 112–122.

Piercy, K.W., & Cheek, C. (2004). Tending and befriending: The intertwined relationships of quilters. *Journal of Women and Aging*, 16(1), 17–33.

Ramsay, M. (1996). *Community, culture, and economic development*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Savage, M., Bagneall, G., & Longhurst, B. (2005). *Globalization & belonging*. London: Sage Publications.

Schwartz, M., Bridger, J., & Hyman, D. (2001). A validity assessment of aggregation methods for multiple key informant survey data. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, 32(2), 226–237.

Stein, M. (1960). *The eclipse of community: An interpretation of American case studies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quanti-tative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Theodori, G.L. (2005). Community and community development in resource-based areas: Operational definitions rooted in an interactional perspective. *Society & Natural Resources*, 18, 661–669.

Thomas, A.E. (2001). Practicing tradition: History and community in an Appalachian dance style. *Western Folklore*, 60(2/3), 163–181.

Tunnell, K.A. (2006). Socially disorganized rural communities. *Crime Media Culture*, 2(3), 332–337.

Warren, R. (1978). *The community in America*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkinson, K. (1991). *The community in rural America*. New York: Greenwood.

Williams, L. (2004). Culture and community development: Towards new conceptualizations and practice. *Community Development Journal*, 39(4), 345–359.

Wood, N. & Smith, S.J. (2004). Instrumental routes to emotional geographies. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 5, 533–548.

Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

PART IV

Practice

8

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

Community Development, Democracy, and Magic

Esther Farmer

There are moments in community building where time seems to stand still; something special happens that no one can quite put their finger on, and people are collectively transformed to some new kind of shared or deeper understanding. These are moments in which people can temporarily suspend their belief systems, and there is a collective openness to something transformative. There may be an unspoken but conscious feeling of awe, wonder, and possibility, or a new experience of connection and empathy toward another human being. Often these are experiences in which people's hearts are touched, not just their brains; this is what Hustedde calls "soulful" (1998). We define these types of experiences as magical.

In his work on human happiness, Csikszentmihalyi (1990) called "optimal experience" the "flow experience," stating,

> what makes experience genuinely satisfying is a state of consciousness called flow – a state of concentration so focused that it amounts to absolute absorption in an activity. Everyone experiences flow from time to time and will recognize its characteristics; people typically feel strong, alert, in effortless control, unselfconscious, and at the peak of their abilities. Both a sense of time and emotional problems seem to disappear, and there is an exhilarating feeling of transcendence.
>
> *(pp. 1–2)*

This experience of transcendence, of being unselfconsciously part of something bigger than oneself, is one type of magical experience. There is a sense of collective connection that touches people in emotional and spiritual ways. For example, when Nelson Mandela was released from prison, he came to Brooklyn,

New York (the author's home town), and it was estimated that there were a million people standing on the streets to see him. In looking around, there were many people crying. It is impossible to describe that moment of collective connection and emotion. No one in that crowd knew who anyone standing beside them was, nor did they know what anyone did for a living, or how much money they earned. Nevertheless people were profoundly connected by a person who lived 8000 miles away in South Africa. Similarly, for approximately one month after 9/11 total strangers traveling on New York's subway system spoke to each other. The usual walls keeping people apart had been disrupted. These connections were rare and magical moments.

As such, the key questions guiding what follows include: Can magical moments and their supporting environments of connection be created? If so, how do community developers create them? What allows people to enter these environments together and come out of them changed? How can magical moments foster inclusion, participation, and democracy in community processes?

The purpose of this article is to explore the elements needed to create environments where magical moments can occur and to consider the linkages and impacts of magic on inclusion and democratic practice. A review of the literature reveals that there is minimal work on magic in the context of community development, but there is quite a lot of non-traditional work that informs the concept. This article looks at how traditional models can maintain class, race, and gender biases, and reviews some influential non-traditional trends that have paved the way in helping practitioners see beyond conventional models of understanding. It identifies elements required to create environments for magic, and looks at the links between magic and democracy. The article is also a phenomenological reflection on the author's work using theater and performance as a tool for community development in New York City. In that work, there were several of these surprising moments of connection between people as well as moments where people made big leaps to do things that seemed impossible before their participation. These moments were described by participants and facilitators as magical. The methods are therefore tied to the author's personal and professional experience with magic through observation and reflection. The article will tell this story.

Key Concepts and Definitions

Bhattacharyya (2005) defined community development as "solidarity" and "agency," where solidarity is broadly defined as human connectedness, and agency is the capacity of human beings to act and change their environment. Democracy is typically defined as a process of governance whereby the "people rule" often through elected representatives with particular attention to the guarantee of human and civil rights. Leaving aside the many issues faced in practice by such a definition, the author focuses on the fostering of a culture

of democracy, which encompasses values of inclusion, participation, everyone having a voice, and the opportunity to contribute. Therefore, democracy is an everyday practice and often begins in conversation and relationship building. Every conversation is an opportunity to create an environment for democracy in which no one is left out, no one feels shut down or intimidated, and everyone feels free and encouraged to contribute.

Magic is certainly a complex and difficult word to define. It is tenuous, not a fixed certainty and constantly emerging. Magic is certainly not a word that most economic development officials or urban planners would use. Yet nearly everyone can point to pivotal times and people that have changed them, as if by magic. In arguing for a new language to describe these efforts, Gorbis (2013) says of non-traditional practitioners,

> They don't use the language of economics and development; they use "radical hospitality", "openness", "magic", "inspiration", "compassion". These efforts don't require huge investments; … they are small, fluid, and open to experimentation. Rather than "development efforts" meant to "economically develop" a community, they are fun, porous, accessible undertakings that open their doors to participation … they entice people to join with playfulness and blur hierarchies so that everyone can be a valuable potential contributor.

The "flow" experience is a useful framework for understanding or experiencing magic. Csikszentmihalyi (2004) describes one of the characteristics of flow:

> One of the most universal and distinctive features of optimal experience is that people become so involved in what they are doing that the activity becomes spontaneous, almost automatic; they stop being aware of themselves as separate from the actions they are performing.

This "merging" is one characteristic of a magical experience. One is less concerned about ego, while simultaneously being seamlessly connected to the activity and the people doing the activity. Dancers, artists, musicians, and actors often describe their best performances this way. But everyone has the capacity to have this experience. Neither flow nor magic is (or should be) solely experienced by the artistically talented. They are optimal and developmental experiences for everyone.

Traditional Models Often Maintain Gender, Class, and Race Biases

For thousands of years, human beings have practiced magic, danced, sung, created plays, and made art in collaboration with collectives of other people.

A lot of these activities were expressed through a culture's rituals. The first Western explorers and then later Western scholars were almost universally negative and derisive about so-called primitive and non-European cultural rituals. These rituals often included instances of magic, wild abandonment, and collective improvisational joy, particularly in dance and music. Ehrenreich (2006) chronicles how these practices were first thought of as "immoral and savage," an interpretation that was used as a rationale to relate to cultures practicing these rituals as less than fully human. In many places, these practices were brutally repressed over centuries. After the intervention of science, which proved that there was essentially no biological difference among human beings, words like savage and primitive disappeared. Instead, these rituals began to be viewed as rationally functional, a way of bringing cohesiveness to a community. There was, however (and still is), a bias toward rationality. There had to be some reason for these practices other than the human capacity and need for beauty, art, and performance. After the cultural imperialistic explanations of savagery were discredited, the new field of psychology's explanation became mental illness and pathology. Ehrenreich (2006) identifies the many instances where psychological explanations for collective ecstasy were characterized as pathological, particularly when it concerned women; the usual interpretation was hysteria.

It is not only ecstatic ritual that has been treated sorely. Generally, the emotional component of human life has either not been taken seriously or denigrated. Of particular interest is how women's emotions and the emotions of racial/ethnic minorities are characterized in ways that reduce the challenges they present (Goodwin, 2000). Women are particularly susceptible, Campbell (1989) argues, to having their opinions dismissed as bitterness or sentimentality. To say that someone is bitter is to say that her anger is without effective expression as well as to blame her for her own failure to be taken seriously. Holzman (2013) further clarifies the point, stating:

> Western culture has not been kind to emotion. It's been ignored, demeaned and outcast as inferior to cognition, the enemy of rationality, characteristically female (and so unworthy of attention) for centuries. Even though feminist psychologists and philosophers have exposed the male biases of accepted conceptions of being human, the overall cultural environment of psychology hasn't changed much. Theoretically and institutionally, it remains paradigmatically male and cognitively over-determined.

When emotions have been taken seriously, the literature has emphasized their negative role. Up until the 1960s, the literature on social movements has emphasized the negative nature of emotions in collectives. Individuals were thought to be reasonable and rational; whereas crowds were dangerous and irrational. The emotional component of the social movements of the 1960s is

mostly ignored. As Goodwin (2000) states, "emotions have led a shadow exist-ence … with no place in the rationalistic, structural and organizational models that dominate academic political analysis" (pp. 65–83).

Although community development practice must by necessity engage the emotions of community members, the literature overwhelmingly focuses on the need to develop skills and knowledge of community members. Unfortu-nately, knowledge in our culture is often thought of, or at times confused with, information gathering. The problem here, as is recognized through epi-stemic philosophy, is that in practice, knowledge acquisition sometimes trans-lates as valuing the persons with the most information, the official knowers, while ignoring other people with other kinds of attributes, such as compassion, kindness, energy, enthusiasm, discipline, hard work, listening skills, etc. A cognitive bias prevents us from using all our assets and resources.

In terms of democratic practice and citizen engagement, Young (1996), notes that traditional models of democratic debate have tended to privilege abstract, "disembodied" forms of reason. There is a class nature to this kind of environment, because the cognitive bias will always privilege participants who have had educational and social advantages. People without those advantages often cannot and will not participate. These kinds of disembodied environ-ments that are overly intellectualized and abstract are dangerous on two fronts; they engender boredom, the enemy of enthusiasm, creativity, and imagination (i.e. magic), and even worse, these heady environments can also engender feel-ings of resentment and inadequacy. This is especially the case among people who may have trouble following that kind of conversation. On the other hand, storytelling, performance, and playfulness can be great equalizers, because they include the voices of the excluded.

It is no wonder that given this history, people have learned to be biased against excessive emotion, passion, ecstasy, joy, abandonment, and even playful-ness, especially in groups. People are often uncomfortable in these types of non-traditional, public spheres. There is a subtle bias that favors the insightful, rational, and so-called objective, over the emotional response. This bias is peril-ous to ignore because practitioners sometimes miss how many people they lose in overly cognitive environments, especially those dominated by linear thinking and technocratic jargon. Linear processes, which tend to dominate in traditional rationalist models, assume a process of change which involves the following def-icit model: identify the problem or the needs, determine the goals or plans to solve the problem, create a strategy to meet the goals, and take action to imple-ment these plans. Born from labor movement struggles and social democratic traditions of the Progressive Era, rational-instrumental perspectives have domin-ated the way in which people think about democratic participation (Hoggett & Miller, 2000). There is an assumption that the rationalist model is the only kind of community organizing that challenges the power structure. Some have deri-sively called other kinds of community building "picnics and participation" and

"a feel good fuzzy endeavor" (Mandell, 2010, p. 272). Critics of community building often do not see how people can develop emotionally and socially by engaging in community building. There are many ways to challenge existing power dynamics. Confrontation that targets structural change is very important and so is creating new forms of community life that challenge power dynamics by their very existence. Whether it is a co-op, a community supported agriculture group, or a neighborhood art or play project, people are capable of creating new kinds of community that create magic, inspire wonder, and challenge the prevalent culture.

Non-traditional Forms of Democratic Practice

Many scholars and educators challenge traditional models of community organizing and traditional understandings of democracy. In contrast to representative or rational forms, these educators and scholars employ cultural approaches to democratic practice that help create spaces of inclusion.

Freire (1970) coined the term "conscientization," as the coming to consciousness of oneself as a subject in history and not just the object of others' actions. His educative process, called "pedagogy of the oppressed," worked with community members to tell their stories and then used the stories to create community and community agency. Boal (1992) built on this work to develop "theater of the oppressed." His work gave voice to the emotions of community through the use of street theater that aimed to help people tell their very emotional stories through theatrical performance. His Forum Theater techniques helped participants offer alternatives to the issues through performance. Freire's work in the '70s and Boal's work in the '90s continue to touch people in emotional ways. In utilizing their work, people come to see themselves as storytellers and theater artists; agents of change through creativity.

Much earlier than Freire and Boal was Vygotsky (1896–1937), the Russian educator and psychologist, who believed that human beings learn through play by "performing beyond themselves" (Newman & Holzman, 1993, p. 108). Vygotsky's approach was holistic; to him, human intellect and human emotion are a unified process, not two separate and distinct human systems that compete with each other. Vygotsky's understanding of "learning leading development" (Newman & Holzman, 1993, pp. 86–87) posits that people must take the risk to do what they don't know how to do so that they can learn to do it. This risk-taking is a critical aspect of creating magical environments. Newman and Holzman (1993) built on Vygotsky's work and studied the relationship between play, performance (in the theatrical sense), and human development. Their interest is in creating "performatory" environments where people can go beyond themselves. This work helps people see themselves as "performers of their lives" and reinforces the value of play as a developmental tool. Performance and storytelling are great equalizers, because the people who

generally shine by virtue of their knowledge are not necessarily the best performers and storytellers. The implications for democratic practice are noteworthy; if we are all performers, this allows for participation and inclusion of people not necessarily heard from in overly-cognitive environments.

Feminism was another important contributor to creating non-traditional environments of inclusion. Young and Allen (1990) extended the work of many feminist scholars and showed the male bias implicit in the concept of rationality and impartiality. They demonstrate that an understanding of democracy that assumes a homogeneous public is seriously flawed (Young & Allen, 1990). Young (2001) shows how theories of democracy presume a narrow understanding of political communication by demonstrating the bias inherent in favoring particular types of expression; she advocates for additional forms of communication besides argument, especially among members of more dominant and more marginalized groups. Young's (2001) work on creating inclusive democratic environments using people's differences is important in creating a culture of democracy. This is especially pertinent where communities are not homogeneous. People from different cultures do not experience life in the same way, and so in order to create inclusive environments, community developers have to find/create ways to include people's differences. Cultural work is a marvelous tool to demonstrate how diversity can help communities reignite their creativity, as well as strengthen their empathy and understanding of the "other." Theater is a particularly useful tool because when one is acting or pretending to be someone else, the actor is not tied to their own history. This makes it possible to get out of a role that may hold them back from reaching out to others, particularly others that they may have a history of not trusting.

Lastly, Csikszentmihalyi's (2004) work is useful to include in a discussion of magic because his conception of "flow" has similarities to our understanding of magic. In the context of community development, flow is differentiated from magic in that flow is often described as an inner state, as distinct from a collective experience. Nevertheless the sense of ecstasy and seamlessness is there (Csikszentmihalyi, 2004):

> essential description of the phenomenology of the inner state of the person. You don't think; it goes automatically, … you merge yourself with the music, and so forth. And regardless of the culture, regardless of education … there's this focus that, once it becomes intense, leads to a sense of ecstasy, a sense of clarity; you know exactly what you want to do from one moment to the other; you get immediate feedback. You know that what you need to do is possible to do, even though difficult, and sense of time disappears, you forget yourself, you feel part of something larger. What you are doing becomes worth doing for its own sake.

Creating Environments for Magic: A Case Study

From 2009 to 2013, the New York City Department of Transportation (DOT) partnered with Plays for Living (PFL), a 75-year-old professional theater non-profit organization. PFL uses theater as a tool for social change, and as a way to help communities talk about difficult social issues. In this case, the DOT wanted to address the fact that senior citizens make up 12% of New York's population, but account for 38% of the city's traffic fatalities. The DOT's goal was to educate seniors about pedestrian safety, and to make physical changes in the city's streetscape to make the city more pedestrian-friendly, especially in areas where there were concentrations of seniors. PFL designed an interactive play with professional actors, which was performed in 25 senior centers each year. In addition, five senior centers annually were designated for a 10-week theater residency program where the seniors created a play about their specific pedestrian challenges in their neighborhoods. The DOT worked with the seniors to address these challenges by making physical changes such as the addition of count-down signals, more time to cross difficult streets and changes to curbs and sidewalks to accommodate the disabled. Each year, the seniors performed their plays at a culminating event at the New York Public Library. Many of the participants also performed their plays in local schools and for other senior centers.

The physical changes the DOT implemented in neighborhoods with large concentrations of seniors was an important result of the program. The seniors took pride in the improvements as they felt that their creative work helped to produce them. Those improvements should not be diminished in any way. That said, the focus of this case study is not on the improvements per se but on the creation of the environment for magical moments to occur and the impact on the seniors.

The case study below includes three senior centers where the 10-week theater residency program occurred; one in the Bronx, one in Queens, and one in Staten Island. The centers were multicultural, although each center had participants of different cultures, depending on the neighborhood. The seniors self-selected to be in the program, and the number of participants ranged from 10 to 15 seniors in each center. The author was the facilitator working with PFL.

Playing with Creativity: Bronx, NY

The Marble Hill Senior Center in the Bronx is located in a predominantly Latino neighborhood, although the seniors at the center were multicultural. When asked why they volunteered to be in the program, the seniors said they were concerned about their streets, and it looked like fun. Most were nervous as they did not see themselves as capable of this kind of creativity. In addition, some of the seniors were nervous about performing in front of an audience,

because they thought they might forget their lines or they had strong accents and would look foolish. Consequently, the facilitator asked them first to tell their stories of navigating the streets of New York to each other. The stories started flowing. They were then asked to work in small groups of three or four and create a performance of the story. They took turns playing different parts. As this process continued, the seniors began to relax and laugh. For example, one scene described an incident where a senior almost fell in front of a local pharmacy because the owner did not shovel the sidewalk. The senior decided to talk to the owner. The seniors played with improvising the scene in different ways. They played the senior as very angry or very shy, they played the pharmacy owner as very aggressive and very conciliatory. They began to see that how they said a line could change the result of the conversation – an important communication skill. Improvising their stories in small groups allowed the seniors to have fun, be creative, get comfortable trying something new, and not be overly concerned with remembering lines. They became more enthusiastic as this process went on and they got so proficient at performing their improvisations that they almost never forgot what to say – and when they did, a co-performer would help them remember. As each part of the process advanced, the seniors took more and more risks, both personally and to support their ensemble members. They began to think of more issues they experienced, for example how young people get angry when seniors get off in the front of a crowded bus (thus delaying the trip because of oncoming passengers). In this way, the improvisations, which formed the basis of the play, developed a richness and an intimacy that raised capacity-building issues (i.e. learning conversational skills, talking and educating young people on what older people face, advocating for the neighborhood as an older person, and being a problem solver as a senior). The final play incorporated all of these themes and was named, "A Day in the Life of a Senior Problem-Solver."

The importance of creating a playful environment in this context cannot be overstated. The facilitator consistently encouraged the seniors to try new tasks through play. The common expression, "we are just playing, trying things out," is an indication that it is legitimate to try something new when it's just play. Play mitigates the fear of getting it wrong. The conservatism that comes with fear of getting it wrong is a killer of creativity. Play was the safety net that allowed the seniors to take the risk to be creative.

Another important aspect of a playful environment is that they are fun. Fun is perhaps one of the most important aspects of creating magic moments and unfortunately one of the most underrated. People laughing together is a great motivator and helps people take risks. It builds the cohesiveness necessary to create a strong ensemble. It also transforms the inevitable tense moments.

Creating a strong ensemble required a lot of "play" work on team building in the context of creating theater. There were many challenging exercises,

particularly in active listening that were at first difficult for the seniors. As they practiced, the seniors became more proficient. Their proficiency was meaningful to them because seniors are often condescended to. Many of the participants were sensitive to being related to as if they could not learn new things. More than a few commented at the end of the program, "who says you can't teach an old dog new tricks?" They learned that they were capable of learning. They created an environment that they could not have imagined when they started. They did not know beforehand that they could perform a play that they created in front of several large audiences. In the beginning, some of them were scared of speaking to a roomful of their peers. In the end, the magic they created was reflected in the caring ensemble they built, where they helped each other succeed. In addition, they learned something about how to advocate for their neighborhood – and they became a group of traveling theater artists. Some of the seniors could barely walk but they performed their play in several venues throughout the city, including the New York Public Library as well as neighborhood schools and senior centers.

New Relationships: Jazzy Corona

In all three centers in this case study, the facilitator began the process with a "Community Sounding." This involved asking a series of deceptively simple questions, which get deeper and more complex over time. For example, the initial questions were: What do you like about your community, what don't you like, what is "sacred" to you, what would you fight to protect? As the conversation gets deeper, the questions get more specific, such as, what do you worry about, and what keeps you up at night? Participants keep adding to the answers and from the discussion that ensues, the improvisations are gleaned. The play is then written collaboratively from the improvisations.

At the Florence Smith Senior Center in Corona, Queens, the population is predominantly African-American and Asian, with the African-American community having a long history in the neighborhood. The two groups had little interaction at the center as they often did separate activities. When asked what was most sacred in Corona, the seniors answered the history of jazz; Louis Armstrong (Satchmo) lived and died there and Dizzy Gillespie also resided there. Many of the African-American seniors remembered Satchmo's parties. The Asian seniors also felt that the dancing they did at the center was extremely important to them. It was therefore decided that the play would focus on a jazz theme that included dance. It was entitled "Jazzy Corona." Bringing jazz and dance together with pedestrian safety seemed like a stretch, but with the help of a local song writer and some magical creative group sessions, new words were put to Armstrong's famous song, "What a Wonderful World":

I see potholes in the street
While trying to cross
The light flashes green
But the cars cut me off
And I think to myself
What a Wonderful World

In the process of creating the play, the Asian seniors worked hard to say the lines, which were often difficult for Chinese speakers to say. The African-American seniors were touched that their Chinese colleagues worked so hard to perform in a play that honored a culture that was not theirs. There was never any discussion about the tension in the neighborhood between Asians and African-Americans. Yet, in the process of creating and performing the play together, their relationship changed. As in the Bronx example, there was a lot of play (and fun) with improvisations and soon the seniors felt safe enough to take the risk to reach out to members of the ensemble with whom they had no relationship. One of the improvised scenes involved a neighbor (played by an African-American senior) knocking on the door of another neighbor (played by a Chinese senior) to complain about loud music. This was one of the issues that came out of the Community Sounding. This led to a series of different improvisations on how to talk to young people. The facilitator did not focus on the issue of the "right" way to talk to young people (since there isn't one) but rather on the joy of the differences. Another scene involved a demonstration with picket signs, protesting the killing of a senior in a traffic accident. The seniors chanted, "we walk slow, our clothes are bright, what do we want, a countdown light." After the seniors performed, the DOT placed countdown signals on every block for a mile. The seniors were very proud of this, and whenever they performed their play at other centers, they introduced the show with the fact that their play was responsible for this community development improvement.

Working with Emotions: Adam on Hylan Blvd.

In the play created by the senior center in Staten Island, the issues were mostly about driving. Unlike the other centers where most seniors did not drive, driving was key in this area of the city, where public transportation is more limited. There is a major and dangerous boulevard (Hylan Blvd.) in this neighborhood where there was a recent pedestrian fatality of a grandmother and her grandson. Feelings still ran high about the accident. In the creation of the improvisations, the seniors came up with the idea of the first man, Adam, who has never seen a car, finding himself on Hylan Blvd., and thus the theme was created: "Adam on Hylan Blvd." Although there was a lot of emotion around the accident, there was magical fun in creating the way Adam (in costume that the seniors

created) would react to modern day traffic. Another scene involved a daughter telling her mother that she had Alzheimer's disease and could no longer drive. This had happened to a few of the seniors in the group. When the seniors first improvised the scene there was a lot of emotion, and they were not sure they could perform it. The difficulty of asking someone to give up their independence by not driving led to some intimate conversations. One of the seniors, who really wanted to perform in this scene, ironically kept forgetting what to say. The facilitator realized that this could be useful and so it was decided that whenever she forgot, she would say, "Who are you? Where am I?" When the scene was rehearsed, many of the seniors cried and laughed at the same time. The group was very connected and touched both intellectually and emotionally. This was an important moment for creating a magical environment.

Critical Reflection

Many community developers shy away from emotion because it is either too difficult to manage or they don't feel qualified. However, emotion is part of everyday life. Community members are quite capable of supporting their friends and neighbors. One is reminded of McKnight's (1995) critique of the professionalization/commodification of caring in which he emphasizes the natural capacity of community members to care for each other. Creating environments for magic involves working with emotionality. It is not something to fear, it is something to embrace. It is a crucial issue because shutting down the emotional component of a community is not an environment where democracy and magic can happen. Participants need to express their emotions about the issues that concern them, about surviving and struggle, about working together collectively, and about achievement. Acting in concert generates new emotions; making things happen is both exhilarating and risky, and community developers need to appreciate, respect, and engage these feelings to create the kind of intimate environments where transformation can occur.

In the theater project with the seniors, there was magic in how the seniors learned how to create theater. They had no idea they could do this. Creativity and arts can play a critical role in helping people see that they may have more to give than they think. They have stories, they have ideas, they have poetry, they can perform, and they have unexplored talents. In reflecting on this work, one of the issues to recognize is the variety of assets available in a community in addition to knowledge. This is not to negate knowledge, but rather to be aware of the many additional assets that are sometimes overlooked. In the case studies above, there was compassion, kindness, motivation, persistence, tenacity, and courage, not to mention people who cook, sing, dance, and write music and poetry. The other issue is that "not knowing" (including what the facilitator does not know) is also an asset. In the theater project, a learning environment where people

collectively experienced the joy of discovery was where magic thrived. A posture of not knowing was an asset that allowed the facilitator to welcome the surprise and delight of the unexpected.

In reflective practice, practitioners engage in a continuous cycle of self-observation and self-evaluation in order to understand their own actions and the reactions they prompt in others (Brookfield, 1995; Thiel, 1999). Hoggett and Miller (2000) describe the reflexive practitioner as one who is aware of their own feelings and is willing to share them. He/she is also aware of emotional processes at work in groups, and pays attention to not only who is talking but who is not talking, who is being listened to and who is being ignored; the reflexive practitioner is sensitive to the fact that people often react to things not based on content but rather based on a relationship or a feeling about how they are being treated. In the case study above, the facilitator was simultaneously aware of the content of the discussion as well as the group and relationship dynamics. Relative to magical environments, the relationship dynamics were key. That is where the possibility of magic lay. It was in the relationality between people that it was possible to hear the voices of community members who felt they did not "know" enough to speak. It was in the relationality where something new emerged.

The reflexive practitioner teaches how to critically reflect by modeling the practice. In theater work, after every improvisation there was some time for the group to reflect on their experiences while performing as well as their experiences while watching as an audience. Based on this reflection the improvisations were advanced, and new ideas emerged. Some of the most creative and magical ideas came from this reflexive practice. It helped connect people to each other, encouraged people to take risks, and contributed to participants learning from everything they created.

Conclusion

In the author's work with senior citizens in New York City, play and theater were used to create some magical environments whereby seniors built new relationships with each other. These environments helped seniors do things they did not think were possible, such as having difficult and intimate conversations on emotional issues, especially with people not of their own culture; creating and performing original theater; advocating for their community; and making improvements to their neighborhood.

Magic happens in community work when practitioners' and community members' experience moments of intense connection with one another, where time seems to stand still, the activity feels seamless and unselfconscious and participants are collectively open to transformational possibilities. The literature on these types of magical experiences in community development contexts is quite thin. However, there are many non-traditional practitioners and scholars who

have contributed to an understanding of how community developers, in collaboration with communities, can create environments in which magic is possible.

Several scholars and practitioners, such as Csikszentmihalyi (1990), Freire (1970), Boal (1992), Newman and Holzman (1993), and Young and Allen (1990), whose work is culturally-based, are important to an understanding and practice of what it means for communities to create magic. As these and others note, magical moments that touch people's hearts as well as their intellects, can lead to a more inclusive culture. As this case study shows, these moments can also lead to a more democratic culture by expanding the types of expression that are deemed legitimate and thereby including voices that are often excluded. This expanded expression allows people to have a different type of democratic experience, an experience other than the often divisive and argumentatively oriented practice of traditional democratic decision making. In addition, conventional models of community development are often fraught with class, race, and gender bias as they are all cognitively based. Knowledge and cognition in our Western culture is often "owned" by people with the advantage of education. This makes it incumbent upon community developers to be more aware of their own cognitive bias in order to begin recognizing other types of assets and capacities. Practitioners need to expand their ways of seeing and embrace non-cognitive, relationally based practices. Consequently, this requires practitioners to go outside their comfort zones and take emotional and creative risks. Magical environments do not happen without risks on the part of practitioners and participants.

Risk-taking is greatly facilitated by playful environments in which people can try new activities without concern for "getting things right." In addition, theatrical and performatory environments are particularly helpful, because when we perform, we are freed from the roles we play in our lives and can play with new roles. This liberates us from our history and creates new possibilities for relationship-building. Performatory environments are great equalizers, because they are not cognitively based, and people who may not be able to shine in knowledge based environments can shine in performance (theatrical) based environments.

One of the challenges in this work is to teach people that they can be creative. There is no magic without creativity. Although "thinking out of the box" has almost become a cliché, the issue is how to help people become creative thinkers (not to mention creative doers). This makes it even more important that every participant be related to as an artist/creator.

Those community developers who are open to magic engage in reflexive practice and are always working to critically reflect on the process as it develops by sharing their own emotions and responses and promoting people doing the same. While helping people draw on their experiences and their knowledge, magical environments also require that practitioners use what people (including

the facilitator) do not know. Magic involves surprise and the unexpected. A posture of "not-knowing" can help us collectively discover those surprises.

Everyone is capable of creativity and growth, and people will grow in different ways, at different times and levels. The hope is that there will be "intrinsic changes in those who participate" (Gorbis, 2013), and that to different degrees, people will be inspired to create art, and learn. If we are to create democratic and inclusive environments where these changes are possible, we need to welcome the surprise and delight of magic in our work.

Acknowledgements

Disclosure statement

References

Bhattacharyya, J. (2005). Theorizing community development. *Community Development*, 34, 5–34.

Boal, A. (1992). *Games for actors and non-actors*. London: Routledge.

Brookfield, S. D. (1995). *Becoming a critically reflective teacher*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Campbell, S. (1989). Being dismissed: The politics of emotional expression. *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy*, 9, 46–65.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2004). Flow the secret to happiness. Retrieved from www.ted.com/talksmihaly_csikszentmihalyi_on_flow?language=en

Ehrenreich, B. (2006). *Dancing in the streets: A history of collective joy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder & Herder.

Goodwin, J. (2000). The return of the repressed: The fall and rise of emotions in social movement theory. *Mobilization: An International Journal*, 5, 65–83.

Gorbis, M. (2013). Revitalizing communities through magic, awe, and inspiration. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. Retrieved November 11, 2013, from www.ssireview.org/blog/entry/revitalizing

Hoggett, P., & Miller, C. (2000). Working with emotions in community organizations. *Community Development*, 35, 352–364.

Holzman, L. (2013). Is emotion nothing more than a form of cognition? Retrieved March 2, 2013, from http://loisholzman.org/page/5/?s

Hustedde, R. (1998). On the soul of community development. *Community Development*, 29, 153–165.

Mandell, J. (2010). Picnics, participation and power: Linking community building to social change. *Community Development*, 41, 269–282.

McKnight, J. (1995). *The careless society: Community and it's counterfeits*. New York: Basic Books.

Newman, F., & Holzman, L. (1993). *Lev Vygotsky: Revolutionary scientist*. London: Routledge.

Thiel, T. (1999). Reflection on critical incidents. *Prospects*, 14, 44–52.

Young, I. (2001). *Inclusion and democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Young, I., & Allen, D. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (1996). Communication and the other: Beyond deliberative democracy. In S. Benhabib (Ed.), *Democracy & difference* (pp. 120–136). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

9

WORKING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE THROUGH THE ARTS, MUSIC AND TECHNOLOGY

Emancipating New Youth Civic Engagement

Eoin Dolan, Pat Dolan, and Jen Hesnan

Introduction

While the value and importance of positive engagement with young people through various models of youth work is well established and seen as constructive, less attention has been paid to the role of the more informal creative models for their civic engagement. Similarly, although youth being listened to and given voice is now accepted as a norm and a right in social policy, in the main it has been only through formalised consultation processes rather than natural community occurring opportunities that this has been organised. Thus, while youth being heard has been emphasised, the methods on how adults afford youth the opportunity to express themselves, including their expression of their specific needs as well as acting on what they recommend, has been less evident. Building on the underpinning principles of positive youth development, this chapter explores how engaging young people through the medium of the arts including sound, music and music technology can be viewed as beneficial to them and literally giving them voice but also as an emancipating form of civic engagement in its own right.

This chapter advocates for ways that youth engaged in the arts can be viewed as actors who contribute civically through their involvement in community programmes with others. In this light, the authors further suggest that a wider understanding of youth civic engagement needs to be considered. To illustrate this, case vignettes are utilised from two fledgling and innovative Irish music and music technology based youthwork projects from an Irish NGO (Foróige) namely SoundSurfers and TechSpace, as exemplary of enabling youth to engage and thrive. Importantly, these initiatives are underpinned by the importance of

valuing relationships as core and connects very strongly to Jean Baker Miller's Social Relational Cultural Theory which is elaborated on later in the chapter (Miller et al. 2004). Finally, some key messages for this innovative form of engagement of youth are provided in the light of what is a changing landscape for youthwork. This is also done so in a context where it is being argued social policy and youthwork practices should protect relationship based working as a core rather than a sole focus on outcome achievement.

Positive Youth Development and Youth Civic Engagement

It could be argued that, in the past, much of what has been written and researched on youth development has focused on a deficit model or on ways of 'fixing' youth who have problems and are living with and experiencing adversity (Feldman and Elliot 1993). More recently and more positively, it can be further argued that this discourse has now moved towards a focus away from the problems-only focus for young people, towards the assets and coping mechanisms they have and can muster in order to cope with challenges (Frydenberg 2014). This approach which is termed a strengths based perspective fits neatly with the well recognised Positive Youth Development (PYD) model, conceptualised and pioneered by Lerner and colleagues (Lerner et al. 2005). The PYD approach is founded on the fact that all young people have personal and social assets they can 'bring to bear' positively in their lives. Also, that they don't live in isolation but within a social ecology of peers and friends, family and community, and all these external players can play a positive part in the life of a young person and act as a source of social support. PYD is founded on the importance of and mobilisation of the core 5 Cs which youth have or can attain, namely:

1. Competence
2. Confidence
3. Character
4. Connection and,
5. Caring

(Lerner et al. 2005, p. 13)

The link between youth civic engagement and PYD may seem an obvious one, in that both suggest that connecting youth through social and community action and leadership will contribute positively to his/her personal development. There is evidence that this is the case, notably in work by Redmond and Dolan (2014) which evaluated Foróige's (Ireland's largest youth work organisation) pioneering Irish Youth Leadership programme and found such a direct connection. The UN World Youth Report (UN 2016) has also

highlighted this connection and particularly so in relation to the importance of youth belonging as a key form of engagement. However, for the purpose of this chapter the connection deserves some slight elaboration here. In their chapter for the UN World Youth Report, Dolan and Brennan (2016, p. 18) outline the four key forms of youth civic engagement as

1. Political
2. Social
3. Moral (Social Justice) and
4. Economic.

Political activation is probably the best known form of civic engagement and one most typically referred to in relation to youth, typically involving participation in local politics, voting, advocacy, etc. (Sichling and Chaskin 2017). Social engagement which includes youth engaged in community action, and their demonstrating caring towards others is more altruistic in nature but has also been well recognised over a very long period of time and across many contexts (Dolan and Brennan 2016). While the term 'moral' engagement may seem a little self-righteous it should be viewed as within a wider meaning of social justice for self and others and about youth engaging in the defence of the oppressed within a human rights framework. This is a growing concept within the youth development literature and has for example become a concept engaged in within organisations such as UNESCO through their international biennial Global Youth Forum (see UNESCO.org). Finally, economic youth civic engagement demonstrates the reality that many young people in countries throughout the world are engaged in income generation for their family, whether that be in a respectful and proper way such as low level support to the family farm which does not impinge on a young person's right to education, or unfortunately as is the case in relation to child labour which is exploitative (for example see work of World Vision UK). However, regardless of the form it takes, overall, civic engagement by youth is a good and welcome concept and in many cases occurs naturally within school and community settings.

In the case of the arts including music, drama, music technology and cultural expression, the benefit to youth of being engaged is well known in particular in terms of their gaining skills mastery and a capacity for expression. However, less has been highlighted in relation to the more hidden values of their engagement with the arts through youth community work programmes in particular. For example, through a young person's involvement in music, apart from learning an instrument, he/she may join a band and record and may well access new friendships. Recently and importantly there is evidence that engagement with the arts particularly in non-school informal youth work settings may lead a young person to acquire better belonging to others and

a great sense of social empathy (Silke et al. 2018). At a most basic level for youth who experience difficulties in a school setting both academically and in terms of personal relationships, being engaged in a community youth programme that involves music drama or technology affords him or her three core opportunities.

Firstly, the change of context can offer a young person respite from toxic in-school relationships; it can also enable better self-efficacy as a result of the realisation for any young person that 'if I can achieve in music I can achieve elsewhere in my life'. Finally, as most arts based youth work programmes involve young people exchanging skills as well as learning skills, a young person can offer informal helping to others in the group. This enables what may be most beneficial to youth, a capacity for reciprocating social support. We are tentatively arguing here that the benefit of providing personal support to peers (and sometimes their network members) where it is 'real, live and ongoing' is in itself a form of informal secondary civic engagement. Later in this chapter a case vignette from Galway in the West of Ireland 'SoundSurfers' and its associate Social Enterprise Camera Education Ireland and the creative education programme TechSpace is utilised to demonstrate this capacity.

Historical Context

In terms of the value of the arts as a youth influencer, Buck (2018) argues that it was with the introduction of rock and roll in the late 1950s by icons such as Bill Haley and the Comets and Buddy Holly that first connected adolescence to music. Even in terms of the slightly later folk music era of Bob Dylan and others in the early sixties that led to what was termed youth rebellion, the importance of music in the lives of young people became very apparent and at a global level. At the time of the cultural revolution that was occurring in places like Greenwich Village New York, singer songwriter Phil Ochs captured the moment for youth:

> we are trying to crystalize the thought of young people who have stopped accepting things the way they are. Young people are disillusioned; we want to reinforce their disillusionment so they'll get more involved and do something – not out of a sense of general rebellion, but out of real concern for what is happening, or not happening.
>
> *(Phil Ochs interviewed in Vogue Sept. 1964 and cited in Eyerman and*
> *Jamison 1995)*

It has also been argued that the influence of the arts and music on youth in particular during the 1960s still has resonance today. For example the work of Bob Dylan in songs such as 'Talking World War Three Blues' is a form of hip-hop music which in latter years has become common language for youth.

We should similarly note that working with young people through the arts and music as a part of youth work is not a new fad, but actually comes from a long history. As far back as the 1960s, urban based youth work programmes in large cities across the UK, in particular the used sports and arts including music and drama, were utilised as methods in working with youth who were deemed as out of control and on the margins. For example, the wide introduction of community based Intermediate Treatment youth work programmes was at the time seen as a very innovative approach. Even earlier, Brathay, a UK-wide youth and Family Support community based NGO, highlighted in 1946 its core mission to support youth through community based diversion type programmes. Similarly, the excellent account of the Winthrop Youth Work Project from the mid sixties gives a similar description of how what was deemed as diversionary work with Youth focused young people away from risk-taking behaviours towards community development approaches which included participation in sport and music. Similarly, from the mid 1970s the Irish Government developed Neighbourhood Youth Projects (Dolan et al. 2006) and Youth Encounter projects as non-formal and formal education youth diversion initiatives which it could be argued used a strengths based enhancement rather than a deficit based approach in working with young people. These initiatives were seen as to the fore in the prevention of young people having to enter the care system and to this day continue to grow and be successful mainly due to the governance and leadership of the Foróige youth work organisation (Dolan et al. 2006).

However, while the use of sports and music and the wider arts has a long history both in the UK and Ireland it is really only in latter years that robust evaluation of the benefits of such interventions have been utilised with a better focus on the direct and indirect more discrete benefits that accrue for youth and their families (Brady et al. 2014). And while the benefits of interventions such as Youth Cafés (Moran et al. 2018) and youth mentoring are very well established, the same rigour needs to be brought to demonstrate the benefits of the youth work through the arts and technology approach, which is now more timely.

To demonstrate the potential of this way of working with youth through sound and sound technology two models are now explored as illustrative of the approach.

Case Study: SoundSurfers and TechSpace

SoundSurfers is a new and innovative community based programme for youth established by Foróige, Ireland's leading youth development organisation. As a community programme, SoundSurfers provides a safe, dynamic and creative environment whereby young people have the opportunity to explore their own, and discover shared, music interests. Individuals are engaged in creative

projects within a non-directed, interdependent and informal drop-in youth café space or via a local Foróige Youth Club. SoundSurfers is open to all young people aged 10–18 and by fostering an open, relaxed atmosphere and interest based activities, the staff team of community youth workers endeavour to engage a diversity of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds who are at risk of civic marginalisation. This includes, but is not exclusive to, young people with disabilities, those from diverse social and cultural backgrounds and in some cases those living in care and others who are engaged in the juvenile justice system. Specialised staff and volunteers are present within the space to support, respectfully engage with, and actively listen to young people's social and development needs and interests. Creativity acts as the core catalyst for young people to create an understanding of their own needs through music and creative technology. The common denominator for young attendees is a mutual interest in music and music technology.

Staff who run the SoundSurfers initiative maintain key working relationships with other targeted youth development agencies including social services through an interdependent dual referral system.

SoundSurfers Menu of Activities

- Digital Sound Engineering and Recording
- Audio Production for Film and TV
- Songwriting
- Open Mic Nights
- DJing
- Instrument Tutorials
- Live Sound Audio Production

SoundSurfers is also part of and in partnership with Ireland's national creative education network, named TechSpace, which provides creative tech support, skill development and opportunities to youth development and education settings. TechSpace is a national movement that aims to change the lives of young people in Ireland by becoming Ireland's leading creative technology support network for outcome focused youth development. TechSpace, managed by the not for profit education organisations Camara Ireland builds the capacity of youth organisations and schools to run creative technology education programmes. Through these programmes young people build confidence and 21st century skills: creativity, critical thinking, communication and collaboration vital for their successful futures. By engaging with youth workers and teachers across Ireland, the TechSpace mission is to:

1. Inspire young people to use their native interest in technology to become tomorrow's digital creators, inventors and makers, and not just consumers of technology
2. Train and support educators to confidently identify and adopt technologies within their pedagogy and youth development work
3. Support the growth of the TechSpace Network as a learning community of young people, youth workers, educators and volunteer mentors interested in enhancing youth development through ICT education.

TechSpace trained youth workers and teachers facilitate creative activities with young people using fundamental skills learned in STEAM (science, technology, engineering, arts and maths), Digital Creativity (film-making, audio production, graphic design) and emerging technologies (augmented reality, virtual reality and artificial intelligence). The educator is also part of an Irish National TechSpace Shared Learning Network where they can avail of annual opportunities, Creative Tech Support and pathways to upskilling. TechSpace is developing through the collaboration of a consortium of partners from youth organisations, industries, government bodies and third level education bodies to enhance collaborative learning and opportunities for young people and educators in Ireland.

Side Benefits of Being Involved in SoundSurfers: Two Case Stories

The following two case stories demonstrate the positive social benefit to youth of their belonging and inclusion within SoundSurfers.

Margaret[1]

Margaret is 14 years old. She first became involved in SoundSurfers when she recorded a song in the studio facilities at her local youth café. Thereafter, Margaret became actively involved in the SoundSurfers project and built a positive relationship with staff and volunteer leaders. After several months, Margaret disclosed to a staff member that she was feeling depressed and was experiencing serious stress in her day to day life. The staff member reassured Margaret and told her that she would get the support she needed. With her permission, staff members contacted a local specialist youth mental health service and made arrangements for her to be introduced to a professional counsellor. Since the initial disclosure, Margaret continued to be involved with SoundSurfers, so that she remained fully included in the programme and continued to benefit from attendance as well receiving the ongoing discrete support from staff.

Jack[2]

Jack (13) had been attending SoundSurfers for weeks, but did not seem inter-
ested in engaging in any of the creative projects and found it hard to relax in
the space. Instead, he insisted in drawing his name on the walls in permanent
marker or in some cases breaking things. Despite the protests of youth workers
and volunteers, Jack continued his destructive behaviour. Each week a new
version of his name could be found on walls in the bathroom or main room
of the club. No matter how many times Jack was asked to stop or given an
ultimatum of missing the next club, he continued to turn up and continued to
draw on the walls. After four weeks of working with Jack, one of the youth
workers told him that his parents would have to be informed. After failing to
get through to his mother, the youth worker eventually spoke to his father
over the phone. His father explained that it was no surprise to him his son had
started to display challenging behaviour in a group setting. Jack's mother had
recently become terminally ill. The father was apologetic and explained he
hadn't had much time with supporting the family of eight siblings to dedicate
time to Jack. It struck the youth worker after this conversation that the writing
of the names on the wall had become Jack's way of calling for help. In this
case she asked Jack's father, seeking how best to support Jack and what he
needed. The involvement of Jack's father instantly improved Jack's engagement
levels and increased the youth worker's understanding of Jack's needs. Jack and
his Dad turned up to the SoundSurfers drop-in the following week with paint
rollers in hand to freshly paint the youth club walls and spent some time
together with the youth worker.

   These examples highlight the personal benefits that can flow by providing
a transparent and non-judgemental approach to youth work through arts and
how the relationships with youth worker staff is a core and outstanding ingredi-
ent of the success of SoundSurfers. It also demonstrates how, by avoiding label-
ling young people but seeking ways to understand and empathise, staff can be
active agents with and for youth. It also shows how for some youth, apart from
the obvious enjoyment and benefit of engaging in the arts, a programme gives
additional discrete support to young people, and in a non-stigmatising way

   Finally, in considering the 'modus operandi' and key functions of both
SoundSurfers and TechSpace, key practice principles emerge, all of which have
wider applicability and resonance toward better practices in the development
of youth work through arts generally and, more notably, music and music
technology.

Practice Principle One: Leadership and Decision Making

SoundSurfers promotes a strong leadership and decision-making ethos through
music practice by giving agency to youth participants in the leadership and

decision making of the project. The SoundSurfer approach is underpinned by the Foróige ethos 'Empowering Young People, Enriching Communities' which aims to actively empower young people so they can make positive decisions in their lives and enrich communities.

Young people who engage in the SoundSurfers programme are, however, not always ready to become leaders or to make important decisions as soon as they walk in the door of a club or drop in. It takes a skilled youth worker to realise that by treating a young person with respect, greeting them as they come in the door, offering to show them the space, or simply making a kind gesture such as offering to make a cup of tea, can help a young person to feel at ease before they are ready to engage in a creative project. Soundsurfer staff report that by creating an inclusive ethos and by having an approachable attitude without adults dominating the space, young people begin to take ownership naturally over the governance and content of activities, exploring options together and strengthening the sense of community amongst youth participants. Ensuring that the projects created are based on what each young person is interested in allows young people to develop their own creative confidence.

Practice Principle Two: Learning and Development

Core to the work of SoundSurfers is the development of one-to-one relationships of worth between staff, volunteers and youth. Positive peer relationships are formed, encouraged and maintained among youth themselves. On the basis of mutual respect and recognition, participants are empowered to develop creative projects with peers through music production, digital media technology and the creative arts.

Although the social development and educational needs of each young person is taken into consideration, the medium of creative practice and music (which is not dependent on evidence of ability or a skill set) acts as a catalyst for young people to create an interdependent space where each young person has a purpose on an ongoing basis. This empowerment process allows a collective of young people to share skills, knowledge and opinions to the local community and through the technological support of TechSpace international networks of youth with a shared interest.

Practice Principle Three: Socially Inclusive Ethos

SoundSurfers actively supports and promotes an inclusive ethos. This inclusion is underpinned by a fundamental belief in a young person's right to social integration and civic engagement in modern society. In SoundSurfers staff work with diverse young people from different social and cultural backgrounds including young people from new immigrant communities, those in the care and juvenile justice systems, and young people with physical and learning

difficulties. As a core part of this principle, workers see all young people as unique and valuable in their own right.

Rather than building a targeted program based solely on counteracting perceived negative lifestyle practices, positively, SoundSurfers empowers young people by reinforcing positive, personal and collective interests in a safe and encouraging environment. Inclusion is a natural result of the Foróige approach throughout all its work and SoundSurfers maintains this standard. At the core, in SoundSurfers societal labels are left 'at the door' as young people actively participate and work together in a variety of different music and interest led projects. Promoting and supporting such youth interdependence or mutual reliance is a cornerstone of the SoundSurfers programme. Creating music, live performances and digital media is commonly a collaborative and symbiotic process. Incorporating TechSpace activities such as video editing or speaker soldering into that space complements the music based activities that are happening and allows young people more options to work together, learn to trust, respect and rely on each other's unique skill set.

Practice Principle Four: Community Service

The SoundSurfers central link to the TechSpace network and the community based ethos of local Foróige projects throughout Ireland support young people to showcase their creative projects to local, national and global audiences. By providing a safe incubation space for young people, their creative confidence can be developed. This also affords the opportunity of youth who attend SoundSurfers to give back to the community which further values them and what they can contribute.

Youth workers actively engage with TechSpace opportunities, Foróige events or local exhibitions, and cultural opportunities where youth go to Universities to teach on arts and youth work in the local University. These opportunities provide young people with the opportunity to showcase their creativity on a platform in front of adults and their peers and provide space to share what is passionate to them through song, creative writing or digital exhibition.

Discussion and Considerations

First and foremost, music engagement in its own right is good for youth and adults alike and has value in itself in terms of the pleasure that accrues from listening to, playing and creating sound. Also it has been suggested by McGrath and Brennan that music and arts are actually part of traditional community development as evidenced, for example, in the Appalachian districts in Kentucky (McGrath and Brennan 2011). So to some extent over centuries and

across the life course the connection between music and human interaction has become a natural form of discourse in its own right.

Secondly and by implication, working with youth through the arts including sound and sound technology by its very nature has to come from young people themselves. The key task for youth workers as is evidenced in the Foróige SoundSurfers and TechSpace programme is to remain 'youth led rather youth fed' in terms of the role of adults. Importantly, the function of civic engagement through arts as a 'barrier breaker' in developing social empathy is a key one, and can offer personal skills development for youth that is perhaps not attainable in a school setting. Some further final considerations include the following overriding rules.

Valuing Relationships as Paramount

Regardless of the value of the programme, in youth work, relationships matter most, as has been consistently found in social research (reference here). The worker–youth relationship, which is based on 'warmth and worth', is core to the success of any intervention. Even where the youth service resources are low or the model or programme is not being followed to complete fidelity as is often desired by the programme founders and or evaluators, it is argued that without a relationship with the young person there is essentially no intervention – 'for good reason youth vote with their feet'. Given the perennial interest that young people have in music and technology, which is a gateway to their positive engagement, the value of arts as foundational to relationship forming should not be underestimated. As a form of human social capital, working with youth through the medium of arts or sport allows the natural occurrence of trust with workers, friendship and fellowship with peers and the development of other new social network and community contacts. Jean Baker Millar's Cultural Relational Theory (CRT) advocates that the core goal in a relationship between people is to have a situation where both parties feel that they matter. She strongly advocates that just being present for a young person and demonstrating your presence with them in real time is key. Thus, for a young person positively engaged in a music or music technology programme the relational benefits can include the growing self belief and desire to develop further positive relationships beyond those in the programme. It can stem their increased positive sense of worth. Importantly, the relationships that accrue from engagement in arts and technology can offer much needed respite and contribute to their capacity to cope (Frydenberg 2014).

Importantly, as can be seen from the two earlier case examples from young people attending the SoundSurfers and TechSpace projects, their formal engagement on the programmes led them to trust adults enough to share, explore and address personal issues. However, in both cases, firstly, if they had not been engaged by the nature of the programmes on offer they would not

have remained as attendees long enough to engage with staff in relation to their personal situation. Similarly, and even more crucially, even if they had been engaged fully on the project had they not had a strong relationship with their worker, even though they might have had the benefit of the music and technology programme, they would not have been comfortable enough to share their personal issues and seek support. We should also remember that this power of relationship-based working is also not a new concept and as far back as the early 1960s in what was termed the 'caseworker–client relationship' it was strongly valued as core to good practice. Perhaps what emerges here in this chapter is not that the importance of relationships is something new but it is something that needs to be revalued and held as core and paramount.

Arts and Technology as Non-Stigmatising Space for Youth

A second and key value relating to working with youth through the medium of music and technology as well as all forms of arts and culture relates to the non-stigmatising nature of the intervention. Almost organically most young people now engage with music and technology and, while the latter is somewhat feared as being part of a modernity that is minimising human personal contact, its presence is very real in the lives of youth. Importantly as in the case examples used, youth were gathered not on the basis of their problems but on their common interest in music and technology and thus were automatically integrated into both programmes.

   This basic format is key in that it avoids youth being stigmatised as having problems or that being in difficulty is a condition for entry to the programme; many youth who attend do so purely for the fun and enjoyment they derive from being with other young people with a similar interest. This no personal cost in attendance aspect is key and highlights that, whereas services do need to provide more to those in need, this should be completed through 'targeted universalism' where the service is available to all but discretely offers more to those who need more.

   It is somewhat interesting that while this pluralist approach has been promoted in the evaluation methodology of social interventions and programmes (see Fives et al. 2017), it may also need advocacy in the future design of youth services. In recent years the focus on outcomes and evidence and targeting distinct populations may have come at a cost. This cost includes lessening the value of coping as not all outcomes are always achievable (Pinkerton and Dolan 2007) and the loss of the realisation that, by engaging youth with problems in their lives with those without problems, means a less normalising and modelling of normative behaviour. Young people are influenced by each other positively as well as negatively and one of the unique values of working through the arts, including music and technology, is that it acts as a common denominator for youth regardless of class, education, ability or disability.

Empathy Led Informal Civic Engagement

There is emerging evidence both from social science (Segal 2011) and neuroscience that empathy is key to youth development and can be learned. Just as social relationships matter, the encouragement of empathy, understanding and compassion in youth through key people in their lives is instrumental to their benefit and also to the wider benefit of civic society. Interestingly, the importance of community based youth work as a factor in the promotion of social empathy in youth through nonformal education is particularly noteworthy (Silke et al. 2018). This being the case, the connection between empathy development in youth through music (for example songwriting) and arts (such as drama installations) as sources of 'compassion infusers' is particularly important. Thus, young people who are connected to others through music and technology related arts may find the capacity to express their compassion and empathy but also to informally engage and reciprocally support other young people as well as adults and the community. This suggests a form of informal social civic engagement whereby as a side benefit of their engagement with programmes such as those demonstrated in this paper (SoundSurfers and TechSpace), young people engage in acts of empathy and contributions to the well-being of others not as formal volunteer helpers but as low key supporters.

More broadly, in considering the benefits and limitations of Positive Youth Development, Youngblade et al. (2007) have suggested that this needs to be viewed as functional across the interpersonal informal connections that youth themselves have or can create with others. It is suggested here that engagement through the arts is one such forum. They further advocate that PYD needs to be seen as functional for young people through supporting family close to the young person, the schools they attend and community initiatives. There is tentative evidence that SoundSurfers and TechSpace help create such a community initiative and help enable a sense of empathy, compassion and understanding for participants.

Conclusion

Finally, while there is growing evidence that the civic engagement of youth through their increased citizenship and/or individual youth leadership are associated with better personal outcomes for the young person his or herself (Redmond and Dolan 2014), the ways in which this can occur are changing and new ways are and will emerge. Engaging young people through their involvement in music and music technology should not be viewed as a panacea and will not work for many. However, for those young people who personally gain from such programmes they can do so in ways that are positive and perhaps go beyond the original expected benefits. This is to be welcomed indeed.

Notes

1 Anonymised name.
2 Anonymised.

References

Brady, B., Dolan, P. and Canavan, J. (2014) What Added Value does Peer Support Bring? Insights from Principals and Teachers on the Utility and Challenges of a School Based Mentoring Programme. *Pastoral Care In Education*, *32* (4): 241–250.

Buck, K.W. (2018) *A Concise History of Rock and Roll*. Glen Rock, PA: Year of the Book Publ.

Dolan, P. (2012) Travelling Through Social Support and Youth Civic Action on a Journey Towards Resilience. In M. Ungar (Ed.). *Social Ecology of Resilience: A Handbook of Theory and Practice* (pp. 357–366). New York: Springer.

Dolan, P. and Brennan, M.A. (2016) *An Overview of Youth Civic Engagement Chapter 1 UN World Youth Report: Civic Engagement* (pp. 17–26). New York: United Nations Publication.

Dolan, P., Canavan, J. and Pinkerton, J. (eds.) (2006) *Family Support as Reflective Practice*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Eyerman, R. and Jamison, A. (1995) Social Movements and Cultural Transformation: Popular Music in the 1960s. *Media Culture and Society*, *17* (3): 449–468.

Feldman, S.S. and Elliot, G.R. (1993) *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Fives, A, Canavan, J. and Dolan, P. (2017) Evaluation Study Design: A Pluralist Approach to Evidence. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, *25*: 153–170.

Frydenberg, E. (2014) *Adolescent Coping: Advances in Theory, Research and Practice*. Abingdon: Adolescence and Society Series Routledge.

Lerner, R. M., Dowling, E. M. and Anderson, P. M. (2005) Positive Youth Development, A Developmental Systems View. In C. B. Fisher and R. M. Lerner (Eds.). *Encyclopaedia of Applied Developmental Science* (pp. 859–862). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McGrath, B. and Brennan, M.A. (2011) Tradition, Cultures and Communities: Exploring the Potentials of Music and the Arts for Community Development in Appalachia. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, *42* (3): 332–350.

Miller, J. B., Jordan, J., Stiver, I., Walker, M., Surrey, J. and Eldrige, N. (2004) Therapist's Authenticity. In J. Jordan, M. Walker and L. Hartling (Eds.). *The Complexity of Connection* (pp. 64–89). New York: The Guilford Press.

Moran, L, Brady, B, Forkan, C and Coen, L. (2018) 'Individual and Connected': An Exploration of Young People's Discourses about Youth Cafes in Ireland. *Journal Of Youth Studies*, *21*: 1127–1139.

Pinkerton, J and Dolan, P. (2007) Family Support, Social Capital, Resilience and Adolescent Coping. *Child and Family Social Work*, *12* (3): 219–228.

Redmond, S. and Dolan, P. (2014) Towards a Conceptual Model of Youth Leadership Development. *Child & Family Social Work*. doi:10.1111/cfs.12146

Segal, E.A. (2011) Social Empathy: A Model Built on Empathy, Contextual Understanding, and Social Responsibility That Promotes Social Justice. *Journal of Social Service Research*, *37* (3): 266–277.

Shaw, A., Brady, B., McGrath, B., Brennan, M. and Dolan, P. (2014) Understanding Youth Civic Engagement: Debates, Discourses and Lessons from Practice. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, *45*(4), 300–316.

Sichling, F and Chaskin, R.J. (2017) Hot Times, Hot Places. Youth's Risk Perceptions and Risk Management in Chicago and Rotterdam. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 20 (6): 763–779.

Silke, C., Brady, B., Boylan, C. and Dolan, P. (2018) Factors Influencing the Development of Empathy and Pro-social Behaviour Among Adolescents: A Systematic Review. *Children And Youth Services Review*, *94*, 421–436.

United Nations Global World Youth Report. (2016) *Youth Civic Engagement*. New York: United Nations Publication.

Youngblade, L. M., Theokas, C., Schulenberg, J., Curry, L., Huang, I. C. and Novak, M. (2007) Risk and Promotive Factors in Families, Schools, and Communities: A Contextual Model of Positive Youth Development in Adolescence. *Pediatrics*, *119*(1), 47–53.

10

MORE THAN NOISE

Employing Hip-Hop Music to Inform Community Development Practice

Justin B. Hollander and Jennifer Quinn

Sometimes the best way for a community development professional to under-stand what is happening in a community is to pay attention to the kind of music community members are listening to. Community development revolves around many complex, multifaceted problems, and gaining insight into those problems – what ordinary people in a community are facing – can be daunt-ing. Conventionally, government censuses, academic journals, anecdotal obser-vations, and real estate trends are used to establish a base understanding of an issue or problem facing a community. Community development professionals then expand their knowledge through community outreach in the form of sur-veys and interviews to learn more about an issue from the actual people involved. This practice is well established and has served the professional com-munity well. But better sources are available, including the music so often lis-tened to in distressed urban environments: hip-hop music. This genre of music speaks to many of the same issues community development practitioners are interested in: urban poverty, racial disparities, drugs, gang violence, police bru-tality, ghettos, incarceration, welfare, hunger, and homelessness. This paper asks: (1) What knowledge about urban conditions and community develop-ment is embedded in hip-hop music? (2) How can community development professionals access this knowledge? (3) What are some of the possible ways practitioners can utilize this knowledge to enhance and complement other data sources?

A deep, systematic understanding of hip-hop music can be a tool for training community development professionals to understand and appreciate urban communities. As with any cultural resource, hip-hop music must be utilized in concert with street level relationships built over time within a community.

A Brief History of Hip-hop and the City

Hip-hop has steadily become a strong force within the global music industry (Hodgkinson, 2013). Between 1990 and 1998, the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) reported that rap captured, on average, 9–10% of music sales in the United States. This figure increased to 12.9% in 2000, peaked at 13.8% in 2002, and hovered between 12 and 13% through 2005. To put the importance of this nearly 40% increase in rap/hip-hop sales into context, note that during the 2000–2005 period, other genres, including rock, country, and pop, saw decreases in their market percentage (Rose, 2008).

Hip-hop has become the voice of a generation. Kitwana's (2002) *The Hip Hop Generation* describes how hip-hop was largely born out of, and shares similar themes with, the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Born out of the South Bronx in New York City in the 1970s, hip-hop began largely as an urban art form (Rosen, 2006). Since hip-hop began in the city, it often reflected the dynamics within the city. In the tradition of defiance, of creating something out of nothing, urban Black youths developed artistic expressions that came to be known as hip-hop. Rapping, or MCing, is now the most well-known dimension of hip-hop, but there are three other defining elements: DJing, break dancing, and graffiti writing. For most of the seventies, hip-hop was an underground phenomenon of basement parties, high school gyms, and clubs, where DJs and MCs improvised using record player turntables and microphones, creating music from the borrowed beats of soul, funk, disco, reggae, and salsa, overlaid with lyrics reflecting their alienated reality.

"Rap music takes the city and its multiple spaces as the foundation of its cultural production" (Forman, 2002). In the rhythm and lyrics, the city is an audible presence, explicitly cited and sonically sampled in the reproduction of the aural textures of the urban environment. Rap's lyrical constructions commonly display a pronounced emphasis on place and locality. Whereas blues, rock, and R&B have traditionally cited regions or cities (e.g. "Dancing in the Street," initially popularized in 1964 by the Motown artists Martha and the Vandellas and covered by the rock acts Van Halen in 1982 and David Bowie and Mick Jagger in 1985), contemporary rap is even more specific, with explicit references to particular streets, boulevards, and neighborhoods, telephone area codes, postal service zip codes, or other socio-spatial information (Forman, 2002). Further, the lyrical content of many early rap groups concentrated on social issues, most notably in the seminal track "The message," which discussed the realities of life in the housing projects (Grandmaster Flash, 1976). Kitwana emphasizes hip-hop's role in reflecting urban reality:

> no matter how widely accepted in the mainstream, it isn't entertainment alone; it's also a voice of the voiceless. More than just a new genre of music, hip-hop since its inception has provided young Blacks a public platform in

a society that previously rendered them mute. It has done the same for youth of other cultures as well. This in large part explains hip-hop's mass appeal.

(Kitwana, 2002)

The outcome of these artistic expressions is a well thought out, poetic reflection on places, actors, and problems within urban environments. No other musical style or genre represents urban existence quite like hip-hop. It is a musical genre that nicely encapsulates key knowledge of the urban experience that community development professionals can tap into.

Access and Utilization of Hip-hop Knowledge

The current hurdle for community development professionals looking to tap into this knowledge appears to be access to and understanding of the music. A formal methodology to facilitate the extraction of specific themes and ideas has not yet been developed specifically for practitioners. Lyrical analysis of hip-hop songs has been conducted in the field of sociology, examining issues related to alcohol use (Herd, 2005), depictions of homicide (Kubrin, 2005, 2006), and relationships between urban youth and the "street code" (Hunnicutt & Andrews, 2009). However, the methodologies used in these studies do not answer the questions that community development professionals would ask about communities. Therefore, this paper begins a research agenda to develop a new methodology for coding and extracting relevant themes needing to be developed specifically for the field of community development.

What Knowledge about Urban Conditions Is Embedded in Hip-Hop Music?

Many of the most prominent themes that are of interest to community development professionals are the same themes that are embedded in hip-hop music. Early rappers were regarded as storytellers, disturbers of the peace, and cultural historians who were "testifying" to the lived experiences of urban Blacks during a period of political backlash, urban neglect, and stigmatization as a criminal underclass (Powell, 1991; Smitherman, 1997). There is not a complete agreement among scholars as to whether rap is *still* an expression of real-life conditions (Hunnicutt & Andrews, 2009). One perspective maintains that rap continues to serve as a conduit to voice concerns about the deprivation in the Black community and to protest existing conditions (Kopano, 2002; Stephens & Wright, 2001). Rap artists are often viewed as ambassadors of inner city Black life, especially the gangster life. Kopano (2002) calls rap music a "rhetoric of resistance," primarily with regard to issues of race – a rhetoric belonging mostly to young Black males.

For some social critics and cultural historians, hip-hop is rooted in lyrical content and street-based narratives; as such, reality becomes more than "just music," as it is "situated within the lived contexts of black expressivity and contemporary cultural identity information" (Forman, 2002). Barack Obama told cultural historian Jeff Chang that "rap is reflective of the inner city, with its problems, but also its potential, its energy, its challenges to the status quo" (Chang, 2007).

Data and Methods

Prior research cited above suggests eight main elements are critical to a lyrical analysis of hip-hop: (1) approach: quantitative or qualitative analysis; (2) sample selection source: Billboard, Gavin, RIAA; (3) sampling strategy: representative or purposive; (4) year selection: 1979–1997, 1989–2000, 1992–2000; (5) unit of analysis: single or album; (6) sample size; (7) lyrics source selection; and (8) codes: a priori or inductive.

A quantitative approach looks at the frequency of occurrence of a particular theme or idea. However, we were not looking to determine how often rappers speak about urban conditions or the change of frequency of a theme over time, both of which would necessitate a quantitative analysis of codes gleaned from the analysis of the lyrics. Rather, we were looking to understand *what* hip-hop artists say about urban conditions whenever they do talk about them. Therefore, we took a qualitative approach, as outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994). It is important to note that, as with any artistic endeavor, hip-hop changes over time. Overall, the hip-hop genre has morphed over the last several decades, with respect to fluctuations in popularity, who is creating it, and who comprises its audience (both of which are increasingly suburban and White). Nevertheless, an effort was made in this research to capture a snapshot in time for which sales and lyrical data were available.

To start, we explored the three main resources that determine which songs are most popular (by sales) that can be used to generate a viable sample for the purposes of this analysis: Billboard, Gavin, and RIAA. Each of these resources maintains various music charts that track the most popular songs and albums in various categories on a weekly basis. We settled on Billboard as the best source for this research in defining a song as "popular music." We chose to employ a purposive sampling strategy (Hunnicutt & Andrews, 2009). This strategy isolates songs that were at the top of the Billboard charts, reasoning that the top-rated songs were heard by a larger audience and therefore may have a greater presence in cultural memory. The goal was to look specifically at the popular music in a specific time period, rather than all music released during that period of time.

The *Billboard Book of Top R&B and Hip-Hop Hits* (Whitburn, 2006) contains all of the artists and all of the titles that hit between #1 and #40 on *Billboard* magazine's R&B Singles charts from 1942 through 2004. Marking the origins of hip-hop around 1989, we set the popularity-based research time frame from

1989 to 2004. We added some content-based songs from 1986 to 1988 and from 2005 to 2008 in order to create a complete sample stretching from 1986, continuously, until 2008 (seen as a pivotal point for hip-hop music, commercially speaking (Coates, 2007; Rose, 2008). Details on the construction of the sample are described later in the chapter.

Since the primary goal of this research was not to determine the frequency of a theme over time, we used a convenience sampling strategy. However, we did want to obtain a sample large enough to allow us to gain a rich understanding of the themes present in the music. We also wanted to make sure that the split between the popularity-based tracks and content-based tracks was relatively even. Therefore, we decided a sample of 100 tracks would be large enough to obtain a fair representation of both types of songs without being too cumbersome to analyze. The entire sample contained 1740 tracks; 100 tracks represents roughly 5.7% of the entire sample.

Lyrics were obtained from searches on the established website, lyrics.com, that contained lyrics published by the record companies in the released material. We used inductive coding, where a researcher may have some expectations of what will be present in the research material, but goes through a small sample of the material and allows it to reveal what the codes ought to be (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The codes for this kind of research may be words like "levy," "response," "failure," "President Bush," "abandonment," "Super Dome," or "Katrina" (Dukes, Bisel, Borega, Lobato, & Owens, 2003; Hughes, 2003). it would be up to the researcher using this methodology to determine what codes would be most valuable to their community.

Constructing the Sample

The popular-based sample, which included singles that reached a position of 20 or higher on the Billboard charts between the years 1989 and 2004 (Whitburn, 2006), generated 1740 tracks. We then identified songs within this sample that contained the subjects that were relevant to this research through a content analysis of the song title, followed by a secondary selection process of the artist.

The content analysis of the song title involved a simple, straightforward review. We selected titles that included words related to urban issues or problems, including: shackles, street, emergency, police, Compton, money, babies, work, rent, ghetto, Harlem, 911, banned, pressure, trouble, gangsta, thug, "G," freedom, etc. For the artist selection, we identified artists known for gangsta and/or cultural and political rap.

The result was a list of 132 songs. To narrow the list down to include only those songs that would be relevant to our research, we conducted a quick search of the song's lyrics in Google. We skimmed the content of the lyrics and decided whether the song could be classified as "social/political" or "gangsta" as defined by Herd (2005). If it could be classified as "party," "brag," or "love/sex," it was eliminated. We were left with approximately 45 songs.

For the content-based songs, we first identified songs from the research playlist that we personally knew to have the type of content that would be relevant to the analysis, as well as songs that had been deemed "influential" by reviews in magazines such as *Source*, *Vibe*, and *Rolling Stone* via the International Index to Music Periodicals (IIMP). We then supplemented the list with songs analyzed in studies by Herd (2005), Kubrin (2006), and Hunnicutt and Andrews (2009).

The final combined sample contained a total of 96 songs: 45% were "popular" songs, and 55% were "content-based" songs (see Figure 10.1). Table 10.1
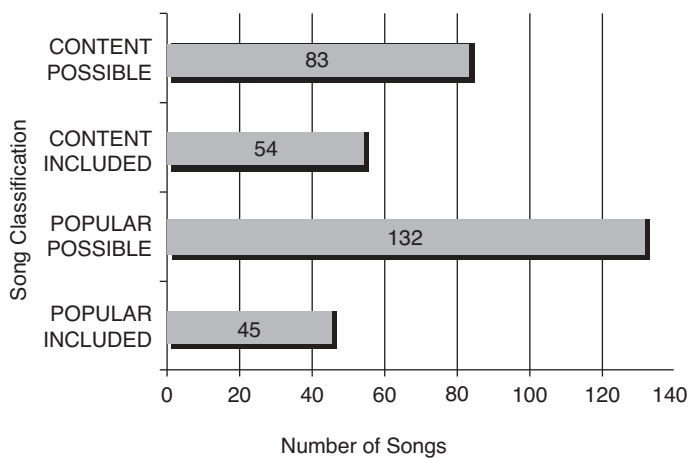
FIGURE 10.1 Sample distribution between popular-based songs and content-based songs

TABLE 10.1 Song sample data-set

	'76	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97
Total # songs	0	146	154	163	171	169	152	147	90	109	96	99	109
Popular possible	0	0	0	0	4	8	5	1	6	10	10	10	15
Popular included	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	2	4	5	3	5
Content possible	1	1	2	2	4	4	4	1	4	3	16	3	9
Content included	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	0	1	2	11	3	6
Total	1	1	2	2	2	7	5	1	3	6	16	6	11

	'98	'99	'00	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	Totals
Total # songs	103	87	83	88	81	79	77	0	0	0	0	1740
Popular possible	10	9	9	10	8	12	5	0	0	0	0	132
Popular included	4	2	1	2	2	4	4	0	0	0	0	45
Content possible	12	7	1	0	0	0	1	7	0	1	1	83
Content included	7	6	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	54
Total	11	8	2	2	2	4	5	3	0	0	0	100

illustrates the breakdown among possible songs that met the initial selection criteria and actual songs selected for each sample type.

Results

With the sample prepared, we uploaded song lyrics into the program qualitative research management software, ATLAS.ti[1] We began the coding with four specific subgroups in mind: actor, place, problem, and solution. We did not start the analysis with established codes under each subgroup, but we wanted to look for codes that could be categorized within these four subgroups. We selected these four subgroups based on a preexisting perception of what we would encounter in the lyrics. Based on the inductive coding approach, we began assigning codes to stanzas within songs based on specific keywords.

Within each small stanza, many different ideas were represented and overlapped with one another. Isolating just one code outside of its context did not seem to be advantageous for our purposes, so we decided to assign multiple codes to the same stanza in order to maintain the integrity of the narratives. This is known as "co-occurring codes" (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Definitions of Subgroup Groups and Codes[2]

Definitions used for the subgroups were as follows. An actor is a person or entity, used without a positive or negative charge – simply an actor within the narrative. A place is the physical surroundings, specific or in general, used without a positive or negative charge. A problem is an issue facing the artist and his/her community. Problems inherently have a negative charge. Solutions arise when some hip-hop artists offer messages of hope in response to the problems the rap lyrics depict. There are instances of these hopeful and instructive messages throughout the sample (see Tables 10.2–10.5).

Results of Lyrical Analysis

The lyrical analysis was organized around the four subgroups of concepts: actor, place, problem, and solution. The lyrics demonstrated a heavy emphasis on the harsh conditions in urban "ghettos" and the proverbial street. Major actors include God, peers, and police, and the artists are struggling to address desperation, violence, death, and drugs. Remarkably, the artists focus much of their attention around solutions on the notion of hope.

Subgroup: Actor

God appears at the top of the list of actors, followed by peers and then police (see Table 10.6). Part of the appeal of God may be that He is seen as understanding

the plights that people are going through better than anyone else, including authority figures (see Table 10.6):

> A child is born with no state of mind
> Blind to the ways of mankind
> God is smiling but he's frowning too
> Cause only God knows what you go through
> <div style="text-align:right">(Grandmaster Flash, 1976)</div>

TABLE 10.2 How "actors" were defined in the songs studied

Subgroup	Code
Actor	*Authority figure*
Definition	A person with a position of authority, not already mentioned in other codes (i.e. a police officer is an authority figure, but it has its own code)
Keywords	Boss, manager, judge, politician, mayor, the authorities, the City (referring to government), D.A.
Actor	*Family*
Definition	Family members individual or the concept of a family unit; must refer to more than just one parent (Actor: parent code would be used instead); also refers to siblings
Keywords	Brother, sister, aunt, uncle, cousin, godparent, parents (plural) families
Actor	*Gang*
Definition	Established group of organized crime
Keywords	Gang, Bloods, Crips, Gang-bangers
Actor	*God*
Definition	God specifically as a figure, also includes Jesus L
Keywords	God, Jesus, man Above, Lord
Actor	*Parent*
Definition	Specifically referring to a mother or father
Keywords	Mother, father, mom, dad
Actor	*Peer*
Definition	Friends, in a gang or not
Keywords	Friends, brother (non-familial), homie(s), pal, bro, buddy, my nigga, crew
Actor	*Police*
Definition	Police officer, when used without a negative connotation
Keywords	Police, po-po, 5–0, pigs, cops, crusin blue, detectives
Actor	*Priest/religious figure*
Definition	An actor within a church, not a divine entity
Keywords	Priest, father (non-familial)
Actor	*Society*
Definition	The larger society we live in, with its norms and collective goals.
Keywords	Society, "they"
Actor	*Teacher/mentor*
Definition	Within a school context or any agent of instruction
Keywords	Teacher, leader, educator

TABLE 10.3 How "places" were defined in the songs studied

Subgroup	Code
Place	*Streets*
Definition	Such as "the streets of Brooklyn" generally referring to the inner city
Keywords	These streets, the corner
Place	*Church*
Definition	As an institution or physical place
Keywords	Church, place of worship
Place	*City*
Definition	Can be specific, like New York, or in general, like "the city makes me crazy"
Keywords	The city, New York, Roxbury, the block
Place	*Ghetto*
Definition	Specific mention of the ghetto, also known as "the hood"
Keywords	The ghetto, the hood, the block
Place	*Housing project*
Definition	Specific mentions of the housing projects
Keywords	The projects, Marcy, public housing
Place	*Prison*
Definition	Physical prison, not mental prisons
Keywords	Prison, the cell, being locked up, jail
Place	*School*
Definition	As a physical place of learning
Keywords	School, classroom

TABLE 10.4 How "problems" were defined in the songs studied

Subgroup	Code
Problem	*Death*
Definition	Any mention of death or dying
Keywords	Death, dying, killed, gone forever, murder, capped, die, killed, smoked
Problem	*Desperation*
Definition	Descriptions of helplessness, disparity, failure, struggle, inability to cope
Keywords	Hopeless, helpless, failure, struggle, pain, alone, left behind, insecurity, feeling down
Problem	*Drugs*
Definition	Use or sale of drugs
Keywords	Smoke a blunt, sling rock, 8 ball, junkies, weed, crack, dope, push weight, narcotic, dime bag/ sack
Problem	*Education negative*
Definition	Descriptions of the futility of education
Keywords	They can't teach me, I never learned nothin'
Problem	*Financial dependence/strain*
Definition	Descriptions of financial struggles, not necessarily poverty but lack of financial opportunities and/or security

TABLE 10.4 (Cont.)

Subgroup	Code
Keywords	Struggle to survive, can't buy, broke
Problem	*Injustice*
Definition	Descriptions of unjust behavior or activity, including inequity
Keywords	Overtax earnings, ignore us, different set of rules, more of us in jail, targeted by police
Problem	*Materialism*
Definition	Descriptions of objects or money, in an exaggerated way
Keywords	Love for the dough, bling, make g's, ball out, live large
Problem	*Police negative*
Definition	Contrast to police as an actor, which stands as a neutral actor. Police as a problem stands as an actual problem; descriptions include negative attitudes and perceptions of unjust behavior
Keywords	Police, po-po, 5–0, pigs, cops, Feds, L.A.P.D.
Problem	*Poverty*
Definition	Depictions of poverty, different from financial struggles or strain, but more abject descriptions
Keywords	Hunger, starvation, struggle, being born with less
Problem	*Pregnancy negative*
Definition	Depictions of pregnancy in a negative or debilitating situation
Keywords	Womb, baby-mama, knocked up
Problem	*Race relations negative*
Definitions	Depictions of relationships between Blacks and Whites as negative or adversarial, or descriptions of situations where Whites are favored over Blacks
Keywords	Negro, brown, minority, nigger
Problem	*Religion*
Definition	Religion as a problem rather than actor
Keywords	The priest is a crook, God can't save me
Problem	*Theft/crime*
Definition	Descriptions of incidences of theft and/or crime, either as a victim or perpetrator
Keywords	Doin' dirt, push weight (sell drugs), do a job, hustle, run game, steal
Problem	*Unemployment*
Definition	Negative descriptions of unemployment
Keywords	Expressions of: no job, no opportunity, no skills
Problem	*Violence*
Definition	Depictions of violence, including murder
Keywords	Shot, kill, murder, destroy, inflict pain, steal
Problem	*Welfare*
Definition	Depictions of welfare as a problem or negative part of life
Keywords	Welfare, government check

TABLE 10.5 How "solutions" were defined in the songs studied

Subgroup	Code
Solution	Hope
Definition	Depictions of hope and/or instructions to the listener on how the community can solve some of the problems it is facing
Keywords	Build up our hoods, advance minorities, do the right thing, heal each other, be real, make changes, work hard, you can be anything, make a difference

In this quotation, the artist expresses the importance of the relationship people form with God and the corresponding exclusion of others, as this entity seems to offer a level of understanding that others cannot. What is important here is that God is revealed to be a central actor in the sample and shows that religion could play a more important role in decision making than peers or police.

When the artists speak of their friends, it is often in a memorial tone, as many of the friends had died (see Table 10.6):

> my childhood years were spent buryin' my peers in the cemetery
> (Scarface feat. Tupac, Johnny P, 1997)

Still, those peers who did survive become sources of competition and spark feelings of anger and inspire acts of violence as former friends turned on one another:

> Living in the city of the Scandalous
> Shisty motherfuckers can't even trust my own brothers So who can i choose to trust me that's who?
> niggas want a piece of the pie, fuck off and die
> (Cypress Hill, 1995)

These depictions of peer relationships are complicated and do not seem to engender a sense of support and community. Rather, individualism tends to replace connection and cooperation; valuing one's self over the group becomes the dominant mindset.

In *6 In the Mornin'*, Ice-T recalls waking up to hearing the cops at his door, and he's not quite sure what they're there for other then to check in on him (see Table 10.6):

> 6'n the morning' police at my door
> Fresh Adidas squeak across the bathroom floor
> Out the back window I make a escape
> Don't even have a chance to grab my old school tape
> (Ice-T, 1986)

TABLE 10.6 Summary of results across subgroups and co-occurrences

Terms	Authority	Family	Gang	God	Parent	Peer	Police	priest/religious figure	Society	Teacher
Subgroup: actor	7	18	13	36	15	33	25	4	8	2
Co-occurrence: problem + ghetto (subgroup place)	1	2	0	1	1	4	2	1	0	1
Co-occurrence: problem + streets (subgroup place)	0	0	3	2	3	2	0	0	0	0

	Church	City	Unemployment	Welfare	Ghetto	Housing project	Prison	Schools	Streets
Subgroup: place	3	15			54	9	22	2	34

	Religion	Unemployment	Welfare	Pregnancy negative	Education negative	Authority	Poverty	Financial	Race relations	Injustice
Co-occurrence: problem + God (subgroup: actor)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Co-occurrence: problem + peer (subgroup: actor)	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	0
Co-occurrence: problem + police (subgroup: actor)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	6
Co-occurrence: problem + ghetto (subgroup: actor)	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	4	1	4
Co-occurrence: problem + ghetto (subgroup: place)	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	4	1	4
Co-occurrence: problem + ghetto (subgroup place)	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	3

(*Continued*)

TABLE 10.6 (Cont.)

Terms	Authority	Family	Gang	God	Parent	Peer	Police	priest/religious figure	Society	Teacher
Co–occurrence: problem + streets (subgroup: place)										
Co–occurrence: problem + prison (subgroup: place)	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	3
occurrence (subgroup: problem)	1	43	7	9	12	22	24	27	31	38

Terms	Theft/crime	Material ism	Police negative	Drugs	Death	Violence	Despera-tion
Co–occurrence: problem + God (subgroup: actor)	0	1	0	3	3	1	10
Co–occurrence: problem + peer (subgroup: actor)	1	2	1	6	6	12	4
Co–occurrence: problem + police (subgroup: actor)	1	0	15	2	3	9	1
Co–occurrence: problem+ ghetto (subgroup: place)	4	3	5	14	8	11	16
Co–occurrence: problem + ghetto (subgroup place)	4	3	5	14	8	11	15
Co–occurrence: problem + streets (subgroup: place)	1	1	3	7	6	5	5
Co–occurrence: problem + prison (subgroup: place)	1	2	3	7	6	5	5
occurrence (subgroup: problem)	43	44	49	87	94	120	124

The artists in this sample depict an adversarial relationship with police in which people are presumed to be guilty of crimes, often because of race or suspected gang association. This co-occurrence was significant in that police served as agents of injustice. The depiction of this relationship further complicates the idea of connection and community and enhances the sense of isolation and self-reliance.

Subgroup: Place

"Ghetto" and "streets" predominated this subgroup, followed by "prison" and "city." The overlap between Ghetto (Subgroup: place) and Desperation (Subgroup: problem) is particularly strong (see Table 10.6). Many of the artists attribute the surroundings of the ghetto as a core component to their feelings of desperation:

> My memories bring me misery, and life is hard
> In the ghetto, it's insanity, I can't breathe
> Got me thinkin', what do Hell got?
>
> Cause I done suffered so much, I'm feelin' shell-shocked
> And driveby's an everyday thing
> I done lost too many homies to this motherfuckin' game
> <div align="right">(Tupac, 1995)</div>

The ghetto is a place where poverty persists, employment options are limited, aspiration is replaced by survival, and violence is ever present. Additionally, the ghetto also has a relationship with drugs, including selling drugs, doing drugs, or having problems with police and gangs over drugs.

> Look back on childhood memories and I'm still feelin' the pain
> Turnin' circles in my ninth grade, dealin' cocaine
> Too many hassles in my local life, survivin' the strain
> And a man without focus, life could drive him insane
> Stuck inside a ghetto fantasy hopin' it'd change
> <div align="right">(Scarface feat. Tupac, Johnny P, 1997)</div>

In this sample, the place the artists talk the most about is the ghetto – the environment in which they live. Such a bleak view of their physical environment, including prominent themes of desperation, drugs, and violence, permeates deeply into the communities these artists come from and becomes one of the central backdrops in hip-hop music.

However, because the streets are different from the ghetto, the way the artists talk about problems is distinct in this context (see Table 10.6). The streets serve as the place of action, where activity is focused. This is where drugs are

bought and sold, and violence filters into the transactions. The streets also open the narrative to display the physical surroundings.

> Felt good in the Hood, being around niggas yeah
> And the first time everybody let go
> The streets is death row
> I wonda if heaven's got a ghetto
>
> (Tupac, 1997a)

In a particularly creative narrative, *Streets Raised Me*, Mobb Deep has a conversation with the streets, recognizing the streets as an entity that was instrumental in his upbringing:

> Why you have to raise me this way,
> You showed me how to survive the concrete
> If I survive only time can say,
> You were a part of me
>
> (Mobb Deep, 1999)

Depictions of the ghetto, where the artists live, and the streets, where business is conducted, illuminate many of the problems facing residents of inner cities. The third most- popular place in the sample was prison (22 codes, 16%).

Tupac's depiction of prison is particularly haunting but poignant:

> And my cellmate's raped on the norm
> And passed around the dorm, you can hear his asshole g'tting' torn
> They made me an animal
> Can't sleep, instead of countin' sheep, niggaz countin' cannibals
> And that's how it is in the pen
> Turn old and cold, and your soul is your best friend
>
> (Tupac, 1997b)

Akon depicts the desperation he feels being inside prison while the world moves on outside:

> My cell mates getting food without me,
> Can't wait to get out and move forward with my life,
> Got a family that loves me and wants me to do right
> But instead I'm here locked up
>
> (Akon, 2004)

This was the only place code that had a significant cross with race. The artists depicted prison as a place that was heavily dominated by Blacks, and a clear racial tension emerged when the artists spoke about time in prison:

> Locked up you get three hot meals and one cot
> Then you sit and rot, never even got a fair shot
> That's where a whole lotta niggas end up
>   (Dead Prez, 2000)

Recognizing the distinction between ghetto and streets helps identify and isolate where problems arise. When thinking about housing deficiency (subpar living conditions), it is helpful to consider depictions of the ghetto, whereas when thinking about drugs, gangs, violence, and tension with police, focusing on the streets is more helpful. Finally, when considering the racial undertones present in hip-hop music as it relates to places, allusions to prison would be the most apt place to listen, as the racial disparity seen in the prison system is reflected heavily in the music.

Subgroup: Problem

Problems identified in the sample were primarily related to desperation, violence, death, and drugs. The feeling of isolation and a lack of support from authority figures suggest a prevailing negative attitude toward authority.

> Yo; I've seen child blossom to man,
> Some withered and turned to murderers
> Led astray by the liars death glorifiers observin' us
> Watching us close, marketing host is here to purchase, purposely overtaxin'
>   the earnings nervous, burning down the churches
> They're scared of us, rather beware than dare to trust
> Throw us in jail, million dollar bail, left there to rust
>   (Big punisher, 1998)

Here Big Pun is cleverly illustrating how the lack of support and care in the ghetto break people down significantly. But beyond that, he alludes to the people who profit from the existing conditions and have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, rather than working to ameliorate the situation. He crystallizes the thought by depicting how the conditions under which people live have created "monsters," so to speak, who are exiled.

Beyond the feelings of animosity toward authority figures, sometimes artists express those same feelings of animosity towards themselves:

> I smoke a blunt to take the pain out
> And if I wasn't high, I'd probably try to blow my brains out
> I'm hopeless, they shoulda killed me as a baby
> And now they got me trapped in the storm, I'm goin' crazy
>   (Tupac, 1995)

Tupac is echoing the frustration exhibited by Big Pun above, but rather than showcasing how that pain can go outward (burning down churches), he talks about how the pain is immense and impacts him personally, likening the feeling to that of being in a storm.

Finally, some artists illustrate desperation so strong that they contemplate suicide as a solution to the pain they feel:

> They're just like crabs in a bucket, these people pull me down
> If I didn't have so many obstacles think where I could be now on MTV or
>   BeT or in some magazine
> Instead I'm stressin', hooked on codeine, headed to tragedy
> Sometimes I think it's better just to die
> On the verge of suicide, I deeply wish I had a friend
> I start my mission tryin' to find my fate
> CDC #4 in name I'm feelin' oh-so-helpless in this place
> <div align="right">(Scarface, 1995)</div>

Another problem arises around drug dealing and related financial stresses. Tupac shows below how selling drugs advances the seller, albeit often at the cost of others.

> Try to show another way but you stayin' in the dope game
> Now tell me what's a mother to do
> Bein' real don't appeal to the brother in you
> You gotta operate the easy way
> "I made a G today" But you made it in a sleazy way
> Sellin' crack to the kid. "I gotta get paid,"
> Well hey, well that's the way it is
> <div align="right">(Tupac, 1998)</div>

Tupac outlines the three places he sees people from the ghetto go: hell (the ghetto), jail, or selling crack or other drugs. When these appear to be the only paths in life, it is no surprise that he sees living as an inherently futile exercise.

> Our lifestyles be close captioned
> Addicted to fatal attractions
> Pictures of actions be played back
> In the midst of mashin'
> No fairy tales for this young black male
> Some see me stranded in this land of hell, jail, and crack sales
> Hustlin' too hard to think of culture
> Or the repercussions while bustin' on backstabbin' vultures
> <div align="right">(Scarface feat. Tupac, Johnny P, 1997)</div>

Nas demonstrates how the money earned from selling drugs allows people to live flashy lifestyles and obtain expensive items and how this appeals to young kids. Nas describes how, as a young boy, he viewed drug dealing as an attractive career option:

> Growin' up project-struck, lookin' for luck dreamin'
> Scopin' the large niggaz beamin', check what I'm seein'
> Cars, ghetto stars pushin' ill Europeans
> G'n, heard about them old timers oD'n
> Young, early 80's, throwin' rocks at the crazy lady
> Worshippin' every word them rope rockin' niggaz gave me
> The street raised me up, givin' a fuck
> I thought Jordan's and a gold chain was livin' it up
> Some niggaz went for theirs, flippin' coke as they career
> (Nas, 1996)

Seeing through the lens these narratives provide allows one to better understand the complex role that drugs play in the lives of inner city youth. On one hand, selling drugs appears to be the most accessible means of getting outside a life in poverty; on the other hand, selling drugs is a serious business that regularly claims lives. The stresses of being in "the game" lead some of the artists to use drugs themselves as a coping mechanism.

Another code that rounds out the story of desperation is Financial Dependence/Strain. (Subgroup: problem)

> All the pain inside amplified by the
> Fact that I can't get by with my nine to five
> And I can't provide the right type of life for my family
> 'Cause man, these Goddamn food stamps don't buy diapers
> And it's no movie, there's no Mekhi Phifer, this is my life
> (Eminem, 2002)

One thing that permeates much hip-hop music is the financial strain people feel when living with limited incomes, particularly when struggling with the demands of providing for one's family. While many rappers boast about their expensive lifestyles, many real messages prevail of poverty and the mental toll it takes on people. It is this strain and stress that contribute to the desperation and futility depicted throughout these samples.

Finally, the artists describe the injustice they face living in the ghetto, unsupported by society and abandoned by those who are theoretically supposed to help them.

> I tell you life just ain't what it used to be
> Between you and me, exclusively

> Everybody's changed, we're losing our minds
> The government won't help, 'cause they refuse to find
> A solution to the problems of the inner streets
> It's a shame what our kids are beginning to be
> Pregnant teenagers, young gun slangers
> There ain't no love, there ain't nothing but anger
> (Notorious B.I.G., 1994)

Here Biggie calls out the government specifically, as an institution that is supposed to help people but instead fails them. He argues that government refuses to look at what the real problems are and strategize about how to fix them. He sees two sides at opposition with little interest on the side of the government to move toward finding solutions and providing support to inner city families.

Subgroup: Solution

Auspiciously, some of the artists find hope in their lives and within their communities. Not all of the narratives were somber depictions of the horrible life to which someone who lives in the ghetto is condemned. Some offered solutions, while others helped put the problems in perspective. These silver linings are important messages to highlight, as many people in hip‑hop look to these positive messages to help them get through hard times.

However, what was more interesting than what was said in this subgroup was what *wasn't* said. The solution subgroup was only able to offer one solution of *hope* which may not be viewed as practical to community development professionals.

Tupac and Big Pun both reflect that each person has the power to endure bad times in hope for better times and encourage the listeners to find strength to survive within themselves:

> Livin' in the projects, broke with no lights on
> To all the seeds that follow me
> Protect your essence
> Born with less, but you still precious
> Just smile for me now
> (Scarface feat. Tupac, Johnny P, 1997)

Finally, Coolio allows himself to fantasize about an ideal place where he can live life in peace and not deal with all of the trials and tribulations he currently faces. He also calls on individuals to take responsibility and better themselves for the good of the community:

> I'm tryin' to find a place where I can live my life and
> Maybe eat some steak with my beans and rice,

A place where my kids can play outside
Without livin' in fear of a drive-by
(Coolio, 1994)

Summary of Findings

The in-depth look at the narratives was very revealing with regard to the thoughts and feelings of hip-hop artists about specific topics. For example, we didn't expect God to be the most prominent actor. Based on the literature and our own knowledge of hip-hop, we expected the most prominent actor to be Gang or peer. We also didn't expect the most frequent code overall to be problem: desperation. We knew many of these songs were bleak and discussed struggles, but we had not expected to encounter such an overwhelming sense of futility and lack of trust of authority figures. The positive surprise was to see the frequency of the solution: hope code. it was refreshing to read solutions, positive imagery, and support.

Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Study

One of the principal strengths of this analysis was the novel, systematic approach to generating the study sample. By combining two types of samples – popular-based and content-based – we were able to utilize a larger array of songs for the initial sample. Previous approaches either isolated only popular singles or only content-based songs from albums, thus leaving out many potentially informative songs from the sample. By combining these two types of songs into one sample, we were able to integrate popular singles with deeper tracks from albums to create a new and varied sample. The benefit of this approach was seen in the variety of stories we were able to extract from the narratives.

An additional strength of this analysis was the innovative approach to the lyrical analysis. By thoroughly studying the strengths and weaknesses of existing approaches to conducting lyrical analysis of hip-hop lyrics, we were able to create an approach that would work specifically for community development professionals.

A weakness in this study was our rather subjective nature of song selection. While we approached collecting the sample in a very thorough way, selecting the songs based on a content analysis of the song title alone may have caused us to miss certain songs because the title was not indicative of the content of the song. A solution to this problem would be to pull the lyrics for all of the songs in the initial sample (1740) and conduct a keyword search across all of the lyrics. However, due to the time constraints for completing this project, this approach was not feasible.

We recommend further research to expand the scope of the sample to include fewer mainstream artists and more socially conscious artists such as Dead Prez, KRS-One, and Common. This change could yield interesting

results to a researcher particularly concerned with those hip-hop artists commenting on social issues.

Overall, this research contributes to the community development field by offering practitioners a methodology by which to gain access to the information embedded in hip-hop lyrics. By extension, this provides a pathway to better connect such professionals with a broader array of cultural resources. The messages about the urban condition embedded in the hip-hop lyrics can be accessed and potentially utilized in various ways to complement other data sources. For example, a community development professional can review the lyrics for songs coming out of a local hip-hop youth organization to figure out the messages and trends present in the music and understand what is important to members of their local community through their artistic expression. Policy-makers could learn to understand the importance of hip-hop music and allocate funding to support local hip-hop organizations as a means of providing aid to youth in inner cities.

Beyond community development professionals, other urban public service professionals, such as urban planners, social workers, and neighborhood-based outreach workers, could benefit from accessing hip-hop music in a systematic way. For example, the City of Boston currently engages inner-city youth through a variety of departments and initiatives to provide social, economic, and educational support. The Boston Center for Youth and Families has a Streetworker program, which has been hailed as one of the most effective youth prevention and early intervention services provided to Boston's youth. The goal of the program is to connect "hard-to-reach" youth to needed services and resources through direct, targeted street outreach (City of Boston, 2016). Understanding some of the unique local challenges expressed by this demographic through hip-hop could increase the efficacy of the program. Additionally, non-profit youth centers could provide the space and support for people to create their music, as well as a physical alternative to "the streets." local governments and non-profits can work together to support people in creating music as a means of fostering productive communication between members of the community and policy-makers.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes

1 ATLAS.ti assists researchers in conducting content analysis by helping to organize, filter, and sort rich qualitative data through keywords.
2 To clarify the hierarchy of the subgroups and codes in future discussions, the nomenclature is as follows: police (Subgroup: actor), meaning, the code "police" is part of the subgroup (Subgroup: actor).

References

Akon. (2004). Locked up. On *Trouble* [CD]. Philadelphia, PA: SRC/Universal, mp3.

Big Punisher. (1998). Capital punishment. On *Capital punishment*. Bronx, NY: Terror Squad/Loud Records, mp3.

Chang, J. (2007). Ladies and gentlemen, [is this] the next president of the United States [?]. *Vibe*, *15*, 172–181.

City of Boston. (2016). *Key initiatives*. Retrieved from www.cityofboston.gov/BCyF/about/inititatives.asp

Coates, T.-N. (2007, August 17). Hip-hop's down beat. *Time*. Retrieved from www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1653639,00.html

Coolio. (1994). Fantastic voyage. On *It takes a thief* [CD]. New York: Tommy Boy Records, mp3.

Cypress Hill. (1995). Killafornia. On *Cypress Hill III: Temple of boom* [CD]. Philadelphia, PA: Ruffhouse/Columbia Records, mp3.

Dead Prez. (2000). We want freedom. On *Let's get free* [CD]. New York: Loud Records, mp3.

Dukes, R.L., Bisel, T.M., Borega, K.N., Lobato, E.A., & Owens, M.D. (2003). Expressions of love, sex, and hurt in popular songs: A content analysis of all-time greatest hits. *The Social Science Journal*, *40*, 643–650. doi:10.1016/S0362-3319(03)00075-2.

Eminem. (2002). Lose yourself. On *Music from and inspired by the motion picture 8 Mile* [CD]. Santa Monica, CA: Shady, Aftermath, Interscope, mp3.

Forman, M. (2002). *The 'hood comes first: Race, space, and place in rap and hip-hop*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Grandmaster Flash. (1976). The message. On *Grandmaster flash and the furious five* [CD]. Englewood, NJ: Sugar Hill Gang, mp3.

Herd, D. (2005). Changes in the prevalence of alcohol use in rap song lyrics, 1979–97. *Addiction*, *100*, 1258–1269.

Hodgkinson, W. (2013, April 12). Angel Haze: Hip-hop grows up and outwards. *The Times of London*. Retrieved from www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/music/article3737220.ece

Hughes, D. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino parents' messages to children about ethnicity and race: A comparative study of racial socialization. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *31*, 15–33.

Hunnicutt, G., & Andrews, K.H. (2009). Tragic narratives in popular culture: Depictions of homicide in Rap music. *Sociological Forum*, *24*, 611–630. doi:10.1111/j.1573-7861.2009.01122x.

Ice-T. (1986). 6'N the mornin'. On *Rhyme pays* [CD]. Los Angeles, CA: Techno Hop Records, mp3.

Kitwana, B. (2002). *The hip hop generation: Young blacks and the crisis in African-American culture*. New York: Basic Civitas Books.

Kopano, B.N. (2002). Rap music as an extension of the black rhetorical tradition: "Keepin'it real". *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, *26*, 202–214.

Kubrin, C.E. (2005). Gangstas, thugs, and hustlas: Identity and the code of the street in rap music. *Social Problems*, *52*, 360–378.

Kubrin, C.E. (2006). "I see death around the corner": Nihilism in rap music. *Sociological Perspectives*, *48*, 433–459. doi:10.1525/sop.2005.48.4.433.

Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source book*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Mobb Deep. (1999). Streets raised me. On *Murda muzik* [CD]. New York: Loud/Columbia/SME Records, mp3.

Nas. (1996). Sweet dreams/affirmative action. On *It was written* [CD]. Washington, DC: Columbia, mp3.

Notorious B.I.G. (1994). Life we chose. On *Ready to die* [CD]. New York: Bad Boy, mp3.

Powell, C.T. (1991). Rap music: An education with a beat from the street. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *60*, 245–259.

Rose, T. (2008). *The hip hop wars*. New York: Basic Books.

Rosen, J. (2006, February 12). A rolling shout-out to hip-hop history. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/2006/02/12/arts/music/12rose.html

Scarface. (1995). I've never seen a man cry (I seen a man die). On *The diary* [CD]. Houston, TX: Rap-A-Lot, mp3.

Scarface feat. Tupac, Johnny P. (1997). Smile. On *The untouchable* [CD]. London: Rap-A-Lot/Noo Trybe/Virgin, mp3.

Smitherman, G. (1997). "The chain remain the same": Communicative practices in the hip hop nation. *Journal of Black Studies*, *28*, 3–25.

Stephens, R.J., & Wright, E. (2001). Beyond bitches, niggers, and ho's: Some suggestions for including rap music as a qualitative data source. *Race and Society*, *3*, 23–40. doi:10.1016/S1090-9524(01)00019-5.

Tupac. (1995). Lord knows. On *Me against the world* [CD]. Atlanta, GA: Amaru/Jive/Interscope/Atlantic, mp3.

Tupac. (1997a). 16 on death row. On *R U still down? (Remember me?)* [CD]. Atlanta, GA: Amaru/BmG/Jive Records, mp3.

Tupac. (1997b). I wonder if heaven got a ghetto. On *R U still down? (Remember me?)* [CD]. Atlanta, GA: Amaru/BmG/Jive Records, mp3.

Tupac. (1998). Changes. On *Greatest hits* [CD]. Atlanta, GA: Interscope/Amaru/Death Row, mp3.

Whitburn, J. (2006). *The Billboard book of top 40 R & B and hip-hop hits*. New York: Billboard.

11

CONNECTING INDUSTRY AND THE ARTS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Art Hop of Burlington, Vermont

Rhonda Phillips, Bruce Seifer, and Mark A. Brennan

Culture is most easily defined as what people say and do. If this is so, then the people of Burlington, Vermont can be described as keen supporters of arts and culture, by holding what some have called "the largest block party in the world focused on art", for over 26 years. The Art Hop has a unique story, and one that is very much worth sharing, which is the purpose of this chapter.

Studies have shown that culture, and arts as part of culture, can impact many outcomes across a spectrum: quality of life, sense of place, ability to attract new citizens and investments, all outcomes that can influence long-term community resiliency and economic durability (Aquino et al., 2013; Phillips, 2004). In other words, culture and arts matter in terms of community development. This chapter provides insight into Burlington's progression towards a culturally vibrant city, the role of a cultural economy, and the development of the Art Hop, a large cultural event held every year that draws around 30,000 people.[1]

We begin by exploring the context of culture and arts in creative placemaking. The subsequent section then provides insight into Burlington's approach to preserving and further integrating arts in its downtown industrial district via the City's Community and Economic Development Office (CEDO) and later, through establishment of the South End Arts + Business District (SEABA).

Context: Fostering a Culturally Creative Economy

The creative economy is a concept popularized by economist Richard Florida, referring to development strategy emphasizing the attraction of creative, knowledge-based workers within a culturally vibrant city. Florida compared cities with a metric that examined amenities, social capital, diversity, and several other

factors. Burlington scored high in Florida's index, ranking as the most tolerant and fourth most creative city.

Earlier, in a 2004 study examining Burlington's creative economy, a number of artistic and cultural attractions meeting Florida's criteria were examined. It cites the example of the Great Harvest Bread Company, which chose Burlington in part over other locations in New England due to arts-based activities and amenities. In explaining why this helped them make their decision, co-owner Ethan Brown states, "The art was just fantastic. Not only did we like seeing the art, but the whole notion of the Art Hop was just cool" (Loner, 2004, p. 16). (The Great Harvest Bread Company has since become a central feature of this annual event).

The Burlington report credited the creative economy as playing a quantitatively significant role in the city, estimating between 4% and 12% of Burlington's creative workforce generate over $500 million annually. Several year ago, a report from Americans for the Arts calculated 1,040 creative jobs located in Burlington. The arts district in the South End and Pine Street area (the focus of this chapter and where the Art Hop is held) contained approximately a quarter of these jobs, while a little more than half of the jobs were in the downtown central business district (Florida, 2002). This district is further described as "The SoHo of Vermont" (Vermont Business Magazine, 2003). Florida makes an appealing argument in correlating certain traits such as the presence of creative workers with economic success, but a question on the mind of many who work in community and economic development is at what point is a critical mass of creative professionals reached (Florida, 2002)?

First, in the 1960s and 1970s Vermont's reputation as an agrarian and "alternative" place to live attracted many creative risk-takers from out of state, as well as University of Vermont graduates who chose to settle in the state's largest city where they went to school. Economic development efforts began in earnest in 1983, with the advent of Bernie Sander's election as Mayor. CEDO was established, and quickly commissioned a study, Jobs and People, in 1984. A concern in this initial report was the number of underemployed professionals. Business incubator space from old manufacturing and warehouse buildings on Pine Street began to provide an outlet for some entrepreneurs who did not want to take a conventional employment path.

An influential economic strategy during the 1980s and 1990s was the idea of cluster and network development plans. Forming the South End Arts + Business Association (SEABA) to focus on development of the creative and arts district, it was initially and explicitly a network, gradually transformed into a cluster that has effectively used creative economy approaches to generate substantial returns. Like a cluster, SEABA has been able to establish value- and knowledge-adding chains among its members. While this occurs in Burlington on a relatively small scale, SEABA also enables

> a scale of demand among employers that produces external economies, i.e., a sufficient number of firms with common or overlapping needs to create or attract more services and resources (including labor) than would be available to more isolated firms – and often at a lower cost.
>
> *(Rosenfeld, 2002, p.12)*

However, rather than a mid-skilled labor force with relatively minimal geographic mobility, even in the past this district has more generally housed a "creative economy" workforce.

Also relevant is the comment that "re-orienting the central theme of the cluster from some commonality of production process to a commonality related to knowledge, innovation, or entrepreneurship, may also open up new possibilities for generating externalities and taking collective actions in a region" (Rosenfeld, 2002, p. 13). Rather than companies being the primary player as in a cluster economy, people are the most important resource, and the number of incubators in the area creates a key difference in how the area's economy functions.

What are the lessons learned? Former director of CEDO, Bruce Seifer explains,

> It's about taking your assets and figuring out how to best use them. In this case, it was one building at a time, providing loans, beginning with renovating the ugliest structure in the area, the Maltex building. It was the biggest visual eye sore in the area. We then worked to get the next one, then the next one, until most have been revitalized now. Originally, Bernie Sanders, then Mayor, was blamed for the vacancies in the area, so we took pictures and one by one we redid them. The idea was to provide places for entrepreneurs to thrive.

In some clusters, an interlocked labor force can replace social capital in holding such a cluster together. However, in this case, the opposite applies: social capital and the relationships between businesses hold the area together even considering the vast differences between businesses' functions. As the organization and the region have matured, a joint culture has developed allowing for more interlocking functions, particularly among the artists' community, as more individuals are attracted to an area which they feel will benefit them and which they will themselves continue to sustain and support. This development was supported by the initial efforts of SEABA in uniting first to address shared costs but increasingly to promote the district's identity by solving common challenges with infrastructure projects and through more positive community building efforts including the Art Park and other beautification work.

A common concern in arts districts is the issue of gentrification, particularly that fledgling companies and artists will not be able to afford rising rents as the area becomes more popular. In the case of Burlington, zoning restrictions have

helped prevent gentrification. Language in the city's master plan helps maintain certain types of retail, housing, and other district characteristics (City of Burlington, 2006). Maintaining space for businesses of certain types is vital too – enabling growth of more of the types of businesses that are already here rather than gentrifying for higher paying uses. Gentrification is often an issue in districts such as these – artists and entrepreneurs, sometimes in partnership with local government, civic or private sector organizations, transform an area from underuse and declining positions to one that is highly desirable. This often leads to gentrification and displacement of those who served to transform the district.

Arts, Business, and Culture (ABC)

There are lessons to be learned in how to merge arts and business together. This section provides some of reflections on the transformation of a dilapidated industrial corridor to a culturally vibrant arts and industry district. First and foremost, pursuing a culture and arts-based development strategy can serve as an effective and dynamic community and economic development approach, attracting people and businesses to stay in the area as well as move into the community, fostering a creative environment. Now, one of the most popular events in Burlington and the entire state of Vermont, the South End Art Hop, provides an example of how to help foster a creative environment. This event is a way to showcase a former industrial district, now a working area for arts, entertainment, and even still some manufacturing. It should be noted that workers in the businesses in the district all make and display art exhibits, alongside the artists from the area. It is interesting to note that Burlington's major event first began by artisans who chose to live in the area, throwing "alley cat" parties that morphed into the formal Art Hop. The event now sees over 500 artists registering each year. This kind of outcome validates who people are, who they want to be, and creates vibrant communities where people want to live – "living values that are valued." The focus is to try to meet the needs of people in the community.

Focusing on sense of place can be an effective strategy as it distinguishes what is distinctive about a place separating it from others (Plunkett et al., 2018). Some localities "have an attraction which gives a certain indefinable sense of well-being and which we want to return to, time and again" (Jackson, 1994, p. 158). Unfortunately, prevailing development patterns in many areas increasingly separate people from place, reducing responsibility to their communities and threatening sense of place (Cannavo, 2007). Burlington is not one of those places. Its uniqueness is not by coincidence. It has taken concerted efforts over many decades to protect its uniqueness (historic preservation, redevelopment efforts, and new additions both culturally and to the built environment). The built environment is a reflection of a community's values – what can be observed and experienced is directly related to those values.

This definitive sense of place is not just a strategy to attract tourists, although tourism is a valuable component of the local economy. It is more a lifestyle

choice – enabling citizens, businesses and organizations to live the types of lives they want in a vibrant and engaging community. The results are impressive – numerous awards have been garnered over the last several years. These awards recognize the cultural dimensions of the city, from historic resources to arts-based activities to a focus on healthy living lifestyles.

One of the first lessons learned in early efforts to create the culture and arts district was that starting with an industrial "park" is misleading, as they are really parks, since there are no sidewalks and not designed for interaction. The initial efforts were to try instead to create places and spaces for interaction such as coffee shops in an incubator building, or a little pocket park to have lunch (what some refer to as third places). SEABA and CEDO supported the original idea of an industrial neighborhood. Another example – the district from early on became a site for sculpture. Art Hop provides prize money each year, to sculptors exhibiting before the event to help build momentum, community pride, and interest in art. With sculpture up and down the streets, including a half-moon shopping carts conversation piece, there is art in every business. This helps get people into a different type of mindset, helping spur innovation and creative thinking. It is very much intentional, by supporting innovation in businesses and the community, arts can in turn support commerce. Using sculptures in an industrial area helps fuse the idea of commerce and culture.

South End Arts + Business Association's transformation of the Pine Street warehouse district into an arts and business incubator district has been successful. It is important to note this area was going through disinvestment as a decaying industrial district with warehousing, wholesaling, and distribution facilities, as well as some car and truck repair businesses. This was the city's industrially zoned part of town that, at the time, was quickly filling with empty and dilapidated buildings. SEABA began with 30 businesses and artists; today its membership totals in the hundreds. The organization has sustained itself and successfully aided a transition to a new "creative economy."

The Art Hop

What has now become the defining feature of SEABA is the annual Art Hop, an event which first started in 1993 with 36 artists in 27 locations and continues to the present. SEABA took over the Art Hop in 1994, gradually increasing the number of attendees from fewer than 300 to more than 40,000 visitors during the month of September (M. Waskow, personal communication, May 17, 2009). The Art Hop was initially created to showcase artists in the community by giving them a weekend which they could display their works in a local company, even if they lacked a studio. This allows for more exposure and sales for both the artists and the company. It is open to everyone who wants to show their work. Sometimes employees of the businesses in the area create art work too; it showcases how creative business can be, even if

not high tech in nature. It opens the mind's eye to creativity, and there is value in a very vibrant area where people want to locate their businesses. The idea is not solely focused on marketing for tourism but rather for locating business there, and marketing to families to help humanize an industrial area. All of this is about defining arts and business. The area has been branded by creating a space and a mindset that this is where it all goes on for arts and business. The Art Hop has always been an organizational challenge for a nonprofit dependent on a sole executive director and interns to coordinate the event, as well as obtain funding from a wide array of local sponsors. However, the Art Hop has also brought much awareness to the artistic community in Burlington and across the state, receiving an award as one of Vermont's Top Ten Fall Events by the Vermont Chamber of Commerce beginning in 2002. It continues to be a very popular event, both for local residents and visitors.

Crunch and Funk Revisited

In 2017, a reunion was held for the artists and others involved in the early days of creating the district and the Art Hop. SEABA held the workshop at the waterfront, displaying then and now posters of multiple artists and creators. It was titled, Crunch + Funk to bring together artists, entrepreneurs, and advocates from the 1980s and '90s who helped spark the creative economy in Burlington. Why this name? It was the title of a chapter about culture and arts in a book written about Burlington's community and economic development experiences from 1984 onward (Phillips et al., 2013). For that book, Jerry Greenfield and Ben Cohen, iconic founders of the premium ice cream enterprise Ben & Jerry's, were interviewed, along with many others who participated in Burlington's development. They lamented that Burlington is not as "crunchy and funky" as it was in days past. Recalling the glory days of the 1970s and '80s, Burlington was a major site for everything alternative, securing a place impression of uniqueness. Everything is relative, however, and Burlington still can hold its own culturally (including being named as the "third funkiest city" in the world by British Airways in 2005).

Along with students from the University of Vermont, discussion sessions were held with artists, business owners, public sector employees and others connected to the district. Displays of artists' work were on view for the attendees. As mentioned, the focus of the group were artists and entrepreneurs who helped transform the district in the 1980s and '90s. This enabled a long-term view of what the district was prior to revitalization as well as observations on what is needed currently to sustain and improve it. The goal of the discussion was to revisit the origins of the thriving artist and business community in Burlington's South End and to explore community members' visions for the future. The 40 participants were asked to think about: What is the secret of the district's success? What should we think about for the future? What ideas/thoughts/concerns do we have for the future of the South End? (Peter et al., 2017).

Most participants agreed that the secret to success was the mix of people – artists, business owners, social entrepreneurs, a public sector willing to participate and be a partner, and the ethos or "vibe" of the Burlington itself. These ingredients combined to enable alternative, arts-based development to flourish. The future is a bit more problematic, as traffic and congestion is an issue, along with rising property values that have started to push out artists and others seeking lower priced rental space. With more attention and help from public sector tools such as district zoning, some of these issues may be alleviated. Given its success over the past decades, it is hoped that answers will be found to keep the district both "crunchy and funky" for the future.

Burlington Art Hop at a Potential Crossroads?

As seen throughout this chapter, the Burlington Art Hop and related spin-off development initiatives, are an example of what can happen when local communities and citizens focus on their uniqueness, culture, and creative abilities. Such success should be celebrated and replicated in areas where similar efforts might take root (Ferilli et al., 2017; van der Vaart et al., 2017). That said, such development exists in a fragile environment, where unchecked growth or too much success quickly becomes problematic (Pratt, 2018). Burlington may be on the verge of such a shift.

As with other forms of sustainable tourism, arts-based development must be closely monitored so that the basis for development does not become degraded as increased people experience it (Balfour et al., 2018). It is also the case that arts-based development provides distinct settings with various unique amenities that draw tourists and others. Such uniqueness is of course the cornerstone of locally based development (Balfour et al., 2018; Borrup, 2016).

This context can quickly turn negative, where gentrification and other conditions squeeze out local artists (due to increased rents, event fees), drawing participants from outside of the area who can afford it, but lack the local connectedness to the place (Murdoch et al., 2016). Burlington is already wrestling with this, as property values in the arts district have sky-rocketed, high-end condos are replacing artist warehouses, and cost of living is steadily increasing. This has led to tension between local property owners and SEABA, resulting in a relocation of SEABA offices, staff changes, and a general sense of uneasiness.

Similarly, as gentrification increases, special food, beverage, and craft venues unique to the local culture are also forced out (Zukin et al., 2009). This vacuum creates an environment for box stores, chain restaurants, and other extra-local entities to move in. Often this is accompanied by economic decline as outside businesses have few ties to the locality, fail to reinvest profits locally, and tend to transfer funds out of the place to corporate headquarters located elsewhere.

Finally, affordable workforce housing options often decline as gentrification takes hold, leaving a depleted local presence (Ding et al., 2016). Affordable housing, space previously utilized for arts and creative ventures, and mixed use

housing can quickly be lost to high end apartments and retail space. In this setting, the uniqueness and creative culture of the locality that gave birth to the locality and arts-based development is quickly lost.

All these conditions are increasingly becoming problematic in Burlington and presenting obstacles to the long successful development efforts. In response, city government efforts are now campaigning to merge planning and development functions in Burlington. Such administrative efforts are proposed to manage the changing environment in which SEABA, Art Hop, and other venues continue to exist. At the same time, such centralization of planning and development by an administrative entity are of concern by many residents who see this change as antithetical to the non-profit activities in the art networks and the founding principles that led to previous success. At this time, some local organizing in opposition to the merger is beginning to emerge. This further adds to the successful, yet fragile environment in which the Art Hop and other efforts exist.

Considerations for Future Directions and Conclusions

We must guard against such challenges and the all too common gentrification that comes without successful local development efforts. This is particularly true for development based around culture, arts, music, and other creative ventures. The emergence of these as a successful tool for local development exists in a fragile environment, where changes to the local social and cultural landscape can have devastating effects.

The good news is that the same process that builds community capacity for cultural-based growth can also help better plan and guard against gentrification related declines (Balfour et al., 2018; Borrup, 2016; van der Vaart et al., 2017). Much like the community and cultural ties that gave birth to Art Hop, this process of community capacity building must be maintained and advanced. Their work did not end at the establishment of the Art Hop, SEABA, and other outlets. Moreover, this success has in fact only set the stage for advanced community capacity building.

This capacity still remains, as is seen in the recent Burlington City Arts teaching center which hopes to continue to foster locally based cultural, arts, and other related development. Such broad-based community efforts need to be at the forefront of local visioning, planning, and citizen-engaged debate on the current and future shape of development in Burlington.

As development successfully advances, we must use the same community-based process to ensure that the community agency that emerged in the process remains. We must ensure the broad-based interaction, channels of communication, venues for interaction among diverse individuals are retained (Balfour et al., 2018). Mechanisms for facilitating dialogue, citizen engagement in planning and development are now more essential than ever.

At the point of achieving success, as has been seen in Burlington, community capacity is most important, as it seeks to protect and foster development. The same

dynamic process that led to establishing the Art Hop must be turned to creating and maintaining an environment where the venture can continue (Balfour et al., 2018). Community capacity is critical in fostering new ventures, but equally important in serving as the watchdog to unwanted development and ensuring that local communities mobilize and respond to such threats (Balfour et al., 2018; Ferilli et al., 2017).

Finally, from a practice and policy standpoint, research is needed to understand the rapidly changing dynamics taking place in Burlington and elsewhere. Research is also needed to clarify how communities are or are not responding to such conditions. Finally, research is needed to clarify the predictors of effective community engagement and agency in these settings. With such information, successful community-based development efforts like Art Hop can continue to prosper, while at the same time coordinating efforts to balance the pressures and challenges of success.

As discussed, there is much appeal to arts-based community development approaches, not the least of which is the aesthetically, intellectually, and creativity-inspiring pleasing environment that draws tourists and local residents to experience. With this case of Burlington, Vermont's Art Hop and South End Business and Arts district, it takes many to join together to enable such a district to flourish. At the same time, there are considerations and issues to attend to that result from such success.

Note

1 For a full case of Burlington's culture and arts-based development, see Chapter 4, Crunch and Funk: Cultural Vibrancy, pp. 86–126, in Phillips, R., Seifer, B., & Antczak, E. (2013). *Sustainable communities, creating a durable local economy*. London: Routledge. Some of the information presented here has been excerpted with permission from the original chapter.

Acknowledgements

References

Aquino, J., Phillips, R., & Sung, H. (2013). Tourism, culture, and the creative industries: Reviving distressed neighborhoods with arts-based community tourism. *Tourism Culture and Communications*, *12*, 1. DOI: 10.3727/109830412X13542041184658

Balfour, B., Fortunato, M. W., & Alter, T. R. (2018). The creative fire: An interactional framework for rural arts-based development. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *63*, 229–239.

Borrup, T. (2016). Creative placemaking: Arts and culture as a partner in community revitalization. In: Boyle-Clapp, D. & Brown, M.. (Eds.), *Fundamentals of arts management* (Vol 9 pp. 50–69). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Arts Extension Service.

Cannavo, P. F. (2007). *The working landscape: Founding, preservation, and the politics of place.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

City of Burlington. (2006). City of Burlington's municipal development plan. Retrieved from www.burlingtonvt.gov/PZ/PlanLibrary

Ding, L., Hwang, J., & Divringi, E. (2016). Gentrification and residential mobility in Philadelphia. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, *61*, 38–51.

Ferilli, G., Sacco, P. L., Tavano Blessi, G., & Forbici, S. (2017). Power to the people: When culture works as a social catalyst in urban regeneration processes (and when it does not). *European Planning Studies*, *25*(2), 241–258.

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class.* New York: Basic Books.

Jackson, J. B. (1994). *A sense of place, a sense of time.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Loner, M. (2004, June 8). An introduction to the creative economy in Burlington, Vermont. Retrieved from https://snellingcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Introducing-Creative-Economy-in-BVT.doc

Murdoch, J., III, Grodach, C., & Foster, N. (2016). The importance of neighborhood context in arts-led development: Community anchor or creative class magnet? *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *36*(1), 32–48.

Peter, O., Gillen, J., Goldberg, E., & Ross, H. (2017). Crunch and Funk: A Report on the South End Founders Roundtable. Unpublished report, Burlington: Vermont.

Phillips, R. (2004). Artful business: Using the arts for community economic development. *Community Development Journal*, *39*(2), 112–122. http://cdj.oxfordjournals.org/content/vol39/issue2

Phillips, R., Antczak, E., & Seifer, B. (2013). *Sustainable communities: Creating a durable local economy.* New York: Routledge.

Plunkett, D., Phillips, R. & Ucar, K. B. (2018). Place attachment in community renewal and development. *Journal of Community Practice.* DOI: 10.1080/10705422.2018.1521352

Pratt, A. C. (2018). Gentrification, artists and the cultural economy. In: Lees, L. & Philips, M. (Eds.), *Handbook of gentrification studies* (pp. 346–362). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Rosenfeld, S. (2002). Just clusters: Economic development strategies that reach more people and places. Retrieved from www.researchgate.net/profile/Stuart_Rosenfeld

van der Vaart, G., van Hoven, B., & Huigen, P. P. (2017). 'It is not only an artist village, it is much more than that'. The binding and dividing effects of the arts on a community. *Community Development Journal*, *54*(3), 1–17.

Vermont Business Magazine. (2003). Burlington's South end: The SoHo of Vermont. Retrieved from www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-315880461.html

Zukin, S., Trujillo, V., Frase, P., Jackson, D., Recuber, T., & Walker, A. (2009). New retail capital and neighborhood change: Boutiques and gentrification in New York City. *City & Community*, *8*(1), 47–64.

INDEX

Page numbers in **bold** refer to information in tables; those in *italics* refer to figures or images.