

How People and Place Shape Regional Arts and Culture:
Insights for Cultural Planning

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Abstract

Problem

Commitment to creative placemaking is deepening, thanks to research on how arts and culture are wedded to place and to growing disappointment with export-base-led economic development. Working across public sector bureaus and encouraged by new funding streams, planners and politicians are investing in arts and cultural activities embedded in neighborhoods and joined to revitalization efforts. Yet most offerings and spaces are run by nonprofits, an often baffling ecology to decision makers.

Research strategy

To help planners understand cultural potential, we examine spatial variation in participation rates and in size, disciplinary foci and location of arts nonprofits using large data sets on California.

Findings

We find that at the metropolitan scale, arts participation rates are not dictated by demographics, though they are strongly correlated with presence of arts organizations. Smaller regions in the state, along with smaller cities, are home to higher numbers of arts organizations per capita – a result indicating that arts organization presence is not limited mainly to the largest central cities. At the city scale, we find that higher per capita arts nonprofits' presence is strongly associated with demographics, particularly levels of educational attainment and residents' personal wealth. It is also positively associated with

job density (reflecting a city's role as an employment center) and levels of private philanthropic funding for arts and culture. However, while job density is an important explanatory factor, it is not associated with traditional center-periphery distinction (in particular, central city designation). Instead, arts organization presence in California appears to conform to the state's complex, polycentric development patterns.

Takeaway for practice

Planners can take heart that central city status and resident demographics do not dictate arts potential. We discuss how planners might play lead roles in creative placemaking and how an understanding of arts and cultural nonprofits can help. Our analysis has implications for planners in other areas, like community development, heavily reliant on non-profits.

Key words: creative placemaking, cultural planning

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I. Introduction

Encouraged by new government and philanthropic initiatives, planners at city, regional and state levels are newly engaging in creative placemaking—economic and area revitalization centered on arts and cultural venues and activities. Building on its earlier city design planning grants with the Mayors’ Institute on City Design, the National Endowment for the Arts has launched its *Our Town* program that offers grants of \$25,000 to \$150,000 for “creative placemaking projects that contribute toward the livability of communities and help transform them into lively, beautiful, and sustainable places with the arts at their core” (<http://arts.gov/grants/apply/OurTown/index.html>, downloaded January 29, 2012). The NEA defines creative placemaking, citing its commissioned Markusen & Gadwa study (2010b), as follows:

In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, nonprofit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired (website, op cit)

Also recently created, the *ArtPlace* initiative, a collaboration of nine large US foundations, eight federal agencies (including the NEA), and six of the nation’s largest banks, “supports creative placemaking with grants and loans, research and advocacy” (<http://www.artplaceamerica.org/about/> downloaded January 12, 2012). *ArtPlace* dispersed \$11.5 million to 34 organizations in 2011 and expects to distribute \$15 million in 2012.

The enthusiasm for creative placemaking has been quickened by successful, completed projects around the country, ranging from small towns to metro-wide initiatives, fourteen of which are documented in Markusen & Gadwa (2010b), and by

recent research documenting the development effects of arts and cultural venues and activities (see for instance Jackson et al, 2006; Markusen & Schrock, 2006a; Grodach, 2001). It also results from increasing disappointment with export base-oriented economic development strategies and associated expensive tax incentives, prompting new interest in distinctive local consumption base strategies (Cortwright, 2002; Markusen & Schrock, 2009).

Until recently, city cultural planning was largely subordinated to local economic development ends such as job-creating business recruiting (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007). The new creative placemaking funding initiatives mandate decision-making partnerships between the public and nonprofit sectors and are more broadly aimed at area revitalization and enhanced support for the arts for their intrinsic rather than simply instrumental value. *Our Town* applications require a partnership that will provide leadership for each proposed project and must involve two primary partners: a nonprofit organization and a local government entity, with the caveat that one of the two primary partners must be a cultural (arts or design) organization (either public or nonprofit).

City and regional planners generally work on the frontiers of a very mixed economy. The organizations that plan and produce goods and services and shape community quality of life span for-profit, non-profit, public, and informal spheres, with starkly different missions, legal status, and *modi operandi*. The mix varies by functional area. In economic development, for instance, much planning and policy-making is directed at the private sector, though nonprofits are active in workforce development. Planning education is light on basic learning about the differences among these organizational forms. Yet good planning and policymaking must work with these

complex organizational ecologies. Planners themselves may work in one or another of these spheres, and sometimes in more than one simultaneously.

In arts and culture, planners work across four types of organizations: commercial industries/producers, nonprofits, public sector agencies, and the informal sector (Markusen, 2010). Their relative size can be gauged by artists' reported employment in the Census. In 2000, 42% of artists worked for private employers (chiefly in the cultural industries), 13% for nonprofits, and 4% in the public sector, while 40% were self-employed (Table 1). Yet many of the self-employed work on contract for organizations in the other sectors. Artists frequently work in both commercial and nonprofit sectors simultaneously, and while they make more money in the former, they spend more time in the latter (Galligan & Alper, 1998; Markusen, Gilmore et al, 2006). In creative placemaking, organizations in all four sectors interact with diverse actors, including artists but also managers, other workers, suppliers, supporters, patrons, policymakers, often across jurisdictions (neighborhoods, small towns, cities, regions, states) (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010b).

[Table 1 about here]

In contrast with other planning spheres such as transportation, public safety, and land use, local and state governments produce and fund very little arts and cultural activity directly, relying heavily on nonprofit funders, producers, presenters, and professional associations to create, produce and present arts and cultural programming and space. While a few large cities (Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York) have well-staffed cabinet-level Cultural Affairs departments, others have none. Cities make important regulatory and financial decisions about redevelopment that shape arts and

culture. They may designate cultural districts and underwrite (sometimes owning and managing) large flagship venues. Yet while arts and cultural space ownership, management and programming are largely nonprofit sector enterprises, the planning academy directs little attention to how nonprofit governance and structures shape cultural planning (Isserman & Markusen, 2011).

In this paper, we explore California's non-profit arts and cultural sector across ten regions, including the four largest metro areas. We first summarize the findings of the thin but interdisciplinary past research on arts organization presence, which finds that nonprofit arts and cultural organizations are rather hierarchically arrayed across cities and regions. After explaining our data sources and methods, we then explore how and whether arts participation and arts nonprofits' presence in California varies across regions, evaluating patterns in arts and cultural participation rates (a proxy for demand) and in numbers, size and focus of nonprofit arts organizations (the supply side). We then explore the factors that can help explain the presence of arts organizations at the city level, estimating whether demographic characteristics of city residents and/or other place-based factors, including metropolitan location, city population size, and work structures also contribute. In concluding, we address the implications for city and regional planners.

II. Research on the spatial distribution of arts and cultural nonprofits

What we know about the distribution of nonprofit arts and cultural capacity regionally and by city size owes much to Judith Blau's pioneering book, *The Shape of Culture* (1989). Blau charted the historic emergence of arts and cultural activities in the US and theorized why they

were unevenly distributed spatially. Historically, Blau notes, strong class and cultural differentiation in early American cities resulted in distinctive arts complexes. New York and Philadelphia, for instance, hosted theatres, while in Boston, Puritan commercial leaders suppressed them. Opera bypassed the early East Coast but took root in New Orleans and San Francisco. The youthful South was precocious in fostering live entertainment but not museums and galleries. Immigrant cities became centers of cultural entertainment that did not require education, while wealthy elites supported more exclusive cultural undertakings (Blau, 1989: 4). Thus unique population characteristics, cultural practices, and creative placemaking explain early variation among historic city regions.

Systematic arts and cultural variation among metro areas in the post-WWII period arises from both hierarchical and specializing tendencies (Markusen & Schrock, 2006b). From World War II through the early 1980s, Blau found American “high culture” (e.g. opera, fine arts museums) to be relatively concentrated in large metros with popular culture (movies, bowling) more dispersed. At the same time, metro areas exhibit ongoing distinctions based on historical path dependence: wealthy elites and/or ethnic/folk traditions maintain and enhance distinctive offerings such as Mardi Gras and Grand Old Opry (Blau, 1989: 15-16). Lui’s (1976) study of the first few decades after WWII found greater than expected variation among metro areas in fairs, festivals, sporting events, and radio stations, but fewer differences in dance, drama, and musical events. Since Liu and Blau’s writings, new specializations continue to evolve —Austin TX as a music and film mecca, Santa Fe’s visual arts prowess, Ashland (OR) year-round drama offerings spun out of its Shakespeare Festival.

In some cities, nonprofit arts organizations are found in close association with for-profit cultural industries. But Blau’s research refuted the notion that cultural industries drive cultural

offerings, showing that the latter are only weakly attached to the large central cities where such industries cluster. Recent research using the 2000 Census confirms that arts presence varies considerably across metro areas and that cultural industries' occupational structures vary considerably across metros (Markusen & Gadwa, 2012). Blau also found little evidence that major cultural institutions in the 1970s had ties of interdependence within cities or that they incubated large numbers of smaller organizations (Blau, 1989: 5).

In the 1970s, the per capita presence of arts organizations did not correlate closely with metropolitan population except for galleries, theatre companies and experimental ensembles. Blau found that Boston, Philadelphia, Washington DC, and San Francisco metros, which were not among the top four by population, hosted more arts organizations per capita than did the New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago metros. Nor did she find much interdependence across within-metro art forms—i.e. opera and visual art were linked in some but not in others. She concludes that the central cities of large metros have narrowly-focused resources, spend them on a relatively small number of very large and prestigious institutions, and are not encouraging of smaller organizations. In contrast, commercial and popular culture in some smaller metros—e.g. Nashville, Salt Lake, Little Rock--was more prominent than elite culture (Blau, 1989: 17-21).

Changes in the spatial distribution of the nonprofit arts during the 1970s reflect the explosive nonprofit arts funding growth that followed the formation of the National Endowment for the Arts and the Ford Foundation's initiatives in prompting private foundation and corporate arts funding (Kreidler, 1996). Two outcomes favored larger metro areas: galleries increased faster than did population and were central city-centric, and artists, too, increased in number faster than population growth, also drawn to the centers of large conurbations (Blau, op. cit., 57-8). Research on growth rates and distribution of artists from 1980 to 2000 confirms a continued

centripetal movement of artists towards New York and Los Angeles, but great variation among “second tier” metros (i.e. those between 800,000 and 2 million in population). Some expanded their artistic workforces more rapidly than others, and some added artists despite net artist outmigration, i.e. they “home grew” artists (Markusen & Schrock, 2006a). But we have no good longitudinal studies of nonprofit arts organizational spatial shifts from the 1970s through the first decade of the 20th century.ⁱ

III. Methodology

In this paper, we analyze arts and cultural participation and the spatial distribution and differentiation of nonprofit arts in California, a state that hosts more nonprofit arts and cultural organizations than do most countries in the world. For 2008, we estimate that the state is home to nearly 11,000 such organizations, found in every region in the state and in all types of communities. Their ranks include multipurpose cultural centers, science and visual arts museums, symphony orchestras and folk ensembles, artist service organizations, ethnic arts groups, literary societies, dance companies, professional associations, and many more. We begin by analyzing participation rates among Californians and how these vary by region. We then investigate the presence of California’s nonprofits arts and cultural organizations by number, budget size and focus area, across regions and in cities of varying size and other distinguishing characteristics. We probe the connection between arts participation and organizational presence at the regional scale and then analyze city features associated with presence of arts organizations.

Our methodology involved integrating results from quantitative data from five main sources, each with limitations and advantages, requiring some “triangulation” of results across sources as well as adjustments to the data.ⁱⁱ To explore how Californians’

arts participation compares with the rest of the U.S. and varies across large metros in the state, we used data from the National Endowment for the Arts' Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA). To explore California's arts and cultural nonprofits, we used data from two main sources, the California Cultural Data Project (CDP), and IRS data on nonprofits compiled by the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS). We designed three key indicator variables using the CDP and NCCS data—budget size, organization focus area (mission and/or artistic discipline), and region. To make use of data available for the self-selected responding organizations in the California CDP, we investigated how well the data represent the entire landscape of nonprofit arts and cultural organizations in California. Based on the results, we designed a method for weighting the CDP data to improve estimates. To investigate how arts and cultural organizations reflect and vary by the characteristics of the communities in which they are located, we compiled and analyzed data from the U.S. Census and other supplemental sources on key city features.

IV. How Californians participate in arts and culture

Millions of people—Californians and visitors alike—participate in, create for, work in, and support California's nonprofit arts and cultural organizations, many of them frequently. In 2008, Californians participated in arts events, as measured in the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA), at higher rates (54%) than other Americans (48%).ⁱⁱⁱ Though these rates fell from 2002 to 2008, they dropped more slowly in California than they did nationally.

What accounts for the higher arts participation rate of California adults compared to residents of other states? Demographic factors provide one possible explanation. Nationally, arts participation varies considerably by income, education level, and age of adults (National Endowment for the Arts, 2009). Do higher California participation rates simply reflect differences in the socioeconomic character of state residents as compared to other Americans?

Demographic factors do influence arts participation among California adults substantially (Table 2.) Measuring attendance at least once annually at any type of surveyed event, women are more likely to attend than men, and older adults (up to age 65) more than younger ones. High-income Californians are about twice as likely to attend arts events as low-income Californians. Similarly, highly educated Californians are about twice as likely to attend arts events as those with a high school education or less. Among racial/ethnic groups, white non-Hispanics are most likely to attend arts events, while Asians and Latinos are least likely. African Americans' rate matches the average in the rest of the nation.

[Table 2 about here]

However, demographic factors do not fully account for California's higher arts participation rate compared to the rest of the nation. Controlling for all the factors shown in Table 2 simultaneously—age, family income, race/ethnicity, sex, education level, as well as metropolitan status (whether the individual lived in a metropolitan area), the odds of a California adult attending at least one event were 25% higher than for other American adults.^{iv}

Californians' relatively high participation rates are not equally spread across the state's regions. In 2008, more than 14 million California adults attended arts events with residents of the San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles regions accounting for more than 70% of that total. San Francisco Bay Area residents were especially avid arts attendees, with a participation rate of two-thirds (66%) (Table 3).^v

[Table 3 about here]

High San Francisco Bay Area participation rates account for much of the variation between Californians and the rest of the nation. After controlling for the demographic factors noted above, the odds of a Bay Area resident attending an arts event are 81% higher than for other Californians. If socioeconomic characteristics do not explain high Bay Area appetites for arts and culture, then other factors must account for them. One possibility is that in earlier decades, Bay Area people who cared greatly about arts and culture—artists as well as arts lovers—built, funded, and otherwise supported arts ventures that expanded the region's portfolio of offerings. Over time, these attracted more creators and fans to move into the region.^{vi}

Such capacity-building also likely nurtured arts and cultural tastes among current residents and newcomers who arrived for other reasons. If this place-based preference for arts and culture placed a premium on quality arts education in schools and adult forums, arts participation would be further enhanced. Researchers have found that the level of arts learning that takes place during childhood and/or adulthood serves as a strong predictor of adults attending the kinds of arts events that we measure (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011).

V. California's nonprofit arts by size, focus and region

California's nonprofit arts and cultural sector nurtures an extraordinary range of organizations that vary greatly by budget size, focus, and region. Among the estimated 10,746 of them, small organizations vastly outnumber large ones, with 85% of organizational budgets falling under \$250,000 and 48% falling under \$25,000 (Figure 1).
[Figure 1 about here]

Large percentages (22%) of California's nonprofit arts and cultural organizations belong to the ethnic, folk arts, and multidisciplinary group (Figure 2). Another 20% belong to the humanities, legacy, and other museums group. These two groups encompass relatively more organizations with annual budgets under \$25,000 than the other arts-type groups. Visual arts organizations, including visual arts museums, comprise only 5% of all organizations.

[Figure 2 about here]

The distribution of arts organization by focus is not strongly associated with budget size. Organizations with budgets over \$10 million are modestly more likely to be specialized in visual arts, arts and cultural support, and media, film/video, broadcasting, and publishing than smaller organizations (Table 4).^{vii} Organizations with budgets between \$25,000 and \$250,000 are slightly more likely to be oriented to ethnic, folk arts, and multi-disciplinary fields than other focus areas. Performing arts and music organizations are more evenly spread across all size groups than any other focus category.

[Table 4 about here]

The presence and character of California's arts and cultural organizations vary across the state's regions, among its cities and towns, and by neighborhood within cities.

Distinctive landscapes and histories, population settlement patterns, socioeconomic differences, and creative place-making shape differences by place in mix of offerings and patronage. We explore nonprofit arts and cultural presence and focus in ten macro regions in California, constructed from county units to create regions that ensured us reasonable statistical reliability and that are similar to those used by the Public Policy Institute of California and others (Figure 3).

[Figure 3 about here]

California regions vary dramatically in size of population. Some land-extensive regions have very low population densities. Larger organizations thrive more easily in large, densely populated metros, reflecting both economies of scale in reaching arts participants and high concentrations of artists and designers.^{viii} The Bay Area and Los Angeles regions combined account for an estimated 65% of all California arts and cultural organizations (Table 5). However, on a per capita basis, some predominantly rural areas—the Sierra and combined North Coast/North State regions—support more organizations than the larger regions do, although their organizations tend to be smaller in size. However, the relatively populous regions of the Inland Empire and San Joaquin Valley host fewer organizations per capita with average budgets well below the overall state average.

[Table 5 about here]

California's regions also vary in the disciplinary and mission focus of their arts and cultural organizations, but not significantly. There are no consistent patterns of difference between heavily and thinly populated regions.

VI. Explaining spatial variation in arts participation, presence, and character

Why do presence, size, and participation rates of California's arts and cultural organizations vary so markedly across the state's regions? Our analysis of participation rates, described above, shows that the characteristics of individuals alone cannot explain participation rate differences, particularly why Bay Area residents participate more than other Californians (and other Americans) in arts events. Participation rates by California region (Table 3) are strongly correlated with the regional per capita numbers of arts organizations, at 0.95. Thus an explanation for the variance in regional participation rates is likely linked to an explanation for the variance in presence of non-profits arts organizations.

Because we lack good participation data for regional and sub-regional scales, we instead investigate the factors associated with presence of arts organizations at the local level, exploring communities of varying types. We hypothesize that arts-related outcomes vary based on demographic characteristics of residents but also to policy choices and to the roles of different communities within regional economies. The concept of "community" is tricky in our analysis, given the porous nature of city boundaries when it comes to consumer behavior in large metropolitan areas. Some arts organizations have audience catchment areas extending for many miles, attracting out-of-towners and tourists, while others attract mainly neighborhood residents. In spite of these issues, we consider a city-scale analysis to be worthwhile because city governments reflect and respond to community values, and have some control over resources for arts purposes, such as through public funding for arts organizations. Across the landscape of the metropolitan terrain, city boundaries do help to distinguish (although imprecisely)

“communities” of varying types, through both historical and current policies that condition the expenditure of public resources and also the structures of the built environment (e.g. whether given cities are oriented to attracting jobs and/or to serving primarily as residential communities).

The attributes of place shape how arts participation varies from one community to another. For example, an individual with aspirations to participate in the arts may find better opportunities in more densely populated areas that enable greater economies of scale in both production and consumption and therefore more venues for the arts than he/she might in more thinly populated places. Similarly, places with larger pools of wealth that generate endowments and patronage may nurture a broader portfolio of arts organizations and offerings than places with more dispersed residents. Those interested in ethnic dance are likely to find dance concerts more easily in places with larger ethnic or immigrant communities.

In other words, we hypothesize that community matters. The combination of people with place, and individual action with collective action, explains the longer-term evolution of local arts and cultural ecologies. Arts and cultural organizations depend on collective as well as individual, actions and commitments for their continued existence.

Local variation in nonprofit arts and culture is substantial in California. At the local level, we estimate that most of California’s cities host only a few arts organizations. The typical (median) number of organizations per city is eight, and three-quarters of cities are home to 17 or fewer. Some cities host many more arts organizations than the median. Half of all the state’s arts nonprofits are located in just 32 California cities, with

the eight largest cities—those with populations above 400,000—accounting for one third of organizations but only one-quarter of the state’s population.

On average, smaller cities have higher numbers of arts organizations per capita on than larger cities, mirroring the finding above that some less populous regions have higher numbers of arts organizations per capita. Smaller cities like Trinidad, Nevada City, Amador City, Sonora, Etna, Bishop, Mount Shasta, and Tehama host eight times or more the typical (median) number of arts organizations per 10,000 residents across cities, which is 2.4 (a measure not to be confused with the average number of organizations per 10,000 residents across the whole state, shown in Table 7). Some mid-size cities also host more arts organizations per capita than the biggest central cities. Cities with more than nine arts and cultural nonprofits per 10,000 residents and populations above 30,000 include (in descending order of organizations per capita) Beverly Hills, Berkeley, Culver City, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Santa Monica, Palo Alto, San Francisco, San Luis Obispo, and San Rafael. Among the largest cities (populations above 400,000), the City of San Francisco hosts 9.7 per 10,000 while Oakland hosts 5.7, Sacramento 5.3, San Diego 3.5, Los Angeles 3.4, Fresno 2.4, San Jose 2.2, and Long Beach 2.1.

To reveal community characteristics that matter most, including both characteristics of individual residents of cities and also collective-action factors, we explore the association between arts and cultural organizational presence per capita with city-by-city variations in population size and density; principal city status; jobs per capita; city government and private philanthropic funding for arts activity; and residents’ income, wealth, educational attainment, race/ethnicity, immigrant status, and age. These variables comprise four sets of place features that may help explain differences in

California's per capita arts and cultural presence at the city level: urban economic, collective socioeconomic, demographic, and private and public funding characteristics. Urban economic attributes include principal city status (an official designation of the Census Bureau for central cities in metropolitan and micropolitan statistical areas), job per capita,^{ix} and housing density. Measures of collective socioeconomic characteristics of cities include median household income, household wealth (dividend, interest, and net rental income per household), income inequality (the Gini index of income inequality, computed from Census data),^x and educational attainment (measured as the share of the adult population ages 25 or older with a bachelor's degree or higher). Demographic characteristics include age structure, race/ethnicity, and immigrant mix. Private^{xi} and public^{xii} funding of nonprofit arts comprise the final group (Table 6).

(Table 6 about here)

Before looking at the relative impact of each of these factors in tandem, we explored bivariate relationships between each variable of interest and per capita organizational presence by city (Table 7). The quintile analysis shows, for instance, that nearly three-quarters of arts organizations (73%) are found in the top 40% of cities, measured by job density.^{xiii} Arts organizations are also concentrated in cities with household income and, to some degree, wealth that is close to the median. Given that household income is positively associated with arts attendance, as shown in the SPPA analysis presented above, this finding may reflect the fact that homogeneous, high-income suburbs often rely on nearby central cities for their arts, while low-income communities may not be able to afford them. A similar pattern is found for the quintiles

on diversity--the more polarized (i.e. most and least non-white) communities have fewer arts organizations per capita than the cities with more diverse residential mixes.

[Table 7 about here]

Which of these factors are most important in predicting whether a city hosts arts organizations, after controlling for the others? A correlation between any individual city characteristic, such as residential household income, with per capita arts and cultural organizations does not mean that the characteristic alone is the driving cause of organizational endowment. Other factors may be at work, some of which may also correlate with income. To evaluate the relative importance, we conducted an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, controlling for regional location of cities in addition to the city features listed.^{xiv}

The regression results confirm that job density, levels of private philanthropic funding for the arts, levels of educational attainment, and personal wealth of city residents are features mostly closely and positively associated with higher per capita arts and cultural organizations (Table 8). Thus we see that a combination of demographic factors (wealth and education), policy-related factors (arts funding), and built-environment characteristics (job density) best explain presence of arts organizations. Two variables proved to be significantly and negatively associated with presence of arts organizations: city population size and median household income. The finding on population size aligns with bivariate results noted earlier on higher per capita presence of arts organizations in smaller cities (and for that matter, in smaller regions). The negative association of median household income is opposite to the positive correlation seen in the bivariate analysis in Table 7. This outcome reflects the fact that the multivariate

regression controls for wealth and education, two variables strongly associated with household income, showing the residual effect for income after controlling for the other variables. The finding suggests that communities with wealthy but relatively low-income residents (such as wealthy retirees) have more arts organizations per capita. Regional location did not prove to be a statistically significant predictor of the prevalence of per capita organizations after controlling for the other factors, indicating that community-level characteristics play the more important role in explaining arts and cultural activity. [Table 8 about here]

The job density finding is particularly of interest. Our measure, the number of people working in a community divided by the number of people living there, distinguishes job centers (places with high numbers of jobs compared to the residential population) from bedroom suburbs, retiree enclaves, and other communities with relatively fewer jobs to population. We speculate that job center cities are more likely to host businesses whose owners, managers, and employees may contribute to local arts and culture through patronage or contributions. Businesses may feel that strong arts and cultural offerings enhance employee motivation, help them attract and keep employees, and, for retail, encourage customers. Workers commuting from nearby communities may attend venues or participate in arts and culture events at lunchtime or after work, and because of familiarity, bring their families and friends there on the weekends. Job center cities are apt to generate more in property taxes that could fund arts and culture, among other priorities, since business property tax rates are higher than residential rates.

The jobs-per-capita measure is not strongly correlated with either city size or principal city status. In fact, the regression results indicate that smaller cities are most

likely to host higher numbers of arts organizations per capita. A test of the average number of arts organizations per capita within a bivariate matrix of quintiles on job density and population size shows that the highest average numbers of arts organizations per capita are found in cities in the median (middle) quintile on city size. Thus historic city-centeredness is not necessarily at work here. These findings reflect that fact that the larger California metro areas, especially Los Angeles and the Bay Area, are quite polycentric, especially compared with East Coast and Midwestern cities. Communities like Long Beach, Culver City, Santa Monica, Pasadena, San Jose (California's 3rd largest city), Oakland, and Berkeley are job-rich arts and cultural hubs. Thus our analytical work at the community level suggests a mosaic of diversified hubs exists within the state's arts and cultural ecology, a complement to our finding of activities that are dispersed across the entire state and higher than average per capita arts organizational presence in smaller, mainly northern, regions.

Our data do not permit us to probe changes in these spatial concentrations over time, either among regions or within metros. However, new use of the NCCS data by Stephen Sheppard (2011) shows that within Northeastern US metros, arts nonprofits, along with nonprofits in general, have been dispersing from central cities over recent decades as population has decentralized. These findings are generally consistent with our own regarding high presence of arts organizations in smaller, less central job-rich cities. Interestingly, Sheppard's computations suggest less clustering of arts nonprofits than is often posited in the planning and geography literatures, though he does find that arts and cultural nonprofits are somewhat more centripetal in metro locations than other types of nonprofits.

V. Implications for Policymakers and Planners

Our findings on the distribution of arts organizations confirm that place is a powerful crucible for molding California’s arts and cultural ecology. To reiterate the arc of our findings, we found that individual characteristics alone could not explain the unusually high arts participation rates of people in the Bay Area region. We also found that a high incidence arts organizations per capita is very strongly correlated with high participation rates by region. This pattern suggests an evolutionary process where the region’s residents invested in nonprofit arts and culture, drawing arts-loving migrants from elsewhere and more local residents into the creative sphere. Interestingly, Bay Area arts and cultural nonprofits’ budget size and focus patterns are not that much different from those statewide, though ethnic, folk, and multidisciplinary activities are more prominent than in other populous areas of the state. Yet, the Bay Area’s numbers of organizations per capita markedly exceed those of other populous areas of the state.

Our place-based analysis takes the story a step further. It confirms that certain communities—in particular, job centers that also attract well-educated, wealthier residents—are more apt to provide a home to arts organizations, regardless of region. These communities are able to capture more philanthropic arts funding, which in turn reinforces a “virtuous cycle” of arts presence and attendance. However, the association of job density with arts presence should not be confused with historic city-centeredness; the jobs-per-capita measure is not strongly correlated with either city size or principal city status.

These findings confirm that community and place-making are important shapers of the diverse map of California's arts and cultural ecology. They underscore that cities (even regions and states) have room to move and innovate on the arts front—their nonprofit arts complexes are not dictated by their population size, density or demographics. Arts advocates, fans, funders, and planners may find these insights on city characteristics helpful in comprehending and designing their own local ecologies. They can pay attention to the diversity of arts and cultural organizations that currently thrive in cities with urban economic attributes, collective and individual characteristics, and public and private funding structures similar to their own. Understanding current configurations may help planners alter an evolving arts and cultural ecology in ways that further normative goals and community aspirations (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010a).

For planners, planning educators and researchers, these findings suggest that knowledge of the area nonprofit arts and cultural ecology will help in fashioning good plans and policy and making resource allocation decisions. Nonprofit organizations are the major creators, producers and presenters of cultural programming. Planners should gather intelligence on the size, focus, missions, governance structures, and spatial differentiation of arts and cultural nonprofits with whom they are working. They can then choose their partners carefully.

We close with a brief example of how one city has recently engaged in creative placemaking with key nonprofit partners. Beginning in the 1990s, San Jose, California, invested in several new and expanded flagship downtown arts venues, hoping to invigorate the city's center. However, anticipated multiple uses and street life had not materialized. The city's Chief Strategist, working from its economic development arm,

initiated a Creative Entrepreneur Project with the city's Office of Cultural Affairs. Designed to increase the city's artist-friendly face, the Project began by forming a small, high-energy advisory group with nonprofit arts leaders (from universities, arts organizations, funders), commercial leaders (from galleries, real estate development), and city agencies (cultural affairs, economic development, housing, planning). It conducted research on area artists and arts organizations and proposed a number of place-specific initiatives (Mirikitani et al., 2009).

In its planning effort, the City of San Jose researched and incorporated leaders of a pre-existing loose network of nonprofits in visual, music, and theatre enterprises, many of them ethnic-specific. It convened artists in a Town Hall meeting and separately invited all area nonprofit arts organizations to meet and inform its incipient Project. It understood its nonprofit arts' strengths and weaknesses—an abundance of venues and volunteers but high artist turnover and very modest philanthropic funding sources. It identified movers and shakers from within the nonprofit arts community and through the process, fashioned them into ambassadors for a new face for the city, not just downtown but across its relatively low-density and diverse neighborhoods. Planners, housers, and economic development staffers worked with cultural affairs staff to amplify what its nonprofit arts sector could accomplish. The San Jose effort shows how important nonprofit arts and cultural organizations have been to that city's effort to recast itself as an arts-innovative as well as a techy milieu. It exemplifies the creative place-making—intentional strategies on the part of carefully built cross-sectoral partnerships--that contribute to regional and city difference in arts and cultural presence.

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Table 1. Artists by employment status, California, United States, 2000

Employment Status	California (%)	United States (%)
Wage and salary, private employer	47.5	42.2
Self-employed, unincorporated	35.3	33.2
Self-employed, incorporated	7.4	6.6
Wage and salary, nonprofit	7.1	13.3
Wage and salary, public	2.4	4.3

Source: Population Census PUMS data (2000, 5% file) from Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota.

Table 2. Arts participation rate by demographic group, California, 2008

		% Participation
Sex	Men	51
	Women	56
Age	18-24	55
	25-34	55
	35-44	49
	45-54	58
	55-64	66
	65+	39
Income:	Less than 10,000	36
	10,000 to 12,499	38
	12,500 to 14,999	38
	15,000 to 19,999	46
	20,000 to 24,999	43
	25,000 to 29,999	41
	30,000 to 34,999	38
	35,000 to 39,999	42
	40,000 to 49,999	54
	50,000 to 59,999	46
	60,000 to 74,999	63
	75k+	67
	Education:	Less than 9th grade
Some high school		39
High school grad (inc. GED)		38
Some college		57
College graduate		69
Advanced graduate degree		79
Race/Ethnicity	White non-Hispanic	68
	African American non-Hispanic	48
	Asian/PI non-Hispanic	37
	Latino (Hispanic)	38
	Other Race non-Hispanic	63

Source: National Endowment for the Arts, Survey of Public Participation in the Arts Combined File, 1982-2008. Participation Rate = % of adults that attended at least one event in past year of all types of events listed in footnote 3. Confidence intervals available from authors.

Table 3. Arts participation by California region, 2008

	Participation rate (%)	Number of annual arts participants (1,000s)	Number of attendances at selected arts events (1,000s)
San Francisco Bay area	66	3,716	22,855
Los Angeles metro area	54	5,422	24,594
South Coast and Border regions	52	1,101	3,852
Sacramento Metro area	50	735	1,504
San Joaquin Valley and Inland Empire	42	2,466	9,780
Rest of state	60	974	4,515
Total state	54	14,414	67,059

Source: National Endowment for the Arts, Survey of Public Participation in the Arts Combined File, 1982-2008. Refer to "Participation Analysis" section in (authors suppressed) for methodology (geographic limitations, types of events, etc.) and confidence intervals. For definitions of regions, see Figure 3.

Table 4. Budget size* of arts and cultural organizations by focus areas

Focus area (percent)	<\$25K	\$25K- \$250K	\$250K- \$500K	\$500K- \$2M	\$2M- \$10M	\$10M+	Total
Ethnic, folk arts, and multi-disciplinary (%)	26	20	17	15	12	9	22
Humanities, legacy, and other museums (%)	23	18	18	18	21	19	20
Performing arts (%)	14	19	17	16	16	15	16
Arts and cultural support (%)	12	15	19	19	18	21	14
Music (%)	13	14	13	12	12	10	13
Media, film/video, broadcasting, publishing (%)	8	9	11	14	16	17	9
Visual arts (%)	5	5	5	5	6	10	5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS); Cultural Data Project (CDP).
N=10,746. *2010\$

Table 5. Characteristics of California arts and cultural organizations by region

	Average # orgs per 10,000 people	Average annual budget, 2010\$	Population	# of orgs	% California orgs
Sierra	5.6	102,039	313,658	175	2
North Coast and North State	5.2	223,965	421,202	218	2
Bay Area	4.3	615,422	7,378,178	3,190	30
Central Coast	4.1	300,982	1,458,990	605	6
Total	2.8	610,485	38,255,508	10,746	100
Sacramento metro	2.7	538,775	2,155,116	583	5
Los Angeles metro	2.6	912,607	14,325,209	3,749	35
South Coast and Border	2.5	408,638	3,364,890	848	8
Northern Valley	2.4	109,061	686,772	168	2
San Joaquin Valley	1.7	153,828	3,984,340	672	6
Inland Empire	1.3	268,808	4,167,153	538	5

Sources: National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS); Cultural Data Project (CDP).
N=10,746.

Table 6. Private philanthropic funding for arts and culture, per capita by California region (2008 \$)

Region	Per capita funding
Bay Area	23.5
Los Angeles metro	17.3
Central Coast	16.1
Sacramento metro	6.5
South Coast and Border	3.8
Northern Valley	3.8
North Coast and North State	1.4
Inland Empire	1.1
Sierra	1.1
San Joaquin Valley	0.6

Sources: Foundation Center, 2008; California Department of Finance

Table 7. California arts and cultural organizations by city characteristic quintile

City characteristic	Percentages of arts and cultural organizations (%)					Total
	First (lowest)	2nd	Middle	4th	5th (highest)	
Population ¹	4	6	10	15	65	100
Jobs per capita ²	5	7	15	33	39	100
Housing units per sq. mi. ³	8	11	21	19	41	100
Median household income ²	7	33	23	24	13	100
Gini index of income inequality ²	5	10	10	21	54	100
Wealth measure per household ²	5	10	15	42	28	100
Percent 25+ with bachelor's or higher ²	5	10	31	23	31	100
Percent non-white ²	14	17	28	35	7	100
Percent foreign born ²	12	15	21	24	28	100
Percent under 18 ²	30	39	12	12	6	100
Per capita private philanthropic funding for the arts ⁴		18		18	64	100
Per capita city arts-related public expenditure ⁵		44		5	51	100

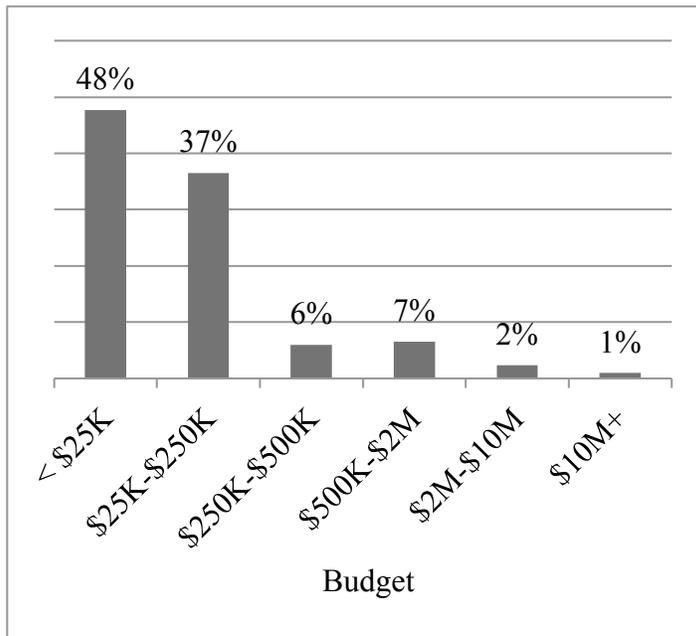
Sources: National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS); Cultural Data Project (CDP); 1. California Department of Finance (for all cities); 2. 2006-08 American Community Survey (for cities with populations of 20,000 or more); 3. 2000 US Census (for cities with populations of 20,000 or more); 4. Foundation Center (for all cities); and 5. California State Controller's Office (for all cities). N=10,746. Numbers of missing observations vary based on different city characteristic source data. Combined values are presented for the first three quintiles on the arts funding variables because those quintiles contain cities with zero arts funding.

Table 8. City characteristics as determinates of (natural log of) Californian cities' numbers of arts and cultural organizations per capita

	Co-efficient (b)	Standard error	Prob<x*
Population ¹ (logged)	-0.165	0.058	***
Principal city ²	0.051	0.092	
Housing unit density (logged) ³	0.038	0.07	
Jobs per capita ² (logged)	0.295	0.112	***
Median household income ² (logged)	-0.927	0.291	***
Gini index of income inequality ²	1.228	1.397	
Income, dividend, and net rental income per household ²	0.316	0.099	***
Percent of the population age 25+ with a BA or higher ²	0.535	0.156	***
Percent of the population that is non-white or hispanic ²	-0.007	0.396	
Percent of population that is foreign born ²	0.019	0.583	
Percent of the population under age 18 ²	0.072	1.219	
Private philanthropic arts funding (logged) ⁴	0.032	0.009	***
City arts-related public expenditure (logged) ⁵	0.003	0.006	
Regional dummies:	-0.006	0.3	
Sacramento metro	0.082	0.294	
Bay Area	0.327	0.301	
Central Coast	0.146	0.284	
San Joaquin Valley	-0.198	0.289	
Los Angeles metro	-0.100	0.131	
Inland Empire	-0.325	0.294	
South Coast and Border			
Prob>F	0		
Adjusted R-squared	0.66		

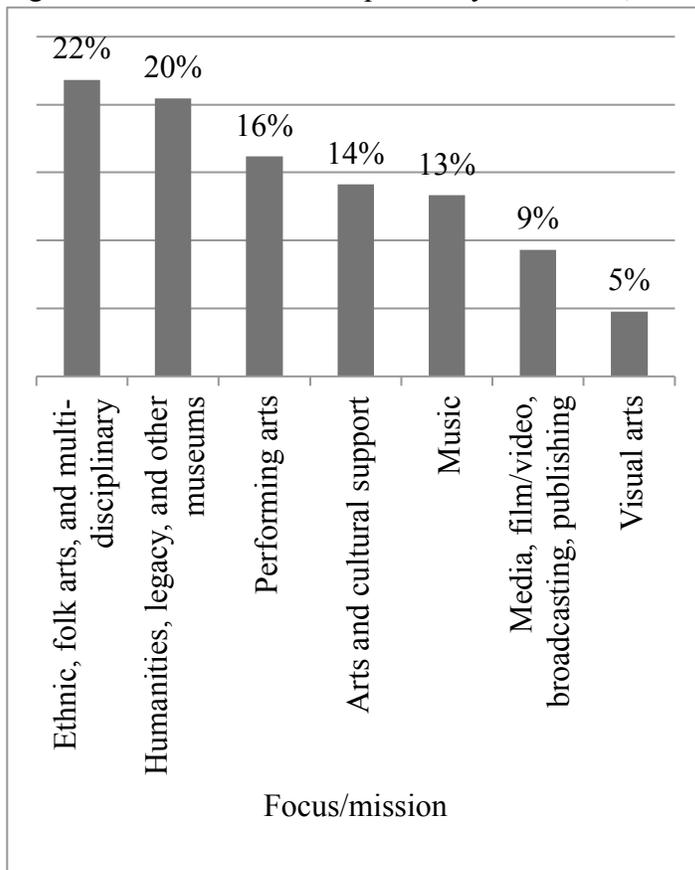
Sources: National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS); 1. California Department of Finance; 2. 2006-08 American Community Survey; 3. 2000 US Census; 4. Foundation Center; 5. California State Controller's Office. Notes: N=237 (for cities with populations of 20,000 or more, and with further exclusions as specified). *= p<.10, **= p<.05, ***= p<.01

Figure 1: Arts and cultural nonprofits by budget size*



Source: National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS). N=10,746; *2010 \$, Budget-size values: mean = \$610,485, median = \$29,539, max = \$388 million.

Figure 2: California arts nonprofits by focus area, 2008*



Source: National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS), N=10,746

Figure 3: California Arts and Cultural Regions



Source: Author-defined regions based on definitions used by the James Irvine Foundation and the Public Policy Institute of California

ⁱ Earlier research summarized various forces shaping the concentration of commercial and nonprofit arts and culture as well as artists across US regions and metros (Markusen and Schrock, 2006a; Markusen, Gilmore et al, 2006; Markusen and Gadwa, 2010).

ⁱⁱ The data sources, adjustments thereto, and decisions made in using them are documented in (source suppressed for review purposes).

ⁱⁱⁱ The SPPA surveys art museums and galleries, historic parks and monuments, outdoor and visual art festivals, craft fairs, musicals, plays, classical concerts, jazz concerts, salsa concerts and dance, including ballet.

^{iv} This exercise, using the national SPPA data, involved a logistic regression of the likelihood of arts participation in 2008 for California adults compared to adults in the rest of the U.S., testing for the influence of all demographic factors shown in Table 2 as well as metropolitan area status. Our finding that Californians are more likely to participate after controlling for these factors is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level.

^v Because of small sample sizes, the confidence intervals for regional estimates of participation rates are fairly wide. Available on request.

^{vi} Researchers have found that many people migrate between regions for quality of life reasons, not just economic opportunities. Artists in particular are more likely to migrate across state lines than people in most other occupations. Census net migration data show that in 2000, the Bay Area's ratio of incoming artists to all artists was higher than for any other large U.S. metro. Its rate of net artist in-migration for 1995-2000 (1.37) was exceeded only by that of Los Angeles (2.16), where commercial sector opportunities are a more powerful draw (Markusen and Schrock, 2006: Table 4).

^{vii} The activities of arts and cultural support organizations may often be dedicated to particular disciplinary foci or even individual organizations, but their major function is to support arts and cultural indirectly through services to producing and presenting organizations, artists, schools, and the arts-engaged public at large through research, funding, and advocacy.

^{viii} Markusen, Gilmore, et al., 2006, document very high concentrations of artists in the Los Angeles and Bay areas.

^{ix} We measure jobs per capita as the number of jobs in each city, based on the job location (not the residential location) of workers, divided by the number of residents, based on residential location of city residents, all data from the 2000 Census. We also examined jobs per resident workers vis-à-vis jobs per capita, since cities differ in their shares of working age residents. Results for descriptive statistics and regression results were nearly identical for either variable. We present jobs per capita for greater clarity.

^x The Gini index of income inequality measures the dispersion of household income distribution. Negative incomes are converted to zero. The Gini is a measure of how much a distribution varies from a proportionate distribution. A purely proportionate distribution would have every value in the distribution being equal (that is 20% of the values would equal 20% of the aggregate total of all the values). The Gini ranges from zero (perfect equality) to one (perfect inequality), and it is calculated by measuring the difference between a diagonal line (the purely proportionate distribution) and the distribution of actual values (a Lorenz curve).

^{xi} Our data on private philanthropic grant funding, obtained from the Foundation Center, tabulates information from 35 different philanthropic foundation sources, including grants awarded from nonlocal organizations.

^{xii} Our data on public city expenditure on the arts, obtained from the California State Controller's Office, measure total operating expenditures (excluding capital expenditures, and before associated revenue is counted) on two line items in city public budgets: museums and community centers/auditoriums. More than half of cities show zero values on these measures (no arts funding).

^{xiii} See the Technical Appendix for a full description of these data measures and their limitations.

^{xiv} The regressions are based on analysis of California cities with populations of 20,000 or more. Because we transformed certain highly skewed variables into natural log format for better specification, we had to exclude two cities with zero arts organizations from the regression, for a total of 237. In transforming the public and philanthropic variables to logged form, we substituted a very small constant value in place of zeros. The regression results are substantially the same if we use total number of organizations as our dependent variable as they are when using the number per capita—and also regardless of whether we enter city population size in as an independent variable in the per capita version. In addition, the results are substantially the same if we use a series of dummy indicator variables for funding levels (another option to deal with a large number of zero values). Finally, the results are also substantially the same when employing robust standard errors instead of regular standard errors. See (authors suppressed) the “City Characteristic Data Source,” and “Analysis by City Characteristics” sections of the Technical Appendix for more on data limitations, methodology, and variable definitions.