Rapid #: -21023562

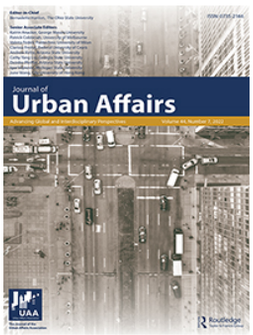
CROSS REF ID: **714359**

LENDER: **GZN (University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee) :: Ejournals**

BORROWER: **DXU (Drexel University) :: Hagerty Library**

TYPE:	Article CC:CCG
JOURNAL TITLE:	Journal of urban affairs
USER JOURNAL TITLE:	Journal of urban affairs.
ARTICLE TITLE:	The specter of the “art-less city”: Locating artists in Philadelphia’s creative economy
ARTICLE AUTHOR:	Teresa, Benjamin F.
VOLUME:	44
ISSUE:	7
MONTH:	
YEAR:	2022
PAGES:	999-1018
ISSN:	0735-2166
OCLC #:	41979649

Processed by RapidX: 7/18/2023 10:58:48 AM



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of Urban Affairs

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ujua20

The specter of the "art-less city": Locating artists in Philadelphia's creative economy

Benjamin F. Teresa & Andrew Zitcer

To cite this article: Benjamin F. Teresa & Andrew Zitcer (2022) The specter of the "art-less city": Locating artists in Philadelphia's creative economy, Journal of Urban Affairs, 44:7, 999-1018, DOI: 10.1080/07352166.2020.1779008

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2020.1779008

JOURNAL OF URBAN AFFAIRS
2022, VOL. 44, NO. 7, 999–1018
https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2020.1779008

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The specter of the "art-less city": Locating artists in Philadelphia's creative economy

Benjamin F. Teresa [a] and Andrew Zitcer[b]

[a]Virginia Commonwealth University; [b]Drexel University

ABSTRACT

Artists and creativity are on the urban agenda. Scholars and policymakers have embraced the role of artists as key drivers of economic growth and urban vitality. Yet, accounts of artists' agency often reduce artists to members of a creative class, rendering the arts an instrument for economic growth and erasing important class and racial differences in the field. This paper centers artists' perspectives through four focus group discussions with artists in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Participatory mapping exercises produced narratives about artists' experiences with two kinds of displacement: physical displacement from neighborhoods and places where artists live and work; and displacement from the creative cities narrative. Displacement raises the specter of what we call the "art-less" city, where a broad swath of art-making is evacuated from the city. We contrast this with the "artful" city, where artists are supported as workers with the means to produce their work and flourish in life.

Introduction

Back in 2014, celebrated Philadelphia theater artist Charlotte Ford stunned the local arts community when she announced she was leaving the field due to its impossibly low wages. She made the announcement via a blog interview with FringeArts, the city's lead presenter of experimental theater and dance. In the interview, Ford admitted that the most she had made in one year as a theater artist was $23,000, despite teaching, acting, directing—in multiple productions. In her words, "I'm tired of constantly hustling, and working against the way that our economy functions" (McIlvain, 2014). The boom and bust cycle of philanthropic funding made it untenable for Ford; she decided to go back to school and pursue a more marketable degree than the Masters in Fine Arts she already held.

Ford's announcement reverberated among artists in Philadelphia. E-Mail threads proliferated, social media lit up, and town hall meetings were arranged—all to discuss a sentiment that many artists shared, but did not feel permission to air publicly. If Charlotte Ford could not make a living as an artist in Philadelphia, what did this say about the funders, the arts presenters, the schools that churn out arts degrees? The conversations, while soul-searching and fruitful, failed to fundamentally address a disjuncture between the way American cities extol the presence of artists and the challenges of making a living in the creative city.

Since the 1980s, arts and culture has been used to "sell" the contemporary city (Zukin, 1989). But what becomes of artists—and what role do they play—amidst conditions of political economic change? Heeding Markusen's (2003b, 2004) call for actor-centered approaches to understanding the economy, this article aims to recenter artists as actors in creative city planning and policy. We build from two opportunities presented by the existing literature: first, artists' voices are not usually at the center of the stories told about them. Such stories are often based on census data and other surveys that undercount and fail to fully represent artists in the labor force (Markusen, 2006; Reese

CONTACT Benjamin F. Teresa bfteresa@vcu.edu Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA 23220.

et al., 2010; Ryberg et al., 2013). Second, differences among artists are often erased, as the default "artist" is often "implicitly coded young, urban, flexible, independent, and male" (Stevenson, 2020, p. 4). A recent participatory research effort into the arts economy in New York, the Brooklyn Commune Project (2014), suggested that self-identifying as an artist has become the domain of a privileged few (p. 15). Data from the National Endowment for the Arts (2019) back up these claims, finding that artists are less likely than other workers to be non-White or Hispanic (though results vary by arts discipline). The dearth of diverse artist voices represented in the literature demands redress through engagement with a varied group of practicing artists. Our research foregrounds artists' perspectives through focus groups and participatory mapping workshops that took place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a city experiencing gains and growing pains that are felt by artists.

We amplify our research participants' claim that artists should be understood as workers in the thick of the urban political economy, rather than widgets in an economic development project. Our analysis foregrounds the lived experience of a diverse group of artists, and details the challenges they face around housing, working conditions, transportation and opportunities for professional advancement. By locating artists in the creative economy, we are able to examine questions about what artists share in common with other workers and city dwellers, as well as what is unique to the artistic mode of production (Zukin, 1989).

This study is grounded in the experience of artists in Philadelphia, the sixth most populous city in the United States, with a robust and celebrated arts scene. A recent study from the National Center for Arts Research ranked Philadelphia at number 11 out of its 40 most vibrant arts communities in America (Voss & Voss, 2018). Since 2012, Philadelphia has marketed its visual arts scene as a major part of its local marketing and branding campaign, dubbed With Art™ Philadelphia. The city's most recent comprehensive plan, Philadelphia2035, calls out the importance of the arts to economic development and tourism. The plan boasts

> With dozens of museums, galleries, and theaters, Philadelphia is a buzzing cultural destination … In addition to providing entertainment and personal enjoyment to our citizens and tourists, these cultural amenities are a key component to creating an atmosphere that attracts successful and innovative businesses and the workers that they employ to the city. (City of Philadelphia, 2011, p. 87)

Philadelphia's local district plans also prize the arts as a tool for economic development, tourism and adaptive reuse of historic facilities. Notably for our analysis, the word "artist" does not appear in any of these plans, making it clear that the arts are seen as a means to an end, and the artist workforce that powers these activities is not given any special consideration.

Philadelphia is not a global city, nor does it possess a supercharged art market like some of its peers. Philadelphia is a useful locus for exploring artists in the economy; Markusen (2013) has found that the majority of artists work outside of the largest megacities, clustering in second- and third-tier cities around the nation. By examining a city that has a diverse and longstanding arts community but is not considered a global center of cultural production, such as New York City, London, or Los Angeles, the study describes how artists thrive in cities more typical of the experience of cultural production in the American context.

This study includes an artist-centered and empirical account of creativity which points toward policy solutions that more meaningfully support a diverse group of artists and the communities in which they make their work. Whether or not city governments should support artists as workers is a matter for collective deliberation, and it is not the purpose of this paper to make an argument for or against specific public actions. It is clear, however, that urban creative policy nominally supports artists and so it is this claim that the paper examines critically. The goal of this project was to solicit and carefully consider artist perspectives on their role in the creative economy; the policy recommendations came from them, not from us.

From research completed in 2017 and 2018, this project discusses how artists create and maintain space for working and living, through focus groups, participatory mapping exercises, and expert

interviews in Philadelphia. We explore how artists live and make their work through identifying the activities, spaces, and networks through which artists thrive in Philadelphia. By engaging directly with artists in the communities in which they live and practice, this study surfaces critical shortcomings in the concepts of the creative economy and creative class and produces new community-based knowledge about how artists live and work and what resources they need to support their activities.

Placing artists at the center of the creative economy makes it clear that artists are being displaced both in spatial terms as well as from arts narratives, as Philadelphia strives to compete with global cities like its neighbor New York City to attract ever wealthier residents while failing to foster the local arts ecosystem in favor of national and international star talent.

This paper contributes to the literature by first providing an actor-centered account that illuminates artists perspectives on their role in the creative economy. Second, we identify tensions and anxiety about displacement as well as examples of stability and strength. Finally, we offer policy proposals grounded in the needs that artists identify and make the case for understanding the artist as a worker.

From interviews and focus groups, we learned about the changing spatial patterns of where artists live, work, and connect with audiences. In Philadelphia, artists' living and working spaces have shifted out of the Center City area and into adjacent and more peripheral locations as increasing housing costs have compelled working artists to search for more affordable housing. Additionally, many centrally located working spaces have closed. Transportation was an important theme for artists as they navigate the city to make and show their work, often with important artistic spaces located along transit lines. Artists consistently described an increasing tension between their efforts to support themselves as artists and the arts-focused boosterism of city government and some arts philanthropy and organizations. Artists indicated that much of the local financial support for art went to non-local artists because of the perceived greater notoriety of bringing outside, world-renowned artists to Philadelphia. Our findings make it clear that philanthropy, policy, and other arts activity that does not address working artists' needs and experiences has an even greater impact on artists of color, further alienating and marginalizing them. We argue it is important to continue this line of inquiry in different contexts to understand how these experiences may be similar and what potential solutions can be generated.

If artists are displaced from the urban political economy, through gentrification, inadequate funding, or a lack of opportunities to showcase their work, then we will be forced to confront the specter of the "art-less city." By the art-less city, we intend two meanings. First, the city will be the site of less artmaking. The art-less city is a city emptied of its locally embedded creative forces. It is a city where artists have been priced out and taken their talents elsewhere, or as in the case of Charlotte Ford, have left the field entirely. Most likely, artists that serve the elite patron would continue to be supported in relatively high wage arts jobs at symphonies, operas and ballets (though even those august institutions have shut down in some cases). And the visitor class would continue to enjoy pastimes such as touring productions of commercial entertainment and hit Broadway shows (Eisinger, 2000). But the decimation of the local arts workforce will result in a squeezing out of the forces of local cultural innovation. The functions of art that make the city a place of vibrant cultural expression will be narrowed and curtailed (Zukin, 2010).

The second meaning we intend by the art-less city takes the word *artless* at face value, defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "unpractised, inexperienced; unskilled, ignorant" ("artless, adj.," n. d.). In this sense, the artless city is the result of a lack of skill and finesse in policymaking and cultural planning practice. Though the larger structural forces governing the economic and political fate of artists in the city are daunting, there are policy interventions that may mitigate the damage and increase the standing of the local artist workforce. It is these interventions we uncover through our discussions with working artists.

We explicitly contrast the artless with the "artful" city: a city replete with cultural expression, produced by a broad swath of the population, where access to the arts is the right of all urban

denizens. We are animated in this work by a belief that the arts should not be reserved for the elite, or produced only by those who have financial means beyond the incomes that artistic labor provides. Instead, arts and culture should be seen as a vital element of human flourishing (Brown & Novak-Leonard, 2013; Hutter & Throsby, 2008; Jackson, 2011), and that everyone is entitled to participate in the creation of the artful city.

Artists and the city

Artists and creativity are on the urban agenda, as city governments and urban scholars have embraced the idea of the creative economy and the role of artists as key drivers of economic growth and urban vitality (Strom, 2010). Indeed, the most recent data on the economic impact of the arts demonstrate that public and private investments in the sector yield sizable dividends in the form of jobs and consumer activity (Americans for the Arts, 2015). Boosters of arts-based economic development trumpet an "artistic dividend" in which arts activity contributes positively to regional economies in two ways: first, as an export industry, where locally produced artistic products are sold outside the community and outsiders come to consume locally produced art; and second, through direct contributions to the economy made by the artist workforce itself (Markusen & Schrock, 2006; Polèse, 2012).

The arts drive social as well as economic impact. Cultural participation fosters social inclusion, civic participation, and a sense of well-being (Stern & Seifert, 2008, 2013). Geographic clusters of grassroots arts activity build community resilience. These naturally occurring cultural clusters have a multitude of positive spillover effects for the people and places they inhabit (Stern & Seifert, 2010). Art can bring disparate people together through participation in a shared process of appreciation and dialogue. The evolving field of creative placemaking demonstrates that art's power increases when it is incorporated into the work of community development, public health, public safety, and transportation (Frenette, 2017; Jackson, 2011). Yet in order for these collaborative arts interventions to be successful, artists need to play a central role in their execution. The artist workforce drives arts' economic and social impact, even as artists struggle to sustain their own economic well-being, quality of life, and ability to produce meaningful work.

Defining artists is fraught both as a conceptual exercise and as an empirical one. One way to define artists is as an "artistic workforce" consisting of a set of occupations involved in the production of art (Karttunen, 1998). This is distinct from the "creative class" which lumps together occupations like engineers and corporate attorneys with artists, a categorization which becomes especially problematic for clearly identifying a coherent class interest among such diverse groups of people (Markusen, 2006). Artists are notoriously hard to categorize and measure, as data sources such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Census frequently omit artists who report another occupation as their primary job, who use their artistry as part of another occupation, or who do not seek income from their work (National Endowment for the Arts, 2016). Artists are more likely to be self-employed than the labor force as a whole and to hold the artistic occupation as a second job. As much as a third of actors and musicians hold these jobs as second occupations, as do significant shares of photographers, fine artists, and dancers (National Endowment for the Arts, 2019). These data limitations make it even more urgent to represent the perspectives of artists themselves, in all their diversity (Reese et al., 2010).

The Philadelphia case presents the same challenges when it comes to measuring where artists live and work. Our focus groups demonstrated that artists are at least present in most quarters of the city, but we would need a much larger sample to speak definitively. A recent grassroots effort from 2019, the Philly Artists Survey, collected over 500 responses from self-identified artists. According to the authors, many artists currently cluster in the Fishtown/Kensington neighborhoods, north and east of the central business district. There are also high concentrations in West Philadelphia and South Philadelphia as well as the city's Northwest section (Stewards, 2019). These neighborhoods differ in a number of ways but they share a baseline of relatively affordable rents and access to public transit, two of the primary considerations noted by artists in our focus groups.

In the sections that follow, we present the prevailing assumptions of the creative cities narrative, along with a critique. We pay special attention to the perceived causal link between artists and gentrification. Finally, we discuss the importance of regarding the artist as a worker. An inclusive, but specific, definition of artists allows us to avoid the trap of lumping them in with a diffuse and vague creative class and sets the stage for examining the specific ways their concerns intersect with broader developments in the urban political economy.

Creative cities premise and critique

Using arts and culture to strengthen the urban core is hardly a new phenomenon. Creative cities are part of a lineage of arts economic development that goes back to the City Beautiful movement of the late 19th century, when planners used esthetics to clean up and revalorize the industrial city. Since then, the arts have been used as a tool to drive everything from tourism to workforce development to physical revitalization (Ashley, 2015). Most of these tactics proceed from the instrumental benefits of the arts as their premise; art is a means to another end, rather than embraced for its intrinsic value.

The use of arts and culture as a tool for urban economic development rests on three interlocking narratives (Grodach, 2017). First, the creative cities framework is an outgrowth of neoliberal urban policy of entrepreneurialism, and an urban economy premised on place marketing and consumption (Harvey, 1989; Zukin, 2010). In the second narrative, cities strive to find renewed prosperity through creativity and knowledge-based innovation, after an era of globalization and deindustrialization. In this narrative, cities compete to attract the best and brightest of the "creative class," a diffuse constellation of highly educated workers, from artists to engineers and software developers. These workers in turn flock to cities that demonstrate a commitment to their consumption preferences and socially liberal politics (Florida, 2002). Third, arts activity is consistently implicated in the narrative of gentrification in cities, with artists serving as both the catalyst for gentrification, and its victim.

The creative cities narrative participates in a larger discourse of urban age triumphalism, where cities are the engines of ever-increasing progress, equity, and vibrancy. This discourse elides or ignores the persistent roadblocks cities face in achieving these lofty goals (Beauregard, 2018). In the case of the arts, triumphalist discourse fails to recognize the challenges artists face in sustaining the careers that power the creative city.

Since the 1990s, cities across the United States have adopted creative city strategies, with varying levels of intensity and success. Using the prominent example of Austin, Grodach (2012) found the local government supported the cultural sector only when it aligned with the city's broader economic development goals. Ganning (2016) found evidence that weaker market cities like St. Louis may benefit from arts-based development, and reap its benefits without causing displacement. In Toronto, investments in arts infrastructure, festivals, and arts-driven tourism approaches raised the city's profile as an arts destination (Goldberg-Miller, 2015). Nelson et al. (2016) found a small but impactful relationship between the presence of large-scale performing arts facilities like symphonies, operas and ballets with an expansion in knowledge economy jobs between 2000 and 2010. This analysis finds that urban economies benefit from obtaining even a small increase in the share of coveted knowledge economy jobs. Yet, in a study of Canadian cities, Polése (2012) found no meaningful association between arts-related employment and the presence of other knowledge economy employment.

Creative city policy has spread well beyond the North American context. In 2004, UNESCO established the Creative Cities Network (UCCN) to promote collaboration among hundreds of cities from Cairo to Seoul. Members use the Creative City designation as a tool to attract tourism and investment (Rosi, 2014). Cultural development has become an indispensable part of city building in Asian cities like Shanghai and Singapore, demonstrating the global dispersal of this policy paradigm (Kong et al., 2015). Local governments pursue creative city policies both as entrepreneurial attempts at revenue generation (Zheng, 2010) as well as in demonstrating soft power in international competition for dominance in the culture industries (Ren, 2018).

The creative cities narrative has been thoroughly critiqued by Peck (2005) and Pratt (2008, 2011), among others. One element of the critique states that the creative cities narrative fails to define or analyze the creative "class" at the heart of its project, lumping together workers with widely divergent economic and social needs and experiences of the city, from painters to Silicon Valley software engineers. Since most of the workers considered part of the creative class have high educational attainment and residential mobility, many critics assert that the creative class is merely a 21st century update to the yuppies of the 1980s or the knowledge workers of the 1990s (Peck, 2005). Another element of the creative city critique rests on concerns regarding equity. By engaging in intercity competition to attract creative workers, cities divert resources from their existing populations and remake the city to serve the consumption habits of an emerging elite. The remaking of the city for any one class of workers or residents is by definition exclusive, with serious consequences for poorer residents and residents of color (Martin, 2014).

Finally, the creative cities approach reduces the arts and creativity to an instrument for economic growth and erases important class and racial differences across arts communities. A narrow pursuit of economic impact has the potential to foster artistic and cultural spaces that valorize culture as a consumer good, and disproportionately support highly-educated and high-earning workers. The result is a restriction of knowledge about artists' identities, their contributions, and what support they need to make those contributions. Furthermore, urban policy informed by this thinking reduces art to a practice of consumption, divorced from communities' cultural needs.

Artists and gentrification: A complex relationship

Creative city policies co-exist with a variety of economic development strategies and are used to justify a range of policy goals and tactics that are sometimes in tension with the goals of cultural development (Grodach, 2013). One of the most prominent tensions is the role of artists in processes of gentrification (Zukin, 1989). There is a popular conception that the arts cause gentrification, in a process where artists move into depressed neighborhoods and pave the way for investment by real estate speculators (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984). The concept of arts-led gentrification is problematic for a number of reasons. First, it presumes that urban neighborhoods that have not experienced gentrification lack arts activity, when that activity may simply be under the radar of some observers. There is plenty of community arts activity even in neighborhoods that have not seen an influx of investment (Grodach, 2011; Stern & Seifert, 2010). Second, many neighborhoods gentrify without a meaningful concentration of arts activity, and processes of urban revitalization are much more complicated than such a model allows (Gadwa Nicodemus, 2013). Finally, the presence of community arts and culture may lead to revitalization without gentrification through the cultivation of the myriad social impacts of the arts, and the efforts of responsible artists to partner with local residents to advance shared neighborhood objectives (Jackson, 2012; Markusen, 2014). Grodach et al. (2018) review the literature on arts and gentrification, revealing there is no simple causal link with the location choices of individual artists or arts businesses. They find gentrification to be one possible way the arts connect to urban change. Furthermore, in looking at artists in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Ryberg et al. (2013) show that urban context matters for relating where artists live and work to processes of neighborhood change, such as gentrification or revitalization. In the Cleveland context of widespread vacant land, depopulation, and disinvestment, artists may play more of a stabilizing role in neighborhoods' trajectories than fueling speculation and gentrification.

Nevertheless, the co-presence of the arts and people with wealth can still lead to a popular perception (and popular anger) regarding the arts-gentrification nexus. In East Los Angeles's Boyle Heights neighborhood, groups like Defend Boyle Heights actively disrupt what they consider to be "gentefication"—the upscaling of the neighborhood by wealthy, educated Latinos, as well as "art-washing"—the emergence of a gallery scene featuring artists with no perceived connection to the neighborhood's existing culture (Delgadillo, 2016; Stromberg, 2016). According to activists, art galleries and higher end retail will inevitably result in gentrification.

Entrepreneurial policy paradigms encourage a cycle of development that displaces low-income people (Cole, 1987; Martin, 2014). Artists, too, are vulnerable to the effects of displacement, as the arts labor market functions as a "winner-take-all" economy where there is considerable inequality in artist incomes; the majority of working artists struggle to make ends meet (Stern & Seifert, 2008; Markusen & King, 2003).

An actor centered analysis

Learning from critiques of the creative city, our work centers artists themselves in the narrative. Our project responds to Markusen's (2003a) call for an actor-centered approach to understanding urban political economy. We view artists as workers engaged in a production process that has intrinsic and instrumental value for the city. At the same time, we seek to expand the definition of who counts as an artist. Instead of focusing on just the artists with the kinds of capital and mobility to stand alongside software engineers in the creative class hierarchy, we include artists who participate in the social life of urban neighborhoods with both newcomers and longtime residents. We also include artists who produce art for any kind of public display and any level of financial compensation. Our work foregrounds artists, arts institutions and urban policymakers as vital to the process of producing the creative city, with all the accountability such a framework implies.

Rather than the bogeyman of gentrification or the pied piper of creative economic growth, artists are a complex and variegated group of actors. While some are extremely wealthy and successful by conventional standards, most are not. Cultural workers require support from planners and policy makers, befitting the contributions they make to both economy and community life. The art they produce in cities is not a mere frill; it is a crucial ingredient for individuals and communities to live up to their capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011; Zitcer et al., 2016). The specter of art's absence—what we call the art-less city—haunts cities that are growing in ways that are inhospitable and unaffordable for artists (Bellafante, 2018). By recentering artists in the creative city conversation, we provide an opportunity for them to realize their voice and agency in the policy and planning conversations that affect them. The conversations generated ideas for interventions that artists believe can enable them to thrive and continue to positively impact the communities they call home.

Methodology

To center artists' perspectives and experiences, we innovated a participatory methodology that uses narrative and spatial analysis to complement the field's prevailing emphasis on descriptive statistics to measure the arts workforce. Because this study's aim is to understand where artists live and work and their experiences navigating those spaces within their city, we convened artists in focus groups to maximize collective discussion and meaning-making. Focus groups are a method well-suited to collecting these data and generating new forms of data and analysis by the participants themselves (Morgan, 1997). During the focus groups, we led participatory mapping exercises to produce a rich set of primary data about artists' living, working, and exhibition/performance spaces to create a collectively-produced set of maps to guide group discussion.

We conducted four focus groups in total: two in June 2017 and two in June 2018. A total of 37 artists participated in the four focus groups. From the outset, we were aware of the challenges of identifying and recruiting a diverse and representative pool of artists (Markusen, 2013; Markusen & Schrock, 2006). We recruited artists through an e-mail and social media outreach effort, asking Philadelphia artist networks to post to their contact lists. We made efforts to publicize the opportunity through networks that reached artists of color, women, queer and, trans artists, emerging artists, and community artists. We invited artists working in all media or performance modes. We required that artists have lived in Philadelphia for 5 years, that they have made any amount of money from their art in the last year, and that their art was performed or exhibited publicly in the last year. We designed these criteria to ensure participants had some depth of experience working and living

in the city, to exclude pure hobbyists (even if they identify as hobbyists for tax purposes), and to encourage participants who had some economic stake in the art they made, no matter how much or little they received in compensation. For participating in the focus groups, artists were given $50 gift cards. For the first round of focus groups in 2017, we received over 100 responses for only 20 spots, and we invited those who were not able to participate to attend our 2018 focus groups.

At the conclusion of the focus group sessions, we asked participants to complete a brief survey of basic questions about their racial and ethnic identity, gender identity, educational attainment, annual income, and age. We summarize those survey results to give a picture of the demographic profile of the artist participants in Table 1.

After an introductory period of discussion, we introduced artists to the mapping exercises. Because we are interested in artists' experiences living, working, and connecting with audiences as inherently spatial relationships, mapping provides a key research technique to collect spatial data. As other research that uses participatory mapping has found (Boschmann & Cubbon, 2014), the mapping exercises also enhance group discussions because participants are excited by the maps and therefore eager to discuss their experiences in relation to the familiar territory of the maps. Our techniques also bear some resemblance to community asset mapping strategies in which community members identify individual, associational, institutional, economic, physical, and cultural assets with the goal of developing interventions to a pressing community social issue that build on these existing community strengths and capacities (Lightfoot et al., 2014).

In the first exercise, we asked artists to consider where they now live, make their art, and connect with their audiences. Artists then had a few minutes to use different color push pins to indicate on a map of Philadelphia where these important sites are located. We encouraged participants to make notations about the spaces on the maps, as another type of data. We followed this exercise by a series of prompting questions to the group, such as "what do you notice about all of the 'live' pins?" which lead to group discussion about spatial and other patterns of these spaces and activities. The second mapping exercise asked the artists to recall their previous sites of living, working, and artistic spaces and to pin those locations on another set of Philadelphia maps. The group then discussed those locations, and we specifically asked the artists to compare the current maps with the past ones, to draw attention to how important artistic spaces have moved through the city.

In the focus groups with Philadelphia-based artists, the mapping activity led the participants to generate their own lines of discussion and analysis beyond the original protocol. For example, after one of the focus groups adjourned, we cleaned up the space for about an hour and then left the building. On our way out, we encountered a group of the artists who had been talking to each other since the end of the focus group and who continued to converse together after we had left. The conversation about artist survival strategies had spilled out of the focus group and onto the sidewalk. This generative moment has informed our research design for future focus groups and research. In the following section, we outline some of the findings from the artist focus groups.

Table 1. Demographic information of the 37 focus group participants.

Racial and Ethnic Identity		Gender Identity		Education	
White	56%	Female	62%	HS	17%
Black or African American	22%	Male	30%	Bachelor	47%
Hispanic or Latinx	14%	Non-binary	8%	Graduate	36%
Asian	3%				
Mixed	6%				
Income		**Age**			
< $10,000	11%	18– 35	32%		
$10,000 – $24,999	36%	35– 40	19%		
$25,000 – $49,999	39%	41– 50	19%		
$50,000 – $100,000	8%	51– 60	22%		
> $100,000	6%	> 60	8%		

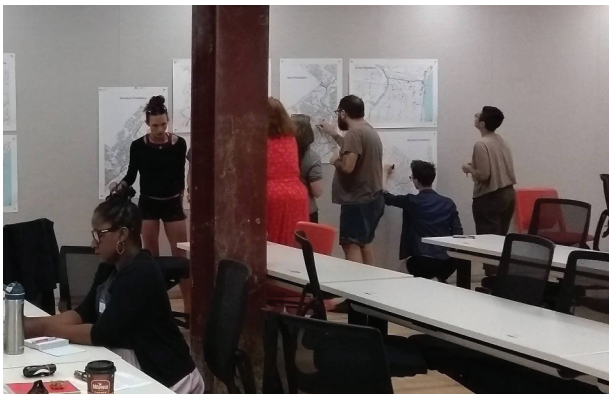


Figure 1. During the focus groups, artists used color-coded pins on printed street maps of Philadelphia to indicate where they live, make their work, and connect with audiences. Photo by the authors.

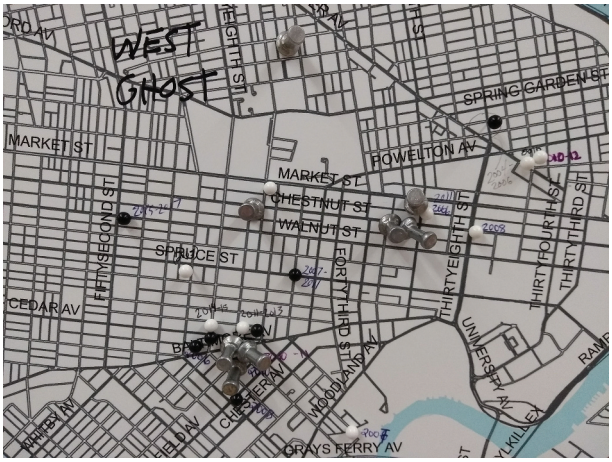


Figure 2. As part of the participatory mapping exercises, focus group participants were encouraged to add notes and other marginalia to their pinned locations. Photo by the authors.

Artists as subjects in Philadelphia's creative economy

Artists in the focus groups described their agency and identified the political-economic constraints that structure their lives. They are wary of being trapped in a binary that sees "artist" as the perennially "starving" occupation, or the kind of art-star darling that is depicted in breathless media accounts of blockbuster auctions and exhibitions. For focus group participants, being an artist was a job like any other, no matter how animated they were by a passion to create. "I need to be careful not to say I love what I do," explained Paul, an experienced visual artist. He feared that if he focuses on his love of art-making, it encourages people to expect him to work for free (throughout our findings we substitute focus group participants' real names with pseudonyms). For Paul, it is vital that he be seen as a worker deserving fair compensation for what he produces. Artists in our focus groups didn't buy into the romantic myth of the starving artist; they have real financial needs and wants, and for them and those who depend on them, starving is not an option. The fact that artists require compensation, like any worker, is made more urgent by the fact that artists often use their own money to create art without any guarantee of future compensation. One choreographer, Zoe, explained in exasperation, "I don't make money on art, I spend money on art!" Her dancers

need to be paid, the studio rented, costumes sewn—all costs that she has to lay out, often in advance of getting a grant or selling any tickets to a performance. (As of 2018, artists can deduct some expenses related to materials from their U.S. taxes.) The limited financial resources available to most artists led some of them to restrict the amount of art making they can afford to do, and how much of their working hours they can spend making art. Artists repeatedly expressed a constriction of the means or opportunity to produce art, as Anne explained, "I work when I can afford to work, or when I have the space to work."

Artists frequently need dedicated, specialized spaces to produce their art, from dance studios with sprung floors to dust free zones for printmaking and adequate light for painting. In the focus groups, we heard that the ability to have dedicated work spaces (separate from living quarters) makes artists feel like "real" professionals, to the point that many expressed a feeling of illegitimacy if they could not afford to maintain a separate studio space. Furthermore, in discussing change over time across the maps they produced, most artists indicated increasing barriers to control the means for producing their work over the course of their careers. Sometimes, artists cannot make ends meet from income from their art alone. Other sources of income, including family wealth or life partners with better-paying jobs, make more artmaking possible. But most artists do not have access to these sources of support, and there is often a stigma associated with artists who are living off things like inherited wealth. Art world publications regularly feature discussions of the distorting effect of family money, asking if artists need to be rich in order to get ahead (Davis, 2016; Sussman, 2017). Therefore, we were surprised to witness one exchange in a June 2017 focus group that demonstrated solidarity between artists with different levels of access to additional wealth.

> **Young White artist**: I think a lot of us just look for different support networks in order to sustain ourselves. I mean, I'm not afraid to be transparent about the fact that I do get help from mom, like half my rent. And the rest is all me. But I don't want to be scared to say that. I think a lot of artists often are um, you lose a certain kind of DIY, punk sensibility when you admit to that but I think um, that's just something I'm always upfront about how I get, some part of me, you know.
>
> **Older artist of color**: The shame is not that you're getting money from mom. The shame is that you're working hard doing what you've been trained to do and you're not making enough to pay your rent.

This interaction underscores a common drive to create among artists, and a willingness to use all the resources at their disposal to maximize their work as artists. Though we may not be able to generalize from this example of artist solidarity, it demonstrates that even an artist who did not seem to be using family wealth nevertheless laid the blame at the feet of the political economy that keeps artists from having enough means to financially go it alone.

Following from the conversation about many artists' modest incomes, artists expressed concerns about what felt for them as being taxed more than they could afford. They felt that Philadelphia's tax system was unfair to artists or a regressive taxation system. Describing the Philadelphia Business Privilege Tax, Allison said, "It is outside of your federal and your state taxes and my accountant years ago turned me into a hobbyist so I could not get slaughtered because you have a certain amount of time where you can be in the red." While this artist has an accountant and relatively higher household income than other participants, other artists either agreed that taxation puts them at a disadvantage or indicated that they simply do not pay such taxes because of their precarious position.

The conversation about taxation shifted into a broader discussion about managing personal finances as a working artist. The artists agreed on the need for entrepreneurship and business development training, since frequently that training has not been provided to them, even in the curricula of dedicated arts programs at the undergraduate or graduate level (White, 2013). Independent art schools and university arts programs are beginning to see the value of training students for the exigencies of the current U.S. economy. Yet, the Strategic National Arts Alumni Project found an "entrepreneurial skills gap" in which arts alumni indicated the high importance of these skills to their careers, while only about a quarter of them felt their institution helped them

develop those skills (Skaggs et al., 2017). Art schools find it challenging to make space in already cramped curricula to train students in their artistic discipline. Yet given the cost of higher education, the debt load many students carry, and the low earning potential of many artists, entrepreneurship training should be a vital element in their schooling. Though not all artists are formally educated in their discipline and still fewer attend dedicated arts programs, the embrace of entrepreneurial skills training could set a new standard for the field, and allow artists with such training to mentor those around them.

Artists' relationship to urban space

In the focus group mapping exercises, participants mapped the location of their current and former residential locations. We asked them to rate the quality of their housing situation relative to other places they had lived in the past, which inspired a lively conversation about the diversity of neighborhoods, housing types, and economic situations this diverse group of artists experienced in Philadelphia. Overall, participants described their housing situations as better than we had expected, comporting with Philadelphia's status as a relatively affordable housing market, especially in comparison to larger creative cities, from nearby New York to San Francisco or Seattle. There were notable exceptions. From more than one artist, we heard stories of cycles of homelessness that occurred earlier in their careers and some others reported frequent moves and poor housing conditions. Pam spoke about being on her own since age 17 with a baby in tow, experiencing homelessness and insecure housing until she put herself through community college and was accepted to a prominent local women's art college. Through student housing, she was able to chart a path to a (still-tenuous) state of housing stability:

> Pam: I was living in roommate situations, homeless, house to house until I put myself through community college. I graduated from community college and got myself a full merit scholarship to Moore College of Art and Design and they gave me housing … I was in Center City in nontraditional housing through the school. With my daughter. In a bunk bed. I never wanted to look back. I threw stones behind me.
>
> I worked throughout school, got my master's degree, and I rented for a little while and bought my first house in 1999 at 15th and Kater … And I couldn't afford to live there anymore because my taxes went up so high. With my limited income, and having a brand-new baby … I had to sell that house, and I bought the house I live in now.

Despite having owned two homes and working hard as an artist, Pam feels that she will likely have to move again, due to rising costs of living and limited income. She added, ruefully, "just when you think it's over, then it starts all back up again." Pam's story can be understood in the context of a city where nearly a third of residents live below the poverty line and face ongoing threat of evictions and foreclosures (Blumgart, 2018).

Even among artists with secure tenure who felt positive about their housing, there was an aura of concern that rising rents, housing costs, and the spread of gentrification meant that the future was not as predictable as artists would like. Artists mentioned that increasing property taxes and insurance costs for homeowners made living in certain parts of the city more expensive. Those artists who rent property discussed tenant-landlord issues and unstable rental housing conditions that make their housing expensive and suboptimal.

Artists cited specific mechanisms that intensified displacement pressure on them, often around housing costs. Philadelphia is in the midst of an ongoing reevaluation of property values, after decades of undervaluing residential property for tax purposes. The City still has not figured out how to consistently evaluate properties, leading to some high value homes receiving tax bills that are lower than they might otherwise be, and some low-income areas receiving higher tax bills (McCrystal, 2019). One participant brought up the perceived unfairness of Philadelphia's 10-year tax abatement, a city property tax policy that allows new development to forego property taxes for a decade, while residents who can only afford to live in existing housing stock must pay what may be

daunting levels of property tax. Abolishing the tax abatement is a current *cause celebre* among progressive Philadelphia politicians.

Beyond housing, the kinds of spaces that artists need to work can be challenging to find in Philadelphia, and not just because of the direct cost, but because of the special needs of artists when they make their work. For example, performance artists discussed how they could not find working space for them to practice in because of noise issues. Other artists that work with materials had a difficult time finding space as well. As one artist said, "Being a real artist means having a dedicated space," drawing attention to how working space is central to artistic production and artist identity.

When reviewing the maps they made, many participants talked about the decline of the importance of the Old City neighborhood as a gallery hub, and how it has become more a space for nightlife, retail consumption, and luxury housing. Data bear out their observations of neighborhood change, as the area's growth in high income and highly educated residents between 2000 and 2016 vastly outstripped the presence of lower income and people of color (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, 2018). Old City's adjacent neighborhood, Northern Liberties, was ranked by one analysis as among the most gentrified in the nation when considering median home values, median household incomes, and levels of higher education. (Bowen-Gaddy, 2018). Focus group participants recalled the early days of the Old City's Philadelphia Fringe Festival, a champion for experimental theater and dance. The Fringe Festival took place in temporary venues throughout Old City, leveraging the bohemian character of the neighborhood. But as this neighborhood attracted the attention of real estate developers, it seemed to follow a classic gentrification cycle (Ley, 2003) in which artists and even the Fringe Festival itself had to move out. (The Fringe Festival, later FringeArts, relocated to a permanent venue not far from Old City, but on the Delaware River waterfront, outside of any existing residential neighborhood.) The loss of Old City as an arts destination repeats a pattern seen in other cities, and is a troubling development for a city like Philadelphia, which considers itself relatively affordable and less impacted by gentrification (Dowdall, 2016).

The mapping exercises and discussion highlighted the specific geography of Philadelphia. Rather than a core-periphery geography, Philadelphia is more nodal, with transit lines and neighborhood commercial corridors anchoring nodes of where artists live, work, and connect with audiences. Given the importance of transit in these nodes, artists often talked about the limitations to moving around the city and being transit-dependent. Several artists described the need to transport specialized equipment, supplies, or musical instruments, which were difficult to move around the city. In addition, transit schedules are more limited on nights and weekends, at the time many artists work or perform. Transit lines are often designed to facilitate commuting and not necessarily the kinds of crosstown trips that the artists make. Accessing the suburbs for performances is difficult when relying on transit. A few artists talked about the significant change and mobility that was opened when they bought a car, an additional expense for artists who struggle to make their work pay for itself.

Notably, an entire section of Philadelphia did not receive any pins from the artists over several focus groups. Northeast Philadelphia is home to about one third of the city's population and comprises nearly a third of its land area. Traditionally White and working to middle class, Northeast Philadelphia is increasingly home to a diverse immigrant population. One neighborhood in the Northeast, Oxford Circle, has been described as the "New Northeast" where immigrants hailing from (among other places) Guyana, China and the Philippines animate the same bustling retail corridor. (Speer Lejeune, 2018). The census tract that contains Oxford Circle has seen growth in the foreign-born population that outstrips the U.S. born population by a factor of 8:1 (Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, 2018). When artists realized that there were no pins in the Northeast, one participant exclaimed, "There is absolutely no art in the Northeast!" As discussion unfolded, artists proposed two reasons why there might be no pins in that section of the city. First, they blamed poor transit infrastructure (the Northeast is accessible mostly by bus or private vehicle). Sofia admitted, "It's easier for me to get to New York than it is to get to the Northeast, sometimes quicker too!" But a second explanation was more pointed in its critique of our focus group recruitment process. Diana elaborated:

> How you find artists from the get-go also determines the scope, how to reach [artists]. The Northeast is a large Muslim population. What are we missing is that [which] we don't have access to. Most neighborhoods have something that we're not able to know [about] what's going on. Because it's happening in the home and people are not self-identifying as artists.

To Diana, the lack of arts activity registered in the focus groups did not mean art was not taking place there; it meant that we had not successfully identified and incorporated the arts communities of that part of Philadelphia. A participant in a different focus group, Kent, also affirmed that it was not the case that there was "no art" being made in Northeast Philadelphia: "There's no inclusiveness in these conversations, when you're not incorporating immigrants, who are sustaining all forms of our economy." Kent drew the group's attention to how we might be ignoring or excluding artists and art communities in parts of the city because we did not successfully reach out to them. This shortcoming indicates work that we need to do in focus groups to be as geographically comprehensive as possible.

Artists shifted the discussion from their relationship to the city's urban geography to describing their diminished role in Philadelphia's elite arts communities. Artists decried the lack of financial support for their work, even as Philadelphia markets itself as a destination for the arts. The role of Philadelphia-based arts philanthropy was a consistent topic throughout the focus group discussions. Artists agreed that local arts philanthropy tended to support artists from outside of Philadelphia, giving less attention to the careers of local artists (Hilario, 2018; Scutari, 2018). This contributed to many artists' sense that the philanthropic sector does not support their work and does not adequately value it. Of course, there is an inherent tension faced by a city that seeks to be a world class destination for artists, bringing in talent from outside as well as supporting a local ecosystem. The artists in our focus groups, perhaps predictably, felt that that balance was not achieved in Philadelphia.

Some artists felt that they could not get the respect or recognition they deserved as long as they stayed in Philadelphia. Leaving town seemed to be the only option, in order to prove oneself in another city and then be claimed retrospectively as a Philly artist. As Kenneth said in a June 2017 focus group, "I have artist friends who have lived here and have been like "yo, fuck this I'm moving out," because it's.there's no industry here, and the industry that could be cultivated is spent on external resources. And then I'll go to L.A., and they'll be like, "this is the hottest thing out." And I'll come back to Philly and they'll be like "we loved you the whole time!" [laughter]. Ideally, these artists prefer to stay and create in Philly, exporting their work to other places while maintaining a base in their hometown. At least one artist talked about being "off the map," realizing that "I know I need to leave Philadelphia to sustain my career." This artist, who is Black, suggested that the displacement pressures in Philadelphia were making it harder to live and work in the city, and especially for non-White artists: "I'm gonna tell y'all if ya'll are struggling as passing White or White people, just think of [what it's like for non-White people] … ." There is a differential or uneven distribution of art, and artists suggest that there is a lack of awareness of what is going on artistically.

Throughout the focus groups, discussion centered around arts geographies beyond the city. A few artists identified themselves as New York City artists who lived in Philadelphia, while others declared Philadelphia as their "home base". Others talked about how their experience suggested that there are insufficient opportunities for artists locally in Philadelphia to make a career, and this required working in other cities, like New York, in order to develop a portfolio and recognition. In some ways, this seemed to reflect Philadelphia's position in the urban hierarchy, that artists need exposure that Philadelphia cannot provide in comparison with a much larger arts city such as New York.

Artists' proposals

Artists talked about what would help them. It seems they seek the same urban housing and workforce policies that have gained support in recent years on the progressive left. Participants cited the liberatory potential of a universal basic income. Others, concerned about housing quality and the rental market, praised the work of the Philadelphia Tenants Union. Many expressed the benefit they would receive from some form of comprehensive rent control or stabilization. Of course,

artists raised the possibility of designated artists' housing and studio space, which has already been a project of several community development corporations in West Philadelphia and Lower Northeast Philadelphia, as well as some arts philanthropies.

Some participants felt that artists should receive student debt relief, or the proceeds from designated taxes such as parking taxes, or use and occupancy taxes. Or instead of a municipal percent for art program that funds site specific statues, sculptures and the like, artists felt that a fund could be set up to sustain artists directly through a trust fund. Many felt that too many philanthropic resources were directed to arts nonprofits, not to artists directly, even retelling stories about grant applications that stated explicitly: "funds from this grant cannot be used to pay artists."

Emergency grants and loans can help artists make it through a minor crisis. These low-cost interventions, in conjunction with things like free childcare during meetings, could make a major difference in the sustainability and resilience of artists. They emphasized the importance of networks of support and connections among artists (connections formed even during the focus group, and people stayed long after). Additionally, artists wanted financial literacy training and small business skills.

Discussion

The central problem of this study is to understand how artists are situated within urban political economic change. To tackle this problem, we asked a set of questions about where artists live and work and their experiences navigating those spaces within their city in a way that centered artists' experiences and knowledge. To do so, we developed a participatory methodology that uses narrative and spatial analysis. Using participatory mapping exercises helped to ground the discussion in the geography of the city. Focus group participants used the maps to answer questions about how they navigate the city and we, as facilitators, were also able to refer to the maps to ask specific questions about spatial concentrations and other patterns of pins and written notes. The mapping exercises produced more than a detached set of spatial data; more usefully, they provided something for artists to reflect on and to generate new insights from.

Artists as workers

In our discussions, detailed in the previous sections, artists explained how their agency is subject to the prevailing urban political economy in Philadelphia. This discussion revealed that artists' working lives are based in spatial relationships within the city and beyond it, as well as a strained set of relationships with the broader creative economy in Philadelphia. We now discuss a particular kind of artists' experience that comes from these conversations: the artist as worker. The focus group discussions underscore how the distinction between working artists and the broader working class is arbitrary. The romanticization of artists that fuels the separation from other working people, but materially, artists and other workers share much in common. Indeed, throughout our focus groups, artists were determined to be seen as workers, rather than inspired creators with no connection to the exigencies of the urban political economy.

Considering artists not as an exceptional class but as "ordinary" working class is not novel, but it does cut against the prevailing narrative of the creative class. Zukin (1989, p. 82) identifies the 1930s as a transformative period in the United States when artists' relationship to society was altered: "During the Depression, for the first time, artists were recognized as part of the labor force … this recognition entitled them to get jobs with the Works Progress Administration (WPA), jobs which encouraged artists … to organize themselves in work-related groups. Often these were unions. " As the New Deal and other Depression-era reforms restructured American society around a strengthened working class, artists were also treated as workers with the benefit of jobs programs. As this accommodation was steadily dismantled in the second half of the 20th century through neoliberalization, artists have been rhetorically repositioned with the political economy not as

working class but as independent entrepreneurs who occupy a culturally important but exploitable position within urban transformation.

In summary, the experiences and perspectives of working artists described in this paper offer a corrective not just to the creative class as a coherent concept, but to the city-building approach that is based on erasing the shared identity and collective struggle that the artists articulated. Our research concludes that artists are workers like any other, and do not require an asterisk denoting some form of special sensibility, passion, privilege that exempts them from the realities other workers face. On the one hand, this conclusion that artists are workers just like service employees, for example, may seem banal. But in an economy that disempowers workers and especially workers as a class with a collective interest, it is important to reestablish the idea that artists create value without having control over the means to produce it. We argue that precisely because both theory and practice have placed working artists outside the working class, it is necessary to explain how artists are workers, sharing many or most struggles with other kinds of workers. The "creative class" narrative is an exercise in severing artists from working people and their needs (Peck, 2005). The reality is that many artists lack steady employment, working mostly as independent contractors with widely variable and unpredictable income. In this way, artists can be seen as "the archetype of new capitalism" (Morgan & Ren, 2012, p. 127); many artist workers are veterans of a gig economy that is only recently the repository for a much broader cross-section of the American workforce. Listening to artists describe their needs allows us to foreground the concerns likely shared by a workforce that is not limited to those in the creative fields.

Displacement

Following from a discussion of artists as workers, we turn to an analysis of artists' spatial relationships as defined by displacement pressure. From the discussions with artists and the mapping exercises, displacement was a recurring theme. Artist participants discussed themes of displacement both in physical terms of being displaced from a neighborhood or working space, and also other forms of professional or social displacement. Some displacement occurs spatially in terms of direct displacement from housing and neighborhoods. But for artists working in Philadelphia displacement also means a marginalizing of artists from the dominant city narrative about the importance of art in the city and from the institutionalized arts communities, such as the local arts philanthropic sector.

If artists are workers, then their precarious position within the urban political economy as it relates to displacement will be familiar. Our findings show that artists in Philadelphia face a two-dimensional displacement: first, from the spaces in which they live, make their work, and connect with their audiences; second, from the creative city narratives promoted by local government, nonprofits, and philanthropy. There are multiple sources of displacement, all of which stem from a hegemonic political economy, the "artistic mode of production" (Zukin, 1989, p. 176), that values artists only for what they contribute to capital accumulation. Artists are, on the one hand, hailed as creative entrepreneurs that make Philadelphia a vibrant place to live, visit, and do business while, on the other, are systematically excluded from the means that they require to produce their work.

Many of the solutions volunteered by the focus group participants reflect their awareness, and connection to, the struggles of other working people in Philadelphia. We can imagine a scenario in which better support for artists, including expanded funding or affordable space, might make more art-making possible. One of our main findings, which was underscored by the potential solutions that the artists said would most impact their lives and support their work, is that artists who rely on income from their art have much more in common with other kinds of workers than what makes them exceptional. While this research should be undertaken in other cities to understand how much Philadelphia artists have in common with artists working in other places, what we know from the Philadelphia case is that working artists share many needs with other workers, such as stable and affordable housing, living wages, and accessible and affordable transportation. Overall, artists require the means to be able to produce their art, and this is increasingly out of reach for many.

Conclusion: From the artless to the artful city

The contribution of this paper is to situate artists in the creative economy through a participatory methodology. By attending to the voices of artists themselves, we find that artists have more in common with other workers, a positionality which helps to explain many working artists' precarious positions within contemporary urban change. The paper speaks to critical questions in the literature in a number of ways. First, the methodological contribution is an actor-centered analysis that recognizes the social and economic impact of the arts that are only possible to realize with the continuing presence of a robust local arts scene. Second, artists' own explanations of how they are not materially aligned with a creative class of software engineers and corporate attorneys augments existing critiques in the literature of the creative class. Finally, following the identification of artists as workers, the paper further clarifies their role in gentrification, as well as within broader forms of physical and narrative displacement. Working artists produce value for the creative city which it increasingly appropriates, leaving artists without the means to control how or where they are able to live and create their work, a familiar position for the working class vis-a-vis processes of gentrification.

We summarize these findings as portending a collective choice between the "artless city," a rapidly approaching urban future in which artists and art are reduced to serving real estate capital, city branding, and elite cultural consumption and an "artful city" where artists find themselves connected with the resources they need to make art and where their practice is liberatory. In the artful city, art is no longer constrained to artists who struggle to find the means to create, but artmaking instead becomes available to all people. When the conditions for artmaking are favorable and artists are not creating under conditions of scarcity, the possibility arises for more creative voices to enter the cultural fray. Voice matters—and artists want someone to listen to them. Our outreach efforts to populate focus groups on artist experiences generated four times the amount of interest than we were able to fulfill. And once the focus groups got underway, participating artists were thankful for the opportunity to network with one another, swap stories, and compare notes. After the focus groups, they shared contact information, vowed to stay in touch, and in one instance, stood outside talking for at least an hour after the formal session was over. It is clear that artists are hungry to be heard, to find solidarity, and to develop capacity for collective engagement. This is one small preview of the artful city.

Looking beyond Philadelphia, some cities are working to address the challenges that artists face. Cities from Indianapolis to Nashville to San Francisco have built affordable housing geared to artists (Sisson, 2018). Self-employed artists in the United States can now take advantage of larger deductions as pass-through entities under the revised tax code (Kaplan, 2018). Artists are taking financial and entrepreneurial training into their own hands, through program's like Artists U, based in Philadelphia but operating in several cities. The WAGE campaign has fought successfully for artists to be paid for their inclusion in museum exhibitions. Efforts like the advocacy organization United States Department of Arts and Culture bring together artists and arts audiences around principles of cultural democracy and increased support for the arts.

Yet these are artist-specific examples. What will ultimately shift living and working conditions for working artists are larger changes in the political economy around income inequality, housing costs, student debt burdens, and the racial wealth gap. As one participant stated, if White artists are experiencing hardship, then the situation is even worse for artists of color and Black artists in particular. Examining the experience of those on the margin, as we have done here in a partial way, has the potential to connect with broader concerns that impact the public.

The research we have begun in Philadelphia has the potential to contribute to conversations around workforce policy shifts at the local level that will affect artists and other workers. Participatory focus groups like the ones we have convened in Philadelphia can just as easily inform policy interventions in other cities that face the same problems. And this participatory methodology is useful for querying other workers about the conditions they face and the solutions they endorse—perhaps with artists at the helm

of the research. Creative placemaking, an emergent cultural practice, is predicated on just such artistically-enriched community planning processes. There is no shortage of opportunity to center artists in the conversation about the future of the creative city.

The stakes are high for artists and all those who benefit from urban cultural production. As planners, policymakers, and as audiences, we owe it to artists to attend to their stories. The art-less city, while admittedly a dystopian scenario, is a condition of cultural impoverishment that we do not have to face if we are willing to take artists seriously. If we are able to center their perspectives and take advantage of their training and skills, we may chart a course toward an artful future for the contemporary creative city.

Acknowledgments

We thank Grace Leonard, Martha Meiers, and Mariah Williams for the invaluable research assistance they provided. Andrew Simonet generously helped guide our research design.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

About the authors

Benjamin F. Teresa is an Assistant Professor in the Urban and Regional Studies program at Virginia Commonwealth University. He studies the role of finance and economic change more broadly in cities, focusing on how those most affected by urban political economic transformation develop political capacity and autonomy. He is the co-founder and co-director of the RVA Eviction Lab, which is an initiative that strategically uses data and research to support policy, advocacy, and community-based action to address housing instability.

Andrew Zitcer is Assistant Professor and Director of the Urban Strategy graduate program at Drexel University. His research focuses on the practice of social and economic cooperation, and the use of the arts as a tool for community development. His work has been published in *Journal of Planning Education and Research, Planning Theory & Practice, Urban Affairs Review*, and *Antipode*.

ORCID

Benjamin F. Teresa http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5118-9865

References

Americans for the Arts. (2015). *Congressional arts handbook 2015. Chapter 5: Facts and figures, source of revenue for nonprofit arts organizations*. Americans for the Arts. http://www.americansforthearts.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2015/events/arts-advocacy-day/handbook/Facts%20and%20figures%20one%20pagers.pdf

artless, adj. (n.d.). *In OED online*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/11248

Ashley, A. J. (2015). Beyond the aesthetic: The historical pursuit of local arts economic development. *Journal of Planning History*, *14*(1), 38–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/1538513214541616

Beauregard, R. A. (2018). *Cities in the urban age: A dissent*. The University of Chicago Press.

Bellafante, G. (2018, October 19). The culture paradox of 21st-century New York. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/13/nyregion/the-culture-paradox-of-21st-century-new-york.html

Blumgart, J. (2018, September 26). *Pew finds most poor Philly renters receive no public assistance*. PlanPhilly. Retrieved February 13, 2019 from http://planphilly.com/articles/2018/09/26/pew-finds-most-poor-philly-renters-receive-no-public-assistance

Boschmann, E. E., & Cubbon, E. (2014). Sketch maps and qualitative GIS: Using cartographies of individual spatial narratives in geographic research. *The Professional Geographer*, *66*(2), 236–248. https://doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2013.781490

Bowen-Gaddy, E. (2018, March 14). *3 maps that explain gentrification in Philadelphia*. PlanPhilly. https://whyy.org/articles/3-maps-explain-gentrification-philadelphia/

Brooklyn Commune Project. (2014). *The view from here—A report from the Brooklyn Commune Project*. The Brooklyn Commune. Retrieved from Brooklyn Commune website: http://brooklyncommune.org/the-bkcp-report/

Brown, A. S., & Novak-Leonard, J. L. (2013). Measuring the intrinsic impacts of arts attendance. *Cultural Trends*, *22* (3–4), 223–233. https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2013.817654

City of Philadelphia. (2011). *Citywide vision: Philadelphia 2035.* Philadelphia City Planning Commission. City of Philadelphia. https://www.phila2035.org/

Cole, D. B. (1987). Artists and urban redevelopment. *Geographical Review*, *77*(4), 391–407. https://doi.org/10.2307/214280

Davis, B. (2016, January 14). *Do you have to be rich to be an artist?* Artnet. Retrieved May 9, 2019 from https://news.artnet.com/market/do-you-have-to-be-rich-to-succeed-as-an-artist-403166

Delgadillo, N. (2016, August 15). *Defining "gentefication" in Latino neighborhoods*. CityLab. Retrieved June 25, 2019, from https://www.citylab.com/equity/2016/08/defining-gentefication-in-latino-neighborhoods/495923/

Deutsche, R., & Ryan, C. G. (1984). The fine art of gentrification. *October*, *31*, 91-111.

Dowdall, E. (2016). *Philadelphia's changing neighborhoods: Gentrification and other shifts since 2000*. Pew Charitable Trusts. Retrieved from https://www.pewtrusts.org/~/media/assets/2016/05/philadelphias_changing_neighborhoods.pdf

Eisinger, P. (2000). The politics of bread and circuses building the city for the visitor class. *Urban Affairs Review*, *35*(3), 316–333. https://doi.org/10.1177/107808740003500302

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class*. Perseus Books Group.

Frenette, A. (2017). The rise of creative placemaking: Cross-sector collaboration as cultural policy in the United States. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, *47*(5), 333–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2017.1391727

Gadwa Nicodemus, A. (2013, April 5). *Artists and gentrification: Sticky myths, slippery realities*. Createquity. Retrieved October 27, 2015, from http://createquity.com/2013/04/artists-and-gentrification-sticky-myths-slippery-realities/

Ganning, J. P. (2016). Arts stability and growth amid redevelopment in U.S. shrinking cities' downtowns: A case study. *Economic Development Quarterly*, *30*(3), 239–251. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891242415626277

Goldberg-Miller, S. (2015). Creative Toronto: Harnessing the economic development power of arts & culture. *Artivate: A Journal of Entrepreneurship in the Arts*, *4*(1), 25–48. Retrieved from https://artivate.org/artivate/article/view/38

Grodach, C. (2011). Art spaces in community and economic development: Connections to neighborhoods, artists, and the cultural economy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *31*(1), 74–85. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X10391668

Grodach, C. (2012). Before and after the creative city: The politics of urban cultural policy in Austin, Texas. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *34*(1), 81–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00574.x

Grodach, C. (2013). Cultural economy planning in creative cities: Discourse and practice. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *37*(5), 1747–1765. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01165.x

Grodach, C. (2017, August). Urban cultural policy and creative city making. *Cities*, *2017*, 82–91. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.05.015

Grodach, C., Foster, N., & Murdoch, J. (2018). Gentrification, displacement and the arts: Untangling the relationship between arts industries and place change. *Urban Studies*, *55*(4), 807–825. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016680169

Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B. Human Geography*, *71*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.1989.11879583

Hilario, K. (2018, December 14). *How Philadelphia cultural institutions are fighting back as contributions decline*. Philadelphia Business Journal. Retrieved February 13, 2019, from https://www.bizjournals.com/philadelphia/news/2018/12/13/plight-at-the-museums-how-philadelphia-cultural.html

Hutter, M., & Throsby, D. (2008). *Beyond price: Value in culture, economics, and the arts*. Cambridge University Press.

Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity. (2018, October 31). *American neighborhood change in the 21st century*. University of Minnesota Law School. https://www.law.umn.edu/institute-metropolitan-opportunity/gentrification

Jackson, M. R. (2011). *Building community: Making space for art*. Urban Institute. Retrieved from http://www.lincnet.net/1888

Jackson, M. R. (2012). *Developing artist-driven spaces in marginalized communities*. Urban Institute. Retrieved from http://www.giarts.org/sites/default/files/Developing-Artist-Driven-Spaces-Marginalized-Communities.pdf

Kaplan, I. (2018, February 9). *Artists to reap rewards of major new tax deduction aimed at "pass-through" businesses*. Artsy. Retrieved from https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-artists-reap-rewards-major-tax-new-deduction-aimed-pass-through-businesses

Karttunen, S. (1998). How to identify artists? Defining the population for 'status-of-the-artist' studies. *Poetics*, *26*(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-422X(98)00007-2

Kong, L., Ching, C., & Chou, T.-L. (2015). *Arts, culture and the making of global cities: Creating new urban landscapes in Asia*. Edward Elgar.

Ley, D. (2003). Artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification. *Urban Studies*, *40*(12), 2527–2554. https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136192

Lightfoot, E., McCleary, J. S., & Lum, T. (2014). Asset mapping as a research tool for community-based participatory research in social work. *Social Work Research*, *38*(1), 59–64. https://doi.org/10.1093/swr/svu001
Markusen, A. (2003a). An actor-centered approach to regional economic change. *Annals of the Japan Association of Economic Geographers*, *49*(5), 415–428. Retrieved from https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jaeg/49/5/49_KJ00003737581/_article
Markusen, A. (2003b). Fuzzy concepts, scanty evidence, policy distance: The case for rigour and policy relevance in critical regional studies. *Regional Studies*, *37*(6/7), 701. https://doi.org/10.1080/0034340032000108796
Markusen, A. (2004). The work of forgetting and remembering places. *Urban Studies*, *41*(12), 2303–2313. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980412331297546
Markusen, A. (2006). Urban development and the politics of a creative class: Evidence from a study of artists. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*(10), 1921–1940. https://doi.org/10.1068/a38179
Markusen, A. (2013). Artists work everywhere. *Work and Occupations*, *40*(4), 481–495. https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888413504418
Markusen, A. (2014). Creative cities: A 10-year research agenda. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *36*(s2), 567–589. https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12146
Markusen, A., & King, D. (2003). *The artistic dividend: The arts' hidden contribution to regional development*. Grantmakers in the Arts. Retrieved from https://www.giarts.org/sites/default/files/The-Artistic-Dividend.pdf
Markusen, A., & Schrock, G. (2006). The artistic dividend: Urban artistic specialisation and economic development implications. *Urban Studies*, *43*(10), 1661–1686. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980600888478
Martin, N. (2014). Food fight! Immigrant street vendors, gourmet food trucks and the differential valuation of creative producers in Chicago. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *38*(5), 1867–1883. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12169
McCrystal, L. (2019, January 3). *Philly property assessments are flawed, audit finds*. Philadelphia Inquirer. Retrieved February 12, 2019, from https://www.philly.com website: https://www.philly.com/news/assessment-audit-opa-city-council-philadelphia-property-taxes-20190103.html
McIlvain, J. (2014, May 20). *The untenable career of a successful Philadelphia theater artist: Interview with Charlotte Ford*. FringeArts. Retrieved February 19, 2019, from https://fringearts.com/2014/05/20/the-untenable-career-of-a-successful-philadelphia-theater-artist-interview-with-charlotte-ford/
Morgan, D. L. (1997). *Focus groups as qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.
Morgan, G., & Ren, X. (2012). The creative underclass: Culture, subculture, and urban renewal. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *34*(2), 127–130. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00606.x
National Endowment for the Arts. (2019). *Artists and other cultural workers: A statistical portrait*. National Endowment for the Arts.
National Endowment for the Arts (Ed.). (2016). *Creativity connects: Trends and conditions affecting U.S. artists*. National Endowment for the Arts; Center for Cultural Innovation.
Nelson, A. C., Dawkins, C. J., Ganning, J. P., Kittrell, K. G., & Ewing, R. (2016). The association between professional performing arts and knowledge class growth: Implications for metropolitan economic development. *Economic Development Quarterly*, *30*(1), 88–98. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891242415619008
Nussbaum, M. C. (2011). *Creating capabilities: The human development approach*. Harvard University Press. Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com/id/10488676
Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *29*(4), 740–770. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2005.00620.x
Polèse, M. (2012). The arts and local economic development: Can a strong arts presence uplift local economies? A study of 135 Canadian cities. *Urban Studies*, *49*(8), 1811–1835. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098011422574
Pratt, A. C. (2008). Creative cities: The cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *90*(2), 107–117. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0467.2008.00281.x
Pratt, A. C. (2011). The cultural contradictions of the creative city. *City, Culture and Society*, *2*(3), 123–130. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2011.08.002
Reese, L. A., Faist, J. M., & Sands, G. (2010). Measuring the creative class: Do we know it when we see it? *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *32*(3), 345–366. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2010.00496.x
Ren, H. (2018). The aesthetic scene: A critique of the creative economy in urban China. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1443011
Rosi, M. (2014). Branding or sharing?: The dialectics of labeling and cooperation in the UNESCO creative cities network. *City, Culture and Society*, *5*(2), 107–110. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2014.05.002
Ryberg, S. R., Salling, M., & Soltis, G. (2013). Putting artists on the map: The geography of artists in Cuyahoga County, Ohio. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *35*(2), 219–245. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00623.x
Scutari, M. (2018, March 5). *Closing the gap: The history of arts funding and where it's heading next*. Inside Philanthrophy. Retrieved February 13, 2019, from https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/2018/3/5/grantmakers-in-arts-funding-trends
Sisson, P. (2018, April 3). *Why artist housing is just another kind of affordable housing*. Vox Media. Retrieved February 13, 2019, from https://www.curbed.com/2018/4/3/17192722/affordable-housing-artists-workforce

Skaggs, R., Frenette, A., Gaskill, S., & Miller, A. L. (2017). *Career skills and entrepreneurship training for artists: Results of the 2015 SNAAP survey module (SNAAP special report)*. Strategic National Arts Alumni Project. Retrieved from http://snaap.indiana.edu/pdf/special_report/SNAAP_SpecialReport_2017.pdf

Speer Lejeune, C. (2018, November 4). Meet the new Northeast Philadelphia. *Philadelphia Magazine*. https://www.phillymag.com/news/2018/11/03/new-northeast-philadelphia/

Stern, M. J., & Seifert, S. C. (2008). *From creative economy to creative society*. The Reinvestment Fund. Retrieved from http://www.trfund.com/resource/downloads/creativity/Economy.pdf

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. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X09358555

Stern, M. J., & Seifert, S. C. (2013). *Cultural ecology, neighborhood vitality, and social wellbeing— A Philadelphia project* (No. CultureBlocks Final Research Report). Social Impact of the Arts Project.

Stevenson, D. (2020). The unfashionable cultural worker? Considering the demography and practice of artists in Greater Western Sydney. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *26*(1), 61–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2018.1436168

Stewards, P. (2019). *Philly artist Census*. Philly Stewards. Retrieved from https://www.phillystewards.art/pac

Strom, E. (2010). Artist Garret as growth machine? Local policy and artist housing in U.S. cities. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *29*(3), 367–378. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X09358560

Stromberg, M. (2016, September 22). *Activists in LA's Boyle Heights serve galleries with eviction notices*. Hyperallergic Media. Retrieved May 1, 2017 from https://hyperallergic.com/324683/activists-in-las-boyle-heights-serve-galleries-with-eviction-notices/

Sussman, A. L. (2017, February 14). *Can only rich kids afford to work in the art world?* Artsy. Retrieved May 9, 2019, from https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-rich-kids-afford-work-art-world

Voss, Z. G., & Voss, G. (2018). *The top 40 most vibrant arts communities in America (2018)* (No. IV). SMU DataArts. Retrieved from https://mcs.smu.edu/artsresearch2014/arts-vibrancy-2018

White, J. (2013). Barriers to recognizing arts entrepreneurship education as essential to professional arts training. *Artivate: A Journal of Entrepreneurship in the Arts*, *2*(3), 28–39. Retrieved from https://artivate.org/artivate/article/view/15

Zheng, J. (2010). The "Entrepreneurial State" in "Creative Industry Cluster" development in Shanghai. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *32*(2), 143–170. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2010.00498.x

Zitcer, A., Hawkins, J., & Vakharia, N. (2016). A capabilities approach to arts and culture? Theorizing community development in West Philadelphia. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *17*(1), 35–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2015.1105284

Zukin, S. (1989). *Loft living: Culture and capital in urban change*. Rutgers University Press.

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