A Theory of Scenes*

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ABSTRACT

Music, art, and theater critics have long invoked "scenes," but social scientists have barely addressed the concept (Blum began). This paper outlines a theory of scenes as elements of urban/neighborhood life. Scenes have risen in salience as analysts recognize that jobs and distance explain less, and amenities and lifestyle are critical elements driving economic development and migration. We thus build on recent work by Edward Glaeser, Richard Florida, Terry Clark, Richard Lloyd, Sharon Zukin, and Harvey Molotch which take consumption seriously.

Our theory of scenes is more than 1. neighborhood 2. physical structures 3. persons labeled by race, class, gender, education, etc. We include these but stress 4. the specific combinations of these and activities (like attending a concert) which join them. These four components are in turn defined by 5. the values people pursue in a scene. General values are legitimacy, defining a right or wrong way to live; theatricality, a way of seeing and being seen by others; and authenticity, as a meaningful sense of identity. We add sub-dimensions, like egalitarianism, traditionalism, exhibitionism, localism, ethnicity, transgression, corporateness, and more. All the dimensions combine in specific ideal-types of scenes like Disney Heaven, Beaudelaire's River Styx, and Bobo's Paradise.

Simultaneous with our theorizing, we have assembled over 700 indicators of amenities from Starbucks to public schools for every zip code in the US. We code the indicators using the above analytical dimensions of scenes, to model the processes that lead neighborhoods to develop or decline. All the above components join in our models. We stress not a single process like gay tolerance or Veblenesque conspicuousness, but how multiple subcultures support distinct scenes and development patterns.

1. Varieties of Cultural Experience

1.1 In the last decade, urban development researchers increasingly stress culture as attracting "high human capital individuals" whose innovations drive regional economic development (Glaeser, Kolko and Saiz 2001; Florida, 2002; Clark 2004; Markusen, Schrock and Cameron 2004). A vibrant artistic community, thriving music and theater, lively restaurants, beautiful buildings, fine schools, libraries, and museums contribute to a better local "quality of life". But this simple formulation raises many questions.

Translating cultural attractiveness into concrete terms has been far from easy, first because "culture" is a diffuse concept. Does culture mean the traditional "high arts" of opera, Shakespearean theater, classical symphonies[1]? Or "local," "authentic" items like Chicago blues or Carolina barbecue? Is culture also experimental, innovative art like avant-garde galleries, cutting edge theater, and novel architectural forms? Does it extend as far as adding an aesthetic perspective to more standard items: street level

[1] See DiMaggio, 1982 for a class-based analysis of high art consumption in nineteenth-century Boston.

culture, beachfront activities, farmers' markets, bike paths, arts and crafts fairs[2]? These issues are more than definitional when they become competing priorities for policymakers, to invest in or ignore. Not to mention issues of class, race, gender, and neighborhood as associated criteria that are intertwined in policy allocation debates by political leaders, foundation officials, and public intellectuals.

The earlier urban development theorists did not explore the specifics of culture and amenities. Economists pioneered in adding amenities to urban research, long before most other social scientists. But typically they did so by adding some gingival amenities like humidity or clean air and studying their impact on land value (Zelenev 2004 reviews this tradition.) This tradition of work by economists like Roback 1982 essentially conceptualized culture as part of "amenities." Amenities were important if they increased land value, but the process of how and why was largely ignored. Some Continental economists (e.g. Santagata 2004) write about cultural districts, extending industrial district ideas. Richard Florida's Rise of the Creative Class, suggests that street life and bicycling, rather than opera and bowling, attract the creative class people who favor multi-tasking and autonomy – but his evidence for this part of his interpretation is largely anecdotal.

More generally, theorizing by literature critics, philosophers, and various public intellectuals has increasingly criticized the distinctiveness of broad divisions like "high" vs. "low" culture, "formal" vs. "informal", "elite" vs. "popular", or "passive" vs. "participatory" as meaningful dimensions to capture cultural experiences (e.g. Peterson 1996, Abbing 2005.)

1.2 Further issues that may shift the impact of culture on urban development include:

*Density. Is impact less if theaters and restaurants are spread over a larger area rather than concentrated geographically (Broadway versus LA) (Glaeser et al., 2000)?

*Subcultural variations (e.g. for avant garde versus traditional, and how these are associated with race, class, gender, neighborhood, and region (Clark 1998, 2003)?

*Does visible corporate sponsorship add cachet or imply selling out to capitalism?

*How important is authenticity, in such forms as locally grown and cooked vegetables, "green" services or local musicians and composers of Chicago Blues or Austin texmex ?

*How does quality of the performance compare to its heritage and pedigree?

*Is civic sponsored theater a moral duty, an aesthetic ornament, or an indulgent subsidy?

These and related issues often surface in discussions of culture when cultural activities becomes serious concerns for urban theorists.

This paper adds a sharper framework for conceptualizing these issues that seeks to move analysis away from labeling disagreements over options as mere "personal ideology" or "taste" or "class interest". We do so by adding the concept of scene in a way that links cultural activities to other institutions (like restaurants) as well as the key values and concerns of the participants (like seeking an authentic black cultural experience). We suggest that unless cultural analysts add these related concerns, which we label the components of scenes, they will omit many of the core components that explain the success or failure of cultural institutions and the potential of cultural life to

[2] Mayor James Norquist of Milwaukee, who started tearing down freeways in his city to promote street life (Norquist, 1998), is perhaps the most dramatic example of a public official serioulsy committed to recreating the vital street life praised by Jane Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961).

play a role in driving urban development.

1.3 We must transcend the idea of investing in individual cultural atoms as a means to build human capital. More sensitive human capital "cultivation" or urban policy intervention is more holistic. It seeks not just to promote theater, or consider economic impacts of artists, or analyze separate amenities like juice bars and cafes as separate and unrelated sources of urban growth; this truncates the phenomena under study and leads to misinterpreting their impacts. All amenities are not created equal. A theater can be a moral force, helping to educate the impoverished and bind a community together through shared experience of its basic values. Or a theater can be a playful experiment, or a place for pleasurable entertainment. To assess how much a theater does one or more of these demands considering the other institutions, amenities, government and business practices that surround and support the theater. The power of any one theater depends on its membership in a larger scene[3]. And the idea of a scene, we suggest, takes on analytical power insofar as it incorporates nuances of what is right or wrong, authentic or inauthentic, and creative or boring in shaping people's decisions about where and how they spend time and with whom they associate.

Admittedly, these issues are complex. But ignoring the more subtle problems does not make them go away. Ignoring them just weakens simpler models. Sharper analysis can build stronger social science models and inform better policy making.

This paper suggests that the many disparate concepts and data used in the past can be combined in a more powerful way by use of the concept of "scene". It offers new answers to these difficult questions about what it means to rigorously study the impact of cultural life on urban development. The very notion of "cultural policy" is given new shape through the analysis of what we call scenes. As elaborated below, scenes capture the distinct ways in which concrete patterns of cultural amenities and personality characteristics attract groups of people according to shared sensibilities. Coming to understand how scenes work, where they are, who joins them, and how they inform decisions about how consumers spend their time and money has much to offer students of social theory, culture, cultural policy, and policymakers.

2. What does the concept of "scene" add to existing research programs?

2.1 Before giving a positive account of what we mean by "scenes," consider how our approach extends past work on similar topics. This contribution builds on the best recent efforts by cultural economists and urban analysts to incorporate consumption, amenities, and the arts in modern urban life.

In recent years, several important studies of the arts in particular and consumption practices in general have included Markusen, Shrock, and Cameron, 2003; Markusen and King, 2003), (Glaeser, 2001), and (Clark, 2004, ch.3, ch. 7). These have focused attention, respectively, on the impact of artists on local economies, the increasing importance of consumption over and against production, and the ways amenities drive urban growth. For example, Markusen claims that there is a "hidden artistic dividend." High levels of artistic activity are not parasitic on a successful business economy. Instead, the presence of many artists in a city is itself a major contributor to a thriving

[3] Alan Blum is the first social theorist to develop the concept of a "scene" with serious attention to the inner experience and dynamic of scenes, rather than simply denouncing them as pretentious or celebrating them as transgressive. (Blum, 2003).

economy. The value of artistic activity is not exhausted by art sales. Artists "export" their work to "customers, firms, and patrons," contributing to, among other things, product design, work environment, and marketing (Markusen et al., 2004). Similarly, Edward Glaeser finds that cities with high numbers of amenities like restaurants and live performances, good weather and beautiful scenery, good public services, and high levels of social proximity (density), are growing quickly. He associates such findings with a larger change in the nature of the modern city: cities are now largely sites of consumption rather than production, and so cities try to "educate and attract high human capital individuals" (Glaeser, 2001, p. 29). Finally, Terry Clark has shown that different classes of amenities appeal to distinct subpopulations: natural amenities like moderate temperature and mountains attract the elderly, but constructed amenities like opera, juice bars, and museums attract college graduates. Clark uses amenities and migration patterns to illustrate deeper changes in political culture across sub regions of the US, especially the rise of a new political culture.

2.2 Though Markusen, Glaeser, and Clark are at the forefront of recognizing the economic and social relevance of artistic activity, consumption, and amenities, they do not situate these within the larger constellations of shared tastes and values such activities presuppose and foster. In a word, their approaches are overly atomistic. None of the three, for example, studies how consumers' judgments about the quality of the arts and amenities they purchase and appreciate affect their decisions. Nor do they study the contexts within which arts and amenities are embedded, the ways in which the presence or absence of arts and other amenities – in different degrees of differentiation and density – shape a neighborhood or city into a lively, thriving environment (a scene!). Such locales can, and we believe do, have an overall social and economic impact far greater than measured by ticket sales, wages, or paintings sold. Quality and context are essential for cultural policy research.

Omitting these two elements is a major oversight, for quality and context define what artists do and who consumes their art, which amenities are deemed attractive and which ones are shunned, which modes of consumption are nurtured and which are vilified. In poetry, for example, academic poets and "slam" poets usually avoid each other. Though each group is engaged in artistic activity, they do not think of themselves as part of one "scene." Similarly, punk musicians and opera singers – all artists – move in different circles, eat at different restaurants, and attract different audiences seeking different experiences[4] (though, of course, some audiences enjoy going to punk concerts on Friday and Don Giovanni on Saturday – this is not, however, because of some vague love of "the arts" or of the "consumptive life" but in part we suggest, such individuals are comfortable moving across multiple scenes, a trait associated with larger urban areas and high cultural differentiation, which in turn fosters a set of values we call "urbanity"). The cultural life of a city is not defined by the aggregate number of arts organizations or amenities it contains. How they cluster into scenes is what we must address. Researchers can build better theory and more usefully advise policymakers by detailing how different demographic profiles support different clusters of amenities (different scenes), how different amenities that support similar values and attitudes may mutually support one another (cafes, book stores, independent record stores, punk music clubs) and show where a certain type of amenity (used bookstores, opera

[4] For a study of how scenes such as punk, video game, anti-fascism, and others define themselves against one another or overlap in Germany, especially in relation to an emerging notion of "youth culture," see Hitzler, 2005. Hitzler focuses almost exclusively on transgressive scenes, however, and does not situate these in relation to more mainstream or high art scenes. Still his work is among the few close to ours.

companies, small or large theaters) is under or overdeveloped relative to the residents and amenities nearby.

2.3 Perhaps previous research has ignored questions about quality and context due to a laudable sense of measured, scientific prudence. Indeed, the data required to study such questions have often simply been unavailable or hard to acquire. The census, for example, does not provide enough detailed information about different kinds of amenities to make many of the distinctions we propose. Therefore, until now, answers to questions about the role of the arts and culture in social life have been hard to come by, because, despite the lip-service paid to creative industries by urban development scholars, there has been very little empirically-based research focusing on how culture more broadly writ – encompassing both the non-profit and the for-profit arts, as well as entertainment, sports, and recreation -- contributes to urban development. Instead, researchers have offered anecdotal evidence (bicycle paths, Richard Florida suggests, attract the creative class), or they are limited to case-studies of particular cultural amenities (Scott 2000 for instance, on movie theatres in France or jewelers in Los Angeles), or fine-grained appreciations of a neighborhood or two (Richard Lloyd on Wicker Park) (Florida 2002, Lloyd 2006). Where researchers have turned to comparative, cross-urban data in studies of amenity impacts on urban development, they have done so in a piecemeal way (Glaeser on live performances, Markusen on artists). This is hardly surprising, given that the cultural sector has traditionally been subdivided: those interested in opera or ballet have not considered restaurants or bookstores, while others exploring football or country music have ignored museums and jazz clubs. Omitting these associated key elements of a scene, however, has meant that past estimates of how amenities have an impact on urban development have been "misspecified," statistically biased by omission of key variables. We thus propose adding combinations of these interrelated amenities to assess their joint impacts.

In the absence of a unified national database of amenities, research on the relationship between culture and urban development has remained conjectural. To move beyond conjecture to testable hypotheses about the impact of a particular amenity on a neighborhood, city, or metropolitan area, we are creating a unified national database of amenities. It includes hundreds of arts and cultural amenities such as types of theatre, bookstores, dance companies, jazz clubs, museums, gospel choirs, poetry centers, liberal arts colleges, etc. It covers all U.S. metro areas and zip codes. The database also incorporates time-series information about other more traditional factors such as schools, crime, housing prices, racial and class demographics, etc., against which the relative contribution of amenities must be measured. No such massive and comprehensive database has previously been generated. Gathering such information into one place will allow us and others to address questions about the role of culture in urban development in ways that have been previously impossible.

2.4 The process of assembling this comprehensive database led us to ask some new questions that go beyond past theories. Perhaps the most useful formulation in recent past work is by Richard Florida, and Florida in turn summarizes many past studies. Consider first how he helped codify past work. Florida did groundbreaking work in his "The Rise of The Creative Class." He there stresses that the "power of place" shapes how people make their career decisions joined to geographic moves (Florida, p. 223). People increasingly, he claims, do not view their locations as worksites, separate from vacation and entertainment centers elsewhere. Rather, cities fuse work and leisure, defining themselves as distinct "places" by the unique "mix" of "historic buildings, established neighborhoods, a unique music scene or specific cultural attributes" (Florida, p. 228). A good mix creates a high quality of place that can powerfully determine location

decisions. Quality of place, he suggests, has three dimensions: what's there (the built environment and the natural environment); who's there (the diverse and stimulating people that make a community interesting); and what's going on (street life, café culture, arts, etc.). A theoretically informed cultural policy, Florida claims, should identify how such factors combine to create different cultural "mixes" which thus specify what is attractive to individuals whose creativity most drives the post-industrial economy.

We concur with Florida's insights here, but take them much further. He includes several colorful anecdotes but does not develop conceptual specifics about "quality of place." One of his main concepts is tolerance or openness. But his main empirical indicator is a gay index which closer analysis (Clark 2003) shows is largely spurious, due to its very high association with percent college graduates. This gay index is thus a spurious measure of the elements-- diversity, tolerance, and openness -- which Florida claims form a creative environment. The Cultural Amenities Database provides far richer and more reliable indicators of "creative places," as well as places organized around other values. Moreover, the idea of a "mix" of amenities, people, and activities needs to be conceptually joined more clearly (in the idea of a "scene," we suggest), different types of mixes (scenes) must be identified, the specific values define different mixes (scenes), what makes them attractive to different groups must be defined, and the effects such combinations on economic and social well-being need to be measured. Urban studies, in other words, needs a theory of scenes: what they are, how they can be recognized, and how they can be measured. Below, we attempt to work towards one, and to use this idea to suggest the sorts of powerful questions we will be able to pose and propositions we will be able to test with the concept and measures of scenes we are developing.

3. What is a scene?

3.1 Imagine a city block. You may see many things: apartments, houses, shops, traffic, and a whole range of people from police officers to shoppers to joggers to cashiers. But which of these matter to you, in what way, and to what end? The answers you give to these questions depend on what you are looking for and the standpoint from which you are looking. From the perspective of a <u>resident</u>, you would likely be approaching the street with an eye to the <u>necessities</u> of life for the sake of their necessity (rather than, say, their beauty or goodness): is it safe to live here, will the police be able to protect me? Are there grocery stores nearby where I can find the food and drink I need? Are there quality hospitals, fast responding paramedics, and sanitary living conditions? Can I find a proper school to train my children to be able to sustain themselves in the future? What are my neighbors like; are they neighborly, meddling, distant, or strange? When approaching a city block from the perspective of these and related questions, you are treating it is a <u>neighborhood</u> – a distinct territory devoted to providing for the necessities of its residents, where social ties are defined by *living* nearby, and healthy social ties are defined by sticking close-by, remaining near to one's roots (the root of "neighbor," is, after all, "near").

But that same city block might look very different when approached from the standpoint of somebody seeking not to meet life's necessities and to associate according to close living but to <u>work</u>. From this standpoint, what is important in the grocery store is not that the food will keep you alive but the possibility that you might find a job there as a cashier or be able to add the store to your real estate portfolio. You might be able to work as a doctor or nurse in the hospital, and the clean streets could mean there are jobs available in the sanitation sector. From this perspective, a clothing store may be a place where you could find a job producing your new winter fashion ideas rather than a place to acquire the necessary means to stay warm. The local bar might not be a place to get a

drink but a place to find a job as a musician. And the relevant social question is not what your neighbor is like, but what you share in common with people situated similarly to you in terms of jobs and income. What is the musician's union like here, are interest-rates favorable to investment, how is labor treated. When approaching a city block from this perspective – as a producer rather than a resident – you are treating it as an industrial district – a distinct territory devoted to providing opportunities for making products, to using human labor to transform what we are given into useful goods and services. Viewed in this way, social ties are defined by *work,* and healthy social ties pursued by promoting the interests of those who share one's position in relation to the means of production.

Yet it is possible to view the same city block neither from the perspective of the resident nor from the perspective of the worker but instead from the perspective of the consumer out to spend time and money on leisure and experiences rather than to acquire life's necessities or to engage in productive labor. From this standpoint, you would not view the clothing store as providing the means to stay warm or as supplying a potential fashion design job but as offering an array of fashions fitted to your taste or simply a cool place to browse and enjoy the latest designs. The grocery store might not be a place to find the food you need to survive or to seek a job in the produce section – you might view it instead as a place to pursue your interest in organic farming, ethical treatment of labor, exotic cooking techniques, or in meeting potential dates who share these interests. From this perspective, you, the consumer, might view the grimy café not as a place to get your morning caffeine fix or to find a job as a barista but instead as a place that might satisfy your desire to take in the latest jazz music, the hottest band, or the edgiest poetry. The nutrition provided by the local restaurants may be less important to you than whether they offer the ambiance, character, and creatively prepared dishes by famous chefs that cater not only to your needs but also to your wishes. Baudelaire expresses this standpoint well when he writes in "The Exposition Universelle," that "setting aside their utility or the quantity of nutritive substance which they contain, the only way in which dishes differ form one another is in the *idea* which they reveal to the palate" (Art in Paris, 125). From this standpoint, the relevant social question is not focused on who you live or work with, but whether you can find others with whom to share your dreams and ideals, others with whom you can enjoy the amenities of life: is there a good jazz scene here, can I find martial arts clubs in the style I prefer, are there civil war reenactment societies? To view the city block, its institutions, and its people in this way is to view all of them as things to be consumed, enjoyed, and appreciated. When viewing a city block from this perspective – the consumer's – you are approaching it not as a neighborhood or industrial sector but as a scene – a distinct territory devoted to offering not just spaces to live and work but for amenities and pleasures, where social ties are defined by wishes, desires, and dreams, and healthy social ties by the energy with which those ideals are lived out.

Table #1 lays out how the notions of scene, neighborhood, and industrial district can be distinguished in terms of how they pick out different types of spaces, goals, agents, physical units, and bases of the social bond.

Space	Scene	Neighborhood	Industrial-District
Goal	Experiences	Necessities	Works, products
Agent	Consumer	Resident	Producer
Physical Units	Amenities	Homes/Apartments	Firms
Basis of social bond	Ideals	Being born and raised nearby, long local residence, ethnicity, heritage	Work / production relations

Can one not simultaneously view a neighborhood from all three of these of these perspectives? Yes to some degree, but each tends to redefine the other, for most persons. These are three perspectives from which people can approach their worlds. Each yields characteristic ways of viewing space (as neighborhoods, industrial-districts, or scenes); each turns our attention to different sorts of goals (necessities, products, and experiences), different sorts of agents (residents, producers, and consumers), and different bases for social bonds (shared upbringing, class, and ideals). Further, each perspective will tend to view the others through its own looking glass. From the perspective of work and class, the experiences offered in scenes operate to promote or stymie the interests of different classes – elite art for the elite class, mass art for the non-elite, both judged according to the extent to which they block or support the dominating or emancipatory interests of classes, depending on where one stands (Bourdieu, Dimaggio). From the perspective of the residential neighborhood, the looser, more transient glue that holds a scene together seems to offer hotbeds of short-term commitment, shallow friendships, and anomie in comparison to the warm ties of close neighborhoods (Wirth). And from the perspective of scenes and amenities, the job one holds and the place one lives will be subordinated to the dreams one can imagine (Florida, Brooks, Clark).

The history of social theory has been dominated by attempts to extend the domain of one of these three over all the rest – to explain consumption and residence by production (Bourdieu, Veblen, Marx, Frankfurt School), work and interest by upbringing (like W.L. Warner, or ethnic-oriented writers like Andrew Greeley), and even, though this is more recent, job and residence by dreams and ideals (Brooks, Florida, Lloyd, Clark). These attempts are all too simple, too overstated, and limited by a bias to the effect that consumption is neither an activity capable of generating qualitative distinctions nor a practice capable of generating shareable and holistic bonds in its own terms. The idea of scene, however, seeks to correct this bias by building on recent work that seeks to introduce the perspective of consumption alongside that of labor and production as including its own norms and driving growth in its own ways (Sharon Zukin has been a pioneer in this regard). But it takes this shift in perspective further by stressing that just as residents and workers are bound together in distinct social and symbolic ties (neighborhoods, classes, communities, cultural industries, and so on), so are consumers, and these formations are what we in everyday language call scenes with such terms as “jazz scene,” “restaurant scene,” “soccer scene,” and so on. Researchers have long recognized that the organization of life’s necessities into meaningful social formations (neighborhoods) and that the organization of labor into larger formations (firms, industrial districts, classes) can produces significant consequences that go beyond the sum of these formations’ parts (Putnam, Marx, and many others). Our proposal is that scenes organize consumption into a meaningful social activity and that these social formations can and must be studied in their own terms as modes of association – just as Marx taught generations to study not simply production but the social organization of

the means of production, we want to learn to study not simply consumption, but the social organization of consumption.

Once this shift is made, a number of issues become salient that make the introduction and analysis of the concept of scene valuable. First, it becomes clear that territories do not merely provide goods, but instead provide amenities as transmitters of different sorts of pleasurable experiences to consumers (not just a meal, but an *idea*), experiences whose pleasurability is determined according to different standards of what makes consumer activity valuable. They create spaces where what is consumed is, quite literally, the symbolic values and attitudes revealed in the practices they make possible: identifying with the message of the music being heard, appreciating the creativity poured into the food being eaten, respecting the solemn formality in the way the waiters carry themselves, supporting the ethical production of coffee beans, or gaping at the overwhelming beauty and celebrity of the patrons. The concept of a scene allows us to explore the different kinds and combinations of these practices.

Second, the concept of scene makes it possible, indeed necessary, to view individual amenities as parts of larger wholes. As potential elements of scenes, cultural amenities cannot be understood atomistically, because what is being consumed is a holistic experience. The values at stake in consuming individual amenities bind amenities and their consumers into larger wholes (scenes). Think of a beach. What are consumers consuming when they enjoy a beach? The answer to that question depends on the values embodied in the practice of taking pleasure in a beach. The Miami beach scene, for example, is the scene it is because it provides opportunities to look at other people (girls in bikinis, boys with muscles) and to be looked at by them, to party in the bars on the nearby streets, listen to certain kinds of music, eat at certain sorts of restaurant, and, in general, to enter into the total entertainment culture of hedonism that pushes work out of mind. But a windswept beach on the coast of northern California supports an entirely different set of practices – awed respect for nature, quiet contemplation, environmentalism. It is not just the presence or absence of restaurants, people, and natural amenities, then, that make a place into an attractive scene to those who enjoy it. Instead, it is the way various collections of amenities and people serve to foster certain shared values, certain ways of acting, being, and choosing (or not acting – legitimating leisure can be an important function of some scenes). The beach qua amenity is what it is in virtue of its being positioned within a territory of values to be consumed – within a scene. The concept of scene gives us a valuable tool by which we can see individual amenities as part of a larger whole.

This shift in focus away from residents and producers and toward consumers requires new methods by which we recognize and measure the impact of consumer activity in cities. In other words, in order to understand the nature and impact of these territories of consumption – scenes – a new sort of theoretical language becomes necessary, a language by which we can recognize the characteristic patterns of values enacted in scenes across the United States and the world. And we need to find new ways to "catch" those values as they are embedded in cultural amenities. Only then can we then begin to understand what sorts of effects on urban development and demographic change scenes as territories of cultural consumption can have. The concept of scene thus provides us a way to name the fact that amenities are consumed because they provide pleasures that consumers find *valuable*; that amenities are not isolated atoms but exist in *holistic networks*; and that there are recognizable patterns, located in space and time, to experiences of consuming amenities, patterns whose operations we need to identify and systematize. It is to these issues of recognition and measurement that we now turn our attention.

III. <u>How is a scene recognized?</u>

3.1 Scenes are spaces within which different kinds and aspects of consumption are given symbolic meaning. If scenes exist, they can be recognized and measured – but only in terms appropriate to the standpoint they embody. How, then, do we know what sort of scene a given area offers? We propose that it is possible to recognize a given scene based on the different ways in which scenes can give meaning to different aspects of the consuming self. Just as community, in the sense we've been using the term, gives symbolic meaning to different aspects of the natural life course such as birth, death, maturation, procreation, etc., scenes give symbolic meaning to different aspects of the life of consumption.

In the following section, we argue that there are three broad dimensions of experience that define what it is to approach the world as a consumer out to experience the world (rather than to reside in it or to make new products). If we can successfully identify these broad elements of being a consumer, we can thus recognize the presence of a scene in terms of the ways in which amenities available in a place reflect values that give some determinate meaning to these broad dimensions of consumer experience. We believe that being a consumer means being oriented toward 1) the pleasures of *appearances*, the way we display ourselves to others and see their images in turn. This we call <u>theatricality</u>. Determinate scenes give determinate meaning to the theatricality of consumers' lives. Being a consumer also means 2) being oriented toward the pleasures of having an *identity*, who we are and what it means to be genuine and real rather than fake and phony. This we call <u>authenticity</u>. Determinate scenes give determinate meaning to the authenticity of consumers' lives. And finally, being a consumer means 3) orienting oneself toward the pleasures of holding *moral beliefs and intentions*, the authorities on which we take our judgments to be right or wrong. This we call <u>legitimacy</u>. Determinate scenes give determinate meaning to the legitimacy of consumers' lives.

If "scene" names the world viewed as a territory which makes mutual consumption, pleasure, and enjoyment, meaningful, then different scenes can be understood as organizing this meaning-making activity into characteristic, recognizable, and repeatable patterns. We now want to defend the claim that it is possible to work out of grammar of these patterns of pleasure-taking in terms of the ways in which scenes promote different types and combinations of pleasurable appearances, identities, and beliefs – of theatricality, authenticity, and legitimacy.

Scenes are spaces devoted to making our life as consumers meaningful, orienting us toward what is enjoyable, disgusting, beautiful, ugly, right, wrong, real, or phony. We derive the three dimensions of scenes from the way these dimensions specify key elements of shared consumer activity (again, as opposed to shared residence, or shared occupation). Each dimensions defines <u>goals</u> toward which consumers can strive, <u>activities</u> that characterize consumption, and the <u>substance</u> or aspect of a person that shared consumption shapes or works on. Table #2 for provides an overview of how these goals, activities, and substances define what makes for consumer activity.

Table #2. Conceptual Map of Scenes

Dimension	**Goal** (of Consumers)	**Activity**	**Substance** (what is worked on, shaped)
Legitimacy	Right Intention, Good Will	Submission to/Rejection of imperatives and prohibitions	Will (intention to act)
Theatricality	Performing Beautifully	Fitting into patterns of self-display, performance, seeing and being seen	behavior, orientation, manners, theatricality
Authenticity	Being genuine	self-realization	Identity

2.2 Dimensions of Scenes: The Pleasures of Appearance, or, Theatricality

In what follows, we attempt to explain in more detail why we believe these dimensions are the right way to recognize the elements to which scenes give meaning, beginning with the concept of "theatricality." We are trying to systematically determine a grammar for how the world as a field for meaningful consumption might be organized. What defines the ways in which subjects interact with others and the world as consumers? At the most basic level, to view the world as an opportunity for consumption is to view the world in terms of how we receive things and how we are received in turn, in terms of

taking things into ourselves and being taken in. Our attitude towards what we take in has traditionally been called "taste." Taste involves pleasures, pains, and disgust. But it is also no accident that the process of taking things in, especially visually -- *perceptio* in Latin, *aesthesis* in Greek -- has been associated with the pleasures of beauty and the disgusts of ugliness. As a process of reception and perception, consumption is thus joined with aesthetic categories and experiences. To speak of a "space of consumption" is to provide a social science name for an area in which people can respond to one another and the world in aesthetic categories, in which fitting oneself into, and judging others according to, patterns of self-display can define key components of what holds an association together (as opposed to shared residency, working together, or shared heritage). The world as a space for meaningful consumption – as a scene -- provides spaces not only for living and working together but also for delighting in how we appear to and for one another. We call this dimension of consumption, and thus of a scene, its theatricality.

Theatricality expresses a distinct type of aim, substance, and activity the determination of which partially determines what type of scene a given area offers. Theatricality specifies that aspect of consumer life devoted to, aiming at, making ourselves and our world theatrical, into *beautiful* (or ugly) performances to be enjoyed. Scenes make the pursuit of this sort of goal meaningful by determining the sorts of public spaces, arts, restaurants, shops, styles of dress, forms of street life, etc. that allow consumers to confront one another as if playing certain kinds of scene, scenically – taking part or observing it in a scene. The activity of theatricality is constituted by seeing and being seen – sitting in a café and looking at (and being looked at by) passers-by, wearing the right suit to an upscale restaurant, sewing punk-band insignia on a backpack so others can see. The substance of theatrical behavior is the etiquette, manners, orientation, bearing, and posture by which we approach one another. Theatrical behavior works on these by providing answers to questions like: will I wear formal or casual clothing, will I whisper during a performance or hoot and holler, will I introduce myself to others, and by first or last name?

Theatricality thus defines for the practices of being a consumer a goal (beautiful performance), an activity (mutual self display, showing off), and a set of substances to be worked on (etiquette, manners, orientation, dispositions, posture, habits). Of course, there can be different versions of what it means to be a consumer who successfully lives up to these goals, engages in this activity, and behaves with the proper manners: there is the theatricality of consuming in such a way that promotes resistance and transgression, formal dress and speech, intimacy and warmth, fashion and style, exhibitionism and voyeurism. Since each way of giving determinate meaning to the theatricality of consumer life has its own internal structure, our analysis focuses on five specifications, or sub-dimensions, of theatricality that we find to be particularly important ways of providing symbolic significance to consumption: transgressive theatricality, formal theatricality, neighborly theatricality, glamorous theatricality, and exhibitionistic theatricality. For a description of these sub-dimensions, an account of why they were chosen, and a review of relevant literature, see Appendix #1. Because these sub-dimensions provide different standards of theatricality that may sometimes be found together and sometimes repel one another in empirical reality, we strictly avoid speaking of one scene as more or less theatrical than another *simpliciter*, but instead assess various scenes in terms of the sub-dimensions: as more or less transgressive, more or less exhibitionistic, more or less formal, etc.

2.2. Dimensions of Scenes: The Pleasures of Will, or, Legitimacy

To enter into a space of shared consumer activity is, as we have seen, to open oneself up to a world of seeing and being seen as if playing a scene, as if one were a work of art to be enjoyed and taken in. Scenes give specific meaning to this part of the consuming self through the ways they determine what counts as successful theatrical behavior. But the activity of consuming is not exhausted by its theatricality; scenes are more than human showcases. The activity of consuming is an *intentional* activity in which one makes decisions about what to consume, what to enjoy, what to appreciate. Intentions imply reasons; and reasons rest on authoritative standards of judgment.

Scenes therefore do not merely supply spaces for giving significance to showing off one's appearance and delighting in the appearances of others. They also promote the pleasures of believing oneself right and thinking others wrong, of trading in products and experiences the consumption of which affirms a shared moral outlook on the world. An example may help to bring out the importance of this distinction between legitimacy and theatricality. American Apparel is a clothing chain that caters to the tastes of young, urban, alternative hipsters. Though its clothes are often relatively indistinguishable from boutiques targeting a similar audience or from what is available in chic second hand thrift stores, what sells American Apparel is its morality: all of its clothing is produced without sweat shop labor in downtown Los Angeles. The entire production process is vertically integrated so that, as the website announces, the company can

> stay competitive while paying the highest wages in the garment industry. Because we don't outsource to local or developing-nation sweatshops (or to ad agencies, for that matter) the entire process is time-efficient, and we can respond faster to market demand… We're just out to try something different, to make a buck, to bring people the clothes they love, to be human, and have a good time in the process[5].

What is being advertised here is, quite literally, a sense for the pleasure in treating all humans equally and humanely (together with the value of efficiency and fun, however complexly mixed), a sense that the pleasure we take in our appearance must be mixed with the pleasure we take in the legitimacy of our beliefs – in this case, belief in the authority of the principle of equal respect and dignity for all. Though the principle of equality is but one standard of legitimate authority among many, the example highlights how important it is to consider the ways in which scenes project moral standards that give meaning to consumption. We call this dimension of consumption, and so of scenes, <u>legitimacy</u>.

The dimension of scenes devoted to their legitimacy specifies a second set of aims, activities, and substances, that can help us to recognize what sort of scene a given area offers its participants, distinct from those concerned with theatricality. This dimension specifies those aspects of a scene devoted to the <u>goal</u> of establishing, for ourselves and others, that our buying and selling, our enjoying and appreciating, is not frivolous, wasteful, or even immoral but *right*, in the service of an authority we recognize as valid. The <u>activity</u> of legitimating consumption involves participating in amenities that promote a sense that one is submitting to or rejecting imperatives and prohibitions – submitting to or rejecting the legitimate authority of traditional art forms, submitting to or rejecting the principle of universal human equality, submitting to or rejecting the words of a charismatic person, and so on. The <u>substance</u> of legitimacy is the will, the decisions we make about how to act. When scenes promote a sense that it is right for us

[5] http://www.americanapparel.net/mission/

to consume certain products, they seek to shape our intentions to act in one way or another.

Legitimacy thus defines for consumers a goal (right belief), an activity (submission/rejection of imperatives and prohibitions), and a set of substances to be worked on (the will, the intention to act). But these goals and activities can give determinate meanings to consumer life in different ways, and determinate scenes will provide different sorts of symbolic legitimations to the activity of consuming: legitimacy may be rooted in ancestral heritage and the wisdom of generations, in the exceptional personality of charismatic individuals, in the notion of equal respect for all, in the efficient and productive pursuit of individuals' material self-interest, in the expression of each person's unique creative imagination. Specific scenes become the scenes they are in part by making this aspect of the consuming self determinately meaningful in these various ways. Because the goals, activities, and standards that legitimate consumption must always be determinately specified, we focus on five specifications, or, again, sub-dimensions, that allow us to recognize specific forms of scenes in terms of the specific ways in which they promote different senses of the legitimacy of the consumption: <u>traditionalistic</u> legitimacy, <u>egalitarian</u> legitimacy, <u>charismatic</u> legitimacy, <u>utilitarian-individualistic</u> legitimacy, and <u>self-expressively individualistic</u> legitimacy. See Appendix #1 for a detailed description of these five sub-dimensions, an account of why they were chosen, and a brief review of relevant literature.

<u>2.3 Dimensions of Scenes: The Pleasures of Identity, or, Authenticity</u>.

The activity of consumption includes, then, an internal conceptual connection to a sense of being on display and viewing the world as itself on display (theatricality) as well as to a sense of choosing to consume based on some authoritative standards of belief recognized as valid (legitimacy). In giving meaning to our consumption, in participating in scenes, we shape our manners, behavior, and etiquette as well as our intentions, beliefs, and wills. But the activity of consumption is not exhausted by its theatricality and legitimacy; scenes not only do more than provide human showcases, they also do more than provide moral education. The activity of consuming is an expressive activity in which one seeks a sense of self-realization in what one enjoys, appreciates, and consumes. Self-realization implies an identity that is actualized (or not); and identities rest on a sense of who one really is. Scenes therefore cannot merely supply spaces for the theatrical pleasure in showing off one's appearance and delighting in the appearances of others together with the pleasures in submitting to or resisting the legitimacy of imperatives and prohibitions. They also promote the pleasures of being genuine and feeling others to be phony, of trading in products and experiences the consumption of which affirms a sense for sharing an underlying, real being with others, whether that essence is rooted in ethnicity, state, locality, company, or reason. We call this dimension of a scene its <u>authenticity</u>.

Authenticity is a famously slippery category, and the importance of distinguishing between authenticity and legitimacy can sometimes seem difficult to make out. Some examples may help to bring out the difference as well as why this is a distinction that makes a difference. Identities provide agents with a sense of being rooted, and one important way this rooting can take place is in terms of identification with a distinct locality, in terms of being-from this particular place. In Chicago, perhaps nothing does this more powerfully than allegiance to professional sports teams. When the Cubs are playing a playoff game (a rare occurrence!), it is nearly impossible to walk down the street without discussing the game with passers by. People throughout the world routinely stop strangers in the street who are wearing Bears caps, immediately feeling

some shared bond as displaced Chicagoans. Children who grow up White Sox fans often retain that allegiance, and thereby express their sense of being at bottom a Chicagoan, through their entire lives, often carrying that source of identity with them around the world. To become a fan of a different baseball team often implies a kind of formal announcement that one considers oneself to be "from" this new city. The Chicago Cubs even sell bricks taken from the walls of Wrigley Field. What is being produced and consumed here is quite literally a sense of taking pleasure in being a real Chicagoan, a sense of being bound together as from this place, independently of whatever moral views about tradition, equality, self-expression, utilitarianism, we might hold. Though Chicagoans may dress differently and may hold drastically different moral beliefs, the stands of a Bears game are filled with people with a sense of shared identity that, at times, can seem deeper than their beliefs or their appearances (just as those who feel a sense of identity rooted in ethnicity can hold very different opinions). Sports amenities can thus be understood as contributing to consumers' senses of authenticity, of sharing an identity behind whatever differences in belief and appearance divide us. This means that in order to understand what spaces of consumption, that is, scenes, offer, we need to recognize that amenities provide not only a sense to the pleasures we take in appearing to one another and in having our intentions legitimated but also to the pleasure we take in having our identities realized.

In order to recognize a scene we therefore need to identify not only the ways in which it promotes different senses of theatricality and legitimacy but also the ways it promotes a sense of authentic identity. This dimension of a scene's authenticity can be recognized in terms of how it specifies a third set of aims, activities, and substances. The authenticity of a scene determines those aspects of a scene devoted to the goal of making our buying and selling, our enjoying and appreciating, not fake or phony but genuine and real – real Chicagoans, real Americans, etc. This involves making life not only beautiful or right but *rooted* as well, linking us to some larger whole that grips us, prior to our decisions and appearances (or, negatively, that we are not *alienated*, made to feel *other* than who we take ourselves to genuinely be). This is the sense in which we enjoy locally made products in order to identify with our homes, the sense in which in enjoying ethnic restaurants we feel that we are (or at least somebody is) linked by shared customs and blood. The activity of making consumption authentic involves participating in amenities that promote a sense that one is realizing oneself – realizing oneself as a citizen, as a rational being, as Irish or Jewish, as the vice-president of one's company. The substance of legitimacy is identity, our background sense of who we really are. When scenes promote a sense that we remain authentic in consuming certain products, they seek to affirm or shape our sense of identity – does watching this action movie realize my essence as a rational being or is this mind-numbing escapism, in buying non-Kosher meat am I betraying my Jewish identity? These are the questions to which scenes respond.

Authenticity thus defines a goal (rootedness), an activity (self-realization), and a set of substances to be worked on (identities). But pursuing these goals and undertaking these activities can work on the substance of authenticity (identity) in different ways: there is the authenticity rooted in being local and homegrown, in being a member of a people or *Volk*, in citizenship, in the realization of our rational nature, in becoming branded by corporate success – or rejecting these. Because the goals, activities, and standards that authenticate consumption must always be determinately specified, we focus on five specifications, or, again, sub-dimensions, that allow us to recognize specific forms of scenes in terms of the specific ways in which they promote different senses of the authenticity of the consumption they offer: local authenticity, ethnic authenticity, state authenticity, rational authenticity, corporate authenticity. See Appendix #1 for a

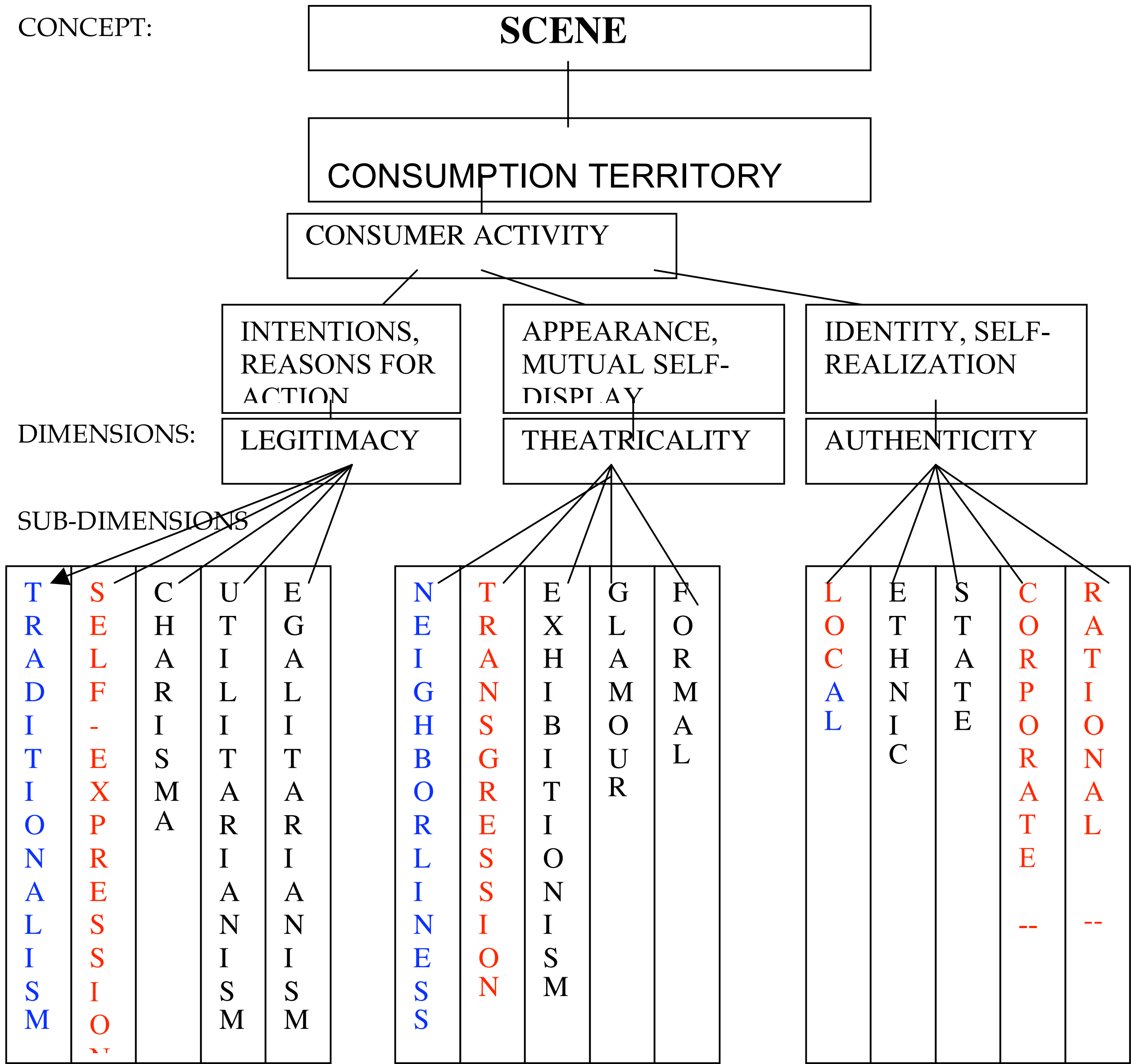
detailed description of these five sub-dimensions, an account of why they were chosen, and a brief review of relevant literature.

2.4 A Grammar of Scenes

We believe that these three dimensions – theatricality, legitimacy, and authenticity – provide a grammar of life in scenes. In the foregoing, we have attempted to demonstrate that these dimensions flow analytically out of the concept of scene we are developing: from the idea of scene to the idea of territory of consumption to the practice of consumption as composed of appearance, decisions, and identity, each of which defines specific goals, activities, substances, and sciences, internal to approaching the world from the perspective of the consumer. Beyond this, we have specified each broader dimensions (theatricality, legitimacy, and authenticity) in terms of five sub-dimensions (see appendix #1).

This conceptual structure allows us to recognize specific empirical scenes as combinations of the dimensions we have derived from the concept of a scene. A given scene may promote a sense of self-expressive legitimacy, transgressive theatricality, local authenticity, anti-rational authenticity, and anti-corporate authenticity – this combination we could call a bohemian scene. Areas that offer amenities promoting this combination of values could be identified and contrasted with collections of amenities that promote a sense of neighborly theatricality, traditional legitimacy, and local authenticity – a communitarian scene. Our conceptual apparatus thus makes it possible to compare the values promoted by different collections of amenities across the country and to find patterns and differences that might not be readily apparent by simply counting amenities – several amenities can reveal the same value, just as one amenity can reveal several values. Table #3 lays out this broad analytic connection from the concept of scene to dimensions to sub-dimensions and back to determinate scenes.

Table #3: A Grammar of Scenes



Specific Scene = empirically discovered correlation or theoretically defined linkage among sub-dimensions. Example: sub-dimensions in red could combine as a bohemian scene. For a list of 12 ideal-typical scenes we are studying, see appendix #2. Sub-dimensions in blue could combine as a communitarian scene [(--) indicates the negative version of the sub-dimensions: anti-rationality or anti-corporateness).

Our grammar provides us with a language with which to move from local level analyses of cultural practices to more general patterns by which the meaning and impact of these practices can be compared and their relative impact on demographic change, political attitudes, and urban development can be studied. With this grammar in place, we can ask how the values and experiences at play, for example, in the Chicago baseball scene

relate to Chicago politics, how do those same practices fuse with or work against the values revealed in the theater world, do the two scenes together tend to be associated with certain demographic, political, economic changes, do they behave differently alone, etc.? We can also ask whether we can identify scenes in different cities made up of different amenities but which nevertheless reveal similar profiles (in terms of their authenticity, theatricality, and legitimacy), and so which make consumption meaningful according to similar patterns. Do these scenes tend to be associated with similar political cultures, and are they associated with similar economic and demographic consequences? This grammar thus allows us to see cultural connections among cities and neighborhoods which would be invisible or implicit without a language by which we could identify the structural patterns by which the consuming self is given meaning by different collections of amenities.

How is a scene measured?

Our grammar of scene provides a language by which we can recognize what elements combine to make a scene. It also provides clear direction by which the presence or absence of scenes can be measured. For if scenes are spaces of consumption, and when we make our consumption meaningful we do so in terms of the dimensions of theatricality, legitimacy, and authenticity, then amenities can be viewed as transmitters of these dimensions, transmission devices for the various forms of pleasure we take in our appearances, wills, and identities.

We use this grammar to operationalize the conceptual structure developed above in two steps: 1. we weight the over 700 amenities for which we have data in terms of the 15 sub-dimensions and 2. We develop formulas to apply these weights to the actual data. Let us take these steps in turn.

3.1 Code the amenities in terms of the 15 sub-dimensions.

We have developed a weighting system in order to "catch" the sub-dimensions of theatricality, legitimacy, and authenticity promoted by individual amenities. A detailed description of the thinking behind this system, an account of its details, and a defense of its methodology is available upon request. Here, a sketch of the process will suffice.

We have compiled a database that includes national data for over 700 amenities and 150 lifestyle survey questions. The amenities are drawn from the U.S. census of business, online yellow pages sources, and the Unified Database of Arts Organizations compiled by the Urban Institute. The survey questions are part of the DDB Lifestyle Survey.

Each amenity was assigned a score for each of the 15 sub-dimensions by a group of coders. Scores range from 1-5, where 5 indicates that participation in the activities promoted by an amenity is fundamentally defined by the given sub-dimension, 1 indicates that participation in these activities fundamentally and actively opposes the sub-dimensions, and 3 indicates that the amenity is neutral with respect to the sub-dimensions. Coders were provided extensive training material, including a web tutorial (http://home.uchicago.edu/~hotzet/tutorial/), a set of very specific yes or no questions to pose to each amenity in terms of each sub-dimension, and a detailed manual we call the coder's handbook.

These methods were designed to produce, to the extent possible, clear rationales according to which weights could be assigned to each amenity. This process, it should be stressed, was not intended to be a survey of coders' responses to the amenities, but a controlled, constrained system whereby each coder, regardless of background, would ideally produce the same code based on the same reasoning as specified by the handbook. Though weights did of course vary, inter-correlations of coders' scores showed a high degree of reliability.

These scores provide us with a way to transform amenities into the terms of our grammar of scenes, that is, to view amenities from the standpoint of consumers out to experience them. Once these scores were established, the weights themselves become the units of analysis because, again, we view amenities as vehicles for transmitting the 15 sub-dimensions that define spaces of consumer activity.

3.2 Apply the coding to the data

All amenities received a weight in terms of the 15 sub-dimensions. But those weights still need to be applied to the actual data. This poses both technical and methodological questions. We may have decided that, for example, genealogy societies score 5 in traditional legitimacy, but that by itself does not tell us how to relate that score to the actual amenity for which we have data, whether to give more weight to larger or more specialized amenities, whether to measure the total score for all amenities in each zip code or assess zip codes on a per capita or per firm basis, or whether to look for zip codes with the most amenities that received extreme scores (just to name a few options – there are many more).

Our current analysis begins with the simplest approach: 1. We multiply the number of amenities of a given type in a zip code by that amenity-type's score, and then sum the results for each sub-dimension. We call this measure the "intensity score." Each zip receives a score for each sub-dimension that indicates that zip code's total output of the values associated with each sub-dimension. 2. We divide the intensity score for each zip code by the total number of amenities in the zip code. We call this measure the "performance rating." This rating shows the average degree to which a zip code's amenities support a given sub-dimensions. For example, a performance rating of 3.9 in traditional legitimacy tells us that in this zip code the average amenity one tends to encounter positively supports a sense that one's decisions are legitimated by appeals to the authority of tradition. The clear advantage of the performance rating is that it adjusts for size and yields a measure in terms of our 1-5 weighting system. A detailed account and walk-through of the formulas by which we derive these measures, as well as explanations of other measures, is available upon request.

With these measures, a profile can be elaborated for each zip code in terms of the 15 sub-dimensions. We use these profiles to determine the characteristic patterns according to which the sub-dimensions cluster (and so to identify common scenes in the U.S.). We can also use these profiles to create rankings and maps of the U.S. in terms of zip codes' scores on individual sub-dimensions as well as their scores in terms of different groups of sub-dimensions. We can test propositions about the relative importance of different combinations of our 15 sub-dimensions for standard indicators such as income, education, mobility, etc. And we can test some classic notions of urban studies (Fischer, 1995) about the role of cities in generating unconventional heterogeneous lifestyles. We are currently at work formulating and testing propositions of this sort. The purpose of

this paper has been to provide the conceptual and methodological tools by which such further work might be carried out.

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Appendix #1: 15 standards of value at play in scenes.

Legitimacy

These five types of legitimacy are certainly not exhaustive, but they do capture, to a large extent, the most common legitimation practices which groups of amenities help to cultivate. We have adapted this list from the work of Max Weber, Robert Bellah, and Daniel Elazar. Weber, of course, famously identified three types of legitimate authority: traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic (Weber, 1978). These describe different ways in which subjects can experience exercises of power as appropriate and right rather than as arbitrary force. For our purposes, these types of legitimacy describe standards by which members of a scene experience their cultural participation as a valuable and appropriate use of their time and energy rather than wasteful, radical, sinful, or boring.

We have supplemented Weber's categories on two fronts. First, we have replaced his legal-rational category (where legitimate authority is based on the formal structure of laws) with two categories: utilitarianism and expressivity. We do so, following Robert Bellah, because modern American individualism is more complicated than Weber's typology can capture. Many individuals make their judgments based on standards of efficiency and rationality, but many others seek opportunities for creative expression (Bellah, 1996). Secondly, following Daniel Elazar, we include egalitarianism in order to capture the power of the strands of New England moralism running through so much of American culture (Elazar, 1975). A moral approach to culture fits cultural activity into the larger goal of creating a "city on a hill" where all humans are treated equally regardless of origins or heritage, the pursuit of private interests is viewed as corrupting, and creative expression is a dangerous luxury. There may, of course, by important gaps in this typology, but it does describe the dominant terms in which cultural life matters to 21st century Americans: as an expression of their heritage, their creativity, their charismatic heroes, their righteousness, or their industriousness.

More detailed definitions and some examples of key indicators are below. We use restaurants as examples throughout in order to indicate how people's behavior with respect to the ethics of amenities cannot be read off from merely pointing, in positivist fashion, at the presence of a given type of amenity.

Traditionalism: A highly traditionalistic scene authorizes itself by appeals to heritage and the past -- the best restaurants are the oldest ones or the ones in which important historical figures like Thomas Jefferson, Jimmy Hendrix, or Jean-Paul Sartre ate. History

museums, genealogy societies, historical societies, and historical buildings might promote a taste for this kind of authority. A certain bar, restaurant, or museum might be popular not because its music, food, or installations are particularly good, but because it situates people in relation to a tradition that supports the way they believe one ought to live. The key notion is that the weight of history informs people's notions about what is right and good. Cultural activities such as visits to historical sites, historical theater, local, state, and national capitals are thus "justified" by the fact that certain kinds of amenities fit their patrons' experience into a historical narrative whereby the wisdom of past generations can be learned anew.

Traditionalism, we claim, is indicated by, among other things, high levels of antique stores, flea markets, specialized bookstores that sell first editions, collectors who trade in original prints of records, and the presence of lots of statues of city founders or past leaders. One might also expect there to be many civic parades celebrating the founding and preservation of the community. We might also expect amenities to be relatively undifferentiated in a given region. High levels of variety in types of restaurant, for example, likely indicates that adherence to the norms of one distinct tradition is waning and that people are seeking to break out of the confines of their tradition. Instead, we'd expect family style restaurants, diners, and American restaurants in a traditionalistic area. At the same time, amenities of a single type may be densely concentrated in a small area to encourage the sense that one lives within a coherently ordered and unified heritage. Proposals to destroy or substantially modify traditional sites in favor of markers of other values (efficiency, creativity) will be resisted and fought with the force of moral outrage.

Utilitarianism: A highly utilitarian scene authorizes itself by appeals to the usefulness of its amenities; it promotes a taste for the authority of individual interests. Utilitarians value amenities that offer efficient, fast, reasonably priced products with no frills. Conversely, a showy restaurant that wastes money and effort on ornament will be less favored. Older buildings and amenities will likely be viewed not as emanating charming character but as wasteful and inefficient, to be replaced with modern, scientifically engineered substitutes.

The key terms here are usefulness and efficiency: utilitarian areas offer people the least resistance to getting what they want. Amenities support this view and help people to maximize their goals. Cultural consumption is legitimate to the extent that it can be viewed as productive and industrious. Science museums, educational theater, efficient roads, take-out coffee houses, and parks with jogging paths might indicate the presence of this mode of legitimacy. Conversely, amenities that do not serve a clear rational purpose will likely be absent. Nightclubs, wine bars, cocktail bars, sprawling forests, and public art all might be deemed useless and therefore not valuable.

When utilitarians do read books, go to dinner, or listen to music, they expect such activity to be purposeful and part of an industrious life. So, bookstores will likely have larger self-help sections, more how-to, home-improvement, and financial planning books, and fewer art appreciation books and smaller poetry sections. Lecture series offered in the neighborhood will not be about aesthetics but about how to, say, do your taxes better or insulate your house more effectively. Moreover, factory outlet stores, wholesale vendors, and mail-order/internet sales might be relatively common in such areas. Proposals for new amenities will have to demonstrate that they serve some rational purpose, or, more specifically, that they help to promote an efficient and industrious way of life.

Expressivism: A highly expressive scene authorizes itself by offering amenities that allow its members to activate their creativity; it promotes a taste for the authority of creative individuals. A restaurant promoting this mode of authority might let you make your own pizza, putting your creativity to work. From an expressivist standpoint, the efficient restaurants prized by utilitarians call to mind bean-counting philistines rather than prudent uses of time. Many amenities will be participatory, but not necessarily so. An expressively authorized restaurant is the sort of place where customers are willing to pay extra for products that are creatively prepared – you don't want to eat an apple, but an apple sliced up into a tiny little goose shaped pieces.

Expressive amenities legitimate their use by giving their consumers opportunities for novel, intense, and unique experiences. Avant-garde art museums, experimental theater, fusion restaurants, and arts and craft classes might indicate the presence of this mode of legitimacy. Other amenities the attraction of which might be an experience of expressivity include: jazz clubs, comedy clubs, and dance clubs.

High levels of differentation and density also indicate high levels of expressive legitimation. When I am surrounded by many different types of restaurants, people, and activities, so an expressivist claims, it is possible for me to experience myself as moving among many different creative possibilities, not to be bound by rigid rules but flexible and open to transformative experiences. Thus, expressive areas legitimate themselves by the presence of many non-Western restaurants, high levels of tolerance, high degrees of ethnic mixing, and the opportunity to go to many different types of amenities. There might be an upscale, trendy restaurant on one corner, a punk club on the other, and a traditional art gallery on the next. In such areas, any attempt to impose rigid rules that force all amenities into one tradition will likely fail. New amenities will need to add to the existing mix some element not yet present.

Egalitarianism: A highly egalitarian scene authorizes itself, makes itself worthy of participation, by promoting a commitment to the authority of principles of human equality, regardless of race, creed, color, social status, or other modes of hierarchical distinction. Egalitarian scenes embody a commitment to universal justice and the basic formula that grounds such equality: treat everybody as an end, never as a means. Egalitarian-legitimated amenities legitimate their use by adapting their services to a larger view of the human community. A restaurant or grocery store, for example, might be promote a sense for the authority of egalitarian values, even though it is quite expensive: it might give a portion of its profits to starving children in Africa, offer its employees profit-sharing, and distribute food to needy people in its neighborhood – and such commitments might be part of why many customers are attracted to this sort of restaurant, part of what the restaurant is selling.

Conversely, from the perspective of egalitarian authority, institutions justified by restricting access to a certain group of elites or institutions that encourage pride and exploitation would count as illegitimate. Some examples of low-scoring egalitarian amenities might include private clubs, private golf courses, high arts available only to the rich, and sweat shops. Conversely, high egalitarianism might be indicated by amenities such as public music festivals, public libraries, free public lectures, well-maintained public parks, human rights organizations, cooperative grocery stores, homeless shelters, food banks, volunteer organizations, theater subsidies for the poor, and casual clothing at work and at formal occasions. Different religious denominations would also receive scores based on their commitment to universal human justice for all and their hostility to hierarchical modes of social organization.

Thus, in an egalitarian environment, policymakers considering new amenities must be aware that amenities will be subjected to a certain sort of moral calculus: does a new park displace homeless people, do experimental theaters raise audience's consciousness about America's colonialist past, are new technological innovations being put in the service of reducing poverty, does a proposed historical museum adequately represent the historical wrongs perpetrated against Native Americans?

Charisma: A highly charismatic scene authorizes itself by offering members opportunities to be in the presence of exceptional figures. A restaurant promoting a taste for charismatic authority would be operated by a famous chef who walks through the dining room giving customers a chance to glimpse him and feel his aura. Famous people might sometimes be seen eating there, and the walls might be covered with the owner shaking hands with actors and politicians. From the charismatic perspective, who is associated with a given amenity is what makes spending time and money at that amenity worthwhile. Though the charismatic owners and patrons need not be personally present at all times, their personality must be somehow felt in the amenity.

Charismatic amenities legitimate their use by connecting themselves to various cults of personality. A new symphony hall, for example, will not be deemed successful from a charismatic perspective unless a famous architect designs it and a famous conductor leads the orchestra. No matter how original, efficient, traditional, or morally illuminating a given artwork or public lecture might be, if what matters most is charisma, these need to be produced, delivered, or endorsed by somebody whose personality by itself is enough to render things valuable. Some typical indicators might include buildings designed by famous architects, public art by famous artists, celebrity chef owned restaurants, major symphonies, blockbuster concerts, name brand designer boutiques, film festivals, gossip columns in newspapers, high levels of celebrity magazines in bookstores, famous residents, first run movie theaters, high levels of autograph collectors, high levels of giving to televangelists.

Theatricality

Because there has been much less past social-scientific work on theatricality than on legitimacy (aesthetic theorists and philosophers, however, have been concerned with these phenomena for some time), we have had to create many of these categories from scratch. Of course, Goffman's "Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" is a key precedent in sociology (Goffman, 1959), as is Blum's recent work, and there are equally important precedents in philosophy, literature, and art history[6]. Goffman and others highlight the power of theatricality in daily life – the degree to which we experience ourselves as playing a part, performing a role, in social life.

Goffman argues that much of the theater of daily life turns on the way performers can be "taken in" or "not taken in" by the everyday roles they play. Our categories arise out of a similar consideration of different ways in which one can identify with or feel separated

[6] Michael Fried's *Absorption and Theatricality* (Fried, 1980) is an invaluable source for thinking about the experience of thinking of oneself as being watched and reveling in or being too absorbed to notice that gaze. And no discussion of mutual display can get going without taking up Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*, where the dynamics of "being for others" and "being for self" drive much of Hegel's thinking (Hegel, 1977).

from the roles one plays in daily life: I can take up my parts in what we call a neighborly way, energetically fitting into my role without ironically or cynically experiencing the role as mere show, pretense, or pre-scripted part, actively and warmly welcoming others to it; I can take up my role in a transgressive way, resisting conventional forms of self-display and breaking boundaries; I can take up my role in a glamorous way, pushing the fashions and riding the trends; I can take up my role in an exhibitionist way, reveling in the process of mutual self-display for its own sake; and I can take up my role in a formalized way, playing out, exquisitely and with refinement, pre-formed styles of etiquette and manner. Many of the elements of theatricality can be understood in terms of these and other possible ways of relating to the fact that playing roles and taking up parts is an unavoidable element of interpersonal relations.

Below are more detailed description of these modes of theatricality and what might indicate them. As with the authority categories, these categories are not absolute; they are present in relative degrees in different places. By seeing how these modes of theatricality interact with the authority categories, we can get a much more robust understanding of what makes a given place attractive to certain types of consumers. In some places, we expect, the importance of the theater of a scene will outweigh its claims to authority, in others the two may combine in surprising ways. In any case, the cultural composition of a given area, and thus its "ripeness" for new amenities of distinct types, cannot be understood without taking into consideration how any new amenity will support or transform the ways in which a given area contributes the theatrical elements of daily life.

Exhibitionism: An area with a high exhibitionism score will offer amenities that encourage the experience of looking at others and being looked at them in turn. Such areas are specifically exhibitionistic, rather than one of the other modes of theatricality, to the extent that the very process of theatricality is taken as an end in itself. In such areas, whatever moral or legitimating value a given amenity or district might offer will have to be supplemented and supported by opportunities for mutual self-display. A certain sort of dance club, for example, isn't only attractive because it might allow you to express yourself creatively, blow off steam, or rub elbows with the rich and famous. It is also important to be able to linger around outside, see who is in the line, walk up and down the room feeling the various gazes follow your movements, and drop a subtle glance in return. People don't lift weights on Venice Beach simply to get a workout; they get the added benefit of *being seen* getting a workout, usually anonymously and impersonally, as objects to be viewed. It is this added emphasis on being seen that our exhibitionism category is meant to pick out.

A restaurant in such an area might have open dining rooms and elevated tables where the diners are as if on display. There might be cafes where people sit and watch others promenade before them, or bathhouses where bathers take careful note of how everybody looks. There might be boardwalks, cafes, bars, and dance clubs along and on the beaches in order to make the beach less a place for solitary encounters with the majesty of nature or a relaxing break from work and more a site for showing off your body and looking at others showing off theirs.

Some key amenity and demographic indicators might include salons, manicurists, massage parlors, bathhouses, bathing suit stores, tanning salons, outdoor dance clubs, outdoor weight rooms (a la muscle beach), gay pride parades, health clubs, high levels of spring break vacationers, young people, nightclubs, bars with wet tee shirt contests, high mobility, low proportion of people who grew up in the area, high levels of

vacationers, etc. Though exhibitionism might often be associated with both high fashion and counter-cultural currents, the category is meant to pick out something both broader and more specific: broader because each of these can include and commingle with exhibitionist elements; more specific because exhibitionism defines those activities where the experience of mutual viewing takes on a life of its own, and so is relatively neutral with respect to content. We expect negative correlations in areas with lower average marriage ages, less developed natural amenities, cold weather, older average ages, and higher levels of participation in voluntary and civic associations (much of the pleasure in exhibitionism comes from the relative anonymity of the experience).

Transgression. To engage in a transgressive mode of theatricality means to take part in a very specific form of self-display: to revel in shocking others and associating with others who are equally shocking (think of Baudelaire's dandies, who scandalize others and are never scandalized themselves). Much of what counts as transgressive will be determined by what counts as conventional or mainstream, but this transgression is theatrical, and not merely doctrinal, when it involves performance and risk, when it breaks against "the routinzation of everyday life" (Blum, 174). Accordingly, transgressive areas, we hypothesize, tend to be located near major population centers, relatively close to the centers of "bourgeois," utilitarian life – there has to be somebody there to shock, after all, and transgression does not offer much punch in the middle of nowhere. The bourgeois and the bohemians stand in a symbiotic relation, as it were.

In a transgressive area, however morally right or creatively expressive a given artist, poet, or lecturer might be, it will be difficult for such figures to be recognized and accepted without displaying the appropriate markers of counter-cultural status. One must be able to show that one recognizes the theater of social life and that one rejects the conventional ways of following the script. Cafes might sell revolutionary journals and sell themselves as havens for those bored with the empty, materialistic markers of mainstream success (there is a café in Chicago called Café Ennui), people might drive cars with anti-establishment bumper stickers and cover their backpacks with patches bearing the names of various punk bands, and there might be weekly demonstrations frequented by anarchists dressed in black with their faces covered by bandannas.

Some typical indicators might be tattoo parlors, piercing salons, body art, punk clubs, high levels of smokers, independent cafes and movie houses, high crime rates, low school quality, not child friendly, dirty streets, high levels of beggars and "street punks," independent record stores, high levels of drug use, strip clubs, biker bars, low levels of natural amenities, low levels of high arts like opera, classical music, and ballet, low civic involvement, and high degree of protest activity. We would also expect there to be higher marriage ages, highly differentiated amenities densely packed together, lower average ages, and high percentage single.

Glamour. If transgressive theatricality sees social life as performance and tries to resist the conventional scripts, glamorous theatricality instead offers a way to see oneself as setting trends rather than following or bucking them. In areas that receive high glamour scores, high fashion and the latest fads keep people constantly remaking their parts, constantly putting on a new show. Though glamorous areas will usually have a high dose of exhibitionism, the specific content of that exhibitionism will tend to focus on staying at the leading edge of fashion trends, reminding others that, even if life is a theater, your costumes are the ones to which others aspire.

We expect to find glamorous areas within the major media markets that beam out the

fashion trends to the rest of the country. Amenities in such areas will tend to make their patrons feel as if they are at the center of the world of fashion, that this is the place to which everybody else looks. Cafes might have the latest fashion magazines strewn about and nightclubs may have dress codes selectively enforced to keep out those behind the trends.

Some typical amenity and demographic indicators might include major movie openings, fashion shows, design schools, high levels of TV and movie production, designer boutiques, high restaurant turnover, private clubs, cocktail lounges, night clubs with VIP rooms, high roller casinos, private trainers (never let them see you sweat!), Prada and Gucci stores, European restaurants, private galleries with exclusive showings of hot new artists, a densely packed gallery district, high levels of European travel, and specialized clothing stores.

Formality: Stendhal was a master at describing how much could be at stake in the way a simple gesture or phrase fits into established patterns of social etiquette, especially in highly formalized settings such as French court life. Though the aristocracy has long since passed away, their concern with maintaining and performing well more or less rigidified standards of manner and etiquette remains. We define amenities that cater to these sorts of formalized modes of appearance as exhibiting "formalized theatricality."

That is to say, the theatricality of many amenities will be less defined by resisting or setting roles than by discovering and fitting into existing patterns of appearance already created for a given group. An amenity that offers "formal-theatricality" will attract consumers by providing well-defined, perhaps even codified, patterns of dress, appearance, and manner. The very experience of a certain kind of restaurant is defined by wearing a jacket and tie, beginning with the fork on the left, tipping the bathroom attendant, etc. The restaurant is made, in part, into the restaurant it is by constraining its consumers' appearance, providing models of etiquette and interaction.

Our formal theatricality is not meant to suggest mindless conformism. Nor is it restricted to amenities that in colloquial speech would be referred to as highly formal (as the above restaurant would be). A biker bar, for example, provides certain consumers with more or less rigid patterns of appearance – leather jackets, tattoos, rock tee shirts – by which they can identify insiders and outsiders. Similarly, gay clubs may have their own established etiquette and manners by which gays recognize one another. Indeed, without this sort of category, one would be hard pressed to understand the appeal of, say, strolling through a Little Italy and having men with over-thick Italian accents and large mustaches try to usher you into restaurants. It is as if you are watching a play you've seen many times before. In this sense, the appeal of a homogenous mode of self-display is not the chance to inhabit, resist, or set the roles we play; rather, it is playing out the role as the script demands.

Some typical indicators might include dense concentration of similar types of clothing stores, the definition of a given cultural area by city guides and maps (Chinatown, Greektown, Little Italy, Boystown, etc.), dense concentration of similar types of restaurants and shops, low levels of cultural diversity, typical destination on standard city tours, up-scale restaurants, gay clubs, biker bars…can others think of more?

Neighborliness: Ferdinand Toennies famously contrasted the impersonality and distance characteristic of modern economic exchange, modern political life, and modern state power (Gesellschaft) with a mode of interaction characterized by warmth, intimacy, friendliness, and community (Gemeinschaft). More recently, Jurgen

Habermas has criticized Max Weber's thesis about the connection between Puritanism and capitalism for ignoring the strong Puritan emphasis ("irrational" by the standards of utilitarian calculus) on warm, neighborly relations. Our "neighborliness" category seeks to define and measure amenities that indicate this distinctive way of presenting oneself to others that highlights closeness, personal networks, and the intimacy of face-to-face relations.

Toennies associated Gemeinschaft with traditional bonds of locality, kinship, and family. Though traditionalistic areas might often take on neighborly modes of theatricality, neighborliness is intended to describe the form of interaction that certain forms of amenities offer, not what legitimates them and not what constitutes their core identity. The key thought is that certain amenities foster particular, personal interactions that help to maintain intimate, non-cynical, non-ironic, contacts among individuals. Part of what you are buying, and being sold, when you walk into the neighborhood bar is that "everybody knows your name." Even if nobody knows your name, the bartenders and waiters can foster such a mood by introducing themselves by name, asking how you are doing and where you are from. Indeed, even the most impersonal of corporation can foster this kind of personal exchange: amazon.com, for example, welcomes you personally each time you log in with a list of personal recommendations.

The kinds of clothes you wear, the Christmas cards you send to your friends, the barbecue you have out back, the way you welcome neighbors to dinner parties, the way you use the internet to maintain your networks of friends – all of these put forward and expect in return a distinct image, a distinct way of seeing and being seen, that emphasizes the distinct particularity of the participants involved. Not irony, transgression, and distance, but warmth, intimacy, and personal contact are emphasized by this way of presenting yourself and seeing others present themselves.

An amenity that receives a high neighborliness score will offer amenities that affirm the sense that one lives in a warm, inviting community held together by bonds of intimacy and trust. Some potential indicators might include: community centers, greeting card stores, holiday stores, ballets that perform the Nutcracker, invite neighbors to dinner, high school quality, kid friendly, gated communities, high level of cleanliness, barbecues, pubs, taverns?

Authenticity

In order to get a general feel for what we mean by authenticity, consider perhaps the most archaic determinant of my identity: my membership in a family. Even though I may hold radically different political views from my parents, and even if I think them in many ways socially backwards, the words of my father carry a sort of weight that can cut deeper (or at least otherwise) than these other beliefs. I am bound to listen to him, at bottom, simply because of who I am: his son (or daughter, as the case may be). And though I may have friends who share many of the moral convictions of my parents, few parents save money their entire lives to send their children's friends to college – "because you are my son" carries a kind of authority which cannot be fully captured in terms of shared ethical concerns; it appeals to my being rather than my reason. Who you – this distinct, particular, person -- are – who your parents are, where you are from, what nation you belong to, what ethnicity you are – all of these factor importantly into decisions about how to spend your time and money, and our authenticity variables aim to specify how collections of amenities support different modes of authentication.

Locality: Perhaps the most intuitive source of authenticity involves the idea of home. To have grown up in a particular location stamps one's identity in a way that leaves its mark despite whatever beliefs one comes to later consciously affirm. An area that receives a high locality score will thus offer amenities that affirm their patrons' sense of being from, rooted in, this unique, distinct, irreplaceable place. A scene that values locality will prefer local owned and operated restaurants, bars, and music venues over and against amenities that offer, say, bigger-named, glitzier, novel products produced by far away, anonymous companies.

Though locality is quite similar to our "traditionalism" category, it is important to appreciate the difference. Traditionalism indicates a mode of legitimacy; it is a way of deciding what is right. I can come to believe that tradition is the best guide for future decisions, and I can, in this light, come to appreciate historical archives, old books, libraries, monuments to great achievements of the past, etc. But no matter what I do, I cannot make myself from somewhere I am not, and I can never erase the pull that where I am from exerts over my identity.

I can, however, come to appreciate the value of "being from" somewhere, and seek out amenities that affirm this sense of being-at-home. And this is what amenities in highly local-authenticity areas will do. Some key indicators might include: high levels of residents who grew up in the city in which they live, high level of local owned and operated businesses, high levels of family run businesses, restaurants that serve local grown and raised food, farmers markets, flea markets, fresh bakeries, community theater, community centers, local culture museums, heritage walks, local artists, independent bookstores, poetry and stories about that place (i.e. Montana authors write about Montana, Carmel authors write about Carmel), low corporate presence, and low major media presence.

Ethnicity: But my home is not the only power that shapes my pre-reflective identity. My ethnicity makes a claim on my being that may be viewed as equally or, in many instances, more powerful. For example, I am ethnically Jewish. However, I do not attend services, I do not believe in God, and the dietary restrictions strike me as silly. And yet my Jewishness would be respected by the state Israel and entitle me to certain statuses, while others who share more of the moral convictions of Judaism would not be accorded the same privileges. Blood, for many, runs deeper than reason or choice.

An area that receives a high ethnic-authenticity score will offer amenities that affirm the sense that one's ethnicity forms the core of one's being. In ways similar to locality, I need not always be actually a member of a given ethnicity to value ethnic amenities. The key thought is that I appreciate and value the way one's ethnicity indelibly stamps one's whole being, all of what one produces and values, regardless of what any other measures of quality may indicate. For example, in Chicago, it is very difficult for white blues musicians to get gigs, even when, by standards of technical proficiency, they are superior to their black counterparts. Audiences want to see authentic blues, and that means blues played by black musicians. We cannot understand and account for these sorts of preferences without appreciating the degree to which ethnicity authenticates various amenities.

Some key indicators might include: ethnic museums, folk art museums, folk festivals, ethnic salons, ethnic clothing stores, ethnically defined neighborhoods (Little Italy, Greek Town, Chinatown, etc.), folk music, ethnic community centers (Korean Community Centers, Jewish Community Centers, Polish Community Centers, etc.),

ethnic pride parades, ethnic restaurants owned and operated by members of that ethnicity, churches whose membership is ethnically homogeneous (black Baptist, nation of Islam, Eastern Orthodox), people who identify as ethnic on surveys, districts that slate ethnic candidates…others?

Corporate: It is of course a commonplace to complain, in some vague expression of dissatisfaction, that when corporations move into town they ruin some pre-existing state of authenticity. This may be so from the perspective of "locality-authenticity." But such a complaint can have the force it does only if corporations make claims to form people's identities and pre-reflective attachments in such a way that purports to compete with local and ethnic identities. This, we claim, is in fact so; or, at least, it is the best way to understand the role of corporate culture in a cultural policy of scenes. Corporations are social powers that shape identities; they produce and form people, just as ethnicity and locality do. Conflicts between local culture and corporations are not conflicts between authenticity and inauthenticity, but between two modes of affirming authenticity, two forms of power that form people's pre-reflective identifications, their beings[7]. Just as "because you are my son" does not appeal to my reason but to my being, so does "because that is your job" or "because we need to satisfy the shareholders."

The Pullman Town, built in Illinois in the late 19th century by a railroad owner as a location for housing employees and structuring their lives around proper concerns, is only the most blatant expression of this feature of corporations: it claimed the right to educate children, move employees according to its interests, and determine what counts as "local" to them. More generally, corporations routinely move their employees around the world at the expense of family ties, connections to one's home, and one's national identity (though younger staff, for whom other measures of authenticity are more important, often complain and quit over such matters now). And they often demand time, commitment, and loyalty that make traditional, extended family life very difficult. Their role in education, from beginning to end, is immense: much of cutting edge scientific research would be impossible without corporate sponsorship and is shaped by their interests, and corporate sponsorship makes many school programs possible. Corporations are even beginning to sponsor children's names.[8] And they can even seem

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[7] Hegel appreciated this ontological power of something like corporations in his famous account of civil society in the *Philosophy of Right*. "Civil Society," for him, refers to a system of relations in which people confront one another as particular individuals seeking their own self-interest, rather than as family members or members of an ethnicity. But, he argues, civil society is a social *power* that claims to educate children to seek their own interests (rather than those of the family) and give a purpose and meaning to life in conflict to familial identification: I am a son of civil society, he writes, and its "immense power" is often experienced as overwhelming from the perspective of other forms of "ethical power."

[8] A couple recently put its baby's name up for auction on Ebay for $500,000; another company, IUMA, paid families to name their child IUMA; and Acclaim Entertainment is paying families $10,000 to name their children after video game characters – no more Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, George, Thomas, and Sophia. It's Intel, Microsoft, and 7-11! There are also, apparently, children named Timberland, Reebok, Gouda, Camry, and IBM. Corporations are so identity-shaping that we are willing to have our children *named* by and after them (see http://www.techdirt.com/articles/20030929/0037233_F.shtml). And recently, two USC students had their entire college education sponsored by First USA (see chrisandluke.com). This is all the evidence one needs that corporations belong alongside religion, family, and government as powers shaping people's senses of who they authentically are. The point here is not to praise or lament these facts, but to note that, as Hegel already saw, the world understood as a system of coordinating individual interests into joint ventures constitutes an immense force that operates on the level of what we are calling authenticity, on the level of a massive social power that shapes one's identity.

to transcend, or at least rival, the political divisions of nation-states, claiming that their guiding norms and interests – profit maximization, transparency, individualism, entrepreneurship, personal autonomy, honesty, industriousness – know no borders and are capable of building institutions before which even governments must bow. The key idea of corporate authenticity, that is to say, is not simply money. Rather, corporations claim to be, in many ways, alternative "families" or, more generally, social forces with their own norms; they are, as Hegel would say, "ethical powers" that claim to move and shape the world on the same level that governments and ethnicity do (think of the global presence and power of Microsoft, Benneton, or Armani, not just in terms of their physical presence, but in terms of the images they provide for how to live).

Areas that receive high "corporate-authenticity" scores will offer amenities that affirm the place of corporate culture in structuring who one is. Just as knowing that a restaurant is run by locals or staffed and frequented by real Koreans can appeal to one mode of authentication, knowing that a restaurant or business is corporate-run appeals to others. For example, you've experienced this sense of corporate authenticity if you have ever gone into a Starbucks or Jiffy Lube rather than a local café or mechanic because you knew what you were getting, because you felt sure that you would get the same, reliable service at this place as you do everywhere, that because it was corporate it would be run efficiently, you wouldn't have to chitchat with the employees, you knew that both the employees and you would be held to and judged by objective standards, and there would be no surprises. If you've felt this, then you've have some sense of what it means to have an institution authenticated by its corporateness. Conversely, if you've ever felt an aversion to walking into Starbucks – not because you disagree with its politics or you don't like its coffee, but just because its distance, impersonality, and incessant profit-maximization make you queasy – then you've felt what it means for corporateness to indicate a form of inauthenticity. Corporateness can thus put a stamp of authenticity on a business that can be as reassuring as knowing that the business is local.

Some key indicators might include: corporate-sponsored school programs, corporate-sponsored philanthropy, corporate-sponsored sporting events, corporate-sponsored theater, % institutions named after corporations, chain stores, non-local owned and operated businesses, high percentage of Starbucks, Barnes and Noble/Borders, fast food, low percentage of independent book stores, cafes, and restaurants, history of industry museums…others?

State: A highly state-authenticated area authenticates itself and its amenities through the fundamental role participation in the modern state plays in shaping people's identities. From the perspective of state-authenticity, neither my home, nor my ethnicity, nor my company, determine my deepest identifications; instead, my national, civic identifications provide me with a sense of my being that runs deeper than anything I could ever consciously choose. I am a voting American, a citizen, and, whatever else I may believe, this fact about me forms the frameworks within which my reflective decision-making occurs. From the perspective of state-authenticity, my identity is ultimately to be found in the symbols and institutions that embody the collective experiences of sacrifice and suffering that have marked out this bounded, determinate region as a specifically political community – a group of people with loyalties to this particular region, these particular people, willing, at least in principle, to fight, kill and die for it (rather than some universal, cosmopolitan brotherhood of man).

State-authenticity picks out the ways in which state institutions such as the courts, the military, political participation, public schools, welfare programs, citizenship, the

Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence can claim to override one's ethnic, local, or corporate identifications by affirming one's political identity as fundamental. As John Lie writes, "the development of state institutions – education and judiciary, military, and welfare – simultaneously constituted and integrated the polity by unifying language and law, culture, and currency."[9] The emergence of the modern state challenged the historical primacy of local identities, which often referred to "everyone outside one's locality" as a foreigner (Lie, 100). States even claim to "naturalize" new citizens; states, that is, claim to control their members' natures, their being. Indeed, we could not understand current controversies over English as a second language programs vs. forced immersion programs without attention to the power of the state to form identities: to become a citizen, so many proponents of immersion argue, means speaking the state's language, and so, in part, giving up any other ethnic or local identities for one's new, now natural, state identity[10].

To aspire to state-authenticity means to value civic participation and state power as the best ways to form other aspects of identity. When all school children recite the pledge of allegiance, or we all sing the national anthem before a ball game, or people carry copies of the constitution around in their vest pocket, or blacks could not be denied equal rights after serving in the second world war, we see how membership and participation in a state can transform ethnically, linguistically, and geographically disparate groups into a national whole. Being authentic, here, doesn't mean preferring local restaurants, it doesn't mean preferring ethnic art, and it doesn't mean preferring corporate-run events. It means valuing one's status as citizen above other forms of identification.

Some key indicators of state-authenticity might include: American history museums, federal government buildings, federal monuments, high levels of flag sales, low percentage foreign-language, reenactment societies, American heritage parks (i.e. Williamsburg, Virginia), military bases, American battle sites (revolutionary and civil wars), high sales of American history books, high levels of patriotic feelings (DDB), low levels of foreign travel, Blue Angels performances, Military history museums, naval and air force museums…others? Conversely, that I am irrevocably an American can be experienced as a scar on my identity. Some amenities cater to this feeling: revolutionary cafes and bookstores, anarchist movements, communist bookstores[11], high levels of foreign bookstores and restaurants, high levels of expatriates.

Rational: A highly rationally authenticated area authenticates itself through offering amenities that affirm that the most fundamental identity-forming power in the world is the power to rationally choose one's own fate. This may sound strange in that the other

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[9] Lie's recent book charts how the modern state turned populations without deep national identifications into peoples with national identities, national histories, national parks, flowers, birds, wars, etc.

[10] To report a personal experience in this matter: during the 2000 presidential election, I saw Ralph Nader give a speech at a farm workers' labor union building in Salinas, CA, an agricultural area with a high Mexican population. When asked about ESL programs, Nader, to the surprise of everybody there, challenged his audience to give up ESL and "sink or swim," as his Lebanese parents had forced him to do. This, he said, was an important factor in his truly taking ownership of his American identity and feeling called to enter into public life.

[11] Even though communists might be very politically active, they do not affirm their political identity as fundamental: it is class that determines politics, and communists work in the service of a post-political future. Similarly, PETA is politically active in the service of non-political beings.

categories were defined by the fact that their appeal to authenticity consists, to a large degree, in the fact that they exert pre-reflective power over one's identity; one considers authentic places authentic precisely to the extent that such places seem to have grown organically, on their own, without choice or planning. Yet reason is the faculty of choice and planning. So how can reason constitute a mode of authenticity?

In fact, it is not difficult to imagine that reason can be viewed as ultimately more fundamental to one's being than one's home or one's ethnicity (or anything else). From the perspective of rationally authenticity, I am, at bottom, a thinking being; where I'm from, who my parents are, what tribe I belong to, what company I work for, what nation I belong to – these are all historical accidents, incidental layers of identity that, when peeled back, reveal a being that can think. The entire rationalist tradition of philosophy, from Plato to Descartes, affirms such a thought. The core idea of rational authenticity is well expressed in John Stuart Mill's famous argument against selling oneself into slavery: "by selling himself for a slave, he abdicates his liberty; he foregoes any future use of it beyond that single act...the principle of freedom cannot require that he should be free not to be free." The power to freely choose my life is not something chosen; I can no more give it up than I can give up my skin or my parents[12].

Amenities that cultivate this mode of authenticity will tend to affirm the power of reason to make and re-make the world in its image together with the capacity and need of audiences to self-reflectively choose their own fates. For example, I am not really a committed environmentalist unless I take myself to be one, unless I know why I believe what I believe and I can defend those beliefs (imagine how embarrassing it would be to find yourself at a meeting but unable to site the relevant facts about global warming or to explain why you thought saving the ozone layer was important – knowledge, here, rather than home, ethnicity, or nation is a marker of your being). Similarly, small, narrow streets quaintly winding their way through organically formed neighborhoods would give way to grid-plans and rationally ordered addresses. Rational redistribution of wealth according to merit and need would be preferable to special favoritism for ethnic enclaves, lineage, hometowns, or corporations. And the ultimate arbiter of value would not be family or country, but rather the relentless pursuit of knowledge and the stubborn, scientific attack on all forms of particularistic, dogmatic certitudes[13].

Some key indicators might include: universities, research centers, academic bookstores, high internet use, Unitarian churches, low levels evangelical churches (and anti-Vatican II catholic churches), grid plans, redistributive tax structure (a DDB question about belief in this?), public transportation, science museums, human rights organizations, NGOs, high level believe in evolution (oppose creationist or "teach the controversy" movements in schools), near major airports…others?

We have created a working list of 12 scenes of prime importance to the American cultural landscape. The list is by no means exhaustive, but it provides an initial sense of the phenomena we seek to capture. Below are types of scenes, examples, some

[12] As with the other modes of authenticity, rational authentication can conflict with legitimation practices. Imagine a speaker at an environmental awareness lecture. He gives a great lecture and hits all the moral notes just right. But then it turns out that he was just reading a script, he'd never read a book about globalization or global warming in his life. From the moral perspective, what he said remains correct. But he's lost his authenticity. How? Because he didn't know what he was talking about, he's not genuinely aware and committed to what you would have to know to be a real member of the group.

[13] Robert Merton captures the distinctiveness of this mode of authenticity well. He writes, "Most institutions demand unqualified faith; but the institution of science makes skepticism a virtue."

associated theory, and local indicators that should vary across US local units we are now studying in the Urban Amenities Project (metro areas, counties, municipalities, zip codes) for which we are assembling data from the Census, websites, and other sources.

Appendix #2: Some Scenes

Below are types of scenes, examples, some associated theory, and local indicators that should vary across US local units we are now studying in the Urban Amenities Project (metro areas, counties, municipalities, zip codes) for which we are assembling data from the Census, websites, and other sources.

Disney Heaven: sanitary, traditional themes in the presentation, safe for children, low on crime, pornography, prostitution, and homeless. These themes suffused the debates on Times Square when Disney acquired property there a few years back. Disney asked the police to move out some of the disreputable. It coincided with Mayor Giuliani's endorsement of James Q. Wilson's broken windows theory of Crime Scenes: homeless, beggars, windshield squeegees, and drunks define an area as dangerous and signal tolerance of this behavior by local citizens and the police. This in turn encourages more crime. Measures: low crime rates, low poverty, socio-economic homogeneity, middle class (not too high or low). The rhetoric bubbled into labels like Nerdistans, Kotkin's suburban moniker. Think of family restaurants, smiling waiters, and Disneyesque staff who whisk away problems like dust. Buildings are clean and freshly painted, albeit bland. Those that are grander reflect the dreamy Hollywood vision of a European castle with smiling residents, rather than the Grimm Brothers tales or the scheming castle intrigues of Eisenstein's Hamlet.

Baudelaire's River Styx: Walter Benjamin's hero, Baudelaire is the archetypical Parisian benchmark to "epater les bourgeois," by elevating the shocking, sensual, and improper (Baudelaire 1995; Baudelaire 1993). Benjamin's volumes (Benjamin, 1999), the Surrealist manifestos which he sought to emulate, and many later artworks calculated to shock carry on the on the grand bohemian tradition (see the review of bohemian studies in Lloyd 2006: esp. 47ff). Indeed such bohemianism is mainstream for many if not most artists and art schools. Clearly not all artists are bohemians, and some bohemians blend with bourgeois, see below on Bobo Scenes. Indicators of the more hard core: avant-garde art galleries, Beat poetry cafes, high circulation of critical magazines, brothels, gentlemen's clubs, tattoo parlors, message salons, high crime rates, esp. for drugs, prostitution, percent gay residents, percent homeless, some hard core artistic occupations?

The Samurais' Licensed Quarters: To pacify politically dangerous warriors, centuries back Japanese political leaders decreed "licensed quarters" where Samurai could drink, carouse, gamble, and enjoy Kabuki theater (which replaced female actresses with all male actors after the women were carried off the stage by the enthusiastic Samurai). Ukiyo-E's classic woodcuts depict related scenes, which inspired Impressionists, like Toulouse- Lautrec and Van Gough. Today in large Japanese cities highly demarcated neighborhoods resemble western "red light districts," where indulgent styles of dress, behavior, and entertainment contrast sharply with nearby neighborhoods. Geographic concentration measures are thus critical here to capture the close proximity of mutually reinforcing restaurants, bars, night clubs, massage parlors, tattoo shops, lingerie shops, and gambling establishments. The dense concentration is also critical in that it can

implies a "hands off" policy by local police, who may arrest persons for drinking or drugs a few blocks outside the area. See Keene (e.g. 2003), Eisenstadt (1995)..

Renoir's Loge (Theater Box): Pretty people define the scene. If we generalize, this should include street crowds and more, which clearly seems important, but hard to measure with Census or other data we have found to date. The subtlety and sensitivity of defining beauty in clothes, hairstyle, and comportment is classic in television, Hollywood films, advertising, women's magazines, and reactions against them--earlier by Puritans and more recently by feminists. We are surrounded with examples from media like *Women's Wear Daily* or *Vogue* or *Elle*, etc. The more ethnographic studies of New York clubs and models (Currid 2006) or Chicago artists/waiters (Lloyd 2006) or airline hostesses who seek to convey a sincere smile (Hochschild 1983) convey some of the more subtle dynamics. The problems arise when one seeks to be 1. semi-objective and 2. to obtain quantitative comparisons across cities and neighborhoods. This has not prevented a flurry of recent papers on "the young and the restless," which range from the anecdotal to the demographic. If one moves back to simplifying assumptions such as young, affluent, highly educated persons can choose where to go and live, and they are often unmarried, but interested in finding personal relationships. Then it is tends to follow they will value, pursue, and make efforts to enhance physical attractiveness. But for more mundane urban studies, simply having busy, colorful streets, with reasonable well dressed young persons is likely to be considered attractive by most observers. To go beyond this, one could use expert rankings, Some data on malls and retail sales might be another rough surrogate. Density is a standard basic item in quantitative urban work, stressed by Glaeser et al (2001) as facilitating dating, marriage markets, etc. Slightly better is the proportion of young, affluent, highly educated, single persons residing in a zip code, or the increase in their numbers in a city or area (XX Brookings) —this has led to case studies of Tampa Bay and New York (Currid 2006).

LaLa Land Tinsel: The fluff, the icing on the cake, is the image here. Above and beyond the main event, like the good meal. The concept is close to Veblen's conspicuous consumption or Bourdieu's *Distinction,* illustrated by Louis XIV's "superflu," like Versailles fireworks or Marie Antoinette's comments about eating cake, even when the poor are beating down the gates. Yet what precisely is "buzz"or "tinsel" or "slickness" that we can measure relatively simply? One way to proceed is by summing a wide range of amenities, perhaps weighted by quality. These may be more narrowly similar to those considered archetypical of Southern California (beaches, spacious homes, large swimming pools, Ferrari dealerships, expensive golf courses, etc.) Or if we remind ourselves that what is tinsel depends on the eye of the beholder. Then the task shifts more to a call to classify different amenities into subgroups that match with distinct subcultures. More on how to do this follows. What are some dimensions of restaurant and nightlight culture, which may add tinsel? Restaurant reviews in the LA *Times* regularly comment on which film stars dined in restaurant X recently, how the chef of one has just gone to another restaurant to join his new gay partner, so don't bother to eat at the old restaurant. Currid (2006) explores such themes in detail for New York club life, stressing who gets into different clubs, types of clothes, music, and how they vary by neighborhood and subgroup, usually more less bohemian, and who has to wait in line, who knows whom, and more in some detail. The Gary Gates/Richard Florida gay index is another broad measure that seeks to capture some of these dynamics. What about a Lexus Nexus search on restaurant reviews by locality, with keywords like "gay chef," or other words describing the crowd. We might compute a ratio of the number of lines written about the people in the restaurant and other (tinsel-like) considerations divided by those about the food? Simpler would be just numbers and types and

combinations of different amenities (like numbers or density of gay bars, bathhouses, tattoo parlors per restaurant or per young person.)

Rossini's Tour: Every self-respecting mid-sized and large city in Italy in the early nineteenth century sought to stage an opening night in their local theater, crowned by a newly-written Rossini opera, and, best, conducted by Rossini himself. He thus signed up with dozens, but classically came into town the night before and delivered the music so late that no one could check its originality before he was paid and left for the next location. Stendhal's *Vie de Rossini* is a brilliant source of observation on the aesthetic components of such activities, starting from Rossi himself, but drawing on Stendhal's continual search for related charismatic cultural materials.

We rely on looser measures: "first run" cinemas, small theaters that specialize in original creations, art galleries that showcase emerging artists.

Wagner's Volk: "Tragedy was therefore the entry of the artwork of the folk upon the public arena of political life…tragedy flourished as long as it was inspired by the spirit of the folk." Who are das Volk? "the epitome of all those who feel a common and collective want". Wagner wrote five volumes of aesthetics developing this theory before he started writing *The Ring*. The core ideas are identical to those of Max Weber, Durkheim, Talcott Parsons and others: basic values define criteria for excellence. Charisma is the degree to which a performer can articulate deeply held common values in a new, emotionally-charged manner. While *The Ring* combined precise admixtures of love, gold, violence, honor, marital fidelity in its Leitmotifs aiming toward a pan-Germanic national folk, when Hollywood and WFMT adapt "theme music" or to introduce their shows, they more often target subcultures, as in Elazar. Two contrasts. LA youths of the past would make the scene in their convertibles on Saturday night, and demonstrate their prowess by racing two cars. This is a ritual offering to the totem of individualistic macho. It contrasts with the Mexican (Catholic, more collectivist) gangs of LA and other locations, whose rumbles are collectivist rituals to a less individualistic totem. What happens after the Mexican kids get their cars? Do they weaken their ties to the collective? Daniel Bell suggested that the Model T helped undermine small town middle class morality and reinforce the individualism (or the coupleism) of the young, esp. young women (in post-industrial society, right?).

Brooks' Bobos: Bohemian and Bourgeois combine in Brook's *Bobos in Paradise* amalgam (Brooks, 2000), quintessentially illustrated by latte towns like Burlington, VT where latte spots offer poetry and anti-establishment politics, which attract bearded professors with worn knapsacks riding old bikes. Richard Florida draws heavily on Brooks (see assessment and critique in Clark, 2003, ch. 2). Brook's argument is that the style has generalized nationally, and makes some cities take off and be creative, attracting more non-artists, like long-haired stock brokers, etc. Wicker Park, documented in Lloyd, 2006, broadly fits this account. Localities can be characterized as fitting this scene in terms of values of citizens based on 600 DDB items, like how often do you "go skiing" and other lifestyle items, Active New Social Movements from FAUI survey (women, gays, lesbians, environmentalists, per cent unmarried couples living together, various arts-related creative occupations.

Black is Beautiful: Some observe that low-status black areas are defined by storefront churches and liquor stores that swamp other institutions. This is the image that the Joyce Foundation seeks to change by targeting a Chicago neighborhood. The historical context generating these profiles for Greater Bronzeville (like Newark, Oakland, Detroit, etc.), which lost most of their clubs, groceries, department stores, and other "middle class"

amenities after the 1968 riots is explored in Lizabeth Cohen's *A Consumer's Republic* (Cohen, 2003). Do these locations attract more low-income black residents? Oakland, Gary, and Detroit grew, but what were the carrots? Try a website with black-sensitive urban indicators?

Exoticism: Foreign is chic. The simple version might be an index that sums foreign restaurants X foreign art X foreign films X foreign bookstores X foreign people as local residents. This may suffice to add spice for a person from a small homogeneous town. But in a bigger location, it is not enough. This index would put a Korea Town at the top, which is internally homogeneous, and thus not exotic to its residents. Cultural/aesthetic diversity extends the exotic idea by adding juxtaposition of nearby activities and people. See below.

Cool Cosmopolitanism: Globalization heightens the appeal of juxtaposing multiple conflicting aesthetic criteria, like Tibetan female Buddhist monks chanting against electronic rock with ever more mixing in the studio. Interviews with composers of such music are regular features on NPR in recent years. Their CDs are hot. B. Brecht's Theater of Alienation launched this aesthetic with a political message: alienate the audience, so he added signs and more on stage. Peter Brooks applied this to Shakespeare by adding a dozen pixies who threw paper airplanes at each other while the lovers spoke their lines in A Midsummer's Night Dream, thus distancing the audience from any one scene but creating multiple, overlapping scenes competing for the eyes' attention. Ideally these should complement each other, like Wagnerian sub themes and orchestration. Susan Sontag's "Notes on Camp" (Sontag, 1966) is a more aesthetic version of Brecht's political statement. Camp is a playful, alienated denial of the authenticity which David Grazian has stressed (Grazian, 2003). Goffman's *Frame Analysis* is written in the same spirit of this transformational logic, and enjoying or lamenting the transformed results (Goffman, 1974). So is Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology (*Levi-Strauss, C., 1983). Other illustrations: Susan Sontag for Manhattan examples, or in Midwest-populist garb, Garrison Keilor, whose Guy Noir is a Minneapolis take-off on local mannerisms in classic British detective stories. Urban indicators: differentiation in all our amenity areas. But also the obverse of the homogeneity ideal of many of the above (Disney, Samurai). Cool cosmopolitanism should appeal more to higher educated, upscale audiences and migrants, DINKs and singles, 20-40 year olds.

Urbanity: a city or metro area that combines many of the above is more appealing to those omnivores who want to fish in the morning, lunch with sushi, beach in the afternoon, dine Moroccan, dance to Michael Jackson, rave all night, then repent at a Pentecostal meeting next morning. The more all the subcultures that a single omnivore might explore, the more attractive the locale: big population size, high density, rapid transportation, socio-economic and culture diversity on all the above indicators—with the hypothesis that their combined (linear additive or multiplicative) effects should make folks say the won't go back to the farm after they've tasted Paree.

NASCAR Country, or George Strait's Picnic: Country music singer George Strait gives voice to a demographic majority that sees itself as an oppressed cultural minority: "I miss picnics and blue jeans and buckets of beer/Now it's ballet and symphony hall./I'm into culture, clean up to my ears/It's like wearing a shoe that's too small." "Culture" is a shoe that doesn't quite fit this group – and that "not fitting" is the experience around which this culture defines itself. Directed against the twin pincers of Hollywood on the West and New York on the East (in a cultural mindscape, at least), a kind of oppositional culture of big cars, God, loud cars, American history, fast cars, flea markets, open spaces,

classic rock, and baby Jesus has arisen. Whatever counts as sophisticated culture, these people don't want it. Some potential indicators: high percentage white, born in the USA, poor, manufacturing sector, small businesses, country music, enjoy NASCAR, politically conservative, religious (high percentage evangelical?), historical reenactors, flea markets, low density, geographic indicators less important, number of hunting/fishing permits issued/ used per capita, high percentage of local aggregate income spent at Wal-mart, 4WD and Snowmobile sales. See also David Brooks' "Paradise Drive" (Brooks, 2004)