

<http://www.hhh.umn.edu/img/assets/6158/266CreativityClassPolitics.pdf>

Artists' spatial distribution is a function of semi-autonomous personal migration decisions, local nurturing of artists in dedicated spaces and organizations, and the locus of artist-employing firms. Artists, an occupation with very high rates of self-employment, boost regional growth by providing import-substituting consumption activities for residents and through direct export of their work.

artists as a group make important, positive contributions to the diversity and vitality of cities, and their agendas cannot be conflated with neo-liberal urban political regimes. I show the potential for artists as a political force to lead in social and urban transformation and the implausibility of their common cause with other members of Florida's creative class, such as scientists, engineers, managers and lawyers.

the creative class is a fuzzy concept and why it is nearly impossible to conceptualize a common class interest for its purported members.

Many artists, despite their solitary work habits, participate actively in politics, voting in high numbers and using their skills in visual and performance pieces in political campaigns. It is believed that they vote "left" in very large numbers. Artists are often supported by elites, through direct patronage or foundation-channeled grants, but are nevertheless frequently opposed to the latter's values – aesthetic and political. They remain a powerful source of articulated opposition to societal status-quo and a major force for innovation. In the built environment of the city, they play multiple roles in stabilizing and upgrading neighborhoods and are sometimes caught up in gentrification

Florida's creative class groupings are based on major occupational groups – he does not look inside each of these to see what they contain. Business and financial occupations, for instance, includes claims adjusters and purchasing agents. Managers include sales and food service managers and funeral directors. Computer and mathematicians include actuaries and tax collectors. Engineers include surveyors and drafting technicians. Health care practitioners include dental hygienists and dietary and pharmacy technicians. These occupations may indeed be creative, but so are airplane pilots, ship engineers, millwrights and tailors, all of whom are uncreative in Florida's tally. (4)

Florida's selective use of interviews and anecdote

He uses same-sex male households reporting as partners (and thus presumably gay) in the Census to proxy diversity (6).

Disputes florida's concept of creative jobs and his use of creativity as a general term: creative class and by extension, creative city, rubric is impoverished by fuzziness of conception, weakness of evidence ----- It is simply incorrect and indeed dangerous to label people in large lumpy occupations as creative and others—all production and service workers, for instance—as not creative (7).

mayors waving the banner of creativity use it to showcase their anchor arts institutions and make claims about urban amenities, mostly directed at tourists. (7)

(11) Minneapolis/St. Paul (Twin Cities) metro area. Causal questions regarding why artists migrate, where they choose to live between and within cities, and how they relate to their communities are studied with data from interviews with more than 200 Minnesota artists over the period 2002-5 and a large (over 1200 responses) webbased survey of Minnesota writers in 2005 (see Markusen and Johnson, 2005). -- four sub-groups – writers, musicians, visual artists (including film-makers and photographers), and performing artists (including actors, directors, choreographers, dancers), ---- does not include architects, and designers. Or musicians

Artists are more apt to be self-employed than workers in the labor force as a whole (12)

Many artists live in one city but market their (12-13) work more broadly, adding to the economic base of a region without their contributions measured in conventional arts impact assessment..... visual artists and writers, who in general work alone, find it easier to avoid the largest, most expensive and arts-specialized cities.

(15) -- Artists move between cities, within cities, and between cities and rural areas at relatively high rates.

(15) - Artists gravitate toward residences in the denser, more central urban neighborhoods within metropolitan areas than do residents as a whole, often to seedy, transitional neighborhoods

(16-19) arts patronage of urban in all but the very largest cities may be chiefly a local consumption and investment activity, it can operate as a source of secular growth by substituting for imports. Few people fly to Seattle, Portland, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Boston or Washington DC to go to a major theater or museum, even if its façade has recently been redone by a world-famous architect. However, when people visit on business or to see their families, they often patronize cultural events. Hosts use visitors as the excuse to finally visit the Guthrie Theater or Walker Art Center. If these institutions were not there, people might go to the Mall of America instead. The higher the visibility of artistic activity in a region, the more the population will alter spending patterns to patronize artists and art events. Such expenditures are channeled away from suburban shopping malls, where they would go principally to low wage retail workers and owners external to the region. Furthermore, spending on performing and visual arts—highly localized and labor intensive activities— results in higher multiplier effects within the region, especially since artists show high propensities to re-spend their income on tickets to performances and purchases of art and literature. In complementary fashion, if locally-generated wealth is recycled in the region through high visibility contributions to arts infrastructure and foundation arts portfolios, an urban growth increment ensues. In the Twin Cities, high concentrations of artists are found in tandem with relatively high rates of arts participation and arts funding

(19) Promotion of the arts, then, can serve as an import-substituting activity that helps counter the leakage of incomes and savings out of the region.

(24) artists and arts organization managers are enthusiastic about Florida's work, even though many admit they have not read it. It makes them visible and gives them a new claim for public legitimacy since the 1990s crisis. But while elites use the Florida arguments to argue for the large arts anchor institutions in cities, most artists understand the negative effects that arts trophy focused expenditures and strategies will have on lower income communities and on the diversity of artistic venues and funding streams. Their visions of urban space celebrate a Jacobs-like mosaic of neighborhoods each supporting one or several smaller arts spaces. In this section, I reflect on artists' politics and their impact on urban form and cultural policy.

(25) ---- In salvos fired across the creative class ramparts, artists are sometimes caricatured as inner city and diversity enthusiasts iconic of but indistinguishable from the rest of the creative class (Florida) or as unwitting, individualized dupes of barely disguised neo-liberal reshaping of cities locked in competition with each other and abandoning progressive and inclusive agendas (Peck). Neither of these stylized portraits probe artists' roles in struggles over urban form and social welfare. Artists as political actors are more self-conscious, critical and activist than either of these dualities suggests. Of course, not all artists – particularly not artists! – move in lock step.

(26) Most artists in the region do not have a stake in the large arts portals. Actors and entire performances are often brought in from outside the region, and the work that the museums showcase is rarely local.

(27) --- an artistic mode of production has emerged, in which increasingly entrepreneurial artistic enclaves are used methodically by developers to manage profitable turnover in neighborhoods.