



Social Impact of
the Arts Project

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Is All the World Philadelphia?:

**A Multi-city Study of Arts and Cultural Organizations,
Diversity, and Urban Revitalization**

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Case studies are like a familiar swimming hole. Over the years, one learns every crevice and eddy, where the hidden shoals are, and the best times to come and go. After a while one becomes so comfortable, that it is hard to imagine swimming anywhere else. After all, one might take a head-first dive in an unfamiliar pond and wind up with a concussion.¹

Philadelphia has been the Social Impact of the Arts Project's (SIAP) swimming hole for five years. We have moved back and forth across it, first discerning its broad outlines and then exploring in more detail its contours. We have established that its arts and cultural sector is much larger than we believed it to be, with more dynamism and heterogeneity than we thought possible. From our first exploratory studies through our current work we have established that arts organizations and arts participation feed off one another, that economic and ethnic diversity are strongly associated with cultural participation, and that this merging of diversity, institutions, and participation gives rise to the social capital that increases the chances of neighborhood revitalization.

As we have built our findings over the past years, two questions have stood out. First, what are the actual mechanisms that connect arts and cultural engagement and

¹ The title of this paper is derived from Sam Bass Warner's classic paper on urban history, "If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930," *The American Historical Review*, 74: 1 (Oct., 1968): 26-43.

community revitalization? How does this relationship look on the ground? Second, is Philadelphia a unique city or do the same relationships between institutions, social capital, and revitalization influence social dynamics in other cities as well? Specifically, would a similar study in different cities produce the same results?

Thanks to the opportunity to work closely with the grantees of the William Penn Foundation's Culture Builds Community initiative, we have been able to pursue the first question. By tracking the ups-and-downs of over fifty community arts and cultural programs in the Philadelphia metropolitan area we are gaining an understanding of the unique role that arts and cultural organizations play in many of the city's communities, their strengths and weaknesses, and the variety of strategies they use in pursuing their diverse missions. In future papers, we will be reporting these findings in more detail.

In this paper, we take on the second question: the extent to which the relationships between diversity, social capital, and revitalization that we have documented in Philadelphia are present in other cities. To answer this question fully, we will need to develop a set of partnerships in other cities comparable to what we have done in Philadelphia. As we pursue this strategy, however, it makes sense to use available data to give a first approximation of what a more intensive study would likely find. This paper reports the findings of this "first-cut" on these relationships in other cities.

For this first multi-city investigation, we have chosen four cities--Philadelphia, Chicago, Atlanta, and San Francisco--that share similarities but exhibit contrasts as well. They all have sizable ethnic minorities, although their ethnic composition varies greatly. They represent the four basic regions of the United States defined by the Census Bureau. Finally, two represent established cities that have had to accommodate the restructuring of the world and national economies over the past several decades, while two represent the "Sunbelt." Finally, two of the cities have a classic nineteenth-century core with concentric circles of later settlement while the other two represent the urban form of the automobile age, with multiple "centers" and a more disperse pattern of development. Although no four cities can capture the full range of urban experience, if we are able to find common patterns across these cities, we have at least established that the findings from Philadelphia are not idiosyncratic.

The Philadelphia results hold up surprisingly well. Specifically, this paper confirms that the connections of diversity, social capital, and revitalization found in Philadelphia apply to the other three cities as well. Specifically:

- Diversity is a prominent—if under appreciated—element of each city’s social structure. In 1990, between 13 and 18 percent of each city’s population lived in economically diverse neighborhoods. Overall, in the *least* diverse city in this study more than a quarter of the population lived in neighborhoods that were either ethnically or economically diverse.
- Diverse neighborhoods—particularly those that were both ethnically and economically diverse—are the homes of more arts groups than other parts of the city.
- Arts and cultural organizations have a unique place in the ecology of social institutions. Neighborhoods with many arts organizations are likely to have many non-arts institutions as well. Indeed, in these strong institutional neighborhoods, arts and cultural institutions are likely to be overrepresented.
- Diversity and the presence of arts organizations were tied to economic revitalization in Chicago and Philadelphia. In addition, the presence of arts groups is related to the preservation of stable diverse neighborhoods.

Against these notable similarities across the four cities, there is one clear dissimilarity: the role of ethnic diversity. In Philadelphia, ethnic diversity was clearly correlated with the presence of arts and cultural institution. This relationship did not hold consistently in other cities. Although neighborhoods that were both economically and ethnically diverse had the highest representation of arts and cultural groups in each city, neighborhoods that were economically homogeneous and ethnically diverse had fewer arts and cultural organizations in cities other than Philadelphia.

Ethnic diversity’s inconsistent role may be a product of the very different ethnic compositions of the four cities. Atlanta is virtually a black and white city. At the other extreme, San Francisco has substantial numbers African-Americans, Latinos, Asian-

Americans, and Non-hispanic whites. Chicago and Philadelphia are similar with large African-American populations and a substantial representation of Latinos, but even this similarity can be deceptive because the composition of the Latino population in the two cities is quite distinct.

The paper first reviews the set of statistical relationships that we have documented in Philadelphia and outlines the methods used in this paper. We then examine the ethnic and economic contours of the four cities and their impact on the presence of cultural institutions. Third, the paper examines the structure of the nonprofit sector and its relationship to arts and cultural institutions. Finally, the paper looks at dynamics of economic revitalization and community stability and the role that arts and cultural institutions play in these processes.

Lessons from Philadelphia

In its previous working papers on metropolitan Philadelphia, SIAP has demonstrated strong relationships among the presence of arts and cultural organizations in a neighborhood, the presence of other social organizations, diversity, and economic revitalization. These connections provide a different way of viewing urban social processes. We need to *re-present* contemporary cities with a focus on the centrality of diversity. The dominant representation of the contemporary city is as an aggregation of homogeneous neighborhoods separated by “city trenches.” In this view of the world, neighborhoods with heterogeneous populations are typically viewed as marginal. Either they represent a geographic transition zone between two more established neighborhoods or they represent an area in the midst of transition (through ethnic succession or gentrification). Whatever the case, diverse neighborhoods have only begun to receive attention from academic or policy researchers.²

² This section summarizes the results of the first phase of the Social Impact of the Arts Project. See Social Impact of the Arts Project, *A Report to the William Penn Foundation* (Philadelphia, 1998). A summary of the findings and working papers can be found at <http://www.ssw.upenn.edu/SIAP>.

Community-based organizations—as a sector—have not been invisible, but incomplete data on these organizations have given us a distorted view of their distribution in metropolitan areas. In Philadelphia, for example, we were surprised to discover that there was no broad inventory of social organizations that we could use in our research. As we worked to develop one, we were struck by how many social organizations there were and how few were visible. As we interviewed leaders of community-based organizations, they often were surprised by the presence of a wide variety of groups in their neighborhoods, some literally around the corner. In addition, especially in examining arts organizations, we were impressed that official nonprofits—what many are calling the incorporated sector—make up a small proportion of the actual social groups in urban neighborhoods. Informal or unincorporated organizations—ranging from sports leagues to town watches to book groups—absorb a greater share of the time and energy of ordinary citizens than official data on the voluntary sector would suggest.

The presence of social organizations in a neighborhood is an important dimension of social capital. In his seminal work on social capital, Robert Putnam used the number of social organizations as an indicator of social engagement.³ In Philadelphia, we were able to confirm the high correlation between the presence of arts and cultural institutions in a block group and its rate of individual cultural participation. We feel confident that the number of social organizations can be used as a proxy for levels of civic engagement.

The presence of different types of social organizations in Philadelphia was strongly connected to diversity. Areas that were either economically diverse—that is, had higher than average representation of both poor people and professional and managerial workers—or ethnically diverse—that is, in which no single ethnic group made up more than 80 percent of the population—had many more organizations than other parts of the city. The highest rates of groups per capita were found in those sections of the city that were both ethnically and economically diverse.

Finally, in comparing data from the 1980 and 1990 censuses, we found that those areas of the city that were most likely to experience economic revitalization—declining

poverty with a stable population—were diverse and had a large number of arts and cultural organization. The connections among revitalization, diversity, and social capital provide a persuasive argument for the importance of community arts and cultural institutions.

If the connections we found were present only in Philadelphia, they would be important enough. Still, if a similar pattern was visible in other cities, it would give the Philadelphia findings more credibility. Such a study would also suggest that cultural policy discussions—for example, of community cultural development funding—could take place at a national level. For all of these reasons, SIAP decided to undertake a multi-city study.

This paper represents a “first cut” on this project. We have compiled information on the demographic characteristics and organization profiles of three additional metropolitan areas—Chicago, Atlanta, and San Francisco—to replicate the Philadelphia analysis. Specifically, we answer the following questions:

- 1. To what extent are economically and ethnically diverse neighborhoods a common feature of the social landscape of each city?**
- 2. Is the presence of arts organizations in communities related to the economic and ethnic diversity of a neighborhood?**
- 3. Do neighborhoods with many arts organizations also have other types of community institutions?**
- 4. Is there a connection between community revitalization, diversity, and arts institutions?**

A recent issue of the US Department of Housing and Community Development’s journal *Cityscape* frames this issue in a different context. The issue, edited by the Policy Research Action Group (PRAG) of Chicago, examined stable diverse neighborhoods. For the scholars who participated in the project, the key issue was what factors promote stable

³ Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions and Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ:

diverse neighborhoods. In many of the community case studies, which ranged from New York and Philadelphia to Denver and Seattle, the presence of community institutions was a critical factor.⁴

For the this paper, PRAG's research framed an additional question: do many social institutions increase the chances that a diverse section of a city will remain diverse. If diverse neighborhoods with many social organizations are more likely to stay diverse, it provides further testimony to the importance of social institutions and "social capital" to improving the quality of urban life for all the residents of a city.

Methods and Data

The data and methods for this paper closely follow those used in our previous work. We have used a *geographical information system* to integrate four data sets: block group level data from the 1980 and 1990 U.S. censuses, an inventory of arts and cultural organizations in each metropolitan area, and an inventory of other social organizations in each metropolitan area. For each city, census data for 1990 were collected for the entire metropolitan area. For 1980, we collected data only for the central city of each metropolitan area.

The data on arts organizations and other social organizations are somewhat different from that which we had in our original study.⁵ The creation of the arts and cultural database for Philadelphia required a large amount of "local knowledge." We were able to secure information from a variety of grantmakers, including the city's cultural fund that gave us data on a number of groups that were not in other sources. In addition, we tracked the cultural listings of the city's major weekly newspapers to identify new and less established groups. As a result, we were successful in identifying a stratum of "informal" or "unincorporated" arts organizations that do not usually show up in studies of the "official" nonprofit sector.

Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁴ Philip Nyden, ed. "Racially and Ethnically Diverse Urban Neighborhoods," *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 4:2 (1998).

⁵ Mark J. Stern and Susan C. Seifert, "Re-presenting the City: Arts, Culture, and Diversity in Metropolitan Philadelphia," Working Paper #3. (February 1997).

Our social organization database, although not as extensive as that for arts and culture, used similar methods. It included organizations found in the U.S. Internal Revenue Service's master list of tax-exempt organizations, the telephone directory, and the grant applications for the city of Philadelphia's activities fund.⁶

Certainly a similar data-gathering project would be possible in the three other cities, something we hope to pursue in the future. As a first approximation of institutional patterns, we restricted ourselves to fewer sources. For each city, the list of tax exempt organizations was downloaded and geocoded. Then we categorized the list using the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE) code (where available) or the code of activities for each organization. Each organization was classified into one of 14 different categories similar to those we used in earlier papers.

The IRS lists miss a number of groups. First, for some organizations, only central offices are coded, not branches. For example, in our earlier database, we found several hundred veteran's organizations in Philadelphia, most of which were individual posts of the American Legion or VFW. However, using only the IRS list, we turned up only a handful. Second, there are a number of sectors in which informal unchartered groups are extremely important. Neighborhood improvement organizations, for example, include community development corporations and economic development groups, but they also include town watches and a variety of unincorporated activities.

One deficiency of the IRS lists was too great for us to disregard: the absence of houses of worship. Generally, few churches register with the government. The IRS data bases include only a few hundred churches, synagogues, and mosques in each city, when in fact thousands exist. Therefore, as in Philadelphia, we used the computerized "yellow pages" to identify houses of worship in each city.

As in Philadelphia, for each block group (approximately six to eight city blocks) in the metropolitan area we counted the number of organizations in each of fourteen categories that were present within one-half mile. We used the one-half mile radius

⁶ This paper uses the same arts and cultural data base for Philadelphia that we used in our earlier working papers. The social organization inventory used in this paper for Philadelphia is a new

because many block groups are fully residential and rely on commercial districts located outside the block group itself. The average person can walk a half-mile in approximately 10 minutes, so our counts estimate the number of social organizations within a short walk of the block group.

For the present analysis, the *relative* number of organizations near a block group is more important than the actual number. Because the number of organizations varies greatly from city to city, we define a neighborhood as have a “high” number of groups based on its *rank-order* in that city. For example, a block group is defined as having a high number of groups if it ranks in the top one-quarter of the metropolitan area’s block groups.

We compared the *full* arts and cultural database for Philadelphia with the one used in this multi-city study in order to estimate how well the data used in this study reflect the rankings of neighborhoods. This analysis found a strong correlation between the multi-city study and full databases for Philadelphia. The correlation coefficient between the full and multi-city study databases for arts and cultural organizations was .95 (a score of 1.0 would reflect a perfect fit). In other words, it is unlikely that using a full arts and cultural database would significantly affect the results reported in this paper.⁷

Diversity in the four cities

The cities chosen for this paper represent major metropolitan areas in the four regions of the nation. Two of the metropolitan areas chosen—Chicago and San Francisco—are considerably larger than Philadelphia, with over six million people in each.⁸ Atlanta, on the other hand, has nearly a million fewer people than Philadelphia (Table 1).

As we might expect, Atlanta and San Francisco are more suburban metropolitan areas than Chicago and Philadelphia. The city of Chicago makes up just over 35 percent of the

listing that used the same methods as those for the other cities.

⁷ A comparison of the full and study databases shows, predictably, that poor and African-American neighborhoods were somewhat underrepresented in the study data set. These results are consistent both with the expectation that the study data sets miss the informal arts sector and that one of the key sources for our full data base—the city’s cultural fund applications—came disproportionately from poor and African-American neighborhoods.

⁸ For San Francisco we used the consolidated metropolitan area that includes 9 counties instead of the metropolitan statistical area consisting of San Francisco and Marin counties.

metropolitan area's population, and Philadelphia represents more than 40 percent of its metropolitan area. By contrast, residents of the cities of San Francisco and Atlanta make up only about 17 percent of the metropolitan areas' populations.

All four cities are ethnically diverse (Table 2). The share of whites in the metropolitan regions ranges from 75 percent in Philadelphia to only 69 percent in San Francisco. The composition of the non-white population, however, varies among the four cities. Atlanta is primarily a white and African-American city. Asian and Latinos make up less than four percent of the population. Philadelphia, too, has low representations of these groups. Chicago is the only metropolitan area of the four with significant representations of all four ethnic groups; its population in 1990 was 19 percent African-American, three percent Asian, and 11 percent Hispanic. Finally, San Francisco has very substantial Asian-American and Hispanic populations—each group represented 15 percent of the population in 1990—but has far fewer African-Americans than the other cities.

San Francisco is also a more affluent city. Its average family income in 1989 was 57,317 dollars a year. By comparison the other three cities were clustered between \$49,000 and \$52,000. This is reflected as well in the poverty rates of the four cities. Philadelphia and Chicago, representing the older “rustbelt” cities of the nation, had poverty rates of 11.5 and 11.4 respectively. Only 10.2 and 9 percent of Atlanta and San Francisco's population lived in poverty in 1989.

Furthermore, the four cities have had very different economic histories. Philadelphia and Chicago are nineteenth-century industrial cities. San Francisco had been a major regional center during the 19th century, but the shift of defense production to the Pacific coast during World War II marked the Bay Area's emergence as an economic center. Then, beginning in the 1960s, the southern crescent of the Bay—from Palo Alto to San Jose—became an important center of high-technology industries. Atlanta, too, had been a regional center, but the economic renaissance of the Sunbelt during the 1960s and 1970s turned it into a major American city.

This paper uses the same classifications for ethnic and economic diversity that we used in earlier papers. Block groups were classified into one of seven *ethnic composition groups*.

A block group was classified as ethnically homogeneous— black, white, or Latino—if more than 80 percent of its population came from one group. A block group was black/Latino or black/white if each group had at least 20 percent of the area’s population. Among the remaining diverse sections of the cities we differentiated those in which Asian Americans made up at least ten percent of the population from those in which they did not.⁹

Philadelphia emerges as the most ethnically homogeneous metropolitan area. Eighty-six percent of its population living in homogeneous area (Table 3). Chicago was similar; there 82 percent of the population lived in these homogeneous areas in 1990. In Atlanta, only 75 percent lived in homogeneous neighborhoods, and only 45 percent of San Francisco’s block groups were classified as homogeneous. In San Francisco, by far the most common type of diverse neighborhood included more than 10 percent Asians; fully 38 percent of San Francisco’s block groups were in this category. In the other cities, black/white neighborhoods were the most common, making up 7.6 percent of Philadelphia’s population, 5.7 percent of Chicago’s, and 19.9 percent of Atlanta’s.¹⁰

Suburbs were less ethnically diverse than central cities, especially in Philadelphia and Chicago. In Philadelphia, for example, 91 percent of the suburban population lived in block groups that were homogeneous white and only six percent were black/white. In the city, by contrast, 22 percent of the population lived in diverse block groups. The dominance of homogeneous white neighborhoods in the suburbs was not as strong in the other cities. In Chicago, 80 percent of the suburban residents lived in homogeneous white block groups, while the figure in Atlanta and San Francisco were 66 and 50 percent respectively.

The two Sunbelt cities in the study had very different patterns of suburban diversity. In Atlanta, more than 20 percent of the suburban population lived in integrated

⁹ Because this paper was conceived as testing the representativeness of relationships we found in Philadelphia, on this and other classifications we used the Philadelphia taxonomy. For example, in the case of ethnicity, of San Francisco’s 4,928 block groups, 14 block groups (0.3 percent) could have been classified as ethnically homogeneous Asian-American, 127 block groups (2.6 percent) could have been classified as African-American/Asian-American, and 852 (17.3 percent) could have been classified as white/Asian-American. Using the Philadelphia classification, these block groups have been characterized as ethnically diverse.

¹⁰ See Appendix for maps of economic and ethnic diversity in each metropolitan area.

black/white block group, nearly twice as large a proportion as in the city. In San Francisco, by contrast, only two percent of suburban residents lived in an integrated black/white block group, about a sixth of the proportion in the city. About a third of San Francisco's suburban residents lived in block groups that included whites and Asian-Americans--the most common type of diverse block groups.

We also classified neighborhoods by economic diversity. Block groups were classified as "economically diverse" if their poverty rate was above 17 percent and more than 21 percent of their labor force were professionals and managers, the definition we developed for Philadelphia. We call this combination of *poverty* and *professionals* "pov-prof". Other block groups were classified as either having "concentrated poverty" if their poverty rate was above 40 percent, "high poverty" if their rate was between 17 and 39 percent, or "low poverty" if their rate was under 17 percent (Table 4).

Economic diversity is somewhat more common in Philadelphia than in the other three cities. In San Francisco, 16 percent of city residents live in an economically diverse neighborhood, just one percent below the Philadelphia figure. In Chicago and Atlanta, however, economic diversity is markedly lower. In both cities only 13 percents of residents live in "pov-prof" block groups.

The poverty rate in many of economically diverse neighborhoods is quite high. In our earlier work on Philadelphia, we discovered that over 30 percent of the neighborhoods with poverty rates above 40 percent were, in fact, economically diverse. Thus, in spite of their extreme poverty, the presence of a sizable representation of professionals and managers provided an important human asset in these neighborhoods. In Chicago and Atlanta, however, where "pov-prof" neighborhoods are less common, the lack of economic diversity has a ripple effect on the concentration of poverty. In Chicago, for example, a fifth of residents in block groups with concentrated poverty live in an economically diverse neighborhood, only two-thirds the Philadelphia figure. In Atlanta, the contrast is even sharper with only one-tenth of residents of concentrated poverty areas living in a block group having a significant proportion of professionals and managers. Concentrated poverty casts a larger shadow when economic diversity is uncommon.

Economic diversity has implications for the cities' ethnic composition as well (Table 5). In Philadelphia, economically diverse neighborhoods were present in two types of ethnic neighborhoods. Many economically diverse neighborhoods were also ethnically diverse; these neighborhoods were particularly important to the arts and cultural sector. In addition, most of the remaining "pov-prof" neighborhoods were African-American neighborhoods where poor people and professionals and managers lived in close proximity to one another. A similar pattern was present in Chicago and Atlanta. In Chicago, nearly 40 percent of economically diverse neighborhoods were black, two and one-half times the regional average, and 44 percent were ethnically diverse. In Atlanta, 37 percent were black (just over twice the metropolitan area's average) and 51 percent were diverse, twice the metropolitan average. In Chicago and Philadelphia, the proportion of "pov-prof" neighborhoods that was Latino was equal to the region wide average. In Chicago, Atlanta, and Philadelphia, pov-prof neighborhoods were rarely homogeneous white; the proportion ranged from 17 percent in Philadelphia to only 8 percent in Chicago.

Thus, there was significant overlap between the two dimensions of diversity in all four cities. In the city of Philadelphia, seven percent of the population lived in neighborhoods that were both ethnically and economically diverse, 10 percent lived in parts of the city that were only economically diverse but ethnically homogeneous (usually African American), and another 15 percent of the population lived in block groups that were only ethnically diverse.

In Chicago, a similar proportion of the population lived in "doubly diverse" neighborhoods; nearly 6 percent were both economically and ethnically diverse. Another 8 percent lived in sections of the city that were only economically diverse, and 15 percent lived in ethnically diverse areas. In Atlanta, economically and ethnically diverse neighborhoods were less common. Only 5 percent of the population lived in these block groups. However, the proportion of the population in areas that were economically diverse only was higher than that in Chicago (9 percent), and the proportion that were ethnically diverse only was 12 percent.

San Francisco, because of the large proportion of diverse white/Asian neighborhoods, exhibited a very different pattern. The proportion of "doubly diverse" neighborhoods

was 14 percent, but only two percent of San Francisco residents lived in neighborhoods that were only economically diverse.

Economically diversity was less common than ethnic diversity in the suburb. Although the rate of ethnic diversity in Philadelphia suburbs was half that of the city, the gap in the other cities was considerably smaller. In Chicago, ethnic diversity was only slightly less common in the suburbs than in the city. In Atlanta, ethnic diversity was twice as common in the suburbs as in the city. Yet, economic diversity was virtually absent outside of the central city in all four areas. In San Francisco, a bit over two percent of suburban residents lived in economically diverse areas, and this was the highest figure for any of the four cities.

The lack of ethnic diversity in the suburbs has attracted increasing attention over the past decade. Exclusionary housing codes, discriminatory lending practices, and an historical legacy of separation have succeeded in maintaining an effective “apartheid” in residential patterns. These data suggest that ethnic diversity is much more common than economic diversity of the suburbs. Even as small inroads are made in ethnic segregation, the black, Latino, and Asian middle class suburbanites do nothing to reduce the class segregation of metropolitan areas.¹¹

From another perspective, the proportion of “doubly homogeneous” areas varied widely across the four cities. Among central cities, Atlanta had the largest homogeneous population, with 73 percent, followed by Chicago (72 percent), and Philadelphia (68 percent). Only twenty percent of San Francisco’s residents lived in block groups that were both economically and ethnically diverse.

In our initial research we were surprised by the frequency of diversity in Philadelphia’s neighborhoods and its correlation with the presence of arts and other social organizations. This analysis confirms that the frequency of economic and ethnic diversity in Philadelphia was not unique. Although economic diversity was somewhat less common in Chicago and Atlanta, it was still an important feature of the social landscape in each city. We turn now to the question of whether the correlation of

¹¹ Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard University Press, 1993).

diversity and the presence of cultural and other social institutions is present in the other cities.

Cultural organizations and diverse neighborhoods

Social organizations are a common element of the social landscape of all four cities. Arts and cultural organizations were a most prominent part of the voluntary sector in the San Francisco metropolitan area. About 8 percent of all voluntary organizations in the Bay Area were arts and cultural groups. The 2,220 arts and cultural groups meant that there were 3.6 groups per 10,000 residents, the highest proportion for any of the cities. Looked at the other way around, in San Francisco there was one group for every 3,000 residents. In the other cities, the number of groups for every 10,000 residents varied from 3.0 in Philadelphia to only 2.2 in Chicago (Table 6).

Although a significant number of arts and cultural organizations in Chicago and Philadelphia have histories that date to the ninetieth or early twentieth century, the vast majority are relative newcomers. Across the four cities, approximately two-thirds of the groups had received their tax exempt status since 1980 (Table 7).

As with other types of nonprofits, there was a large variation in the relative size of groups. Across the four cities more than 60 percent reported incomes of under 25,000 dollars, including groups that did not report income. At the other extreme, five percent of the arts and cultural groups had operating income of over one million dollars in the previous year (Table 8).

The correlation of diversity and the presence of cultural organizations was as strong in Chicago, Atlanta, and San Francisco as it is in Philadelphia. In Philadelphia, the average block group had 11.6 cultural organizations within one-half mile; the average economically diverse neighborhood had 21.6. In Chicago, the comparable figures were 4.0 and 11.8, and in Atlanta they were 3.0 and 7.2. Finally, in San Francisco, although the average neighborhood had 10.3 cultural organizations within one-half mile, the average economically diverse neighborhood had 21.1 (Table 9).¹²

¹² See Appendix for maps of location of arts and cultural organizations in each metropolitan area.

To control for the size of block groups, we computed the number of arts and cultural groups within one-half mile of the block group per 1,000 residents. These data underline the importance of economic diversity. In Philadelphia, diverse block groups had 19.7 organizations per one thousand residents, a bit higher than the Chicago figure of 16.7 and below the rate in Atlanta and San Francisco which were 22 and 27 per thousand respectively.

We computed a cultural index in which 100 represents the number of cultural organizations per 1,000 residents in the average block group in the metropolitan area. Thus, a score of 200 indicates that a particular block group has twice as many cultural organizations per 1,000 residents as the average block group, and a score of 50 indicates that one has half as many cultural organizations.

Economically diverse neighborhoods had cultural index scores over 300 in three of the four cities—379 in Philadelphia, 360 in Atlanta, and 310 in San Francisco. The correlation of economic diversity and the presence of cultural organizations was weakest in Chicago, but even there the cultural index was over 200 (Figure 1).

The relationship of cultural organizations to ethnic diversity was not as consistent across the four cities. In Philadelphia, ethnically diverse sections of the city had more than twice as many cultural organizations located within one-half mile as the citywide average (235). In Chicago, too, ethnically diversity was strongly related to the presence of arts and cultural groups; the cultural index score for diverse Chicago neighborhoods was 157. In both Atlanta and San Francisco, ethnically diverse neighborhoods had more cultural organizations than the citywide average, but only marginally so. In Atlanta black neighborhoods had nearly as many groups as diverse block groups, and in San Francisco Latino neighborhoods had more groups on average than diverse neighborhoods (Figure 2).

In all four cities homogeneous white areas of the city are much less likely to host cultural organizations than other neighborhoods. In both Chicago and Atlanta, white neighborhoods had about 90 percent of the average number of groups within one-half mile; in Atlanta the figure was just under 80 percent, and in Philadelphia it was just over 60 percent.

In all cities except Chicago, the number of arts and cultural organizations located near African-American neighborhoods was higher than the metropolitan area average. In the other three cities, the proportion of cultural groups near black neighborhoods was between 30 and 70 percent above the metropolitan average. In Chicago, however, African-American block groups had less than half as many organizations as the region-wide average. The low proportion of arts and cultural groups in Chicago paralleled a general low number of voluntary organizations in the Windy City, as we shall see later in this paper.

In all four cities, neighborhoods that were both ethnically and economically diverse had the highest representation of arts and cultural organizations. The *lowest* cultural index score (arts groups per 1,000 residents) was in Chicago, where the economically and ethnically diverse neighborhoods had an average of nearly three times as many groups within one-half mile per 1,000 residents as the average block group. In the other three cities, the cultural index score ranged from over 300 in San Francisco to nearly 400 in Atlanta. In neighborhoods that were only economically diverse, the index was uniformly high; it ranged from 140 in Chicago to 332 in Atlanta. Among neighborhoods that were ethnically diverse, but economically homogeneous, however, the relationship was weak. In Philadelphia and Chicago, these neighborhoods had scores that were 32 percent above the citywide average, but in the two Sunbelt cities they were within 10 percent of the regional average (Table 10).

From another perspective, in Philadelphia forty percent of the block groups with the highest concentration of arts groups are either economically or ethnically diverse. The importance of diversity to the arts is somewhat less in Chicago and Atlanta, where the proportion of high-arts neighborhoods that are diverse is only around 30 percent. Finally, in San Francisco about sixty percent of high arts neighborhoods are either ethnically or economically diverse.

The association of the presence of arts and cultural organizations to diversity is present in every city that we examined. Neighborhoods that are economically diverse consistently had more arts and cultural organizations than more homogeneous neighborhoods. Ethnic diversity, too, is related to the presence of arts organizations, although the strength of that relationship varies from city to city. As we have noted, the

frequency of diverse neighborhoods varied from city to city, but whatever their size, the diverse block groups of each metropolitan area were more likely to be the home to arts and cultural organizations than any other type of neighborhood.

Social organizations and arts organizations

Arts and cultural organizations function in a network of other types of social organizations, ranging from religious institutions to social clubs, labor unions, and neighborhood improvement associations. In our previous work, we have argued that arts and cultural organizations were closely connected to these other forms of civic engagement.

The evidence from the four cities supports this position. In this section we first examine the distribution of different kinds of social organizations across the four metropolitan areas. We then examine the correlation between the presence of arts and cultural organizations and other forms of social organizations across the neighborhoods of the four cities. Finally, we examine the relationship between non-arts organizations and diversity.

Types of social organizations in the four cities

The total number of social organizations in each city varied from just over ten thousand in Atlanta to over twenty-five thousand in the Bay Area. Expressed as groups per 1,000 residents, San Francisco had the most groups—4.06—and Chicago had the fewest, only 3.20 (Table 11).

Houses of worship were consistently the most common type of institution. In Atlanta, 34 percent of all social organizations in the city were houses of worship. Among the other three cities, the proportion ranged from 25 percent in Chicago to only 17 percent in San Francisco. Social services and special interest organizations represented more than ten percent of the organizations in each city.

These data give some perspective on how common arts organizations are relative to other types of social groups. In San Francisco, about one-in-twelve groups is an arts and cultural organizations. At the other extreme, arts and cultural organizations represent only about one-in-twenty of the social organizations in Atlanta.

San Francisco was far and away the city with the greatest incidence of arts and cultural groups, with three organizations for every 10,000 residents. Philadelphia was the leader in the incidence of neighborhood improvement organizations, with 2.6 per 10,000 residents. Philadelphia was somewhat higher than the other cities in the incidence of social service agencies, with 5.5 per 10,000 residents.

The South has historically been referred to as the “Bible belt.” These data do nothing to undermine this characterization. The incidence of houses of worship in the Atlanta metropolitan area—13 churches for every 10,000 residents—is nearly 70 percent higher than that for Philadelphia. On the other side of the “cultural wars,” San Francisco—long imagined as the capital of “nontraditional” life styles—had fewer than half as many houses of worship per capita than Atlanta.

Chicago had the low incidence of all types of social organizations, only 3.2 per thousand residents. Compared to Philadelphia, Chicago lagged behind in a number of individual categories. The difference in rates for arts and cultural groups-- 0.6 per 10,000 residents-- is at least partially the product of the more intensive data gathering method we used in Philadelphia. Yet, Chicago trailed using identical methods for gathering data with respect to neighborhood improvement associations (.26 versus .16), fraternal organizations (.19 versus .13), and special interest groups (.66 versus .49) (Table 12).

In his original work on social capital, Robert Putnam suggested that “vertical” and “horizontal” political cultures are often in conflict with one another. Patronage systems, in which vertical relationships of power are dominant, tend to stifle the development of associations between equals. For Putnam, the dominance of patronage systems undermined democracy and, ultimately, economic and cultural dynamism.¹³

Chicago’s political machine is (in)famous. For the better part of this century, the ability of the Democratic Party to control elections and serve as an integrative institution of contending interests has been generally unchallenged. One hypothesis that these data might support is that the strength of the Democratic machine in Chicago has tended to

¹³ Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*.

reduce the ability of horizontal organizations like neighborhood groups and special interest groups to mobilize.¹⁴

Relationship between cultural organizations and other forms of social institutions

Neighborhoods with many arts and cultural organizations are likely to have other forms of social organizations as well. Indeed, in three of the four cities, the correlation is very close. In San Francisco, Chicago, and Philadelphia the correlation coefficients between the number of arts and cultural groups per capita and the number of other types of social organizations are close to .9, indicating practically a perfect correlation.

Within this general association of arts and other organizations, there are some distinctive patterns. For example, in all four cities, neighborhoods with many arts groups per capita are more likely to have more social service and youth programs as well ($r=.92$ to $.94$). Correlations with social and fraternal organizations are strong as well, falling generally in the .7 to .8 range across the cities. Consistently, the weakest correlations are with houses of worship. In Philadelphia, the correlation coefficient between per capita arts organizations and per capita houses of worship is .40, well below the level for other types of organizations. San Francisco displayed the strongest correlation between the number of churches and cultural organizations (.62), in spite of the relatively low number of churches in the Bay Area.

Indeed, the distribution of houses of worship is not associated with the pattern for other types of social organizations. In Philadelphia, the incidence of churches is most related to neighborhood improvement associations; the two were correlated at the .82 level. The correlation between churches and youth and social service, business, labor and special interest groups, and arts and cultural groups were all under .5. Similar patterns were present in the other cities.

Social organizations and diversity

Diverse neighborhoods generally had more non-arts organizations than other neighborhoods of the city, but the strength of the connection was neither as strong nor as consistent as that for cultural organizations.

¹⁴ Paul Kleppner, *Chicago Divided: The Making of a Black Mayor* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985).

Economically diverse neighborhoods, with higher than average poverty and a greater number of professionals and managers, consistently had between twice and three-times as many social organizations per capita as the average. If the average block group in the city had a score of 100, economically diverse block groups in Philadelphia had 2.1 times as many groups within one-half mile, Chicago had 2.3, Atlanta had 3.1, and San Francisco had 2.7.

The salience of diversity, however, was not as strong. Indeed, other poor neighborhoods had just as many groups. For example, in Chicago, neighborhoods with concentrated poverty had a cultural index score of 236, just above the figure for economically diverse sections of the city. In Atlanta, very poor neighborhoods had more than three times as many social organizations as other sections of the city, roughly the same as diverse areas. Finally, in San Francisco, areas with concentrated poverty had nearly seven times more non-arts organizations than the regional average. (Table 13).

In Philadelphia, we had found that ethnically diverse groups had twice as many non-arts groups than other areas of the city. This correlation between ethnic diversity and institutional presence did not hold for the other cities. In Atlanta, San Francisco, and Chicago, African-American neighborhoods had more non-arts organizations than diverse sections of the city. Although diverse neighborhoods had index scores that were above the city wide average, they were only between 20 and 40 percent higher, compared to 60 and 220 percent higher for African-American neighborhoods (Table 14).

Neighborhoods that were both economically and ethnically diverse had the highest density of non-arts organizations (Table 15). In Philadelphia, the average “double diversity” neighborhood had more than three times as many non-arts institutions as the average neighborhood, a figure nearly duplicated by Atlanta and San Francisco. In Chicago, these neighborhoods had more non-arts groups (224 compared to an average of 100), but other economically diverse neighborhoods had even more groups per capita (236).

The flip side of the strength of ethnically and economically diverse neighborhoods is that ethnically diverse neighborhoods that were economically homogeneous generally had no more than the average number of non-arts social organizations. In Philadelphia,

these neighborhoods were within one-half mile of about 45 percent more groups than the metropolitan average, but in the other three cities ethnically diverse neighborhoods that were economically homogeneous had index scores of between 109 and 92, indicating that their incidence of non-arts groups was close to the metropolitan average.

As other data would suggest, among very poor neighborhoods, houses of worship remained the most common institution. Among all the block groups in the study, about a quarter of all accessible institutions were churches, but among neighborhoods with concentrated poverty, this figure was 39 percent for the four cities combined, ranging from 55 percent in Atlanta to 34 percent in San Francisco. By comparison, arts and cultural organizations made up their lowest proportion in concentrated poverty neighborhoods. In Chicago and Philadelphia, the proportion was only about half of what it was in the metropolitan region as a whole (Table 16).

Diverse neighborhoods had more non-arts organizations than other sections of the metropolitan areas, but the relationship was not as consistent as that for arts organizations. Ethnically diversity, in particular, was not strongly related to the presence of non-arts institutions.

Diversity, social organizations, and community revitalization

Do diversity and social organizations spur revitalization? In Philadelphia, we found persuasive evidence that neighborhoods that were diverse and those with many social organizations were more likely to have declines in poverty and hold their population during the 1980s. Here we address the question of whether a similar trend was present in the other three cities.

We add one question here that we did not specifically address in the previous working papers: do social organizations promote *stable* diversity? Some diversity is a product of rapid transitions in neighborhoods. Unless a racial or economic transition is literally overnight, a snapshot of a neighborhood in transition will look diverse. However, if diverse neighborhoods are important to urban social structure, they must maintain their diversity over time; otherwise they are only way stations for gentrification and displacement.

The definition of revitalization used here takes into account the different histories of the four cities during the decade.¹⁵ Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Chicago lost population during the 1980s; Philadelphia's population fell from 1.66 to 1.58 million; Chicago dipped from 2.95 to 2.74 million; and Atlanta's population fell from 403 thousand to 392 thousand. By contrast, in spite of its restricted geographical size, San Francisco added nearly 80,000 residents during the 1980s, growing from 1.12 million to 1.20 million.

If we look just at the central city of each metropolitan area, the cities had very different poverty trends during the 1980s. Philadelphia's poverty rate stayed nearly the same over the course of the 1980s at about 20.3 percent of the population. Chicago and Atlanta, however, experienced increases in poverty; Chicago's rate rose from 19 to 22 percent while Atlanta rose from 26 to 27 percent. San Francisco, by contrast, enjoyed a small decline in poverty during the decade.

Given these differences, we've defined revitalization relative to a city's experience over the decade. A block group was defined as "revitalized" if its population change placed it in the top quarter of the city and if its poverty change placed it in the bottom quartile of the city. For example, in Philadelphia, a neighborhood was revitalized if its poverty rate fell by 7 percent and its population grew by 4 percent. In Chicago, to qualify as revitalized, a block group's poverty rate had to fall by 3.4 percent and its population had to increase by at least 2.6 percent. In Atlanta and San Francisco, poverty had to fall by a minimum of eight and five percent and population had increased by five and fourteen percent respectively. By this definition, between four and six percent of the residents of the four cities lived in block groups that revitalized during the 1980s.

Although our interest is in the connection of revitalization, diversity, and institutions, one of key contextual variables that affected this relationship is the nature of ethnic change in the four cities. The vast majority of ethnically homogeneous African-American neighborhoods remained stable during the decade. More than ninety-six percent of predominantly African-American neighborhoods in 1980 remained African American in 1990. The only exception was San Francisco, where 45 percent of the block groups that had been African American in 1980 had become diverse by 1990 (Table 17).

¹⁵ This analysis is restricted to the central city of each metropolitan area.

The experience of white block groups in the four cities was more varied. In Atlanta, 23 percent of white block groups had become diverse by 1990, while in San Francisco over 36 percent had done so. In Philadelphia, only 17 percent of white block groups had changed their identification by 1990, most of them becoming diverse. In Chicago, 21 percent of white block groups had become diverse, compared to 11 percent that moved from white to Latino.

San Francisco, in which nearly 75 percent of the block groups had been ethnically diverse in 1980, was the only city in which more than 60 percent of the ethnically diverse block groups stayed diverse for the decade. In Atlanta, as many white block groups became diverse, many diverse block groups became black (38 percent). Chicago and Philadelphia had similar experiences. About 60 percent of diverse block groups stayed diverse, while the remainder moved into other categories; in Chicago, 12 percent became black, 18 percent white, and 12 percent Latino. In Philadelphia, the percentages were 26 percent black, 5 percent white, and 8 percent Latino.

Economic diversity was often a transitory state as well. The proportion of economically diverse block groups in 1980 that remained economically diverse ten years later ranged from 42 percent in Philadelphia to 27 percent in Atlanta. The most common shift was toward low poverty; between 28 percent and 47 percent of block groups in the four cities moved from diverse to low poverty during the ten years (Table 18).

Given the amount of turnover, it is notable that the block groups that were both economically and ethnically diverse had a better chance of remaining diverse than those that were diverse in only one dimension. In Philadelphia, for example, only 16 percent of economically and ethnically diverse block groups were not diverse on either dimension ten years later. By comparison, 51 percent of block groups that were only economically diverse and 32 percent of those that were only ethnically diverse had become homogeneous ten years later.

If gentrification were common in these cities, we would expect revitalization to be related to ethnic change. This is not the case. Block groups that became homogeneous white made up only a small proportion of all revitalizing neighborhoods. In Atlanta, Chicago, and San Francisco, only four percent of block groups that revitalized during

the 1980s also became white at the same time. Indeed, nearly three-fourths of all revitalized block groups in the four cities remained ethnically stable during the decade (73 percent). In Philadelphia, Atlanta, and San Francisco, those revitalized block groups that changed their ethnic identity were more likely to become diverse. In Chicago, a larger proportion of revitalized block groups became African-American or Latino (17 percent) than became diverse (12 percent) (Table 19).

Looked at another way, ethnic diversity was a good predictor of revitalization. Block groups that were ethnically diverse in 1980 were more than one and one-half times more likely to revitalize by 1990 than other areas of the city. In Chicago and Atlanta 7.5 percent of ethnically diverse block groups revitalized, while nearly nine percent of ethnically diverse block groups in Philadelphia did so.

Economic diversity also was a good predictor of revitalization. In Philadelphia, a pov-prof block group was almost three times as likely to revitalize as the average. In the other three cities, the figure ranged from twice to three times as likely.

In Philadelphia, we found that the presence of organizations, too, was a predictor of revitalization. This pattern was consistent across the four cities. In Philadelphia, a block group with many arts groups per capita had a ten percent chance of revitalizing, about twice the citywide average. In Chicago and Atlanta the percentages were 7.6 and 7.9 percent respectively, about fifty percent higher than the citywide average. In San Francisco, five percent of high arts block groups revitalized, compared to 3.3 percent of all block groups (Figure 3).

The relationship of non-arts institutional presence and revitalization held in three of the cities. In Philadelphia, a neighborhood with many non-arts groups was nearly twice as likely to revitalize, a result that was duplicated in Atlanta. In Chicago, however, neighborhoods with fewer non-arts groups were actually more likely to revitalize than those with many organizations.

Because we've already seen that the number of institutions and diversity are statistically related, it makes sense to examine their influence using multivariate techniques. We ran logistic regressions with revitalization status as the dependent variable and ethnic composition in 1980, economic status in 1980, the number of arts and cultural

organizations accessible to the block group per capita (quartiles), and metropolitan area as independent variables. (Table 20).

Economic diversity emerges as the most important influence on revitalization. Across the four cities, economically diverse neighborhoods were more than five times as likely to revitalize as neighborhoods with low poverty. African-American neighborhoods—as the descriptive data suggest—were the least likely to revitalize; ethnically diverse neighborhoods’ odds of revitalizing were more than twice as high as African American neighborhoods and just below those of white neighborhoods.

Again, as the descriptive data indicate, neighborhoods with many arts and cultural organizations were more likely to revitalize. Compared to neighborhoods with the fewest arts organizations, these block groups were more than twice as likely to revitalize when other influences were statistically controlled.

Institutional presence and the stability of diversity

The literature on diverse neighborhoods suggests that institutions wield an important influence in preventing ethnically diverse neighborhoods from “re-segregating.” If this correlation between institutional presence and stable diversity is a general pattern, then the preservation of stable diversity could serve to promote revitalization.

In two of the cities, the presence of arts institutions had a clear and significant impact on the likelihood that a neighborhood would remain diverse during the 1980s (Table 21). In Philadelphia, among block groups that were diverse in 1980, those with many arts groups were nearly twice as likely to remain diverse ten years later. As a map of the city shows, stable block groups with many arts organizations were clustered in four sections of the city: Center City, University City and Spruce Hill, Hartranft/West Kensington, and Germantown/Mount Airy. By comparison, block groups that lost their diversity during the 1980s, including sections of West Philadelphia, Logan, and Ogontz, generally had fewer arts organizations present¹⁶.

In Chicago, stable diverse neighborhoods were concentrated in three areas: Hyde Park, along Lake Michigan from Uptown to Evanston, and Oak Park. All three of these areas

¹⁶ See Appendix for maps of revitalized block groups in each city.

were also home to large numbers of arts organizations. Yet, closer to the Loop, a number of neighborhoods lost their diversity in spite of the presence of arts groups. For example, large sections of Lincoln Park, the Near North Side, and Lake View that had been diverse in 1980 were no longer diverse 10 years later, even though they had a high concentration of arts organizations in the neighborhood. In San Francisco and Atlanta the expected relationship between institutional presence and the stability of diversity did not hold. In San Francisco, these results are obviously skewed by the commonness of diversity.

In summary, the data in this paper gives only partial support to the idea that a strong institutional presence is a key condition in maintaining stable neighborhoods. In the two most segregated cities in our analysis--Philadelphia and Chicago-- institutions certainly were an important influence on the maintenance of diversity. Yet, even in the case of Chicago other pressures on neighborhood change, including the gentrification of the Near North Side and Lincoln Park could not be resisted. The lesson is that in a global economy, neighborhood features can only partially resist external development pressures.

Discussion

This paper has focused on the impact of diversity on institutional presence. In our work in Philadelphia over the past five years, we found that diverse neighborhoods were a common feature of the social landscape in the city and that diverse neighborhoods were likely to be home to a disproportionate number of cultural groups and other social organizations. Finally we found that it was precisely those diverse neighborhoods with many arts and cultural organizations that were most likely to experience community revitalization during the 1980s. Additional data on San Francisco, Atlanta, and Chicago reinforce the conclusion that social context influences these relationships.

1. Demographics matter

The emergence of social organizations is dependent on the demographics of a city. First, a city's economy has a direct impact on its occupational distribution and poverty rate. All of the cities in this study were, by 1990, dominated by a service sector that produced

many professional, managerial, and clerical jobs. At the same time, the poverty rate in each metropolitan area varied from well above the national average in Philadelphia and Chicago to well below in San Francisco.

Second, the ethnic composition of the four cities clearly affected their community structure and organizational context. Most striking, of course, is the large proportion of Asian-Americans in the Bay area's population. However, the other cities, too, had distinctive ethnic compositions that affect neighborhoods and organizations. Chicago has a substantial black and white population and the largest Latino population of the four cities examined. At the same time, in contrast to Philadelphia—where the overwhelming proportion of Latino residents identify themselves as Puerto Ricans—Chicago's Latino community is divided between Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and those from Central America.

The patterns that we found in our data are undoubtedly related to these differences. The fact that all four cities had a substantial economically diverse population is a product of the substantial professional and managerial job markets in each city. This may explain why the relationship between economic diversity and arts organizations was similar across the four cities.

In contrast, there was no homogenization of the four cities' ethnic composition. As a result, we found very distinctive relationships between the frequency of arts and other social organizations in different ethnic neighborhoods in the four cities. They may have shared similar economic trends, but different racial and ethnic trajectories.

2. History matters

To a great extent patterns that we find in the late 1990s are a product of the aggregation of social forces over decades. The large African-American population living in economically diverse neighborhoods is to a great extent a product of racial segregation; if African-Americans in Chicago and Philadelphia had had complete freedom of movement since World War II it is likely that there would be more class segregation within the black community.

Even more to the point, the institutional patterns that we find in the four cities have developed in response to a variety of historical factors. For example, more than thirty percent of the social clubs in Chicago gained their tax-exempt status before 1960. By contrast, nearly half of the arts groups and forty-one percent of the neighborhood improvement organizations gained that status after 1990.

Finally, history has an obvious effect on revitalization. After all, to *revitalize* a city or a neighborhood had to go through a period in which its poverty rate rose. Atlanta went through a period in which its poverty rate fell rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s, while Chicago began the postwar period with a low poverty rate and has seen it rise in recent decades. These differences clearly affect what revitalization means in each of these cities and where it occurs.

3. The composition of the nonprofit sector

One clear difference among the cities is the balance of the nonprofit sector in each city and its relationship to other parts of the social structure. For example, the size of the arts and cultural sector in Atlanta is much smaller than in the other cities. By contrast, an overwhelming proportion of Atlanta's social organizations are churches and other houses of worship. It seems reasonable that the size of the church sector has tended to stunt other social institutions, either by drawing away potential resources—money, people, opportunities—or by absorbing functions that other sectors of the nonprofit world assume in other cities. After all, if even half of the churches in Atlanta had a choir, the churches might account for more musical training than the entire arts and cultural sector. Yet, churches—in contrast to nonprofit arts and cultural institutions—are more likely to be racially homogeneous and are less likely to be located in diverse neighborhoods. So if the church sector has absorbed many of the functions of the arts and cultural sector, this pattern has consequences for the overall structure of the nonprofit sector.

In Chicago, the dominant pattern to emerge from our analysis is the relatively small size of its nonprofit sector. Compared to the other cities, Chicago has few nonprofit institutions per resident. As we noted, it is interesting to wonder if the more thorough

organization of the city's political life on a patronage model has discouraged the proliferation of nonprofits by more tightly reigning in resources and influence. As with Atlanta, of course, we are not yet in a position to explore this hypothesis fully.

In any event, the more balanced organizational distributions of San Francisco and Philadelphia are associated with a larger arts and cultural sector in those two cities. Because arts and cultural groups are relative newcomers on the organizational scene, the greater diversity of the nonprofit sector of those two metropolitan areas may have provided a wider range of partners—or fewer direct competitors. In any event, it is striking that two cities that are different in so many other ways should look so similar in the relationship of arts and cultural institutions to diversity.

4. *Diversity and the cultural sector*

The most striking finding to emerge from this paper is the strong relationship of the presence of arts and cultural institutions to diversity. In each of the cities we've examined, two trends are indisputable:

- Economically diverse neighborhoods are the home to a large share of cultural institutions
- “Doubly diverse” neighborhoods—those that are both economic and ethnically diverse—have between three and five times as many cultural institutions as the average block group in the city.

This conclusion—that was so central to our work on Philadelphia—clearly is an important one in the other cities. If we are to understand how arts and culture function in America's cities, these results clearly point to the need to place them in the context of urban diversity.

The connection of arts and cultural organizations and diversity has broad implications in the context of the globalization and restructuring of the world's economic and social life in the past several decades. On the one hand, the organization of physical space in cities has been linked to global economic and cultural networks. Cities have had to

scramble to maintain their “competitiveness” in this international economy. One group of policy analysts, for example, have suggested that the amenities a city has to offer—including the presence of arts and cultural resources—will be critical to its success in coming decades.

At the same time, changes in cultural patterns in late twentieth century cities have challenged our long held notions about how cities are organized. The diverse neighborhoods on which this paper has dwelt are often dismissed by urban analysts as not real neighborhoods, but simply as gray areas between the “real” homogeneous neighborhoods that constitute “real” cities. Yet, if the patterns we’ve found in this paper are accurate this template of the “real” city needs to be challenged. Certainly diversity is often a product of the rapid entry of a new population into an area and its subsequent resegregation. But this obviously is not *all* that is happening in diverse neighborhoods. First, as we’ve seen a large proportion of diverse neighborhoods stay diverse. These sections of the city—the home of 11 percent of Chicago residents and 72 percent of San Francisco residents in 1990—obviously are not a mirage. Second, whatever their longevity, across the four cities, these diverse neighborhoods have their own distinctive community institutional structure, a structure in which arts and cultural institutions play an important role. If “the only constant is change” is the motto of the culture of late modernity, these diverse neighborhoods—even if they are short-lived—may be more central to the cultural life of the new century than we have yet appreciated.

Finally, the arts and cultural sector and economic diversity are related to economic revitalization. Certainly, the classic model of arts and economic revitalization—the gentrifying “artistic mode of production” that Zukin discovered in New York during the 1970s is present in these cities. In Chicago especially, the process of economic revitalization was closely related to neighborhoods became or remained white during the 1980s. Yet, even in Chicago, revitalization was accompanied by ethnic change in only a small proportion of block groups.¹⁷

¹⁷ Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 176-190.

Gentrification is only one way that arts and cultural activity connect to revitalization. The vast majority of neighborhoods with many arts organizations that revitalized kept the same ethnic status throughout the decade. Even among those that experienced ethnic change there was no clear trend; as many became black and Latino as became white or diverse. Thus, this paper suggests that the presence of arts and cultural institutions does not regularly lead to gentrification.

This paper began with a note of caution about the difficulty of doing comparative research. Certainly there is ample evidence in this paper that a better understanding of the local context and a wider data collection strategy would provide a fuller understanding of the interaction of context, diversity, and institutions in each city.

Yet, given these limitations, the results of this analysis are striking. Each of the three major patterns we found in Philadelphia are present in the other cities in this analysis as well. Each city has a substantial set of economically and ethnically diverse neighborhoods. In each city, these neighborhoods were home to a large number of arts and cultural organizations. Finally, in each city diverse neighborhoods with large number of arts and cultural organizations were those most likely to experience revitalization during the 1980s.

Certainly this paper should be treated as a first approximation of the relationship between these variables. Subsequent refinements of the existing data bases and their enhancement with new sources of evidence could lead to important revisions in the portrait of arts in American cities. Yet, this paper has laid an important foundation in demonstrating the a set of patterns that we have explored in Philadelphia are not idiosyncratic. In at least this respect, all the world really is like Philadelphia.