

Creative Placemaking Case Study: North Collinwood

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1950, Cleveland was the 7th largest city in the U.S. Today it ranks 48th. Like other Rust Belt cities, Cleveland's heavy manufacturing industry began a long, steep decline after mid-century, leading to massive job losses coupled with white flight to the suburbs. Now, most of Cleveland's neighborhoods face the daunting task of attracting new residents to recover lost population and fight the blight of vacancy and neglect.

In North Collinwood, a Cleveland neighborhood sitting on Lake Erie's south shore, a community development corporation (Northeast Shores) together with a strategic arts intermediary (Community Partnership for Arts and Culture, or CPAC) deliberately integrated arts and culture into comprehensive community development. Working with a strategic framework created by CPAC, Northeast Shores achieved success by (1) recognizing, honoring, incorporating, and nurturing indigenous cultural assets, (2) tying artists to community through property ownership, and (3) initiating small, artist-led projects that spread roots in the community.

In this post-industrial neighborhood, Creative Placemaking¹—the intentional integration of arts and culture into comprehensive community development—helped reverse local population decline, rebuild a central commercial corridor around arts businesses, and restore a positive identity to the neighborhood. Northeast Shores and CPAC brought together residents, local artists, arts-oriented businesses, and city government agencies to execute a stream of community development projects that have turned around vacancy rates and attracted new businesses to the neighborhood.

In the North Collinwood case, four key stakeholders worked together to restore locals' optimism about the neighborhood's future by rebuilding the community with and from local creative assets. Those stakeholders include:

1— Northeast Shores Development Corporation, a CDC operating in North Collinwood since 1995, grew beyond its real estate focus to mobilize the arts as a transformative engagement tool. Northeast Shores involved local artists in development because it saw them as powerful resources for community building.

2— Community Partnership for Arts and Culture (CPAC) a nonprofit, strategic arts intermediary, supports arts organizations in Cleveland through capacity building, research, and policy development. CPAC's interest in community development is just one in a series of "creative intersections" where it has studied how arts and culture contribute creative solutions to civic issues.

3— Local Artists, mostly North Collinwood residents, but also other artists from greater Cleveland, who make art in and for the community. They provide a natural source of talent to aid community development, and local owners of creative businesses are key components of the neighborhood's economic rejuvenation.

4— North Collinwood Residents are a fertile source of creative ideas, passion, and energy for addressing community issues. Change effected by community develop has the most direct impact on them.

THE CREATIVE PLACEMAKING FIELD

The partnership between Northeast Shores and CPAC illustrates a critical configuration that fueled creative placemaking success: an on-the-ground community anchor working in concert with a catalyst with specialist skills and connections reaching outside the city. Northeast Shores takes an experimental and iterative approach to embedding artists into community actions. They try many small projects and willingly admit they have not figured everything out yet. Coming from a real estate orientation, their mindset has been focused on giving artists a stake in the fate of the neighborhood through home ownership and other displays of commitment. CPAC provides advice on research methodology and financial literacy to arts organizations in northeast Ohio. They also connect their partners to regional funding networks and share their techniques and findings with other practitioners integrating the arts into non-arts domains.

This case study offers two contributions to the field of Creative Placemaking: (1) a model of the main constituent sectors of cross-sector collaboration in Creative Placemaking, and (2) recognition that inherent in the structure of Creative Placemaking programs is a challenge: how to truly link the abstract ideas of planners to the tangible concerns and lives of community residents. Creative Placemaking in North Collinwood had an answer in the form of a collaboration between CPAC and Northeast Shores.

Creative Placemaking is an emerging field still in its dynamic infancy.

In 2009-2010, a burst of activity formed the critical turning point: Rocco Landesman's appointment as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, the formation of the ArtPlace America partnership, and the Markusen-Gadwa whitepaper². This coalescence, while definitively establishing the field's conceptual name, built upon work that had already been going on for decades. The practice of community development has a history stretching back to the 19th Century, and was enfranchised in federal policy and funding in 1974. With *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* in 1961, Jane Jacobs helped spark a revolution in urban planning theory toward a more sociological and cultural perspective anchored in understanding the needs of neighborhood residents, real people. Richard Florida's influential and controversial theory of the creative class and its importance as a driving force in U.S. post-industrial cities appeared in 2002³.

Intentional intellectual contributions to the field of Creative Placemaking can be separated into two phases—"laying the foundation" and "consolidating the field". Though work in the latter phase may be better known, because it was then the field took on a name, earlier forbearers did groundbreaking work in several different areas. In the 1970s, the Comprehensive Employment Training Act spurred, among other things, development of neighborhood programs that employed artists to improve community environments. Numerous community based arts organizations across the country had been using

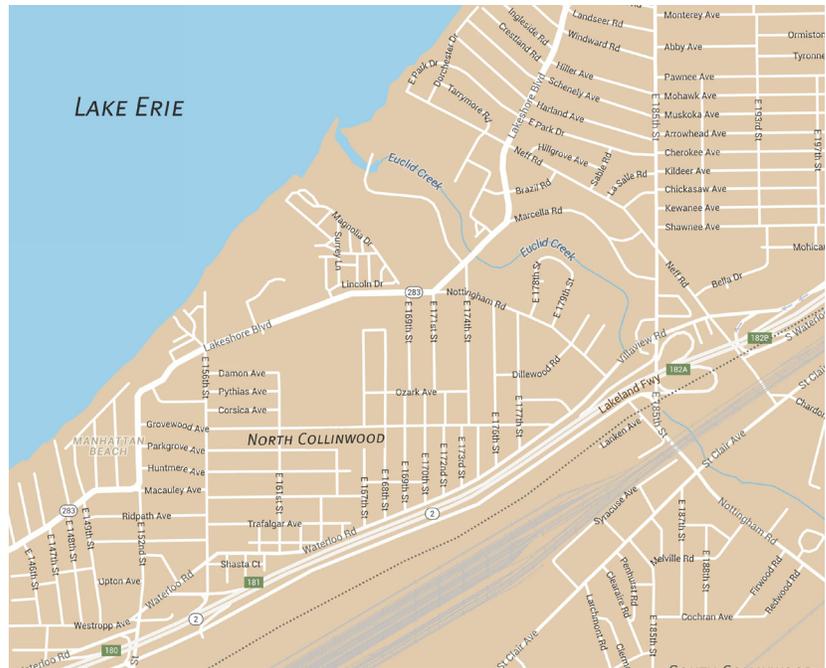
local arts and cultural assets to advance equitable outcomes in their communities since the early 1980s⁴. Mark Stern and Susan Seifert created the Social Impacts of the Arts Project in 1994 to explore how local arts and culture affect community life and to inform strategies for neighborhood revitalization, social inclusion, and community wellbeing⁵. Maria Rosario Jackson at the Urban Institute launched the Arts and Culture Indicators Project in 1996 to establish a more expansive definition of arts and culture, inclusive of heritage based cultural practices and non-professional activity and create a cultural data framework as well as a set of measures, based on widely available data, of the cultural vitality of communities. This work made an objective and empirical case for the significance of activities relevant to "creative placemaking"⁶. Studies by anthropologists Alaka Wali (of "informal arts") and Maribel Alvarez (of emerging and alternative arts organizations) brought deeper understanding of the natural grassroots operation of culture and its artistic expressions⁷. These pioneering efforts observed and documented a more expansive definition of arts and culture, interrogated the roles of arts and culture in communities, and assayed new methods for measuring the presence of arts and culture activity in communities, and the contributions that activity was making to its communities.

The landmark whitepaper by Ann Markusen and Ann Gadwa is an early and primary exemplar of field consolidation writing. They and a number of other authors⁸ have defined and clarified the scope of the term "creative placemaking," illustrated the range and profusion of its on-the-ground work through

short example cases, offered guidelines for practitioners, suggested elements that should make up the field's philosophy and theory (of social change, of art, of political context), and discussed the tactics, strategy, and problems of Creative Placemaking as a social change movement. However, much work remains to be done defining the parameters of the field and capturing the nuances of field practitioner work in communities.

Creative Placemaking still labors to overcome a handful of stubborn shibboleths about the position of “arts and culture” in contemporary American society. Creative Placemaking seeks to extend earlier efforts and replace a conventional concept of art as a currency of elites, or a luxury good only produced by specialists, with a broader and more democratic notion that art-making is an essential process naturally embedded in all communities. To gain recognition of their significance, Creative Placemaking programs have to continually push against the widespread assumption that economic factors are singular in determining standard of living and well-being. And because built environment changes are easier to see and appreciate than softer, more abstract, complex social and cultural changes, Creative Placemaking efforts often struggle to definitively show the effects of their program actions if they are not tied to real estate development or other construction projects.

This case study aspires to contribute to the field by drawing inferences about the social structure of collaboration at the center of Creative Placemaking from a qualitative, ethnographic⁹ account of one on-the-ground effort. Understanding the “social organization of action” from the details of an example Creative Placemaking project should help practitioners and planners improve the effectiveness of future efforts.



North Collinwood is bounded on the north by the Lake Erie shore, and by the freeway and railroad tracks to the south. Its eastern boundary is East 185th Street. East 133th Street is its western boundary (not visible on the map). Most of Northeast Shores focus for commercial real estate revitalization has been on Waterloo Road, paralleling the community's former boundary, between East 152nd and East 161st streets.

SETTING OF THE CASE

Along with three other major U.S. cities, Cleveland lost more than half its population in the six decades following 1950. Having flourished during the founding era of U.S. standardized mass production, the city was in the vanguard of the post-industrial Rust Belt decline. Until World War I, immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe filled the growing number of manufacturing jobs, clustering into ethnic residential enclaves. As the stream of cheap European immigrant labor dried up after World War I, Cleveland's industries turned to blacks from the American South as a new source of workers. Between 1910 and 1920, the black population of the city increased by more than 300 percent, while racial discrimination restricted where they could settle. The Central neighborhood became Cleveland's first black community.

With plants closing, corporate headquarters relocating, and manufacturing jobs disappearing, leaving Cleveland was the best option for anyone able to move. The poor, elderly, and structurally unemployed were left behind. There was an undercurrent of white flight to this demographic change, and racial tensions mounted as economic conditions in the inner city worsened. Poorly conceived attempts at urban renewal exacerbated overcrowding problems in certain black neighborhoods on the east side of the city. Over six nights in the summer of 1966, violent civil disorder erupted in the African American Hough neighborhood, shocking the entire Cleveland community into realizing they could no longer ignore the festering problems of disadvantage driven by racial prejudice.

Community members responded by electing Carl Stokes as the first black mayor of a major U.S. city, in 1967. The Hough uprising also inspired neighborhood social movements that evolved into grassroots “lease-purchase” housing programs. In 1968, Hough Area Development Corporation emerged, becoming one of the first CDCs in the country¹⁰.

Cleveland has 27 CDCs that act as “little city halls,” according to city council member Mike Polensek. Their principal role is to revitalize local real estate markets by providing neighborhood services, procuring funding from a range of sources, and supporting community organizing.

Cleveland’s system of CDCs grew organically from what Norman Krumholz called the “neighborhood crisis of the 1970s.” The CDCs inherited the same bedrock problems of declining economics, race and poverty in the inner city from previous decades, compounded by a burst of neighborhood activism that culminated in the short, troubled mayoral administration of Dennis Kucinich.

In 1981, the Famicos Foundation and five other neighborhood organizations formed the Cleveland Housing Network. The grassroots umbrella organization’s purpose was to coordinate the complex financing arrangements that were the life blood of community development entities trying to stabilize struggling neighborhoods by preserving local housing stock and creating home ownership opportunities. At this point there were at least 10 CDCs pursuing this mission in Cleveland, and national community



The White Stripes in 2000 and the Black Keys in 2002 played the Beachland Ballroom before they became nationally known.

development intermediaries started to take note. The Enterprise Foundation and the Local Initiatives Support Corporation opened branch offices in Cleveland. The Community Development Block Grant program brought a new, steadier source of funding. By the mid 1980’s, a rambling, heterogeneous, citywide community development sector was in place.

But the move to organize and consolidate CDC funding begun with the Cleveland Housing Network was symptomatic of a deeper set of issues that eventually arose between the local CDCs and their funders. In 1985, local foundations created a new intermediary, the Cleveland Neighborhood Partnership Program, to help drive a unified vision of the projects they should support and to rationalize the funding from various philanthropic, corporate, and city government sources. Intermediaries exerted pressure on the CDCs to professionalize their organizations and staff, to merge and consolidate, and to be more market oriented. By 1993, the city council approved a new, competitive process for allocating block grants.

There was considerable tension around the organizational changes dictated to CDCs at the time, but eventually the community development ecosystem settled into a consensus that CDCs should pursue market-oriented, mixed-income residential and commercial real estate revitalization in order to reduce systemic poverty and disadvantage by attracting new residents with higher income and education levels to help rejuvenate the city economy and boost local real estate values. The sub-prime mortgage and financial crises of 2007-09 dealt Cleveland a severe setback their progress denting high vacancy rates and increasing property ownership by residents with low and moderate incomes. Real estate values that had been nurtured patiently over decades in poor neighborhoods collapsed almost overnight¹¹.

North Collinwood is blessed with a lakeside location at the northeastern corner of the city of Cleveland’s municipal area. Some of the lakeshore is accessible through three public parks. North Collinwood’s nearest neighbor along the lakeshore to the west, Bratenahl, features

mansions, estates and private lakeshore properties, attesting to the desirability of Collinwood’s location.

For much of its history — during the mid 19th to mid 20th centuries — Collinwood was at the heart of Cleveland’s rail commerce. In fact, at the height of its operation in 1929, the Collinwood Railroad Yards handled 2,000 rail cars a day across its 120 miles of track as one of the main repair and transfer points for the New York Central Railroad. In 1933, nearly 2,000 workers were employed there. The rail corridor still divides North and South Collinwood today, though the facility closed in 1981, having been converted earlier to diesel locomotive repair shops¹².

Collinwood has known its share of racial turmoil. One year after the end of World War II, an interracial crowd of veterans in uniform and civil rights activists picketed the Euclid Beach amusement park protesting its 45-year history of excluding African Americans. Several weeks later, members of the Congress of Racial Equality were beaten when they attempted to enter the park’s dance hall. Days later, CORE members were again treated roughly by park police as they tried to enter the dance hall a second time. Two off-duty, black Cleveland police officers tried to intervene and scuffled with the park police. The next year, the city council passed an ordinance banning racial discrimination at Cleveland’s amusement parks. Following four summers of interracial swimming, Euclid Beach closed its bathing facilities in 1951. The whole amusement park shut down for good in 1969, after years of financial decline. Between 1965 and 1975, white-instigated violence over racial

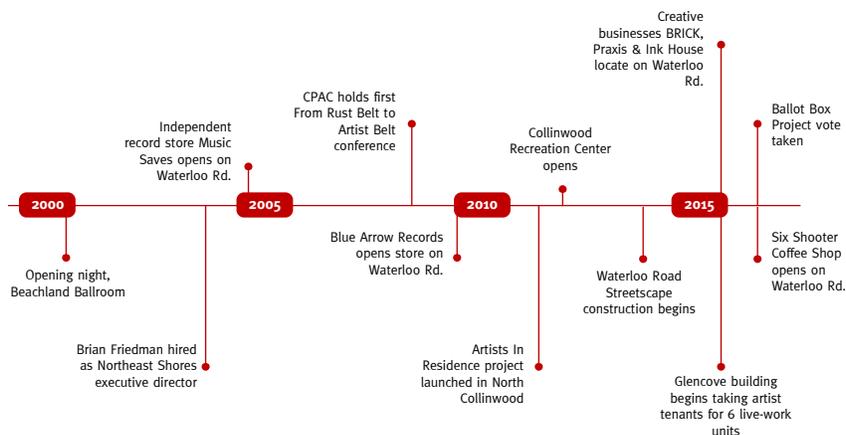
integration erupted sporadically at Collinwood High School, and other racial incidents continued in the community into the 1980s¹³.

Cindy Barber “discovered” Collinwood in the mid-80s, after several of her musician and artist friends moved there. She fell in love with the isolated, forgotten little neighborhood and moved there herself in 1986. Sometimes referred to as “the mayor of Collinwood”, she is an early, pivotal figure in the history of Creative Placemaking in this community.

Cindy went to polka dances and pig roasts in the small ethnic saloons around the neighborhood, and wrote about the indie rock scene as editor of the Cleveland Free Times. She watched as her older Croatian, Lithuanian, and Slovenian neighbors died off, their children having moved out to the suburbs. African Americans started moving in from Glenville, and unscrupulous real estate agents fomented fear, encouraging whites to sell and move out while they could still get something for their property. Some homeowners simply abandoned their homes; drug dealing and prostitution took over local streets.

When the newspaper she edited was sold to a large corporation, she decided to quit that job to focus on stopping the wave of blight that threatened her community, and the still-vibrant commercial corridor of 185th Street. When the Croatian Liberty Hall on Waterloo Road came up for sale, she bought the old community dance hall and turned into a music venue, which she and her business partner opened in March of 2000 as the Beachland Ballroom. “Beachland” was the slang name for the whole North Collinwood neighborhood, inspired by its destination location, the Euclid Beach amusement park.

Stabilization did come, starting four years later, in 2004, when Music Saves set up shop next door to the Beachland Ballroom on Waterloo Road. The deal was helped along by Brian Friedman, who had taken over as executive director of Northeast Shores CDC a year before. In fact, Friedman’s entry into the local development scene marked a noticeable uptick in development activity in the neighborhood.

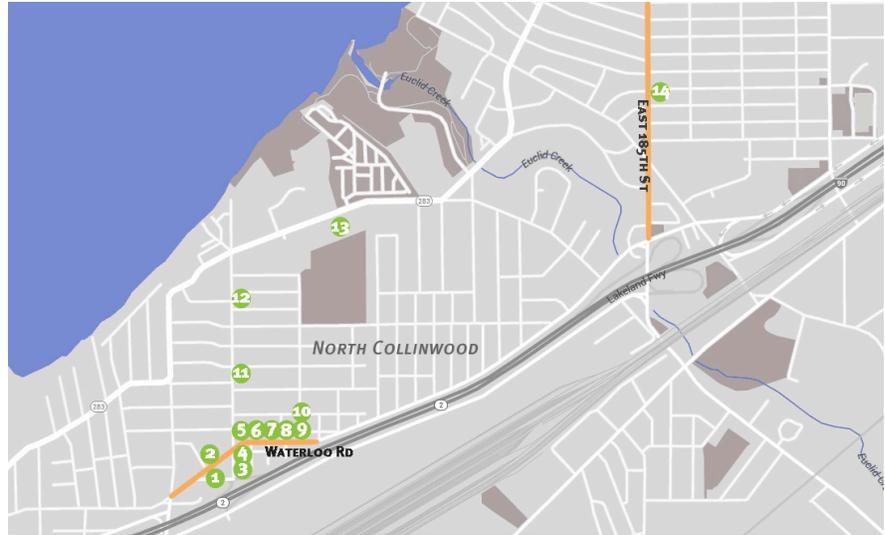


NORTHEAST SHORES

Formed in 1994, Northeast Shores Development Corporation focuses on real estate: specifically, maintaining residential and commercial density in North Collinwood through buyer financing. Currently, Northeast Shores helps administer city programs; develops, manages, and sells residential and commercial properties; operates a charter school; and produces community engagement programs. They coordinate closely with city agencies and with Mike Polensek, the council member for their area (Ward 8), especially when their development projects involve changes to the built environment. Northeast Shores also partners frequently with local schools and healthcare organizations as well as community groups, such as The Salvation Army and Waterloo Arts.

Like Cleveland's other CDCs, Northeast Shores is assigned a specific geographic area—encompassing about 3 square miles and some 16,000 residents. As a community-supported, 501(c) 3 organization Northeast Shores aims to rehabilitate vacant buildings and lots, returning them to productive use, occupancy, and the tax rolls—not to accumulate property. Their commercial revitalization efforts were focused first on Waterloo Road, and now are turning to East 185th Street, where the historic LaSalle Theater is slated for restoration and conversion to a multi-use culture and media production center.

When Brian Friedman joined Northeast Shores as executive director in 2003, he quickly recognized the indigenous assets present in Beachland Ballroom and the musicians and visual artists who made their homes in



1-Phone Booth Gallery, 2-Praxis Fiber Workshop, 3-Ink House, 4-Azure Stained Glass Studio, 5-Dru Christine Fabrics and Design, 6-Beachland Ballroom, 7-Music Saves, 8-Blue Arrow Records, 9-Six Shooter Coffee Café, 10-Brick Ceramic + Design Studio, 11-Northeast Shores office, 12-Glencove Building, 13-Collinwood Recreation Center, 14-LaSalle Theater.

the neighborhood. (Beachland Ballroom's Cindy Barber was on the CDC's board at that time.) Friedman wanted to build on these assets, but he didn't put two and two together until 2009, when he attended the launch of CPAC's "Putting Artists on the Map"¹⁴ study of how artists decide where to live and work. The CPAC report made clear that the artists who actually lived in Northeast Ohio were already choosing to live in exactly the kind of housing stock that Collinwood had had in abundance: two story, wooden frame houses with a detached garage and a yard.

This realization deflated the stereotype of artists as Bohemians seeking dense, fully urbanized, quasi-industrial spaces to work and live in. From this insight, it was a short, logical step to creating a program designed to attract artists to fill neighborhood vacancies and build a local creative economy. Northeast Shores' success in

attracting artists to live and work in their community, coupled with a two-year collaboration with CPAC in creative Placemaking called "Artists in Residence,"¹⁵ prompted them to inject artists into all of their community development work, from rehabbed housing to community programming. Now one of Northeast Shores mantras is "artists make everything better."

Focusing Artists on Community Issues

Over the past 5-6 years, Northeast Shores has funded numerous artist projects to engage the community. With relatively modest grants of around \$5,000, these programs direct artists' creative energies toward pressing community issues such as building vacancy, teen engagement, and public health. To make these collaborations with artists work, Northeast Shores had to adjust their understanding of art and artists.

Coming from backgrounds in real estate and community organizing, staff had to drop their initial preconceptions of art as “something that hangs on a wall” and came to see it as action and experience. For instance, they previously would have not considered a house remodel as installation art, but upon experiencing it, they were surprised by its effectiveness. Five years in, Northeast Shores staff have come to value artists as creative thinkers who will come up with unconventional but effective approaches, and they have come to recognize the arts as a way to enhance the experience residents have when engaging with community development programs.

Giving Artists a Stake in the Neighborhood

With financing that reduces the risks and initial investment, Northeast Shores helps artists buy a home or a building for their business in the community. Property ownership helps ensure artists, residents, and new businesses have a stake in the success of the neighborhood. When artists own their homes and business properties, they bolster the visibility and critical mass of the creative community, and they identify more strongly with Collinwood, leading them to take on community issues as a personal passion.

Art Is an Engagement Tool

Traditionally, when CDCs share information or monitor compliance of housing code and other rules, they host community meetings or distribute published information. Northeast Shores, on the other hand, draws on artists to design better materials and more entertaining interactions, believing that incorporating arts elements into formal community meetings shifts them into approachable, enjoyable conversations. For instance, the CDC hired artists to distill a phonebook-like “Choose your School” resource



Jessica Pinsky teaches local high schoolers how to felt at Praxis Fiber Workshop. Photo: Bridget Caswell.

into an attractive, 12-page booklet. They nixed a dry information session in favor of a fun arts project session for all ages. Families brought their children, participants said they enjoyed themselves, and the event drew more residents than usual. Today, Northeast Shores measures community engagement based on whether an event truly captures the attention and active involvement of residents. By integrating art and artists into civic interactions, Northeast Shores transforms community engagement from plodding, dull bureaucracy into interactive performances.

Communicating the Neighborhood’s Arts Identity

Northeast Shores actively markets Collinwood, communicating the neighborhood’s artistic identity to potential homeowners and customers in Ohio and beyond. Their “Welcome to Cleveland” event, executed as part of the Artists in Residence program, took artists from outside Ohio on tours of Collinwood and other Cleveland artist communities to entice them to buy a home and move to the city. The “Made in Collinwood” campaign is establishing a unified brand for makers and artists in Collinwood through marketing consulting, logo design,

and shared communications. Both of these programs aim to project an arts identity for the neighborhood, presenting Collinwood as a place where artists want to live and where they can feasibly grow a creative business.

Inspired by CPAC, Northeast Shores is continually trying new approaches to arts-based community improvement. The local CDC has fully embraced Creative Placemaking. Six characteristics of this CDC’s operating culture contribute strongly to their success in intentionally embedding arts and culture into their community development mission:

1. Their actions are experimental and iterative
2. They try many ideas and remain ready to shift them as necessary to be successful
3. Their overriding criteria for success are: ‘Did it improve community vitality?’ and ‘Did we improve community engagement?’
4. They build with and on the community’s existing social and cultural assets
5. Their process is democratic and transparent
6. They delegate project leadership to artists

THREE STORIES OF CROSS-SECTOR COLLABORATION

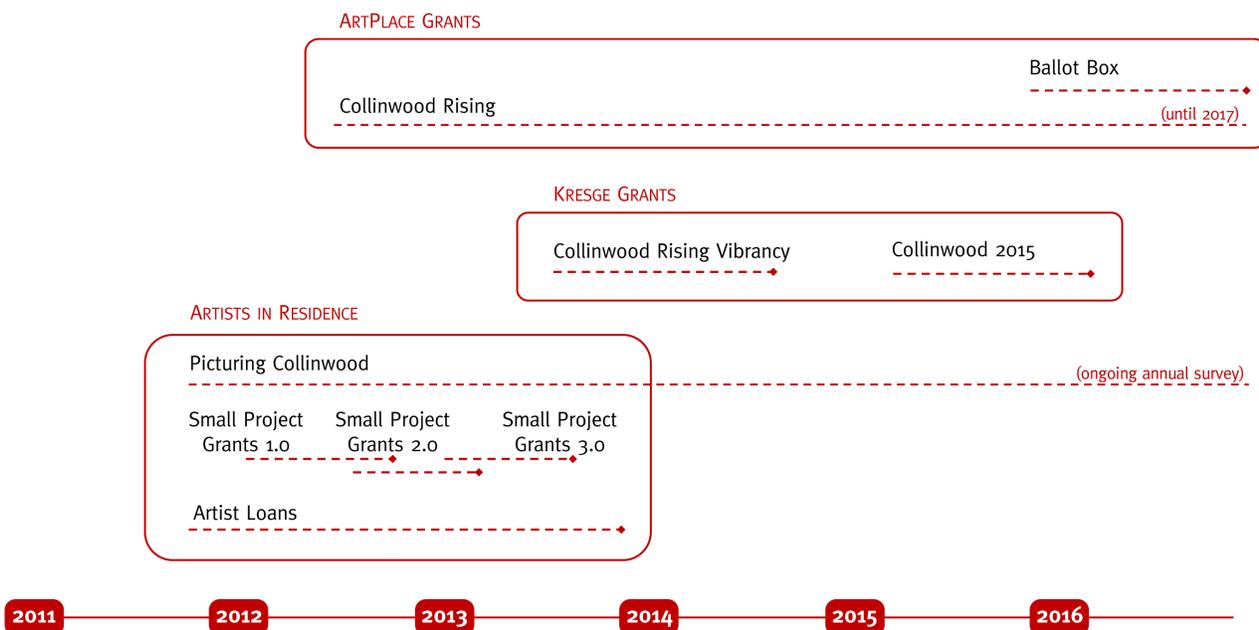
North Collinwood serves as an example of how Creative Placemaking works in real time.

The relationship between CPAC and Northeast Shores forms the backbone for all the Creative Placemaking efforts undertaken in North Collinwood since August 2012, when the two organizations launched the Artists in Residence program. That collaboration contained numerous component projects. This case study covers the history of those sub-projects and the follow-on work they spawned by exploring three cross-sector collaborations: CPAC with Northeast Shores, Northeast Shores with local artists, and Northeast Shores with local residents.

CPAC and Northeast Shores: A Collaboration Framed by Research

The joint effort between CPAC and Northeast Shores brought together a data-driven organization and a boots-on-the-ground community developer. Empirical research undertaken by CPAC informed and inspired much of the Artist in Residence work the two organizations completed together between 2011 and 2014. “Picturing Collinwood”¹⁶ mapped cultural assets by way of a community survey, while small grants for artists functioned as mini experiments, uncovering new topics that resonated with community members and bringing forward local artists previously unknown to community developers.

Since its founding in 2000, CPAC’s focus has been research. In fact, it was born out of a research project. In 1997, the Cleveland Foundation and the George Gund Foundation began reaching out to public sector partners because they realized they could not carry the entire funding burden alone for Cleveland’s many arts and culture nonprofits. They hired Tom Schorgl to design a coordinated cultural plan to strengthen greater Cleveland’s arts and culture sector, informed by a study of the local arts landscape. CPAC was the result of that project, and Schorgl took over as President and CEO of the newly-formed strategic arts intermediary.



CPAC's approach is to investigate fully a "creative intersection" where arts and culture can contribute to community building in collaboration with a non-arts sector, then pass along those insights and resources to partners who can move the work forward independently. Then CPAC turns its attention to the next creative intersection. Their creative placemaking collaboration with Northeast Shores came about when they were focused on the intersection of arts and culture with community development. Since then, they have focused on healthcare as a creative intersection, and later on public safety as yet another intersection.

CPAC spread their research mindset to Northeast Shore in three ways:

1. They published a detailed technical research report containing specific insights that any CDC working in Northeast Ohio would find indispensable in shaping the way it integrated artists into its community development work ("Putting Artists on the Map")
2. They jointly prototyped an approach to community surveying inside the Artists in Residence Creative Placemaking program ("Picturing Collinwood")
3. They created a template methodology enabling Northeast Shores to conduct its own research to uncover arts and cultural assets existing in the community ("Guide to Mapping Neighborhood Arts and Culture Assets"¹⁷)

In 2009, CPAC released the results of "Putting Artists on the Map," a systematic statistical analysis of how artists decide where to live and work. They aimed to give all the CDCs in Cuyahoga County a set of tools for identifying what specific amenities or attributes were driving artists to locate in their communities. Those tools included maps and regression analyses to use in answering questions such as, "Where are Cuyahoga County's artists located?" and "What variables suggest a neighborhood may be desirable to artists?"

When Northeast Shore's Brian Friedman heard CPAC present the report, he realized Collinwood had an abundance of exactly the type of housing Northeast Ohio artists wanted to live in. And when CPAC realized they needed a fertile testing ground to demonstrate whether their tools worked, they settled on Collinwood, choosing Northeast Shores as their local partner.

CPAC staff member Seth Beattie served as the indispensable bridge between CPAC and Northeast Shores while the program was running. Once CPAC chose Northeast Shores as their CDC partner, Beattie worked in

CPAC's approach is to investigate different "creative intersections" where arts and culture can contribute to community building in collaboration with a non-arts sector

Collinwood three days a week with the Northeast Shores team. This arrangement allowed him to become deeply integrated into the Northeast Shores organization and the ongoing field work while consolidating learnings and solving problems with his CPAC colleagues during the other two days.

The Creative Placemaking elements and research components in the Artists in Residence plan reflect both Schorgl's CPAC philosophies and Beattie's graduate thesis work at Cleveland State's Levin College of Urban Affairs. He studied the potential of self-documentary photography for advancing equity principles in the public sector. He was also influenced by Ryerson University research on longitudinal community surveying that measured the economic and social impact of cultural investments¹⁸.

The Artists in Residence sub-project Picturing Collinwood grew directly from Beattie's background. Twenty neighborhood residents were given disposable cameras and asked to take pictures of what they did and did not like about North Collinwood. The resulting images were displayed in a public exhibition and used as stimuli for soliciting input from even more residents. They learned that residents' main concerns



Refurbished home in North Collinwood. Fully committed to an artist ownership model, Northeast Shores has several programs that make owning a home in this neighborhood extremely attractive. "Own Your Own (Build Your Dream)" combines an \$8,500 purchase price with a sweat equity obligation. Fully renovated homes (average selling price of \$75,000 - \$100,000) and a lease-to-purchase option are also offered. Photo: Seth Beattie.

Northeast Shores learned that residents' main concerns were public safety, vacancy, youth engagement, and having more celebration of Collinwood's uniqueness. These issues became the focus of the first wave of Small Grants to Community Artists at the end of 2011.

were public safety, vacancy, youth engagement, and having more celebration of Collinwood's uniqueness. These issues became the focus of the first wave of Small Grants to Community Artists at the end of 2011. Picturing Collinwood has been continued as an annual survey of residents that monitors community attitudes about the neighborhood, the quality of life there, the positive or negative direction of change, and whether they want the CDC to continue recruiting artists to move to Collinwood. Attitude data are divided into subsets such as younger vs. older, west side vs. east side of the neighborhood, and involved vs. not involved. Five years of survey results indicate that Northeast Shores' explorations and experiments are working:

- Residents view the role of artists in community development favorably, and they want Northeast Shores to continue recruiting artists to move to Collinwood
- Residents who feel more involved in the community have more positive perceptions and feel more attached to Collinwood. Furthermore, there are marked differences in feelings between involved and uninvolved residents
- Residents feel confident that Collinwood has a good quality of life, and
- Collinwood is changing for the better, and
- Collinwood is a place they feel proud of.

Using research — such as self-documentary photography and community surveying — to uncover the cultural assets of the community carries the assumption that identification of these assets is social rather than objective, and that the local community should decide what those assets are, rather than outsiders or experts. Northeast Shores followed a similar approach, of soliciting input from residents to set direction for two other projects: Collinwood Rising and Ballot Box (described later sections below).

Nevertheless, there were limits to the amount of this research mindset Northeast Shores could adopt. The CDC applied only a portion of the CPAC asset mapping methodology during Artists in Residence.

CPAC wanted CDCs in Cuyahoga County to conduct informal and qualitative research themselves about their indigenous arts and culture resources. To this end, they published a guide with template interview questions and suggestions for collecting, mapping, and using qualitative data. CPAC hoped this tool would spur CDC asset mapping research and broaden what would qualify as “arts and culture” in their locales. Using knowledge of local cultural assets, CDCs would be able to truly understand the unique character of their local community and tap those assets for arts-based engagement and community development.

Realistically, it is probably impractical to expect to graft the full cycle of research (design, data collection, analysis, interpretation, and reporting), no matter how modest and informal its shape, onto a CDC's workflow. In the pressing, flexible, quick-acting, controlled chaos of normal community development, methodical research will nearly always take a back seat to immediate issues. In order to inject research expertise into a local Creative Placemaking ecosystem, the field needs organizations like CPAC with specialized research skills and distance from community obligations and activity.

CPAC's Putting Artists on the Map report demonstrated to Northeast Shores and other CDCs how systematic specialist research could uncover surprising and actionable deep insights about the very challenges they face. With the guide for conducting neighborhood arts and culture asset mapping, CPAC attempted, and partially succeeded, in spurring Northeast Shores to conduct its own research on indigenous arts and culture assets. The most significance influence CPAC had on Northeast Shores was to help them institute an annual survey of neighborhood resident attitudes about the success of their community development programs and their view of the overall direction of neighborhood improvement. This ongoing survey enables Northeast Shores to measure the success of its activity in a deep and valid way: a distinct achievement in Creative Placemaking practice.

Northeast Shores and Artists: Iterating on Small Projects

The second instructive example of North Collinwood Creative Placemaking work is the cross-sector collaboration between Northeast Shores and local artists via small project grants. These grants funded incremental “experiments” in arts-embedded community development over a wide range of topics: resident engagement, entertainment, improvement of public facilities, public art, training, art education for children, ecological sustainability, neighborhood celebration, and more.

Even before Artists in Residence, Northeast Shores was experimental: eager to try out new ideas, ready to revise approaches pragmatically, and determined to proceed through trial and error. Never commanding large budget amounts for their operations, the CDC learned to keep their experiments small so that small failures would be counterbalanced by other small successes. This strategy not only spreads the risk more broadly, it increases the number of artists involved in community engagement, and creates a critical mass that more uniformly reaches a variety of spaces and audiences in the neighborhood.

Northeast Shores brought its experimentation mentality to the small project grants component of Artists in Residence, which included three successive waves of calls for proposals from artists. Later, the CDC applied this same small-increment approach to all four Creative Placemaking programs outside of Artists in Residence: Collinwood Rising, Collinwood Rising Vibrancy, Collinwood 2015, and Ballot Box. Ballot Box is the subject of the third story of cross-sector collaboration below. The other three programs include:

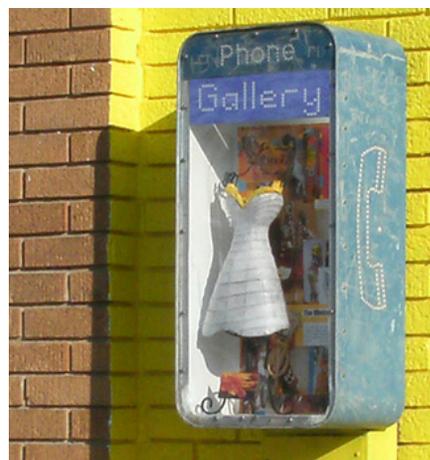
Collinwood Rising, a 5-year strategic initiative launched in July 2012 to address urban vacancy and increase the vibrancy of the Waterloo Arts & Entertainment District by engaging artists. Artists lead sub-projects that convert vacant spaces into playgrounds, arts incubators, and artist live-work spaces. The lead funder is ArtPlace America.

“Project Galleries Sip-and-Stroll” organized 11 different artist teams to program storefront windows along Waterloo—many vacant or underutilized. Visitors were able to drink free hot cocoa, browse the displays and vote for their favorite.

Collinwood Rising Vibrancy, which was modeled on “Irrigate”, Springboard for the Arts’ classic Creative Placemaking project in St. Paul, Minnesota¹⁹. During the 1-year

period of commercial disruption from streetscape improvements on Waterloo Road that began in Spring 2013, dozens of small projects received grant support to enliven the Waterloo Arts and Entertainment District with community art projects. Eligible project teams had to include an artist and a business affected by the construction. Funders were the Kresge Foundation and Cuyahoga Arts and Culture.

During Collinwood Rising Vibrancy, artist Ali Lukacsy teamed with local business Mac’s Lock Shop to keep traffic and interest during street renovations. Their project, “Locks of Love,” invited residents to engrave locks with romantic sentiments and attach them to a public sculpture. The more inclusive framework of “arts projects” motivated artists like Ali who otherwise would not be



The Phone Booth Gallery transformed an abandoned pay phone into Cleveland’s smallest art gallery. Created by artist Ivana Medukic and designer Ali Lukacsy. Located on Waterloo Road. CPAC makes competitive awards to artists to display their work for 1 month stints. Open 24/7. Illuminated at night. Photo <http://clevelandartsculpture.weebly.com/uploads/1/0/6/3/10635695/1258234.jpg?328>

interested in economic development. After participating in several such projects, Lukacsy recently purchased a home in Collinwood.

Collinwood 2015, which brought together neighborhood stakeholders to figure out how the arts might address seemingly intractable problems of community health. During the 2015 calendar year, the program distributed small project grants to more than 20 teams of artists and health practitioners who proposed the most creative solutions for improving health outcomes in the neighborhood. The Kresge Foundation was the funder.

A critical element of Northeast Shores’ experimental mindset is their ability to admit and learn from their mistakes. Their grantee selection process for small project support has become increasingly transparent and participatory. At the start of Artists in Residence in 2011, Northeast Shores staff selected the projects that would receive funding. In 2013, during Collinwood Rising Vibrancy, a panel of community stakeholder judges decided who received grants.

But when the Ballot Box project was launched in 2016, adult residents of Ward 8 selected the winning project proposals by secret ballot vote.

Lacking a roadmap for this model of community engagement, Northeast Shores creatively adjusts its programs to increase participation and community cohesion in response to residents' critique and their own learnings.

In its small project support, Northeast Shores gives artists the freedom to design their own approaches to embedding arts in community development activity. By doing so, Northeast Shores respects the artists' creative integrity while activating them toward community topics with funding, generating a mutual engagement between artists and residents. Because artists are given room to exercise their independent creativity, they become personally invested in the community. Property ownership amplifies this process. So cross-sector collaboration between Northeast Shores and local artists is based upon a bond between the CDC and the artist: Northeast Shores provides the drive and confidence to continually experiment and improve impact, and the artists become personally invested in community work because their creativity is respected and validated.

Northeast Shores and Local Residents: Ballot Box

Serving the community, increasing residents' engagement, and instigating optimism about the future of Collinwood are at the heart of Northeast Shores' mission. So it should come as no surprise that the third key example of cross-sector collaboration in North Collinwood Creative Placemaking is between



Get out the vote parade for Ballot Box passes the Six Shooter Coffee Café on Waterloo Road.
Photo: Bridget Caswell.

the CDC and the community at large. A close look at the Ballot Box project yields particular insight into this instance of successful Creative Placemaking.

Though it was not part of Artists in Residence, Ballot Box did inherit important elements of the earlier program: an emphasis on small, artist-led projects, and an intent to use the grant proposal and selection process as a kind of research methodology. Like Collinwood Rising, Ballot Box was funded by ArtPlace America. In October 2015, Northeast Shores convened a community meeting, where stakeholders identified vacancy, healthy eating, Collinwood history, and youth engagement as top community priorities. Northeast Shores issued a call for proposals based on those recommendations.

Artists submitted proposals and gave poster presentations to residents in a "science fair" atmosphere at two different voting venues. Voting materials and voting booths were the standard issue supplied by the County Board of Elections. Anybody 14 years of age and older was eligible to vote, with the process happening over two days. Official voter registration resources were also provided. To get out the vote, Northeast Shores staff, local musicians, and engaged residents marshaled a rambunctious parade through the neighborhood the day before the event. Community

voters chose nine projects,²⁰ which received a total of \$120,000. Projects will be completed by November 2016.

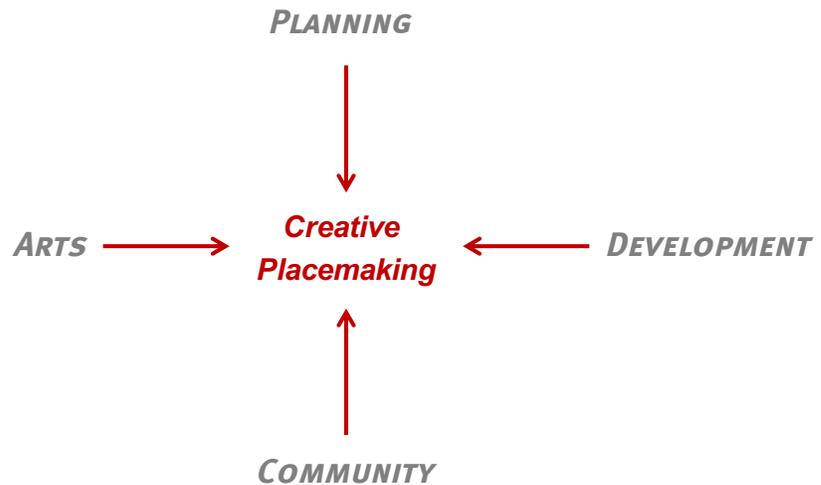
By incorporating participatory budgeting into the Artists in Residence project, Ballot Box represents the most evolved expression of Northeast Shores' technique of using small, artist-led projects to pursue community development and resident engagement. The CDC will continue to improve their project selection process, but they have already achieved real, democratic transparency. In the Ballot Box effort, Northeast Shores innovatively added several elements on top of arts integrated into community development: voter registration, community control, and youth outreach. Artist engagement activates this comprehensive community development.

CDC-community collaboration in North Collinwood uses research and community arts projects to awaken community power. North Collinwood has soft, not sharp, social divisions, which impede full social activation. But if and when the community collectively recognizes they can exercise control over the direction of local development and they become energetically engaged, Northeast Shores will have succeeded in an important part of its mission—even though that means its activities will be increasingly complicated by more community voices.

THE STRUCTURE OF CREATIVE PLACEMAKING

These three stories—of CPAC guiding and focusing the energy of Northeast Shores with a research mindset, of Northeast Shores pulling artists into community development through respect for creativity, ownership incentives, and small projects, and of the shifting perceptions of community control brought about by participatory budgeting—reveal an underlying structure of cross-sector collaboration in North Collinwood Creative Placemaking.

By examining specific, salient cross-sector collaborations, it is possible to peer underneath the rich details of projects, personalities, and local history to see four main constituent sectors: planning, development, community, and the arts. While this leaves to the side sectors like government, philanthropy, and local business, in this particular case these sectors either play in the background or are linked to one of the identified main constituent sectors. Also, there is a difference between sectors and stakeholders. Stakeholders can be hybrids, pulling together attributes, goals, values and skills from multiple sectors. CPAC is a prime example of this, combining the arts and planning sectors. In this view, sectors are functions—they can be understood by inquiring about the “jobs” the sector does inside Creative Placemaking. Stakeholders are unique social expressions of these functions, or function combinations. In order to know how these functions are being applied in North Collinwood Creative Placemaking, the activities of stakeholders must be observed and interrogated. In any successful Creative Placemaking effort, all four sectors must be genuinely present and involved.



Planning Sector

Somewhat surprisingly, the planning sector in this case is embodied, by CPAC. In its charter, CPAC actually combines functions of the arts and planning sectors. When the Cleveland Foundation and the George Gund Foundation hired Tom Schorgl to create a strategic cultural plan for strengthening arts and culture in greater Cleveland, they were building planning into their mission and approach. CPAC’s strategy of investigating a series of “creative intersections” and teeing up resources to hand off to implementation partners exercises a planning discipline. CPAC’s Rust Belt to Artist Belt conferences fulfilled a planning function by creating and drawing upon a regional network of specialists to help them design resources that could be applied in many locations across the northeast. They deliberately built program components so others could do Creative Placemaking.

When CPAC reported on their Artists in Residence work in their paper “When Artists Break Ground,” they grouped the first four lessons learned under the label “planning.” And certainly CPAC’s research and capacity building expertise, which they brought to the collaboration with Northeast Shores, come from a planning perspective. CPAC’s approach is long term, regional, cross-disciplinary, and abstract. They develop detailed proposals and component designs for Creative Placemaking projects in advance of on-the-ground execution, which is carried out by partners. CPAC does an unusually good job of documenting their approach and lessons learned, using those learnings as a mechanism for fulfilling their mission to strengthen other arts and culture organizations.

Development Sector

As a CDC, Northeast Shores clearly represents the development sector in North Collinwood Creative Placemaking. Its position as a non-profit gives it room to be creative in designing a range of real estate offerings, and to invest time and funding in projects that build neighborhood vibrancy and raise the engagement of residents, without necessarily including new construction. Though not all of its projects focus on buildings, the demands for financing and the delivery schedules of their construction and property management do make the CDC pragmatic and action oriented.

Northeast Shores is also a hybrid, acting simultaneously as a community stakeholder and a development stakeholder. Other than the small firms engaged by Northeast Shores to complete single building projects, North Collinwood's economic environment has not yet attracted for-profit developers, so the development sector in this case is currently driven by the non-profit CDC. By practicing Creative Placemaking in Collinwood, Northeast Shores has given theoretical coherence to its community-building activity, revolutionized how it engages with residents, and transformed the community's concept of what a development project can be.

Community Sector

The most complex and multi-dimensional sector, community, is represented here by the residents themselves, and by Northeast Shores. The community sector also includes artists who are residents. North Collinwood residents are



Waterloo Arts Executive Director Amy Callahan helps kids have fun at a recent Waterloo Arts Fest in North Collinwood. Photo: Bridget Caswell.

comprised of at least four different groups with distinct worldviews: older white residents who treasure the pre-1960s local history; middle class African Americans who were instrumental in remaking the neighborhood by moving in during the 1980s; older, socially-committed bohemians and artists who came in the 1980s; and younger, well-educated, newly-arrived residents, some of whom are artists as well.

Through Creative Placemaking, Northeast Shores has demonstrated the effectiveness of the arts in bridging these social differences. Nevertheless, the organization still struggles to achieve its desired level of engagement with African Americans. One African American resident observed that the racial makeup of the crowds attracted by the Waterloo Arts Festival was heavily white, in contrast with surrounding neighborhoods, which are predominately black. Creative Placemaking work by Northeast Shores, CPAC, and local artists has shifted the community's self-image from a negative, backward-looking view to one where most people see North Collinwood changing for the better. Residents now overwhelmingly see artists as good neighbors who make the Collinwood a better place to live.

Arts Sector

Local artists and CPAC represent the arts sector in Collinwood Creative Placemaking. In addition to administering small project grants, Northeast Shores recruits artists

as business owners to fill in vacant storefronts on Waterloo Road. Northeast Shores has persuaded a critical mass of creative businesses to move into North Collinwood, many within the last two years: Azure Stained Glass Studio (2008), Blue Arrow Records (2009), BRICK Ceramic + Design Studio (2015), Dru Christine Fabrics and Design (2014), INK House Printmaking Studio (2015), Music Saves (2004), and Praxis Fiber Workshop (2015). Creative Placemaking has validated local artists and brought forward many artists previously unknown to community developers before Artists in Residence. The Creative Placemaking approach to community development taps into a rich new reservoir of ideas and creativity for revitalization work, puts artists into leadership positions in their own neighborhoods, and converts artists into contributors who are personally invested in putting the community on a positive trajectory.

Structural Challenges

The relationship between CPAC and Northeast Shores was the central pillar of cross-sector relationships in Collinwood Creative Placemaking. Though the two organizations came at the work from different perspectives, both were fully committed to the concept. CPAC took a more abstract, generalized, long-term, analytic view, while Northeast Shores, steeped in substantive practice rooted in the community, had to be tangible and eclectic in responding to immediate pressures and opportunities.

CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVE

Arts and culture were integrated into comprehensive community development in North Collinwood with inspiration from a conceptual resource base developed deliberately by CPAC, but mostly through the actions, insights, and decisions of Northeast Shores:

For Friedman, Creative Placemaking encompassed numerous elements vital to Northeast Shores' work, including local arts and culture assets, vacancy solutions, artist property ownership, resident engagement, and community vitality. Once CPAC introduced him to the approach, he was on board to partner with them in exploring their first creative intersection of arts and community development.

“Experiment” means something very different to each organization. CPAC saw North Collinwood as an ideal pilot test site for their Rustbelt to Artist Belt ideas; they saw the neighborhood at a tipping point, allowing for clear evaluation of their Creative Placemaking ideas and program component designs. To Friedman and Northeast Shores, “experimenting” gave the CDC license to attempt projects without assurance that they would succeed, to respond flexibly to new issues with on-the-fly modifications to programs, and to layer together multiple goals and approaches in search of positive traction. Besides conceptual alignment, a key factor in the success of this collaboration was Seth Beattie, who had the temperament of a community organizer and the skills of a reflective thinker and writer, and who kept a foot in each organization. Without a bridge like Beattie, this vertical collaboration between a strategic arts intermediary and a frenetic, passionate CDC would have looked dramatically different and might not have succeeded.

- Northeast Shores recognized the manifold significance of indigenous cultural assets. When community development efforts use and honor artistic and cultural expressions native to the local community, residents feel understood, respected and included. The very survival of local art and culture shows residents find that content appealing. Northeast Shores went further, recognizing that the local arts and culture assets should be defined by residents: that residents - not the CDC, and not outside experts - should be the authorities on local cultural assets.
- Northeast Shores rooted arts and culture in Collinwood by tying artists to the community through property ownership. When artists become property owners they become emotionally and economically committed to the neighborhood. The community then benefits from their creative thinking and output and from more exposure to the arts.
- Northeast Shores transformed one of their principal functions, community engagement, by converting it into artist-led small projects. The result has been better, more meaningful, more appealing engagement. Based on those successes, the CDC has updated its methods to make even more use of artists.

These three stories of cross-sector collaboration in North Collinwood illustrate the structure underlying Creative Placemaking by identifying four key sectors as the minimum and necessary constituencies of any Creative Placemaking action: planning, development, community, and the arts. Sectors are defined by function and distinguished from stakeholders, which are characterized as social expressions of the sector functions. Stakeholders can be hybrid expressions of sector functions; in fact, both of the key stakeholders in the Collinwood work are hybrids. CPAC combines the planning and arts sectors, and, like any good CDC, Northeast Shores combines the development and community sectors. Other cases of Creative Placemaking may involve different configurations of stakeholders playing the roles of the same underlying four sectors.

Regardless of the stakeholder and sector configuration, any Creative Placemaking effort must solve the challenge of authentically linking the abstract vision of the planning sector with the real-life concerns of people in the community. In the North Collinwood case, this problem was addressed by a key partnership between CPAC, a strategic arts intermediary, and Northeast Shores, a community development corporation.

Despite a measured increase in engagement with the community as a whole, Northeast Shores still struggles to make significant progress in involving and actively welcoming African American residents who are not yet engaged. And there is a need for a research expert (like CPAC) to continue some engagement with CDCs (like Northeast Shores) around identifying and studying strategic research questions to address ongoing community development challenges. CDCs cannot be expected to perform this function without support. The collaborative vertical relationship between CPAC and Northeast Shores, the documentation of the lessons learned by CPAC, the research mindset that honored local cultural assets, the ongoing community survey to gauge impact, and Northeast Shores evolving its processes to be more transparent and democratic, all make Collinwood a showcase for Creative Placemaking.

ENDNOTES

1 The best known general conceptualization of “creative placemaking” was offered by Markusen and Gadwa in 2010: “In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired.” Kresge’s approach fits comfortably inside this definition, but focuses on a specific outcome.

ArtPlace, in stating the concept of creative placemaking that informs their attempt to position arts and culture as a core sector of comprehensive community planning and development, covers this same ground, while emphasizing certain aspects of the work: “creative placemaking ... describes projects in which art plays an intentional and integrated role in place-based community planning and development. This brings artists, arts organizations, and artistic activity into the suite of placemaking strategies pioneered by Jane Jacobs and her colleagues, who believed that community development must be locally informed, human-centric, and holistic. In practice, this means having arts and culture represented alongside sectors like housing and transportation – with each sector recognized as part of any healthy community; as requiring planning and investment from its community; and as having a responsibility to contribute to its community’s overall future.... In creative placemaking, “creative” is an adverb describing the making, not an adjective describing the place. Successful creative placemaking projects are not measured by how many new arts centers, galleries, or cultural districts are built. Rather, their success is measured in the ways artists, formal and informal arts spaces, and creative interventions have contributed toward community outcomes.” Again, Kresge’s approach is closely allied, in stressing the critical requirement for cross-sector collaboration, while focusing more strategically on outcomes that improve opportunity for low-income residents in cities.

One further clarification is necessary—to distinguish “placemaking” from “creative placemaking.” “Placemaking” is the planning and designing of public spaces. In Kresge’s view, “creative placemaking” is designed to connect across disciplinary and sector silos and influence a range of systems and practices that will have direct and tangible outcomes for people with low income. Creative Placemaking then is an integrated, cross sectoral approach to equitable community development.

2 See Parker, L. O. N. (2013). “NEA head, Rocco Landesman, found money in new places”. Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Pittsburgh, January 2, 2013, Retrieved from <http://www.post-gazette.com/ae/art-architecture/2013/01/02/NEA-head-Rocco-Landesman-found-money-in-new-places/stories/201301020204>; Markusen, A., and Anne Gadwa (2010), *Creative Placemaking*, National Endowment for the Arts; Rapson, R. (2014), “Creative placemaking: The next phase for ArtPlace; Address to the ArtPlace Summit in Los Angeles,” Retrieved from <http://kresge.org/library/creative-placemaking-next-phase-artplace>.

3 The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, See <https://www.hudexchange.info/resource/2184/housing-and-community-development-hcd-act-of-1974/>. Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House. Florida, R. (2014). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York, Basic Books.

4 Borrup, Tom (2006), *The Creative Community Builder’s Handbook: How to Transform Communities Using Local Assets, Arts, and Culture*, St. Paul, Fieldstone Alliance; Chew, Ron (2009) “Community-Based Arts Organizations; a New Center of Gravity,” *Americans for the Arts*.

5 See <http://impact.sp2.upenn.edu/siap/>

6 Jackson, M. R., Florence Kabwasa-Green, and Joaquin Herranz (2006) *Cultural Vitality in Communities: Interpretation and Indicators*. Washington, D.C., The Urban Institute; Jackson, M. R. (2009) “Toward Diversity That Works; Building Communities through Arts and Culture,” *Twenty-First Century Color Lines*. A. Grant-Thomas, and Gary Orfield. Philadelphia, Temple University Press: 220-234; Jackson, M. R. (2009) “Shifting Expectations: An Urban Planner’s Reflections on Evaluation of Community-Based Arts,” *Arts & Civic Engagement Impact Initiative, Americans for the Arts*; Jackson, M. R. (2011) *Artists’ Hybrid Work Challenges Old Ways of Evaluating Quality*, *Urban Wire*; Jackson, M. R. (2013) “A Framework for Understanding PLACE and Its Impact,” *People, Land, Arts, Culture, and Engagement: Taking Stock of the PLACE Initiative.*, K. Eisele, Tucson Pima Arts Council: 8-9.

7 Wali, Alaka (2002) "Informal Arts: Finding Cohesion, Capacity and Other Cultural Benefits in Unexpected Places," Chicago Center for Arts Policy. In this work begun in 1999, Wali was the first to show that ethnography is a particularly effective method for uncovering rich areas of arts and culture in community life not necessarily visible from mainstream perspectives. Alvarez, Maribel (2009) "Two-Way Mirror: Ethnography as a Way to Assess Civic Impact of Arts-Based Engagement," Tucson Pima Arts Council.

8 See also Bedoya, R. (2013) "Placemaking and the Politics of Belonging and Dis-Belonging," *GIA Reader* 24(1); Callanan, L. (2014) "Creative Placemaking," Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco Community Development Investment Review 10(2); Jackson, M. R., Katherine Bray, John Arroyo (2013) "Initial Scan of Selected Creative Placemaking Projects: Digest of Key Findings," Internal Working Paper for the Kresge Foundation and Surdna Foundation; Nowak, J. (2007) *Creativity and Neighborhood Development: Strategies for Community Investment, The Reinvestment Fund*; and Stern, M. J., and Susan C. Seifert (2014) *Communities, Culture, and Capabilities: Preliminary results of a four-city study*, Human Development and Capabilities Association. Athens, Greece.

9 Ethnography is an inclusive, holistic account of social events, behaviors, institutions, and processes that happen within a specific community under study at a point in time. As shorthand, the product of this style of research is called "thick description" (Geertz 1973: 3-30). The "thickness" refers to a depth of context. In our fieldwork and in the written account of a given case, we are eclectic and open about the kinds of context facts that can add to an understanding of creative placemaking. Our account is therefore broad, sociological, and historical. It is also anthropological and cultural—the worldviews of the individual people doing creative placemaking, as well as residents of the impacted communities, are central to our account.

Each of the respondents we interviewed gave us a narrative of their experience of creative placemaking. We view these narratives collectively as an important public record of what goes on in creative placemaking on the ground. What follows is not an "objective" account in the standard sense, but a representation and an exploration of the social phenomenon of creative placemaking as refracted through the experiences of its practitioners. We believe this ethnographic record of the representations that creative placemakers make of what they do, why they do it, and the effects they think it has, is a valuable resource for understanding the complexity inherent in embedding arts and culture in community revitalization, and advancing creative placemaking as a field of practice.

10 Beauregard, R. A. (2012) "Growth and Depopulation in the United States," *Rebuilding America's Legacy Cities; New Directions for the Industrial Heartland*, New York, The American Assembly, Columbia University: 1-24; Warf, B. and B. Holly, "The Rise and Fall and Rise of Cleveland," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*: 208-221; Krumholz, N. and K.W. Hexter (2012) "Re-Thinking the Future of Cleveland's Neighborhood Developers: Interim Report," http://cua6.urban.csuohio.edu/publications/center_for_community_planning_and_development/Re-thinking_the_Future.pdf; Yin, Jordan S., "Chapter 5: The Community Development Experience in Cleveland, 1967-1997," *The Community Development System: Urban Politics and the Practice of Neighborhood Redevelopment in Two American Cities from the 1960s to the 1990s*, Cornell University PhD Dissertation: 81-116; <http://progressivecities.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/Yin-Community-Development-in-Cleveland-Dissertation-Chapter.pdf>.

11 Krumholz and Hexter: 1 and Yin:81-116.

12 "Collinwood Railroad Yards," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, <http://ech.case.edu/cgi/article.pl?id=CRY>.

13 Search for "Euclid Beach Park Riot" and for "Collinwood High School Riots" at <https://clevelandhistorical.org/>.

14 <http://cultureforward.org/Reference-Desk/Research-Library/neighborhoods/Putting-Artists-on-the-Map>

15 Seth Beattie explains that "Artists In Residence was an effort to go deeper with From Rust Belt to Artist Belt by applying the best practices from the conference series in one neighborhood over a sustained period." The Leveraging Investments in Creativity (LINC) consortium funded the From Rust Belt to Artist Belt conferences, and Kresge and the Ford Foundation provided financial support for a closing challenge grant which funded the Artists In Residence work.

16 <http://cultureforward.org/Reference-Desk/Research-Library/neighborhoods/Picturing-Collinwood-2011>

17 <http://www.cultureforward.org/Reference-Desk/Research-Library/neighborhoods/Guide-to-Mapping-Neighborhood-Arts-and-Cultural-Assets>

18 Jones, K., T. Lea, D. Sharpe, T. Jones, and S. Harvey (2004) "The Spillover Effects of Investments in Cultural Facilities," Centre for the Study of Commercial Activity, Ryerson University, Canada, http://www.artscapediy.org/ArtscapeDIY/MediaLibrary/ArtscapeDIY/Archives/Artscape_Research/spillover_effects_of_investments_in_cultural_facilities.pdf.

19 <https://springboardforthearts.org/programs/irrigate/>

20 <http://www.ballotboxproject.org/winners/>
