

Enacting Placekeeping: A Case Study of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District

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by

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Abstract:

Arts and culture have been linked to urban development through the concept of creative placemaking, which has gained traction over the past decade among arts organizations and funders. However, as many creative placemaking projects throughout the nation have been criticized for catalyzing gentrification, the concept of placekeeping has emerged to counter the negative consequences of creative placemaking. This case study aims to answer the following research questions: 1) What are the distinguishing characteristics of placekeeping and what is the significance of this approach? 2) What placekeeping strategies is the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District using to preserve the culture and residents of San Francisco's Mission District in the face of gentrification?

The Mission District is San Francisco's oldest neighborhood, and 24th Street is its heart. Ficus trees line the street on both sides for nearly a mile, providing shade for pedestrians that walk past a number of small businesses and nonprofit organizations. Spanish music emerges from a taqueria that smells of carne asada while, right across the street, a coffee shop's tables are filled with people working on their laptops and sipping their lattes. Locals and visitors buy freshly made baked goods from panaderias, attend poetry readings at a bilingual bookstore, pick out skateboards at the small skate shop, and learn about local history from Precita Eyes Muralists. Murals adorn every block of 24th Street. *500 Years of Resistance* wraps around the side of St. Peter's Church, depicting the struggle of indigenous people and immigrants in shades of red and blue. Another set of murals watch over children that climb on the undulating figure of a mosaic Quetzalcoatl, the Mesoamerican feathered serpent god, which emerges from the ground of a park. History and art blend together in 24th Street: a vaudeville theater from the 1920's has become the Brava! For Women in the Arts, and the Galería de la Raza, a Latino-centric art gallery, has resided in the same store front since the 1970's. The Mission's 24th Street houses a mixture of cultures and people from different parts of the globe and socio-economic backgrounds.

However, 24th Street is in danger of becoming a shell devoid of the people who have resided there for decades and made it what it is today. The people who gather with skull makeup to remember their dead family members and neighbors at candlelit altars during the Día de los Muertos. The people who celebrate their pan-american heritage during Carnaval, featuring samba dancers that perform in a flurry of feathers and vivid colors and vintage lowrider cars that lean and bounce to a cheering crowd. As the Mission District faces the threat of gentrification, 24th Street residents, artists, business owners, and civic leaders seek to leverage their cultural heritage to enact a placekeeping effort.

Assertion Statement

The assertion for this capstone is that arts and culture have been linked to urban development through the concept of creative placemaking, which has gained traction over the past decade among

arts organizations and funders. However, many creative placemaking projects throughout the nation have been criticized for catalyzing gentrification in the neighborhoods where such work has taken place. Gentrification can be defined as, “the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents” (Merriam-Webster). The aesthetic appeal of creative urban development often drives economic growth in low-income neighborhoods at the expense of residents. Rents are raised to the point where residents can no longer afford to live in that area, resulting in an inequitable socio-economic outcome. In recent years, placekeeping has emerged to counter this negative consequence of creative placemaking. Placekeeping promotes creative projects that help retain and sustain the local history and residents of a neighborhood (Bedoya “Spatial Justice”).

Rationale

This capstone’s rationale follows that, without a more thorough understanding of both placemaking and placekeeping strategies, many well-intentioned arts organizations can cause unintended consequences that negatively affect members of their community. Placemaking projects that are carried out without the involvement and interests of community members at their core, especially in low-income and minority neighborhoods, can lead to further disenfranchisement of residents who already have limited socio-economic power. Therefore, arts organizations should consider the potential repercussions of their projects before applying for placemaking grants. Through the understanding and incorporation of placekeeping strategies, arts organizations can demonstrate to funders that they are responsibly approaching their projects as they try to avoid negative placemaking outcomes. Additionally, since a placekeeping approach prioritizes culture, resources, and residents, organizations can demonstrate strong community support that facilitates the project’s feasibility and sustainability.

Goals

Unfortunately, placekeeping is still a relatively new term that is largely absent from the placemaking literature. The goals of this capstone include aiding to fill the gap in the study of placekeeping. Through a case study on the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District, this capstone aims to identify key strategies in approaching and implementing placekeeping projects that uplift a resident-first approach. Furthermore, the capstone addresses one of creative placemaking's major criticisms- an economic focus that disenfranchises and displaces the residents of low-income neighborhoods where creative placemaking projects take place. Through this study, arts organizations may find guidance on how to carry out and justify creative placekeeping projects in their communities.

Research Method

This capstone utilizes the case study as a research method to observe and analyze how one organization conducts placekeeping. A case study is defined as:

Case study refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group, frequently including the accounts of subjects themselves. A form of qualitative descriptive research, the case study looks intensely at an individual or small participant pool, drawing conclusions only about that participant or group and only in that specific context. Researchers do not focus on the discovery of a universal, generalizable truth, nor do they typically look for cause-effect relationships; instead, emphasis is placed on exploration and description. (The Writing Studio)

The single case study focuses on the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District, a nonprofit organization in San Francisco's Mission District, which works to preserve the neighborhood's cultural and historical elements as well as its residents in the face of gentrification. One justification for using a single case study is when "the study represents an extreme or unique case" (Yin 40). The case of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District has both characteristics. First, the organization is located in one of the most critical gentrifying areas in the United States. According to Citylab, San Francisco ranks as the 6th most income-

segregated large metro area in the nation (Florida “The U.S. Cities”). Furthermore, Citylab has classified the Mission District as undergoing “Advanced Gentrification,” the highest category in their gentrification chart (Misra). Secondly, Calle 24 is unique in that it is one of the only arts related organizations found to be conducting a placekeeping approach. This organization is an example of a multi-level, grassroots effort that is leveraging culture to promote policies that aim for long-term, positive effects for the Mission District’s long-time, low-income and minority residents.

This case study aims to answer the following research questions: 1) What are the distinguishing characteristics of placekeeping and what is the significance of this approach? 2) What placekeeping strategies is the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District using to preserve the culture and residents of San Francisco’s Mission District in the face of gentrification?

Arts Management Courses

This capstone project was influenced by theories presented in the Arts Management Program courses AMGT 603: Arts and Society and AMGT 710: Arts Policy, both taught by Professor Carole Rosenstein. The first course that informed this capstone, AMGT 603: Arts and Society, taught in the spring of 2016. This course examines how the concept of art has been interpreted and acted upon in modern society and how culture intersects with different societal goals. According to the syllabus,

This course explores how and why the products of creative action are socially constructed as Art. We will consider how people organize themselves socially in order to understand and communicate their beliefs about the aesthetic status and characteristics of particular disciplines and works of art, and how the social uses to which arts works are employed underwrite the social, political, economic and cultural value of Art. (Rosenstein “AMGT 603”)

In Arts and Society, Rosenstein introduced Richard Florida’s theory of the creative class, which he presents in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Florida’s work was influenced by Jane Jacobs’s

seminal *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and has been influential in urban development discourse and lays a foundation for a capitalist-driven approach to placemaking that often results in gentrification and displacement.

The second course that informed this capstone, AMGT 710: Arts Policy, taught in the fall of 2016. Arts Policy looks at history of arts policy in the United States and examines the contemporary government and American public's relationship to the arts. The course syllabus describes the aims of the class in the following manner:

This course will serve as a thorough introduction to the major workings of the arts policy infrastructure in the U.S. – both official governmental bodies at the federal, state and local level as well as other policy constituencies (such as service and advocacy organizations, funders, artists and audiences). Particular emphasis will be placed on relationships between the public, not-for-profit and commercial sectors and how differing perspectives and ideologies impact the policy making process. (Rosenstein “AMGT 710”)

The Arts Policy course introduced a creative placemaking as another approach to urban development, a term that was coined by Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa. This concept differs from Florida's method of urban planning since it situates arts at the crux of a place's development. Creative placemaking has led to the creation of national grantmaking programs, such as the NEA's Our Town and ArtPlace America, which fund projects that use the arts as a tool for revitalizing rural and urban areas.

Resource Review

In the last decade, different approaches to incorporating culture with urban planning have been proposed. This capstone outlines three of the major approaches: Richard Florida's creative class, Anne Markusen and Ann Gadwa's creative placemaking, and Roberto Bedoya's placekeeping. In 2002, Richard Florida published *The Rise of the Creative Class*, which proposes a class-centric plan to revitalize urban

centers. Florida argues that the most prominent class in today's "knowledge" economy is the creative class, which is comprised of knowledge workers such as doctors, tech engineers, and artists ("The Rise" 8). He argues that members of the creative class value traits such as flexibility, diversity, and individuality. In turn, these traits are reflected in the cities where members of the creative class choose to live, which are characterized by what Florida identifies as the three T's: technology, talent, and tolerance ("The Rise" 249). Therefore, members of the creative class are attracted to communities with a robust tech sector that provides for ample job opportunities, have a strong population of creative class workers, and contain diverse groups of people. These traits, coupled with the creative class's focus on expressing individuality, leads members of the creative class to seek "authentic" neighborhoods within cities that can provide eclectic experiences ("The Rise" 228). Florida also posits that an attractive element for the creative class as they look for a new place to live is a hearty live music scene ("The Rise" 229). These neighborhoods therefore tend to have strong creative presence that can also go beyond music to include art galleries and performing arts venues.

Unfortunately, one of the consequences of the move of the creative class to "authentic" neighborhoods is that it often leads to gentrification. The members of the creative class have higher wages and therefore wield more economic power (Florida "The Rise" 76). In contrast, members of the working class and service class face lower wages and can rarely compete to live in the same area as the members of the creative class (Florida "The Rise" 76). Therefore, it is safe to argue that when more members of the creative class move in to an area, the cost of living rises as developers try to cater to the wants and needs of this group. This situation causes working and service class residents to become displaced, which results in socio-economic segregation. Another consequence that Florida does not address but was discussed in the Arts and Society class is the fact that there is a wage discrepancy between members of the creative class. Artists and nonprofit arts administrators generally tend to earn less than professions such as lawyers or engineers. Therefore, hyper-creative people who initially reside

and work in areas that experience the type of urban development described, are typically driven out by wealthier members of the creative class (Rosenstein).

Florida's creative class theory has become a popular tool for urban planning strategies as local governments seek to revitalize cities and strengthen their economies (Rosenstein "Lecture"). Florida's description of the creative class is still applicable today and serves as a framework to explain the appeal that certain neighborhoods hold for people who fall into the creative class category. Unfortunately, this strategy often spurs gentrification in the areas where it is implemented, as it favors corporate entities and residents with large disposable income.

Florida's creative class model is a predecessor to the creative placekeeping model (Rosenstein "Lecture"). However, in contrast to Florida's concept, creative placemaking is not class-centric and emphasizes the role of the arts and creative industries in urban planning strategies, as detailed in Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa's "Creative Placemaking" whitepaper (2010). Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa are regarded as the originators of the creative placemaking theory, which they define as follows:

In creative placemaking, public, private, not-for-profit, and community sectors partner to strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, 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 (Markusen, Gadwa).

Markusen and Gadwa offer creative placemaking as a means to address economic problems and residential uprooting in struggling urban and rural areas. They believe that arts and culture play a pivotal role in developing a high quality of life in neighborhoods through physical beautification and economic returns (3). Creative placemaking projects generate livability and economic outcomes, which include the creation of new jobs, the creation of new services, and the attraction of skilled workers to the area.

Creative placemaking projects do not follow a set methodology, as they are uniquely structured to respond to the assets and challenges of the specific places where they are executed (Markusen, Gadwa 4). However, common characteristics of placemaking projects include organizing around the talents or vision of one or more collaborating initiators, cross-sector collaboration, mobilizing the public around their vision, the support of the area's arts and cultural community, and diversification of funding (Markusen, Gadwa 4)

While championing the use of creative placemaking, Markusen and Gadwa recognize that such projects have their own set of challenges that can often lead to negative results, including gentrification (15). The economic successes of creative placemaking projects can raise the cost of rent in neighborhoods, which leads to the displacement of the area's original residents as well as local arts organizations and artists. Markusen and Gadwa state that, "Land banking and community land trust have been used in other locales to preserve arts and cultural renovations" (17). Despite offering a solution to avoid the displacement of arts organizations, they do not address strategies to prevent the eviction of non-artist residents.

Nation-wide arts agencies, including ArtPlace America and the National Endowment for the Arts' Our Town program, are proponents of placemaking as described by Markusen and Gadwa (Rosenstein "Lecture"). These entities have provided funding for creative placemaking projects throughout the United States and have conducted studies to measure creative placemaking outcomes. This capstone uses Markusen and Gadwa's definition of creative placemaking as a point of contrast to the concept of placekeeping. While there are facets of creative placemaking that carry over to placekeeping, the two terms diverge in regards to their emphasis of who benefits from such projects and the prioritization of specific outcomes. Learning from past projects, institutions such as ArtPlace America have begun to shift their creative placemaking focus from economic to civic endeavors (Rosenstein "Lecture"). However, early, negative outcomes have resulted in disapproving opinions towards creative placemaking projects.

Roberto Bedoya criticizes creative placemaking through a social justice lens in the articles “Placemaking and the Politics of Belonging and Dis-belonging” (2013) and “Spatial Justice: Rasquachification, Race and the City” (2014). Bedoya states that a creative placemaking approach tends to focus on the physical and economic aspects of a place without addressing community members’ sense of belonging (“Placemaking and the Politics”). His concern is based on the USA’s long legacy of placemaking through displacement and containment, including the resettlement of Native Americans to reservations and the segregation of African Americans in the pre-civil rights era (“Placemaking and the Politics”). Modern placemaking can also perpetuate discrimination based on race, class, and poverty. “If creative placemaking activities support the politics of dis-belonging through acts of gentrification, racism, real estate speculation, all in the name of neighborhood revitalization, then it betrays the democratic ideal of having an equitable and just civil society” (Bedoya, “Placemaking and the Politics”).

Organizations and individuals that work on creative placemaking projects should be conscientious of the history and dynamics of a place before undertaking such a placemaking endeavor. Operating from this framework, they can focus on “authentic” placemaking that places cultural and civic belonging at its center (Bedoya, “Placemaking and the Politics”). This more equitable approach to creative placemaking grapples with how to create a sense of belonging, elicit civic participation across cultural differences, and promote citizenship “beyond the confines of leisure pursuits and consumption” (Bedoya, “Placemaking and the Politics”).

In Bedoya’s 2014 follow-up article, “Spatial Justice: Rasquachification, Race and the City”, the author introduces the theory of placekeeping as a more just alternative to creative placemaking. Placekeeping, a term coined by Bedoya and community activist Jenny Lee, is defined as,

...not just preserving the facade of the building but also keeping the cultural memories associated with a locale alive, keeping the tree once planted in the memory of a loved one lost in a war and keeping the tenants who have raised their family in an apartment.

It is a call to hold on to the stories told on the streets by the locals, and to keep the sounds ringing out in a neighborhood populated by musicians who perform at the corner bar or social hall. (Bedoya, “Spatial Justice”)

Bedoya illustrates placekeeping through the practice of Rasquache, a Chicano aesthetic that refurbishes and repurposes old, seemingly useless items. Rasquache demonstrates how the inhabitants of a community can add vitality to a place in a genuine, imaginative way that is simultaneously rooted in tradition and culture (“Spatial Justice”). Bedoya believes that this type of placekeeping helps to deepen people’s sense of belonging as they take ownership of the place where they live (“Spatial Justice”).

Rasquache stands in contrast to the “white spatial imaginary” that prioritizes the preferences and needs of non-minority residents (Bedoya “Spatial Justice”). Bedoya states that the white spatial imaginary is rooted in historical acts that segregated neighborhoods and still exists today in discriminatory practices that target communities of color (“Spatial Justice”). This spatial imaginary dominates most of the public sphere, and creative placemaking projects tend to perpetuate this particular “homogenizing aesthetic” (Bedoya “Spatial Justice”). Ultimately, creative placekeeping prioritizes the well-being of residents of a community instead of economic development that favors individuals and organizations with more wealth and power.

Bedoya’s critical articles illuminate a significant weakness of creative placemaking as a practice and introduce the concept of placekeeping to the arts management field. While Bedoya has spurred conversation across the field about the need for more equitable placemaking projects, “Spatial Justice: Rasquachification”, *Race and the City* is currently the sole source that investigates placekeeping as a theory and practice. As such, this capstone utilizes Bedoya’s definition of placekeeping.

Bedoya’s assertion that creative placemaking needs to look beyond economic outcomes is supported by Mark J. Stern in “Measuring the outcomes of creative placemaking” (2014). Stern argues that organizations carrying out creative placemaking projects usually work on economic goals, which,

“confuses the arts’ potential for social development and social animation with its role as a hook for upscale consumerism” (6). Instead of just focusing on economics, arts and culture are vital to the value of human experience and therefore central to creating healthy communities. Stern grounds his argument through his findings regarding the Culture Blocks project in Philadelphia, carried out through the University of Pennsylvania’s Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP). SIAP has developed a cultural asset index (CAI) based on the “capability approach” that examines how different cultural resources interact in a specific place, thus making up an arts ecosystem (Stern 8). Through this research, SIAP found that locations with a vibrant arts ecosystem were the most likely to generate social impacts (Stern 10). However, Stern warns that the growth of inequality in urban spaces can harm arts ecosystems, as they found that most cultural resources in Philadelphia were clustered around wealthier neighborhoods (15). Based on their findings, Stern argues that arts funders and policy makers should look at a neighborhood’s cultural ecology rather than a particular type of asset that produces limited results (16).

A Professor of Social Policy and History at the University of Pennsylvania, Stern is one of the founders of the Social Impact of the Arts Project and currently leads as SIAP’s principal investigator. In this role, Stern has acted as a key participant in Culture Blocks, a major creative placemaking initiative funded by the NEA’s Exploring Our Town grantmaking initiative. Stern’s position as a scholar-practitioner working with one of the most prominent creative placemaking funders puts him in a potentially influential position in the ongoing dialogue concerning creative placemaking. This particular article quantifies Bedoya’s argument around the importance of a placekeeping approach while advancing the conversation on the pivotal role of the arts in urban environments.

However, in *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture’s essential role in public planning* (2001) Jon Hawkes emphasizes that culture in general, not just art, that serves a crucial function in creating a healthy and sustainable society. In this article, Hawkes proposes that culture is one of the four pillars of sustainability, the other pillars being social, environmental, and economic dimensions (25). Hawkes

views culture as the bedrock of society and defines it as "... the values upon which a society is abased and the embodiments and expressions of these values in the day-to day-world of that society" (3). Culture allows people to make sense of the place they live in, express shared values and needs, and meet environmental challenges (Hawkes 4). However, cultural policies are usually reduced to solely cover the arts, which are predominantly framed as a means for economic pursuits and consumption (Hawkes 8). This myopic view of culture also limits the act of creating art to professional artists, excluding the practices and activities of communities at large (Hawkes 5).

A more holistic application of culture focuses on ensuring that the manifestation of culture in a community reflects the actual culture of that community (Hawkes 15). These cultural manifestations include the physical space that people inhabit, and Hawkes states that "... the world we build is the most profound and effective manifestation of our culture. The nature of the places in which we socially interact deeply affects the way we feel, think and behave" (29). Hawkes argues that local government has an instrumental role in the community development process, since local representatives should have an intimate understanding of the priorities and aspirations of residents (31). Ultimately, cultural policymaking should be enacted with the collaboration and support of the community that it affects and should take into account the full scope of that community's shared values and practices (Hawkes 37).

Hawkes coined the concept of culture as "The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability," and his work has influenced the incorporation of culture into dialogues around sustainability around the globe (Lauesen 49). The inclusion of culture sustainability initiatives allows arts institutions and leaders to sit at the table with other key players to advance policymaking. Much like Bedoya, Hawkes' work advances the dialogue of the collaboration between local government and communities to promote an ethical approach to culture and well-being beyond economic development. Additionally, Hawkes' concept of the fourth pillar flattens the prevailing hierarchy that prioritizes Western arts and cultures and validates the practices and lives of people who have been historically oppressed. By using an expansive definition

of culture that includes communities and human interaction as vital components to expressing culture, Hawkes reinforces the significance of enacting placekeeping activities.

Finally, a central concept to the importance of placekeeping is the notion of sense of place. Elizelle J. Cilliers and Wim Timmermans explore the meaning of place and the social dynamics through an article titled “The importance of creative participatory planning in the public place-making process” (2014). Cilliers and Timmermans promote a participatory approach to placemaking and assert that placemaking projects should be carried out with a thorough understanding of a place’s social dynamics and how such a project will affect residents (413). The authors define places as “spaces with meaning,” indicating that places serve as more than mere backdrops for people’s lives and are central to the human experience (413). This assertion is further explained through the theory of sense of place, which refers to “... the feeling of attachment or belonging to a physical environment, such as a place or neighborhood, and the search of personal and collective identity that comes from this sense of belonging” (Cilliers and Timmermans 416). The authors posit this sense of belonging as a human need that creates a more fulfilling life.

When residents have agency in neighborhood-development processes, they reinforce their sense of place, which results in a sense of ownership and belonging (Cilliers and Timmermans 417). Furthermore, physical space strengthens social bonds and creates a shared sense of community (Cilliers and Timmermans 418). However, Cilliers and Timmermans clarify that placemaking projects cannot realistically satisfy everyone’s needs and preferences, though this would be ideal (Cilliers and Timmermans 417). Instead, the developers of placemaking projects need to identify their primary stakeholders and prioritize their needs and preferences (Cilliers and Timmermans 417). If the creative placemaking project does include a more diverse range of stakeholders, the process will become more complex and therefore harder to carry out (Cilliers and Timmermans 419). Finally, Cilliers and

Timmermans argue that, given the distinctive nature of different places, each placemaking plan should be designed to fit local circumstances (Cilliers and Timmermans 427).

Even though this article is based on general placemaking strategies, it is still relevant to a placekeeping context. Placemaking has been a facet of urban planning for longer than creative placemaking has existed as a concept, but both concepts share the same basic tenets around the meaning and importance of place and there are lessons that can be transferred from one concept to the other. The article's exploration of the dynamics of space explains why the residents of a place can become attached to the area where they live, as it fulfills their sense of belonging and identity. The act of gentrification and displacement deprives people of their connection to that particular space. Therefore, while the new residences of displaced people may meet their basic needs, such as shelter, they can lack a sense of place that makes life more fulfilling.

While creative placemaking has become a prominent concept in the realm of arts policy, very little literature exists on the practice of placekeeping. Furthermore, few case studies have been examined in a placekeeping context. Despite the criticism of creative placemaking strategies, other alternatives have not been widely offered in the field. This capstone can serve as an analysis of how the theory of placekeeping can manifest as action, particularly for minority organizations and communities that find themselves in danger of gentrification and displacement.

Case Study of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District

This capstone conducts a case study on how the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District employs placekeeping to combat gentrification in San Francisco's Mission District by preserving the cultural aspects of the 24th Street corridor and helping old-time residents remain in the place they call home. The organization's mission is, "To preserve, enhance and advocate for Latino cultural continuity, vitality, and community in San Francisco's touchstone Latino Cultural District and the greater Mission neighborhood" (Calle 24 "Mission and Vision"). Calle 24's vision states, "The Latino Cultural District will be an

economically vibrant community that is inclusive of diverse income households and businesses that together compassionately embrace the unique Latino heritage and cultures of 24th Street and that celebrate Latino cultural events, foods, businesses, activities, art and music” (Calle 24 “Mission and Vision”). Calle 24 does not call itself a placekeeping entity. However, the organization’s mission and vision reveal placekeeping as a priority, as Calle 24 attempts to preserve the history and culture of the Mission District while promoting strategies for the local Latino community to thrive. The organization emerged as a response to the drastic socio-economic changes that have displaced the Mission District’s long-time Latino Community for more than two decades due to the dot.com boom (see Appendix A). The Calle 24 Latino Cultural District exhibits a placekeeping approach to combat gentrification through its artistic activities, partnership with government, and community involvement.

Placekeeping in the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District manifests itself in the organization’s programs, which are grounded in the history and culture of the neighborhood. Calle 24 divides its activities into four distinct program areas: Land Use Design, Economic Vitality, Preservation, Revitalization and Restoration of Cultural assets, and Quality of Life (Garo Consulting 20). These program areas are complementary as they allow the organization to tackle gentrification in a comprehensive manner. Furthermore, separating the work into separate program areas opens the opportunity for wider community participation according to interest and expertise. While recognizing the strength of Calle 24’s multi-level approach, this capstone focuses on the organization’s culture-centric strategies.

While creating a SWOT analysis of the 24th Street Corridor, the community identified cultural assets and art as well as community identity as the neighborhood’s two main strengths. Cultural and artistic strengths include murals and art; cultural events; artists and arts organizations; a thriving faith community; and culinary destinations (Garo Consulting 12). Community strengths include long-term presence of families and historic or legacy businesses; local leadership; strong community connections; commitment to social justice; demographic diversity; walkability; and a strong core shopper base (Garo

Consulting 12). As previously mentioned, the neighborhood's cultural assets and community identity reinforce one another through the creation of a sense of place.

Calle 24's identified cultural assets and arts program activities include "identifying and preserving cultural assets", such as the myriad of murals, as well as supporting traditional neighborhood events, such as Día de los Muertos, Carnaval, and the Chavez Holiday Celebration (Garo Consulting 22). Many of the existing murals and cultural celebrations have a long history in the neighborhood, becoming treasured community features and traditions that make the 24th Street Corridor unique. The historic and distinct character of Calle 24's cultural manifestations help make the case to preserve the community, thus invoking placekeeping. Additionally, the organization also aims to "create corridor monuments, arts projects, a walk of fame, and light pole signs" (Garo Consulting 22). In order to realize these projects, the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District aims to collaborate with and support existing arts and culture nonprofits rather than replacing or competing with them (Garo Consulting 6). Through this approach, Calle 24 taps into already-existing local assets and respects the community's ecosystem. Moreover, this strategy broadens and strengthens support for the Latino Cultural District from local nonprofit organizations.

One of the priorities for the cultural assets and arts program area is to "clearly identify what constitutes a Cultural Historical Asset (CHA)" (Garo Consulting 21). A proposed definition of CHAs includes tangible and intangible practices that are tied to a community's history and sense of identity (Garo Consulting 21). This holistic view of CHAs follows Hawkes' arguments about amplifying the definition of culture beyond the arts to ensure the preservation of a community's core practices and means of expression. Additionally, identifying and preserving CHAs reflects the sense of place literature, since the Latino population of the Mission District has developed a collective identity that is reflected in the physical space, social fabric, and day to day practices of the neighborhood. Therefore, the 24th Street Corridor goes beyond merely fulfilling the basic need of shelter as it has made life more fulfilling for residents with strong neighborhood ties.

The close collaboration between local government and Calle 24 has been central in the creation of the Latino Cultural District. The idea of creating a Latino Cultural District in the neighborhood emerged in the past decade and resurfaced in 2012 when 24th Street was selected by Mayor Ed Lee's Invest in Neighborhoods Initiative for an economic development and cultural district program (San Francisco, Board of Supervisors 8). This initiative began a series of dialogues around resident's concerns and hopes for 24th Street, leading to the conception of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District (Hutson 99). A number of government, nonprofit, and civic entities worked together to create a proposal for the cultural district, including the offices of San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee and Supervisor David Campos, the San Francisco Latino Historical Society, San Francisco Heritage, and Calle 24 SF, a neighborhood coalition made up of residents, business owners, and non-profits (San Francisco Heritage). Finally, in May 2014, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors unanimously approved a resolution that designated 24th Street as the Latino Cultural District (Garó Consulting 7).

The resolution explains the historical and cultural significance of creating the Calle 24 Cultural District, stating

WHEREAS, The Calle 24 Latino Cultural District memorializes a place whose richness of culture, history, and entrepreneurship is unrivaled in San Francisco; and WHEREAS, The Calle 24... Latino Cultural District has deep Latino roots that are embedded within the institutions, businesses, events and experiences of the Latino community living there; WHEREAS, Because of numerous historic, social and economic events, the Mission District has become the center of highly concentrated Latino residential population, as well as a cultural center of Latino businesses... (San Francisco Board of Supervisors 1).

As a conclusion, the resolution states, "The Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco commends the efforts of the Latino community in working toward the creation of the Calle 24 Latino

Cultural District and the contribution it will provide to the cultural visibility, vibrancy, and economic opportunity for Latinos in the City and County of San Francisco” (San Francisco Board of Supervisors 9).

This partnership exemplifies Hawkes’ argument that local governments are uniquely positioned to understand the priorities of local communities and should solicit active, meaningful participation with those who will be affected by policy. Mayor Lee and Supervisor Campos approached development in the neighborhood with an emphasis on the grassroots rather than a top-down strategy, making sure that the government was responding to the wants and needs of Calle 24 residents. This collaboration comes after a decades-long rocky relationship between the government and the community. In the early 1900’s, the government planned to clear the Mission to build a highway, and in the 1960’s, a joint endeavor to rejuvenate the neighborhood fell through. On the community’s side, years of neighborhood organizing efforts had educated residents as well as non-profit and business leaders on the process of city planning, so they were equipped to partner with the government in the creation of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District (Hutson 98). The collaboration between the government and the community led to the designation of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District, and can promote further policies to protect long-time residents from being evicted and preserve cultural manifestations of the community.

Calle 24’s Cultural District status formally acknowledges and publicly promotes the neighborhood’s cultural heritage while enhancing the sense of trust between local government and the community. However, the Cultural District designation has been characterized as a “...symbolic proclamation with no legal teeth” (Quirin). Given the Cultural District’s current lack of legal protection, Calle 24 has expressed interest in becoming a Special Use District. A Special Use District “...would allow residents and merchants to define important cultural and historical components of the street in the city’s planning code. Planners could then use that criteria while weighing future building uses and development” (Quirin). Therefore, community members continue to lobby the local government in order to attain a legal tool to combat gentrification. Supervisor Campos is currently drafting legislation

that would control development in the neighborhood, which will be presented to the Board of Supervisors later in the year (Rivano Barros). In the absence of a Special Use District designation, unregulated development would undermine Calle 24's organizing efforts around placekeeping.

The final way in which the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District enacts placekeeping is its emphasis on grassroots leadership. As the organization prioritizes the opinions and wills of neighborhood stakeholders, Calle 24 is directly involving the people who are being affected by the neighborhood's gentrification and will be affected by any strategies that the organization enacts. The focus on community involvement has manifested itself in both the planning process of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District and the organization's membership structure. Before the cultural district was created, civic leaders sought community input to plan the structure, goals, and strategy of Calle 24. This planning process was realized with the aid of Garo Consulting, culminating in the creation of a final report to guide the creation of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District. Community input was collected through one-on-one interviews, focus groups, and open community gatherings (Garo Consulting 9). Stakeholder input helped to create a SWOT analysis of the Latino Cultural District, revealing housing as resident's top priority and expressing that the community wishes to "...exist as a living cultural district, not just a colorful tourist destination" (Calle 24 Latino Cultural District).

Furthermore, the member-based organizational structure helps to maintain decision-making procedures within the community. Prospective voting members must live in the Latino Cultural District, own a business, school, or nonprofit in the area, or volunteer for a neighborhood cultural event. Additionally, members must reflect Calle 24 constituencies and support the organization's mission and vision. Calle 24 members have the power to vote in elections for the leadership council, which oversees the organization and serves as a board of directors. The current leadership council includes local residents, business owners, non-profit leaders, and artists. Both voting members and council members perform the organization's day to day work through advisory committees, including Arts and Culture,

Land Use & Housing, Economic Vitality, and Quality of Life. The organization solicits input from non-members through large community gatherings two to four times per year.

The importance of Calle 24's grassroots' power can be explained through Cilliers and Timmerman's argument about the centrality of residential participation in placemaking projects since it reinforces sense of place. Local residents, business owners, and nonprofit leaders whose identities are connected to the 24th Street corridor develop stronger community ties as they work on Calle 24's collective goals. Furthermore, since the Latino Cultural District developed from within the Mission District and tries to incorporate Mission stakeholders its planning process, the organization is uniquely positioned to leverage the strengths and assets of the neighborhood to engage in placekeeping that promotes belonging and sustainability. Therefore, Calle 24 combats gentrification through galvanizing the community around their shared experiences and culture reflected in the 24th Street corridor.

In summation, the three main placekeeping components of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District are the organization's collaboration with local government, its focus on grassroots leadership, and its programs. While Markusen and Gadwa's *Creative Placemaking* whitepaper is referenced as a resource for the creation of the Calle 24 Latino Cultural District, the organization's focus on combatting gentrification better fits into the context of placekeeping (Garo Consulting 35). While Calle 24 implements creative placemaking strategies and invests in the neighborhood's economy, the organization moves beyond a sole economic-focus. In fact, Calle 24 is actually trying to curtail unrestricted, large-scale private development so it does not displace local businesses and homes. Additionally, the organization's aesthetic approach to placekeeping relates to Bedoya's example of Rasquachification, in which community members claim their neighborhoods through visual cues that reflect their culture and identities. The culturally-specific aesthetic of the Calle 24 Cultural District reinforces breaking free from the norms of urban planning that favor the "white spatial imaginary" and focus on the aesthetics and practices of the people who have lived in the area for decades.

Some experts criticize placekeeping as a viable urban development strategy since places constantly evolve. Placekeeping is misinterpreted as a tool designed to halt any change in a community and keep everything in the same state. However, instead of focusing on how to stop a place from changing outright, placekeeping is concerned with how to make sure that any transition is more equitable. Marichela Sepe, author of *Planning and Place in the City*, reinforces the notion that places are fluid by nature, but she asserts that planners need to take into account the “...social, economic, and cultural processes” that make neighborhoods unique as they evolve (22). This argument is tied to the concept of sense of place. As the character of the neighborhood and the people who have strong ties to it disappear, the place can potentially become a “non-place.” Sepe uses the work of Marc Augé to define a non-place as a “space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity” and prioritizes immediate consumption over “sedimenting traces of culture” (12). Therefore, placekeeping tries to preserve the dynamic between people and place to make meaning, especially for marginalized communities. If the development of the Mission District were left to the whims of developers, the neighborhood could become a non-place that caters to the consumption patterns of Florida’s Creative Class.

Implications for the Arts Management Profession

This capstone may inform the arts management field as it critically engages creative placemaking, a concept that continues to be a popular endeavor for both arts organizations and grant makers. While the term placekeeping is new and is slowly being added to the arts management lexicon, most of the sources that mention this term have limited their conceptualization to Bedoya’s articles. In contrast, this capstone expands the research of placekeeping through analyzing the term in a wider conversation of the arts management field by connecting it to literature that reinforces the concept. In addition, this research situates placekeeping in the historical context of alternative urban planning methods, which maps out the context in which the term emerged and differentiates it from past

approaches. Finally, this capstone goes beyond the theoretical by conducting a study of how placekeeping can translate to a real-world setting through the case study of Calle 24.

Arts organizations may utilize the findings of this project if they are interested in employing a placekeeping initiative or are concerned about instigating gentrification when carrying out placemaking. Some places, such as Boyle Heights in Los Angeles and Little River in Miami, oppose the influx of arts organizations as they have seen neighboring areas transformed and view artists as the “footmen of gentrification.” However, placekeeping shows that the interests of the arts and the larger community are not mutually exclusive. In fact, through building authentic relationships, arts organizations and the community may work together to remain in place.

The example of Calle 24 demonstrates how a community leveraged its history and culture for the preservation of the 24th Street corridor of the Mission District. Without these cultural assets, it would have been difficult for Calle 24 to make a case for creating a cultural district as a placekeeping method. However, since different places have their own particular character and context, organizations need to come up with their own corresponding plan that is appropriate to achieving their placekeeping goals. There are no simple, replicable steps to follow. However, the Calle 24 case study may serve as a point of reference to organizations as to how they can closely collaborate with residents, organizations, and businesses in their communities to potentially sit at the policymaking table and enact placekeeping. This case demonstrates a need to discover, engage, and leverage social and cultural assets in a community to create ownership, participation, and sustainability in placekeeping. Moreover, connecting placekeeping to arts management literature could help nonprofit organizations make a stronger case for obtaining placekeeping funding.

Conclusion

The primary limitation of this capstone lies in the page limitation of the project, which only allowed enough space to conduct one in-depth case study. The research could have been stronger with

additional case studies, which would have allowed for a comparative analysis of placekeeping efforts, and thus rendering findings more conclusive. A second limitation is the inability to conduct an interview with Calle 24, despite efforts to contact the organization. Despite the capstone's limitations, this study explores a hitherto understudied area in the arts management field. As previously mentioned, both creative placemaking and placekeeping emerged less than a decade ago, so this capstone paper may add to the understanding of these concepts and their applications in the field.

While recognizing the robust efforts of Calle 24 to conduct placekeeping, this capstone suggests that the organization doubles down on its efforts to build bridges with new residents that represent Florida's creative class. Research for this case study unearthed multiple instances of clashes between new residents and old residents of 24th Street, who have expressed different wants and needs in the community (Hutson 107). Calle 24 recognized this tension as an immediate challenge in their initial SWOT analysis (Garo Consulting 13). The dynamic between new and old residents can be explained through Calle 24's opposition to perpetuating the white special imaginary by focusing on Latino culture, resulting in a place which might make new people uncomfortable. This situation is further complicated by Florida's assertion that members of the creative class are not interested in creating and maintaining strong social ties. Despite these complications, the new neighborhood residents are likely going to stay in the 24th Street corridor, which renders engagement necessary. Calle 24 is already trying to address this issue through conducting open community meetings employing educational programs, such as the Calle 24 Paseo Artístico/Art Stroll, to help newcomers understand the history and culture of the neighborhood. While it may take years to build strong relationships between these two groups, a successful collaboration can lead to deeper commitment to the sustainability of the Latino Cultural District.

Another suggestion concerns placemaking grant makers that may utilize the research from this capstone as a resource to inform their funding decisions. This study argues the idea that, while

placemaking is an appropriate endeavor for certain contexts, the approach has limitations in vulnerable communities. If interested in funding placekeeping endeavors, grant makers should expand their definition of culture to include how it is manifested intangibly in a community's everyday life, not just focusing on tangible, traditional definitions of art. Moreover, mechanisms could be put in place to ensure authentic community interest and participation in a project, instead of just focusing on what a particular arts organization or local government think should be done in the neighborhood. Grant makers might look to arts organizations that have strong roots in the community to ensure a wider commitment to placekeeping projects. Finally, grant makers should recognize that placekeeping work may be a slow process, and therefore move beyond traditional, measureable indicators of success in grants that demand nearly instant change.

Due to the limited scope of this study, there are several recommendations for future studies concerning placekeeping. Firstly, a comparative study should be conducted on how other places around the country are enacting placekeeping activities. A comparative study can bring to light any patterns and differences of placekeeping, and can better highlight similarities and differences with placemaking activities. Secondly, a long-term impact study of cases would be beneficial to determine how successful organizations have been in achieving placekeeping goals and in stemming gentrification. Since the example of Calle 24 is quite recent, despite the neighborhood's strong cultural and activist roots, this case study cannot determine the full impact that the organization has had in stemming gentrification in the Mission District.

As researchers look to study placekeeping in the future, they face the challenge of how to cover placekeeping without sacrificing the concept's flexibility. One of the powerful aspects of placekeeping is that the term has enough fluidity to be adapted to different grassroots situations as needed. However, keeping the term placekeeping sufficiently vague might be frustrating for practitioners in the arts management field, as the definition of placemaking has similarly suffered such criticism (Stern 1).

Placekeeping emphasizes the ability for community members stay in their place while manifesting their culture openly in that place, and keeping the approach open allows different communities to approach placekeeping in the way that best applies to that context.

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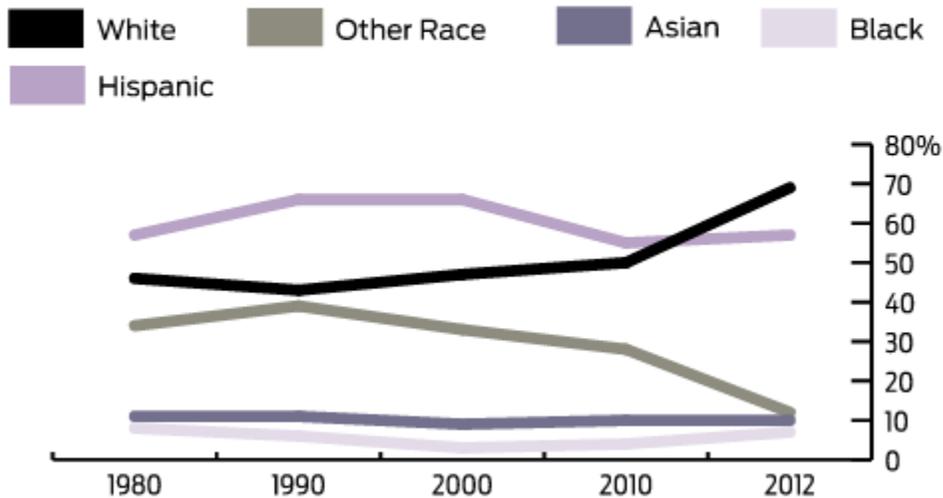
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Appendix A

All graphs retrieved from the following source: Garofoli, Said. "A Changing Mission."

Neighborhood demographics

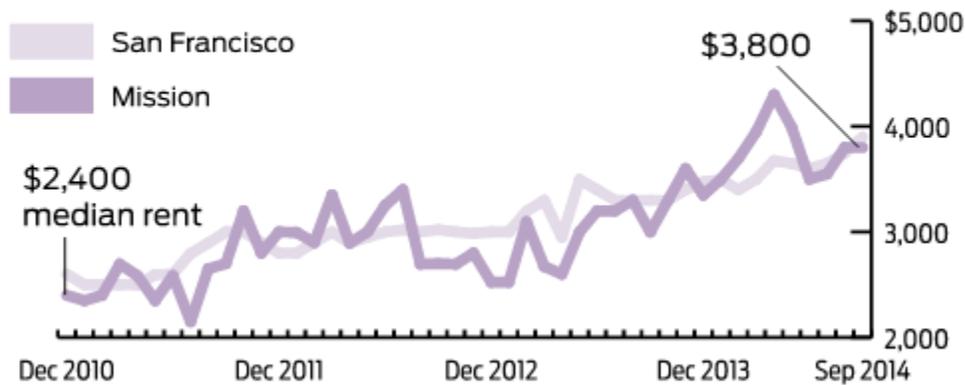
The section of the Mission highlighted in this project witnessed a dramatic increase in white residents between 2010 and 2012, according to census data. Residents who identify as Hispanic are no longer the majority.



Source: Census data, American Community Survey Median income data adjusted for 2012, and percentage of people living in poverty.

Median rents

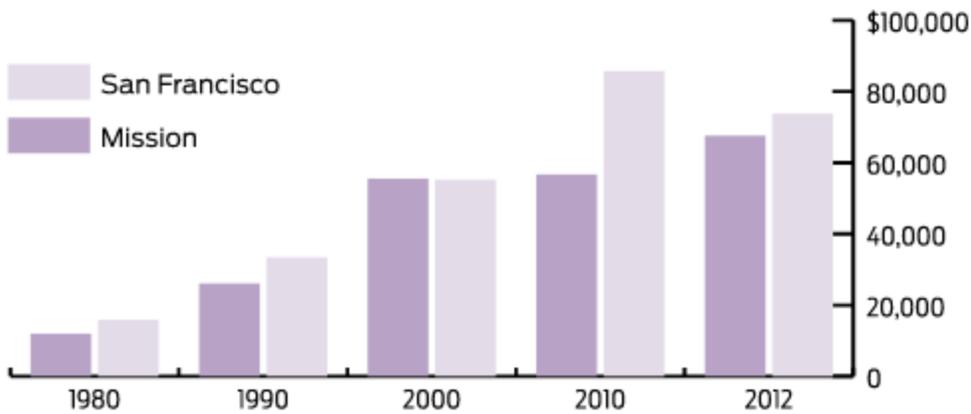
The median rent in the Mission District has been inching up alongside the citywide median.



Source: Zillow

Income

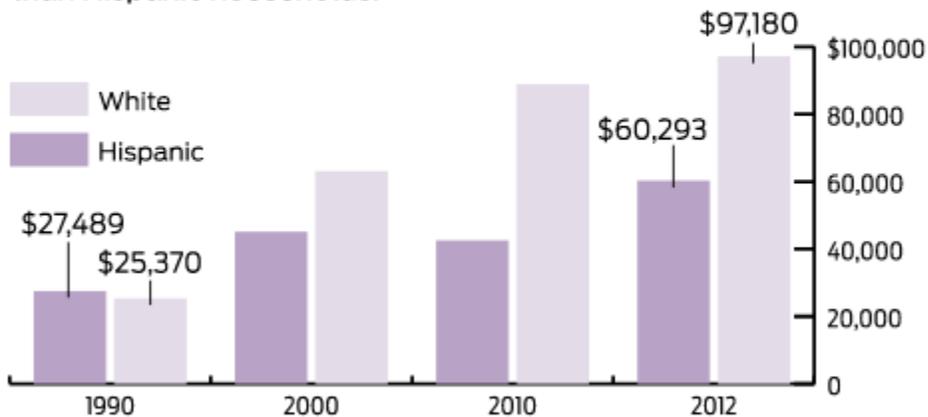
The Mission has become more affluent, with fewer people living in poverty, and the median income nearly mirroring the rest of the city.



Source: Census data, American Community Survey Median Income data adjusted for 2012, and percentage of people living in poverty.

Income by race

In 1990, Hispanic households earned more than their white neighbors in the blocks detailed in this project. That had changed by 2000, amid the dot-com boom. White households in the area now earn a median income of nearly \$37,000 more than Hispanic households.



Source: Census data, American Community Survey

Graphics reporting by Jake Nicol and Joaquin Palomino/Special to The Chronicle