



**SOCIEDADE
CRISE E RECONFIGURAÇÕES**

VII CONGRESSO PORTUGUÊS DE SOCIOLOGIA

19 a 22 Junho 2012

Universidade do Porto - Faculdade de Letras - Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação

ÁREA TEMÁTICA: Arte, Cultura e Comunicação

THE CREATIVE CITIZEN: CITIZENSHIP BUILDING IN URBAN AREAS

Carvalho, Cláudia

Doutoramento em Sociologia da Cultura

Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra

claudiacarvalho@ces.uc.pt

Resumo

O presente trabalho pretende reflectir sobre a *cidadania* na sociedade contemporânea, sugerindo uma nova abordagem a este conceito, na qual a prática artística e a importância crescente da diversidade cultural dos contextos urbanos contemporâneos são os elementos essenciais para a criação de *cidadãos criativos*. Este estudo centra-se em estudos de caso da área Metropolitana de Boston (Estado do Massachussets, EUA) com o objectivo de abordar a cultura e a prática artística como plataformas para reequacionar a cidadania ao nível comunitário.

Os estudos de caso dão conta de exemplos onde a cidadania é analisada do ponto de vista do desenvolvimento de relações inter-étnicas e conexões pessoais, entendidas como plataformas de inclusão artística, de criação de uma identidade local associada com um distrito artístico, e através da apropriação do espaço físico e do reforço da identidade cultural.

A relação entre espaço público urbano, comunidade e cultura é entendida como uma plataforma que pode oferecer novas estratégias de revificação dos espaços urbanos, assim como estratégias específicas de envolvimento cívico e de liderança nas comunidades, criando oportunidades para o desenvolvimento de cidadãos criativos.

Abstract

The current work explores the significance of *citizenship* in the contemporary world, suggesting a new approach to its realization, where artistic practice and the development of cultural awareness combine to produce the *creative citizen*. This research uses case studies from three Boston metropolitan area neighbourhoods in Massachusetts, USA, to reflect on arts and culture as platforms to re-address citizenship at the community level.

The case studies address examples where citizenship is explored through the development of inter-ethnic and face-to-face connections as platforms of artistic inclusion, the creation of a local identity associated with an Arts District, and through physical space appropriation and reinforcement of cultural identity.

The relationship between urban public space, community, and culture is understood as a platform that may offer new strategies for urban space revivification, and specific strategies of civic engagement and leadership in these communities, providing impetus for the development of creative citizens.

Palavras-chave: cidadania; prática artística; espaço urbano; participação cívica
Keywords: citizenship; artistic practice; urban space; civic participation

1. Introduction

This paper examines the contexts of social processes that shape the relationships between individuals, groups, and communities, highlighting how they influence the concept of citizenship, and the possible contributions they can offer to democratic practices in the contemporary world. New types of citizenship, such as *cultural citizenship* (Duxbury, 2008; Stevenson, 2007), *multicultural citizenship* (Kymlicka, 2000), or *differentiated citizenship* (Young, 1990 and 1995) have recently fuelled the challenge to identify new frameworks in which to understand this concept. Theoretical debates in the area share the common feature of trying to go beyond the ideas of Thomas Marshall and his theoretical debates around legal, political, and social rights. The current work aims to reframe the significance of citizenship in the contemporary world, suggesting a new approach that devotes increased attention to individual relationships within communities of practice, giving specific attention to the work done with communities of youth with few opportunities and experiencing street episodes of violence. Central to this reframing proposal is the suggestion that artistic and cultural related projects may offer innovative channels to rethink citizenship and suggest new venues to enhance democratic practice in contemporary urban societies, giving to youth a new role in building an active voice in urban communities.

The research focuses on three case studies from three metropolitan Boston area neighbourhoods – Jamaica Plain, Union Square, and *Villa Victoria* (in the South End), in Massachusetts, USA, where specific artistic and cultural related projects are analyzed. The examples reflect on the potential of arts and culture to be effective platforms in promoting civic participation, specifically among youth, but also between other communities. Furthermore, they examine how urban public spaces can influence the nature of cultural interventions. It is explored how, in urban public space, community and culture are interdependent variables that can offer new strategies for community-building initiatives and revitalization of urban spaces, making us consider possible new formats of citizenship building. In the three urban neighbourhoods analysed, the research examines how community and place, when appropriated through arts and cultural-based initiatives, propose new venues for democratic practice, and offer new ingredients for the creation of *creative citizens/citizenship* at the community level.

2. Framing Citizenship: the Creation of *Cultural Knowledgeable Communities*

One of the striking features of the contemporary world is the existence of social divisions, which often lead to conflicts between groups of citizens. Some basic characteristics of this citizen are individuality and a focus on self-development, which promote an independent character and a loss of contact with the public domain (Sennett, 1977: 5-16). The end result can be alienation from others and society at large, and an increase in social divisions. A significant consequence of the decline of the public space is that the nature of the relationships between different social groups in contemporary urban settings very often results in group isolation, intolerant behaviors, and divisions. The nature of these divisions warrants analysis, taking into account the question of urban diversity, which authors of urban anthropology have recently explored through an ethnographic approach to urban life (Costa and Cordeiro, 1999; Costa and Cordeiro, 2003; Cordeiro and Baptista *et al*, 2003; Frugóli, 2007; Cordeiro, 2008; Cordeiro and Vidal, 2008; Costa, 2008). The scope of analysis around the theme of cultural diversity and difference suggests the need to consider possible strategies to overcome those divisions, implement intercultural dialogue, work towards emancipation and social change in urban communities, and contribute to the reconciliation of the individual with the different other.

This study explores the hypothesis that specific artistic and cultural practices may cultivate a deeper experience of citizenship, one that is capable of vaulting social and cultural divisions. The case study examples presented here emerge, on one hand, in the context of the *third way* thinking and its critics (Amin, 2005), and on the other hand, under the recent reflections about the social function of the *creative class*. With social divisions connected to economic growth in many urban settings, scenarios are considered where creativity, when associated with citizenship practices, may offer innovative strategies to address social

divisions that lead to disenfranchised communities and persistent community isolation. The intention is to promote a process of exploration that expands our concept of citizenship as we analyze it from the vantage point of arts-oriented creativity.

Thus, it seems that there is a current need to reframe the concept of citizenship, based on the potential of civil society to construct new models of engagement. Viewed thusly, citizenship must be included in the analysis of social intervention in the public realm, as other authors like Lynn Lofland have also contended (Lofland, 1973 and 1998). Following this same line of thought, the public sphere may present the context that could reinvigorate the concept of citizenship, by supporting civic endeavors in which the individual can examine and express personal and social identity. It seems that a new approach to development is needed, one that eschews an exclusivist economic perspective, and instead, capitalizes on the cultural assets of people and urban sites, and promotes relationships between individuals based on social affinities. It may be then at the intersection of cultural/artistic resources and urban spaces that exciting possibilities may emerge.

Urban spaces in the contemporary city are often socially, economically and culturally dissonant. With their multicultural characteristics, these sites are experiencing symbolic and physical divisions between the different ethnic communities, which increasingly populate urban public space. When social conflicts between different groups are rampant, the idea of citizenship, translated into active and tolerant intervention in the urban environment, is put at risk. The way ethnicities interact in the common space is frequently a source of conflict and division, begetting an urgent need for innovative strategies of creative intervention. This study tries to identify tools based on artistic and cultural creativity that may generate creative approaches to issues of social conflict and division and help differentiated community groups create spaces of inter-ethnic dialogue. Specific artistic and cultural endeavors are presented as strategies of civic engagement, resulting, ideally, in diminished social divisions and exclusion.

The focus is on a new type of democratic community generated by the intersection of affirmative action in the public space and the use of artistic and cultural initiatives. Carefully constructed arts initiatives may offer citizens the possibility of building a new mental model, which includes promoting consideration of divergent views and new strategies of action drawn from the dialogue between individuals and groups with diverse perspectives. By their very nature, arts and culture may introduce methodological innovation to the theoretical and practical discussion on dealing with difference, and specifically cultural difference, in the urban contexts under study. Richard Sennett in his book *Respect in a World of Inequality* corroborates this view when he refers to the performing arts as integrating collaborative elements, essential to generate mutual respect (Sennett, 2003). Artistic activities that include collaboration of culturally differentiated groups may create a sense of equality that, ideally, inspires the individual to reflect on the divisions of the social world with greater insight and imagination.

What is referred here as *creative citizenship* requires the creation of *cultural knowledgeable communities* which focus their development on cultural factors, on the recognition of difference, and on the motivation for individual and group involvement. The *creative citizen*, living in this type of community, is considered to be a producer of political knowledge, expressivity and culture. First and foremost, he is a political knowledge creator because he is directly responsible for the state of his local society, he may also be the driving force behind social intervention and civic engagement initiatives that strengthen the community. The *political knowledge* dimension also includes the development of artistic capacities, and the ability to generate community participation in the organization of cultural and artistic initiatives. The expressive character of this individual requires an authentic self and group identity if the goal is the development of more effective tools of dialogue with different groups. Finally, the component of *cultural awareness* has the individual attuned to the differentiated cultural composition of contemporary society. By integrating the components of *political knowledge*, *expressivity* and *cultural awareness*, the *creative citizen* in these case studies may create spaces for interrelation between sectors of society that are often separated, and agents of division and social exclusion.

By fostering this awareness, the initiatives included in the case studies focus on the development of strong identities that, bolstered with cultural resources, can create spaces for creative inter-relation between sectors of society previously separated by social and ethnic schisms. Can we envision cultural exchange activities as

innovative platforms for the recognition of specific groups' identities and for the acknowledgement of difference? The working hypothesis is that the key to effective dialogue between different social groups can be found at the intersection of knowledge, expressivity, and culture. This intersection may produce the preconditions for the development of creative initiatives in alternative spaces designed to deal with difference and conflict. However, we should not ignore the possible negative role that culture can play on the accentuation of differences inside the community. We have seen this dynamic in many urban contexts and need to be aware of the potential of cultural difference to build resistance and intolerant behaviors towards other cultural groups.

Still, the potential of creativity to bridge cultural chasms is widely accepted. Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini state that creativity involves basic procedures like thinking a problem afresh, a certain degree of experimentation and originality, and the capacity to look at situations with flexibility (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). Furthermore, when Landry investigates urban creativity in the city in his book *The Creative City – a Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, he connects the creative component of cities with their growth and identifies the characteristics of urban activists, which he asserts have the ability to listen, reflect and learn, the ability to communicate across diversity, and the capacity to work with distinct cultural environments (Landry, 2000). We believe that the *creative citizen* relies on the same elements that define the “creative city” (*idem*, 2000: 3): knowledge, free expression, and culture, all of which are essential to promote effective platforms to work against divisions. The promotion of spaces that combine knowledge production, expressivity, and the appreciation of cultural variety represent the adaptability of this approach to different social realities where cultural and social differences can create an antagonistic environment.

3. Citizenship Building: Civic Engagement and Urban Space Culturalization

The sense of indifference, alienation, and anomie that authors like Georg Simmel and Louis Wirth observed during their twentieth century urban research (Simmel, [1903] 1995; Wirth, 1938) was reexamined by Richard Sennett, who called attention to the way this conceptualization of urban life changed the relationship of the individual with the public realm, encouraging a retreat into private life (Sennett, 1977). In fact, there has been a significant amount of literature in urban studies concerned with the end of public space (Sorkin, 1992; Mitchell, 1995). One of the main theoretical assumptions derived from this research is the hypothesis that the promotion of artistic and cultural related activities in urban public spaces may have a positive effect over this loss of the public realm. Can the strategies to revivify the city represent efforts of culturalization of the public realm? Might this type of participation and engagement represent an alternative to the new shopping centers and atria in the reconfiguration of the public area? In the same vein as Richard Sennett, Jane Jacobs identified the importance of mixed activities in the streets as a way to promote movement and encounter (Jacobs, 1961).

In order for mixed encounters to happen, different types of initiatives, promoted by *Arts Union*, *Spontaneous Celebration's* Festivals, and the *Villa* urban interventions, were created in the everyday spaces of the city (streets, parks, plazas) in association with different social and cultural groups, many of them youth arts education groups. Thus, if group differentiation is a prerequisite for the stimulation of the public realm, direct involvement of minorities and immigrants becomes an important feature of democratic practice and citizenship participation³. However, the development of interventionist strategies requires the existence of a civic order principle, which suggests that the social life is organized around the outcome of the individual as a citizen. This citizen, by belonging to a community of rights and duties, is now more than a member of a community. The civic bond results, then, from this shared sense of belonging. According to David Selbourne, community historically precedes civic order, and a *sense of community* constitutes a powerful tool of civic consciousness to maintain the civic bond (Selbourne, 2001).

In the case of *Spontaneous Celebrations*, a variety of urban spaces were used to stage artistic and cultural events, with the goal of building cultural identities of the sites by mobilizing the community to organize and attend these events. This was specially the case of the youth arts intervention projects, which mobilize dozens of youth in the organizations and presentation of youth arts public projects, like the ‘Youth Stage’ in Wake Up the Earth Festival or the presence of Beantown Society at the Immigrant Rally, which took place in

Boston in 2005. This was also the case of the community outreach done through the *Arts Union* project in Union Square. Every endeavor to mobilize citizens for cultural intervention in the urban site culminated in a series of public events such as the *Street Furniture Project*, the *Windows Art Project*, the *Union Square Art Tour*, the *Crafts and Farmers Markets*, or the *Arts Union* open air performances. Each of these events resulted from the collaboration between the local municipality and different groups of urban agents that became civic intermediaries in the organization and in the presentation of the initiatives. Likewise, in *Villa Victoria*, civic engagement is simultaneously promoted by a focus on the social issues of concern to the residents, along with the creation of a strong Puerto Rican cultural identity. On occasion, there are even cases where community initiatives combine intervention in the public space while raising awareness of local social issues like street violence among youth gangs and the issue of the survival of Puerto Rican culture in an ever more multicultural urban context.

In an effort to curb escalating violence [specially among youth gangs] (...) IBA has proposed a series of events to take place at O'Day Park (...) [activities include] outdoor movie nights to attract families; host intergenerational 'family days' where people can play games like dominoes and bingo (...) (Orchard, 2006).

These strategies use the urban space as a context of intervention to promote social reconnection in order to think collectively about issues that affect the local community. The civic order principle is understood and analyzed alongside strategies of cultural revivification of urban spaces, as civic engagement is fostered through a re-conceptualization of the relationship between the individual/citizen and the urban space that s/he inhabits.

The unconventional use of appropriated space can promote meaningful face-to-face interaction during the preparation and realization of artistic events. Community actors, like neighbors, local businesses, and artists, are encouraged to intervene as active participants in the production and preparation of the events. In the *Wake Up the Earth Festival*, in Jamaica Plain, youth are responsible for many tasks and acquire substantial production and organizational skills, developing a sense of belonging that is reproduced in their relation as being part of the organizational structure of Spontaneous Celebrations. As stated by one community organizer: *This festival represents a platform to learn about the world of business and performance production. There's a kid who is going help to set up the electronics and hire the groups for the pop stage (...). It really is a great exercise for a lot of people to learn about how the world works by setting up an event* (C. Carvalho, semi-structured video interview, 17 February, 2005).

In this case, the civic bond results from a joint community interest in organizing and producing the festival, which is understood as a tool to build Jamaica Plain's identity⁴. People from the community are urged to meet in advance and take the lead in organizing an event like the *Wake Up the Earth Festival*. That is the case of the Beantown Society Group, which have organized themselves in a group to create specific activities in the Festival Bétances, including the thematic contextualization of the Festival among the theme of 'non-violence in Boston streets'. When community meetings (Fig.1) and festival preparations (Fig.2) take place, community members participate in the committees that oversee children's activities, volunteers, performances, and all of the different venues at the event.



Fig. 1 - *Spontaneous Celebrations'* community meeting Fig. 2 - *Wake Up the Earth Festival* preparations

In *Spontaneous Celebrations*' context of action, civic networks are created by promoting social capital at the neighborhood level. The work is based on two different types of strategies that show a holistic approach to the concept of community. The first strategy is related to the urgent need to create spaces of socialization, not only for the youth, but also for people of different ages. According to one community organizer who has been working with *Spontaneous Celebrations*:

Wake Up the Earth Festival is basically an expression about what this community is all about, which is bringing people together to share musical and artistic experiences (...) Festival for me is really the preparation for it because many people in the community come together to work on the Festival (...) for several months (Carvalho, C., semi-structured interview, 17 February, 2005).

In a society where socialization increasing means online and media based relationships, it is extremely valuable to offer places for face-to-face and collaborative community participation and interaction. These are essential ingredients for civic participation and to create innovative strategies of citizenship building at the community level. The second strategy focuses on the value of the place's ethnic diversity, concentrating all organizing efforts on building culturally-based local knowledge by developing opportunities for collaborative inter-ethnic and inter-generational work. This type of knowledge requires an understanding of the traditions and social behaviors of the different cultures that inhabit the same neighborhood and the encouragement to use the public arena as a place for dynamic cultural interchange. Artistic and cultural events may represent, then, a good opportunity to develop cultural interconnections between the different ethnic groups residing in the same locale.

In the case of the *Arts Union* project, the idea is to reach out to different arts-related partners, in order to create a civic network of involved citizens and organizations. As stated by one of the main *Arts Union* coordinators:

The main objective of the project is to try to get better publicity for Union Square, try to get more people down to square to learn about cultural and historical aspects of the Square and also to get [partners and residents] engaged in the activities (C. Carvalho, community meeting, 22 March, 2005).

Each of the various activities included in the *Arts Union* project: crafts and farmers markets (Fig. 3), outdoor performances (Fig. 4), window art exhibitions (Fig. 5), public art efforts, and historic tours, express the civic dynamics of the neighborhood and contribute to build social capital at the community level. Collective clustered endeavors develop each initiative. For example, outdoor performances result from the collaboration between local producers, the Somerville Arts Council (SAC), and local artists. As stated by one of the producers of an *Arts Union* performance event: "We have worked in collaboration since the beginning: SAC, myself and the West African artists" (C. Carvalho, semi-structured interview, October 8, 2005). Beyond the positive effect of strengthening civic relations during the preparations and duration of the initiative, what, if any, are the long-term effects on the development of other types of collective endeavors? Is there an escalating effect, generated by these artistic endeavors, on the neighborhoods' involvement in civic culture? This will no doubt depend on the continued existence of these types of initiatives over the years, as well as a capacity for re-adaptation to the neighborhood social and cultural changes.



Fig 3, 4 and 5 – Somerville Arts Union events

The need to provide outreach to different ethnic and immigrant communities, allowing them to experience the potential of Union Square, creates networks of collaboration between local performers, immigrant artists, and community-based groups. As stated by one of the *Arts Union* local organizers:

In the outreach that we did for participation in the *Arts Union* event, we got this Latino best player, we got this guy who is Brazilian and works at an insurance company, we got this woman who works in a New Asia restaurant who brought a Chinese group of dancers! So we (...) had to coordinate a lot of people in the community (C. Carvalho, semi-structured interview, 4 October, 2005).

The outdoor performances are designed to reproduce the traditions from the diverse ethnic populations within Union Square, which are mainly Haitian, Indian and Brazilian. Therefore, strategies to create social capital are based on cultural outreach efforts within the surrounding community.

In the case of *Villa Victoria*, strong ties among civically-involved individuals are promoted and individual self-help relationships (Williams, 2005) are developed between the residents. Community residents collaborate with the community agency *Inquilinos Boricuas en Action (IBA)* to organize community events like *Festival Betances* and other neighborhood events, such as domino tournaments, weddings, and artistic opportunities for the youth, like *Critical Breakdown* or *Youth Truth*, where youth had the opportunity to share their reflective thinking with their peers and work on artistic creation pieces based on that reflection. According to an *IBA*'s staff person:

(...) the community participation is pretty much committees from residents working hand in hand with *IBA* (...) *Festival Betances* is planned months in advance, and we pretty much make a call to the board and to the residents to try to form committees. So there's people working on every different task (C. Carvalho, semi-structured interview, June 30, 2005).

These dynamics develop from a partnership between *IBA* and *Villa Victoria* residents. They are the result of several months of collaborative work and involve many community meetings, thereby increasing ties between people in the communities. By strengthening these social relationships, a civic network is created, based on a culture of pride and cultural resilience. Typical Puerto Rican activities are organized through which the community celebrates its cultural identity with the South End neighborhood and the greater Boston area. During the festival, where Puerto Rican food is prepared by the *Villa Victoria* residents, traditional celebrations co-exist with the urban Hip-Hop, as a younger generation of residents develops activities which express urban lifestyles associated with contemporary music, dance, and spoken word.



Figs. 6 and 7 - Youth participation at Festival Bétances

3.1. Patterns of Citizenship Building in the Three Case Studies

The interdependent variables of urban space, community, arts and culture produce unique patterns of citizenship building in the three urban neighborhoods. In the Jamaica Plain case study, the work of *Spontaneous Celebrations* is focused on the creation of a *community of practice*. A community of practice is a web of social relationships in a locale that integrates as many community members as possible through joint efforts to enhance local society. Every community member is understood to be a potential agent and active citizen. Consequently, the generation of innovative approaches to the concept of citizenship requires the development of a strategy of action both at the organizational and the community levels. Both levels operate simultaneously and are interdependent. A network of social support is then created between community members through day-to-day relationships. Artistic activities are, on one hand, the tool for outreach to community members, involving different community groups (youth, immigrants, families and children) in the organization of activities. On the other hand, arts represent a tool to share with the society at large to address social inequalities.

In the *Villa Victoria* case study, citizenship is directly related to the appropriation of a physical space in the city as a strategy of cultural resistance to reinforce Puerto Rican cultural identity. Over the years, the survival of this immigrant cultural identity has been dependent on how well this Puerto Rican community exercises influence over both the physical space and the symbolic space of the city. Thus, the most important component of the expression of citizenship in this social context is its direct relation with identity formation. The main tool used to reinforce immigrant cultural identity is the arts event, *Festival Betances*, which mobilizes residents through many forms of community participation. The festival also highlights Puerto Rican culture and fosters neighbor-to-neighbor sociability. In this example, citizenship expresses itself in the direct relation of the public space with the mobilization of immigrant cultural traditions.

In *Arts Union/Somerville*, the creation of strong ties with local community agents is essential to get to know the field of work and to create synergies with the different social groups (businesses, ethnic communities, artists, community organizers). The creation of community networks that can elicit community participation sets the process of citizenship in motion. The establishment of these community networks includes ethnographic field work focused on attracting diverse community members. A far-reaching campaign of community socialization is necessary to become better acquainted with the social context and to identify allies for the social intervention projects.

Different examples of how citizenship can be innovative can be found in the three case studies. Each case study corresponds to a different stage in the maturation process of citizenship building, leading to the next phase in the process of knowledge production at the community level. The first phase identifies the main community actors in the local context and the kinds of associations possible, to take advantage of all local synergies. After the acquisition of thorough knowledge of the social context, the next phase includes the process of building a community identity in relation to others. This process includes the differentiation in relationships to other people and groups. Finally, the mature exercise of citizenship involves the creation of a *community of practice*, as exemplified by the Jamaica Plain case study.

3.2. Conclusions on Citizenship Building through Arts and Culture

Insights have been offered on strategies that use artistic and cultural practices to create more socially integrated communities. The figure presented below summarizes the paradigmatic approach behind the case studies analyzed, showcasing how civic engagement and leadership processes work together to promote *creative citizenship*.

The overarching goal behind the work is a better practical understanding of what it could mean to be a *creative citizen* in contemporary urban settings. The innovative quality of the work in these communities represents various ways that artistic and cultural practices can contribute to creative strategies of civic engagement and leadership. Seven venues were identified in which artistic and cultural practices stimulate the promotion of more socially integrated communities: project based experiential learning; inter-group

connections through the arts; mentoring arts related programs; social reflection and positive social change through arts activities; creation of organizational leaders; creative learning experiences through the arts; and leadership models. These venues were then categorized in terms of their impact on personal development, organizational development, and inter-group connection, in the society at large. Personal development includes individual or small-group engagement through creative arts learning experiences, and achieving excellence in a particular expressive arts activity. The impact on organizational development can be easily identified through the development of leadership models that both empower interpersonal relationships and contribute to the survival of these organizations in the future. Finally, dialogue between different cultural, political, and religious sectors of the society can be achieved through socially engaged community projects, artistic activities that generate social reflections and community celebrations that integrate socially diverse participants.

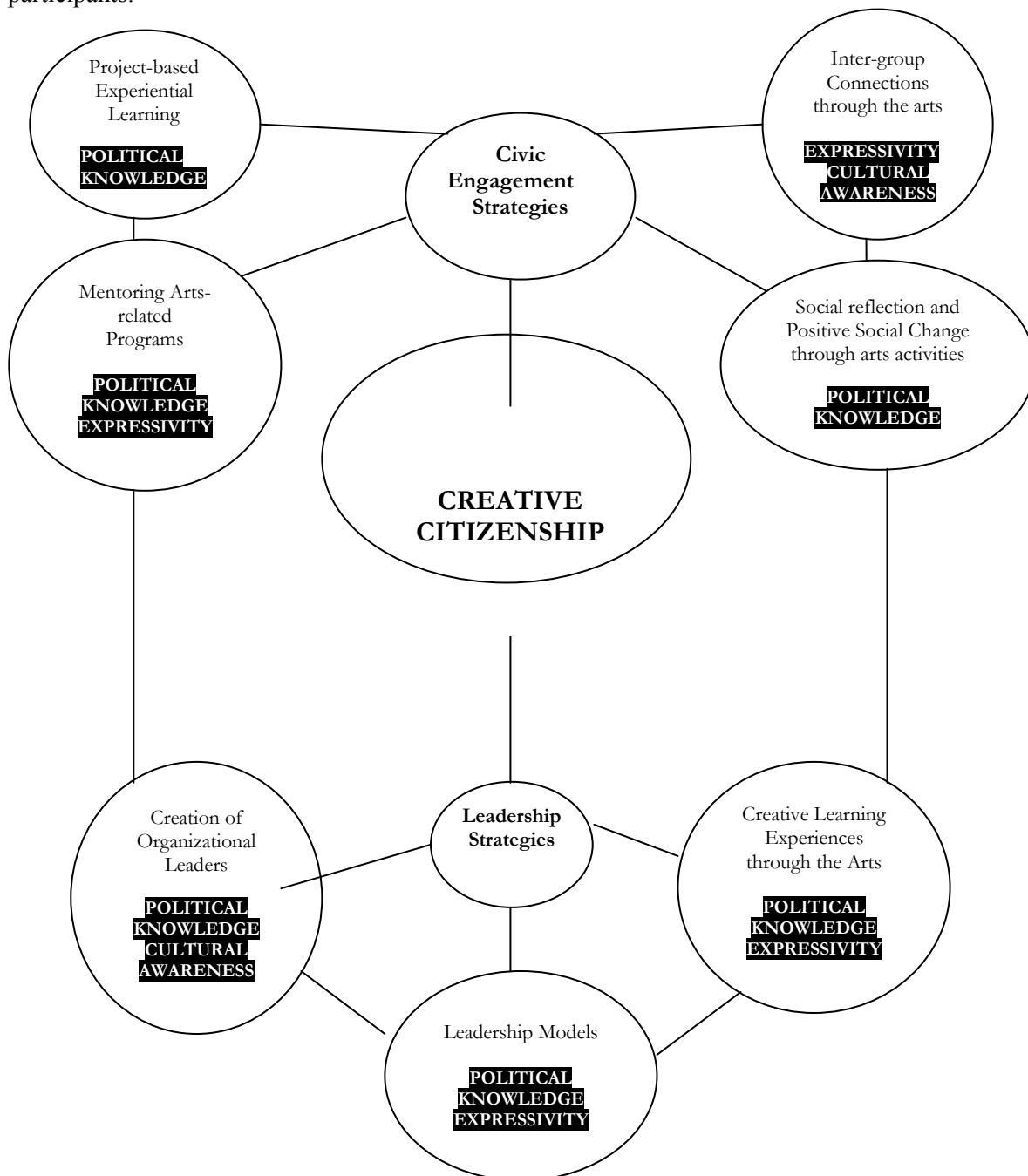


Fig. 8. Creative Citizenship Building Strategies

The examples given in this paper open venues for further exploration of different forms that innovation in communities may take. A theme that seems to be surfacing in communities, and with those who work with them, is how to gain new perspectives, ideas, and innovative practices. The answer appears to be found in concentrating efforts around designing toward the periphery rather than toward the mean. This means creating paradigm-shifting methods that work *outside of the box*. Instead of standard programming and *doing what has always been done*, alternative methods of organizing can breathe new life in communities.

In the cases presented and analyzed, initiatives offer innovative strategies to deal with community struggles like youth violence, urban rivalry, and racial and ethnic divisions. Innovation presents itself in different ways in these cases, helping disadvantaged communities connect knowledge and experience to active participation in the development of new methods of cultural revivification. Furthermore, innovation also envisions the artistic practice as an indispensable learning tool in promoting self-empowerment for the promotion of creative citizens. Artistic creativity represents the innovative, driving force that nourishes community cultural development. The development of the *creative citizen* is a long process that includes both the development of civic engagement and leadership efforts, and the establishment of a direct relationship with the urban space. Individual participation through artistic practices and the culturalization of public space are the processes that helped us define the framework to rethink citizenship. This framework addresses the contemporary urban citizen from a cultural point of view where political knowledge, expressivity, and cultural awareness are the salient attributes.

References

- Augé, M. (1995). *Non-places: introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity*. London, New York: Verso.
- Amin, A. (2005). Local community on trial. *Economy and Society* 34 (4), 612-33.
- Cordeiro, G., L. V. Baptista, *et al.* (2003). *Etnografias Urbanas*. Oeiras: Celta.
- Cordeiro, G. (2008). *A cidade e a rua: uma aproximação etnográfica à vida urbana*. Lisboa: CIES-ISCTE..
- Cordeiro, G., F. Vidal (2008). *A Rua. Espaço. Tempo. Sociabilidade*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.
- Costa, A.; G. Cordeiro (1999). Bairros: contexto e interação. In G. Velho (Eds.) *Antropologia Urbana. Cultura e Sociedade no Brasil e em Portugal*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editora: 58-79.
- Costa, A.; G. Cordeiro (2003). Lugar, identidade y 'sociedades de barrio' en Lisboa. *Zainak, Cuadernos de Antropologia-Etnografia* (24), 763-85.
- Costa, A. (2008). *Sociedade de Bairro: Dinâmicas Sociais da Identidade Cultural*. Lisboa: Celta.
- Duxbury, Nancy (2008), Cultural Citizenship and Community Indicator Projects: Approaches and Challenges in the Local/Municipal Context, *UNESCO Observatory Refereed E-Journal, Multi-Disciplinary Research in the Arts*, 1 (2).
- Frugóli, H. (2007). *Sociabilidade Urbana*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editores.
- Jackson, Isabel (2008), Celebrating communities: community festivals, celebrating and belonging. *UNESCO Observatory Refereed E-Journal, Multi-Disciplinary Research in the Arts*, 1 (2).
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Kymlicka, W., Norman, W. (2000). *Citizenship in diverse societies*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Landry, C., Bianchini, F. (1995). *The Creative City*. London: Demos.
- Landry, C. (2000). *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. London: Earthscan.

- Lofland, L. H. (1973). *A world of strangers; order and action in urban public space*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lofland, L. H. (1998). *The public realm: exploring the city's quintessential social territory*. Hawthorne, N.Y.: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Mitchell, D. (1995). The end of public space? People's Park, definitions of the public and democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85, 108-33.
- Orchard, Chris, 2006. IBA proposes summer of outdoor events at O'Day Park. *South End News*. June 6, 2006.
- Selbourne, D. (2001). *The principle of duty: an essay on the foundations of the civic order*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Sennett, R. (1977). *The fall of public man*. New York: Knopf.
- Sennett, R. (2003). Reflections on the Public Realm. In S. Watson, G. Bridge (Eds.) *A Companion to the City*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing: 380-87.
- Simmel, G. ([1903] 1995). Metropolis and Mental Life. In P. Kazin (Eds.) *Metropolis: Centre and Symbol of Our Times*. Basingstoke: Macmillan: 30-45.
- Sorkin, M. (1992). *Variations of a Theme Park: the New American City and the End of Public Space*. New York: Hill and Wong.
- Stevenson, N. (2007). Cultural Citizenship: Questions of Consumerism, Consumption and Policy. In T. Edwards (Eds) *Cultural Theory: Classical and Contemporary Positions*. London, Los Angeles, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage: 255-74.
- The Boston Foundation, 1999. *Funding for Cultural Organizations in Boston and Nine Other Metropolitan Areas*. Boston: Boston Foundation.
- The Boston Foundation, 1999 and 2004. *Vital Signs: Metro Boston's Arts and Cultural Nonprofits*. Boston: Boston Foundation.
- The Boston Indicators Project. 2004a. Civic Health Highlights. <http://www.tbf.org/indicators2004/Geography/geography.asp?id=2974> (accessed October 2006).
- The Boston Indicators Project. 2004b. Cultural sector funding, comparison with other metropolitan regions. <http://www.tbf.org/indicators2004/culturalLife/indicators.asp?id=2470> (accessed June 2009).
- The Boston Indicators Project. 2004c. *Nonprofit arts Organizations per capita in Metro Boston*. <http://www.tbf.org/indicators2004/culturalLife/indicators.asp?id=2198> (accessed June 2009).
- The Boston Indicators Project. 2004d. *Boston's Creativity Index ranking in Comparison with other major cities*. <http://www.tbf.org/indicators2004/culturalLife/indicators.asp?id=2195> (accessed June 2009).
- The Boston Indicators Project. 2004e. *Degree of Residential Segregation in Boston and Metro Boston*. <http://www.tbf.org/indicators2004/civichealth/indicators.asp?id=2416> (accessed June 2009).
- Williams, C. C. (2005). Cultivating Community Self-Help in Deprived urban Neighbourhoods. *City and Community* 4(2), 171-88.
- Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life. *American Journal of Sociology* 44(1), 1-24.
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Young, I. (1995). Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship. In R. Beiner (Eds) *Theorizing Citizenship*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
-

Notes

¹ However, in 2002, the state-funded Massachusetts Cultural Council's fiscal 2003 budget was reduced by 62%, which forced an equivalent reduction in state investment at the local level and therefore in small- and mid-sized cultural non-profits (The Boston Indicators Project, 2004b).

² According to data from 2000, the most isolated group is whites living in Boston's suburbs: on average, they live on blocks that are more than 90% white. On average, whites living in *cities* resided on blocks that were 70% white. In the city of Boston, African Americans reside on blocks that are on average 60% African-American (Boston Indicators Project, 2004e).

³ Nancy Fraser studied how the different groups constitute different public realms and called attention for the need to balance a politics of representation and recognition of these groups (Fraser, 1990).

⁴ Authors like Isabel Jackson have also explored the relation between public festival and processes of identity formation (Jackson, 2008).