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Alternative Workforce Development:

The Potential of Youth, Arts-Based Initiatives

and the Case of the Rose Kids

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Alternative Workforce Development:
The Potential of Youth, Arts-Based Initiatives
and the Case of the Rose Kids

by

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Abstract

Alternative Workforce Development:
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The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

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Every year, the US Conference of Mayors presents awards to mayors and their administrations for programs that enhance the quality of life in urban areas. In 2009, the City of Charleston won and was named America's "Most Livable" City. The program that won them the honor was the Palmetto Artisan Program, an entrepreneurial skill program helping youth artisans become licensed business vendors. This report seeks to understand the potential for arts-based youth programs, like the Palmetto Artisan Program, to impact local economic development and enhance quality of life. I explore this issue through a literature review of workforce development, arts-related economic development, an analysis of five programs across the country, and an in-depth analysis of the Palmetto Artisan Program in Charleston, SC. The report concludes with recommendations and insights for cities and regions wishing to implement similar programs that benefit young people and their communities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It's a business; it's a heritage; it's an art form." – Jimmy Bailey, speaking about the practice of making and selling the Palmetto Rose

In the summer of 2009, the United States Conference of Mayors named the City of Charleston America's "Most Livable" City[i]. This award honors mayors and city government for developing programs that enhance the quality of life in urban areas. The City won for the Palmetto Artisan Program, an entrepreneurial skills program designed to support local youth in their business of selling artisan roses.

To understand how this program contributes to economic development, I will explore the program through its community-wide impacts. While this program doesn't attract large investment dollars or generate hundreds of new jobs, it contributes to economic development through the education and training of young people and the strengthening of local partnerships. Although difficult to measure,[ii] human, physical, and institutional resources are at the heart of "economic development" [iii]. Its main focus is concerned with improving the value or quality of both people and the places where they live. If we are to learn from this program and how to make cities more livable, the question needs to be asked: how exactly do programs like the Palmetto Artisan Program, youth and art-based, impact people and place and what is their potential for economic development? To be clear, when I mention "people" and "place", I am referring to impacts on human and physical development. An example of human development would be increased offering

education programs, job training, or access to healthcare. An example of physical development would be the creation of an art center, funding towards cleaner streets, or the creation of wealth through the sale of local goods and services.

I will partly answer this question through the exploration of the Palmetto Artisan Program. The program begins with a weeklong crash course covering business, social, marketing, and customer service skills which helps prepare participants to become young businessmen and businesswomen. Once the course is completed, participants are then free to make Palmetto Roses, folded flowers made from the fronds of Palmetto Trees, using free materials provided by the City and to sell their roses in public places. They can do this with the added confidence that police will support them like any other business instead of treating them as a nuisance, as was the case before. The program operates year-round and has received acclaim for its success and creative approach to what once was a citywide problem[iv].

It would be nearly impossible to determine the first person that started the craft of folding palmetto fronds into roses. Joyce Coakley, a College of Charleston historian, has said this practice originated as a creative way to recycle basket-making scraps[v]. The technique stems from African traditions brought over on slave ships to South Carolina as part of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Many crafts are made using

Figure 1.1: Image of Sweetgrass Baskets and Palmetto Roses being sold in Downtown Charleston. Source: Mike and Joyce Hendrix via Travellogs.us

these techniques and sold within the Charleston area (Figure 1.1). The most popular craft involving similar techniques and traditional roots is that of the sweetgrass baskets, whose artisans receive state exemption from sales tax[vi] and have a variety of reserved spaces and informal agreements throughout the Charleston area[vii]. However, when youth began producing and selling Palmetto Roses, made using the same technique, residents and community leaders became concerned. Due to a lack of funds, lack of access to a palm frond supplier, and space to sell, the youth would harvest their palmetto fronds from private and public property and sell wherever they could, including on street curbs and inside restaurants. Complaints of property damage, harassment of tourists[viii], and general nuisance to business owners began to surface [ix].

However, instead of punishing the youth or banning their form of peddling, many in the community recognized the potential for good in the situation and decided to look for a way to encourage the ambitious spirit of the rose vendors. One of the main forces behind the program was Jimmy Bailey, a former state congressman and founder of YESCarolina, a non-profit dedicated to supporting youth entrepreneurship throughout the Charleston region. Bailey and other local businesses leaders expressed an interest in doing something to help the youth selling roses. Out of their efforts emerged the Palmetto Artisan Program, which teaches business and marketing skills to youth before licensing them as official city vendors. The program is run by the City of Charleston's Department of Recreation, but has a variety of helping hands throughout the community like the landscaping business on nearby John's Island who supplies the fronds used to make the roses free of charge. The fronds are then stored in a cool location to help preserve their quality by a local florist who

also does this free of charge. The desire to lend a hand and support these kids is one of the things that make this program so unique.

Driven by philanthropy and sense of pride in local heritage, the program creates benefits and opportunities for the individual artisan and community at large. Before the program was implemented, local police chased youth out of restaurants and away from storefronts, but now police officers look after the youth and support the program. This small change leads to a happier business climate, in terms of fewer complaints by owners, and creates positive relationships between youth and authority. Also, as the roses represent heritage and history, they have become a part of the tourism industry and the market for these craft products has continued to grow. When the program started, the florist who stores the fronds free of charge began receiving calls from people who wanted hundreds of roses for weddings. The florist would contact the Department of Recreation who would then contact a few of the Artisans to be paid by the hour to make the entire order. This opportunity was not available before the Palmetto Artisan Program was formed.

In this professional report, I suggest that economic development should further incorporate youth and the arts to benefit both people and place. First of all, incorporating youth into economic development through various workforce training and education programs benefit both individuals and communities. A skilled labor force helps to retain or attract firms to a city or region, which can lead to greater public and private investment and infrastructure. Thus youth involvement supports place-based workforce development strategies, which seek community level outcomes that result in increased quality of life[x]. Furthermore, education and training programs have been shown to improve outcomes for

youth over the long term both professionally and educationally.

Incorporating the arts into economic development also benefits people and place. Various amenities in the arts are central to creating high quality of life and help to attract specific workers and firms to a city or region. Studies have also shown that arts can create recurring activity like festivals, exhibitions, and/or performances, which can have lasting economic impacts. New research has emerged showing that having formal or informal education in arts and crafts helps to prepare individuals to become entrepreneurial innovators to the economy, thus contributing to economic development[xi].

Programs that combine youth and the arts may also serve to assist low-income, vulnerable populations that don't normally have access to training program or early education. Through their work, such arts-based youth programs are positioned to lower crime and recidivism, improve equity outcomes, and increase social networks and access to job opportunities.

The Palmetto Artisan Program represents the beginnings of an excellent model for combining youth and the arts. The program has led to the formation of new partnerships, a new business, and new social networks throughout the community. Its scale may be small, but its story, goals, and operation offer lessons for other cities and regions wishing to operate similar strategies working with art and youth.

In this PR, I will explore why the Palmetto Artisan Program is a good model through a much broader question: What is the potential of arts-based youth programs for economic development? To help answer this question, I will pose the following sub-questions:

- How do arts-based youth programs add value to people and place?
- How do they lead to skill building and job opportunities?
- What kind of direct and indirect economic and social effects occur as a result?
- What kind of new partnerships and collaborations have been formed to support arts-based youth programs?

I will answer these questions through a literature review of youth and economic development and the current research on arts in relation to economic development; interviews with local officials, businesses and participants of the program; an analysis of various art-based youth programs across the country; and an in-depth analysis of the Palmetto Artisan Program.

For this report, I have reviewed many other artisan programs throughout the country relying heavily on a "best practices" handbook called the YouthARTS Handbook, which involved a highly critical assessment of hundreds of youth arts programs across the country. The assessment involved a national collaboration of teams from the Regional Arts & Culture Council in Portland, Oregon; the Fulton County Arts Council in Atlanta; the City of San Antonio, Department of Arts and Cultural Affairs; Americans for the Arts; and the National Endowment for the Arts. The handbook provided many helpful resources to evaluate and search for information concerning programs involving youth and the arts.

Concerning the Palmetto Artisan Program, I interviewed two key people at The City of Charleston: Laurie Yarborough who is the Director of the Recreation Department, where

the Palmetto Artisan program operates, and Susan Griffin of the Department of Business and Neighborhood Services, who helped to implement this program from the start. I also interviewed Jimmy Bailey of YESCarolina, who is responsible for the main idea of the Palmetto Artisan Program. Each of these interviews were conducted over the phone and lasted approximately thirty minutes, respectively. They were chosen because of their heavy involvement with the program at various stages and their strong relationship with the community in terms of years living in the area.

Personally, I have a strong relationship with the Charleston area as well. I attended the College of Charleston for four years and lived in Downtown Charleston for over five. I've observed the Palmetto Artisans before the program was implemented and after. From the perspective of someone who was not involved, it was evident that behavioral changes had taken place in the Rose Kids and, ostensibly, they were great changes. I worked in a restaurant on Market Street for over three years and had frequent interactions with the Rose Kids who would sometimes get free soda from our restaurant during hot Charleston summers. Before the program, youth would walk into the restaurant and attempt to solicit roses to patrons in the middle of meals. The wait staff was indifferent to this approach and some of the patrons even enjoyed seeing it as part of the dining experience in Charleston; however, management frowned upon this practice and would often chase them away if they were found interrupting a patron's meal. This PR could have been improved with access to interviews to current and previous Palmetto Artisans; however, my early attempts to gain permission to observe and interview some of the youth were denied. The reason was due to a transition period with staff.

In the following chapter, I will present the strategies of incorporating youth in the field of economic development, as well as the benefits that have occurred to people and place. In chapter three, I will review the theoretical approaches of the Artistic and Cultural industry and explore how artisans and the arts add value to economic development. In chapter four, I will review a selection of prominent art-based youth programs around the country through the lens of economic development and discuss how they add value to their community. In chapter five, I will focus in on the Palmetto Artisan Program in Charleston, SC and discuss the unique lessons it has to offer. Chapter six will offer conclusions, recommendations, and insights based on my analysis, as well as a discussion of the implications of these cases for other cities and regions looking to implement similar arts-based youth programs.

Chapter 2: Youth and Economic Development

In order to conceptualize the economic impact of youth programs, it's important to understand exactly how youth involvement and training can play a central role in economic development planning. This chapter will further explore and define "economic development" and the involvement of youth, in particular the implementation of youth-based economic development through workforce development initiatives. I will then discuss the importance of workforce development for youth, especially in today's current economy, as well as the benefits of workforce programs for economic development. I will discuss several paradigms of workforce development and describe how different approaches look like in practice, before concluding with a review of how youth involvement impacts economic development more broadly.

What is Economic Development?

The beginnings of economic development planning can be traced back to the post-depression era of the 1930s[xii]. The main goal was to use development and policy to attract industry and capital by creating a favorable business climate that supported the profitability of local private firms. Examples of this included the use of tax abatements, subsidies, loan packaging, and land development. Real estate developers, state officials, development agencies, and upper level players from the private and public sector dominated economic activity and land use decision-making, and the profits and benefits associated with it. These "upper level players" touted job and wealth creation as the desired outcome of their

economic development decision-making.

However, as time progressed, critics and researchers began to note the failure of urban policies to generate quality employment opportunities and livable places began to pose the question: who really benefits?[xiii] In a 1976 article titled, "The City as a Growth Machine", Harvey Molotch suggested all economic activity, and social activity for that matter, was shaped by the demands of elite local landholders in the hopes of increasing property value[xiv]. He went on to argue that local economic development's aim of creating a comfortable business climate wasn't actually creating jobs or benefiting communities as it had hoped, but instead was merely shifting development from one place to another. Research increasingly began to show that tax abatements and infrastructure improvements provided by cities to attract business often were zero sum games; that is, the creation of jobs in region were really just the result of lost jobs in another[xv]. As evidence of these claims began to come to light, new practice began to become more equity oriented and focus on specific local practices. Also, economic development practitioners and scholars started calling for a broader range of thinking that incorporated the needs of low-income and vulnerable populations[xvi].

Based on this brief historical review, we see that economic development is an evolving practice. In Joan Fitzgerald and Nancey Green Leigh's brief history of economic development practice, they identified five broad phases that operate at state and local levels[xvii]. The first phase was state industrial recruitment, the beginning of corporate welfare or directing public funds to private sector firms to influence location decisions. The second phase was the rise of political critiques that altered the way many viewed economic

development practice and helped lead to alternative thought and practice. The third phase was the rise of entrepreneurial and equity planning strategies. While the former sought the to use means to attract high tech firms, the latter focused on the redistribution of wealth into the goals of planning. The fourth phase emerged in the 1990s and involved incorporating environmental and social justice sensitivity theory and practice. The fifth and most recent phase, is the use of market solutions and regional strategies to balance city and suburban growth. Their historical analysis and critical approach to the topic provided a commonly used a working definition of economic development: "Local economic development preserves and raises the community's standard of living through a process of human and physical development based on principles of equity and sustainability." For this report, I will use this definition as a measurement for determining whether or not a program is said to generate economic development. In other words, if an arts-based youth program adds value to both people and place, it can be said to have a positive impact on economic development.

Concerning Youth

Within the realm of economic development practice there are many methods for improving the value of people and place. Policies explicitly addressing young people typically take the form of education and workforce development programs. While workforce development programs exist within the scope of economic development, and often have the same overarching goals of serving local populations and increasing standards of living, a focus on people rather than business often causes tensions between

practitioners of the two fields[xviii]. This may be due to the idea that workforce education and training have not always been considered integral to developing a secure business climate, which was the original purpose of economic development. Luckily, today this is not the case. So, why should the field of economic development be concerned with the future of today's youth?

Today's youth face the worst employment prospects in recent history[xix]. A recent report by the Center for American Progress has shown that youth unemployment rates are at an all-time high amongst Americans ages 16-24 (Figure 2.1). Unfortunately, studies have also shown that the longer a young person is unemployed, the more likely they are to earn

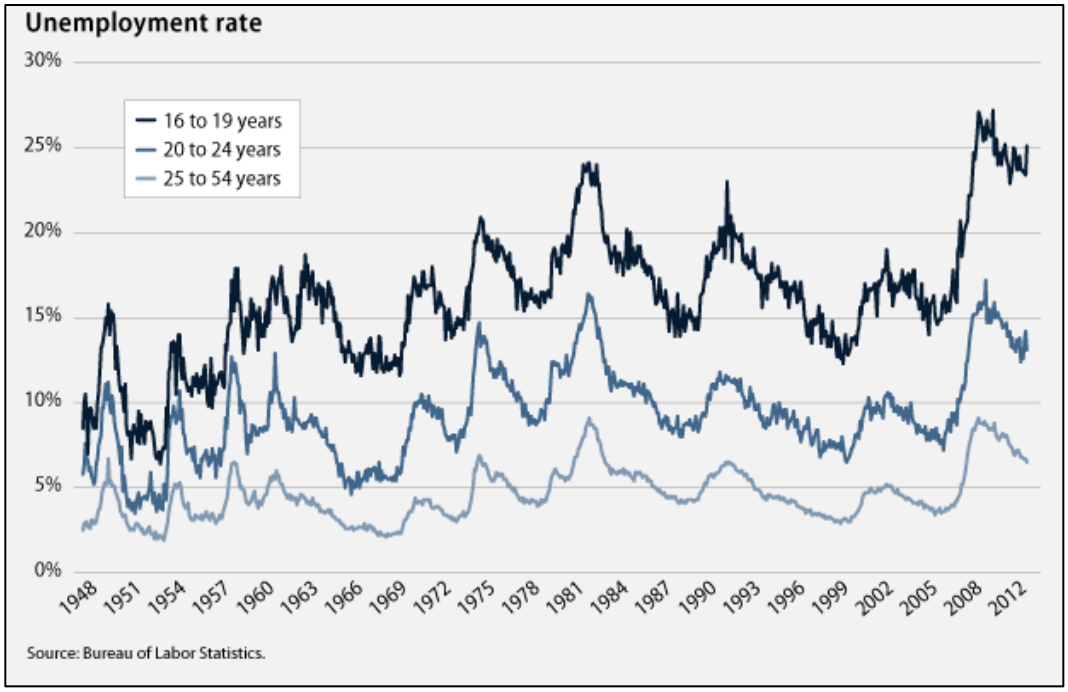


Figure 2.1: Youth Unemployment Rates from 1948 – 2012.
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics via AmericanProgress.org

lower wages and experience poorer career mobility over the course of their life[xx].

Unemployment numbers become even worse when looking specifically at minorities in the Hispanic or Black population (Figure 2.2), and these same population

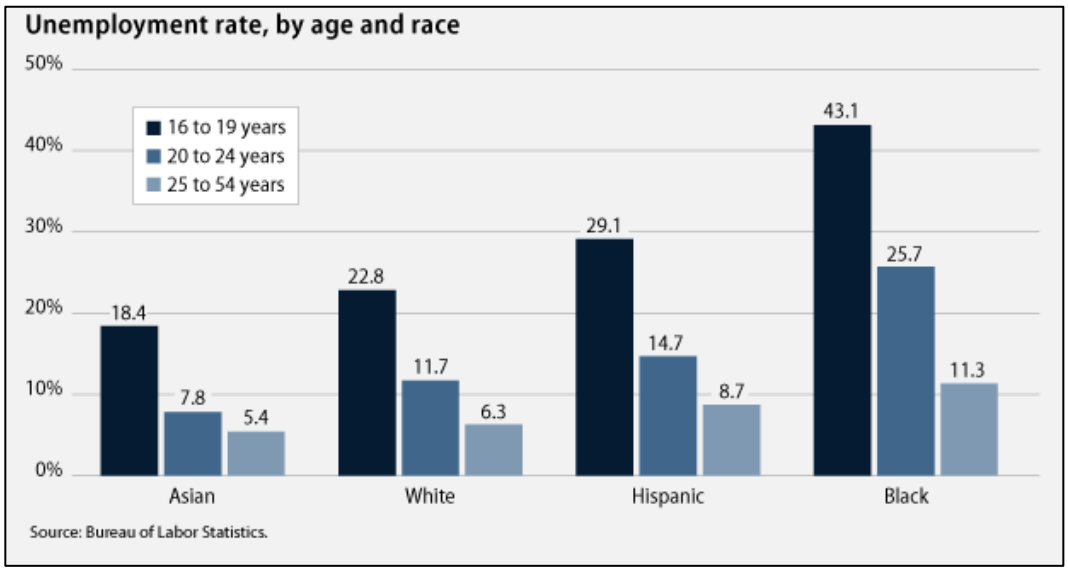


Figure 2.2: Unemployment Rates by Age and Race.
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics via AmericanProgress.org

groups also fare badly in the education system. Black and Hispanic students statistically have a fifty percent chance of finishing high school with a diploma[xxi]. As some have pointed out, these experiences may create cynicism, anti-social attitudes and negative behaviors amongst the unemployed, which in turn can affect future relationships and employment outcomes[xxii]. One response to these challenges has been workforce development.

Defining Workforce Development

Workforce development began as a "problem-focused" or "sector-based" approach attempting to mitigate or close gaps in the skills and education level of a community's

labor force [xxiii]. The process typically begins with a community analysis examining strengths and weaknesses of the labor market and skills base in a region or city. Then, programs are created to leverage strengths or eliminate weaknesses in the hopes of retaining or attracting firms and the economic contributions they bring. For example, a city may identify a current or future nursing shortage in regional hospitals. In an attempt to either attract or accommodate hospitals, a program could be developed to train residents in the skills needed to attain a nursing job; in this way, the problem of a shortage of nurses may be solved. Other examples of workforce development programs are customized training, skill banks, or private industry councils[xxiv]. Customized training provides a specific skill set to meet a particular employer's need, like the nursing example given before. Skill banks essentially harness the power of the internet by taking an inventory of workers' skills and matching the worker with employment initiatives or vacancies. Often, however, problems arise because people can be trained but jobs may not be available. A response to this problem has been the development of private industrial councils, now known as workforce investment boards (WIBs). WIBs attempt to bridge the gap between trained workers and firms seeking employees. They pull local business and employment development programs together into a single network. The aim is to consolidate information on a prepared labor force and simplify decision-making for both potential employees and employers. By seeing people as a valuable resource and investing in them, sector-based workforce development, as the theory goes, can help make cities and regions better targets to attract economic investment.

However, although programs such as these seem like a win-win for both residents

and businesses, the assumptions behind these programs have received much criticism. When manufacturing was the main source of industry and jobs, the problem-focused approach made sense, but as time progressed, cities began to be affected by the mobility of capital as many firms began relocating to the suburbs, neighboring states, and foreign nations[xxv]. Labor markets shifted to a more service-based economy and job retention became a major issue. By the early 1990s, these traditional approaches lost some their ability to improve family incomes or to alleviate poverty, which was part of its problem-focused approach in the first place[xxvi]. One major criticism was that sector-based strategies of workforce development were giving jobs to the participants who were already "job-ready". In a sense, such sector-based strategies were reinforcing the very forms of exclusion that low-income people entering workforce development programs were trying to avoid in the first place [xxvii]. Newer programs, perhaps evolving out of increasing voices of criticism, changes in technology, or lack of impact, are using new kinds of thinking which is either "people-centered" or "place-based".

New Trends in Workforce Development

New thinking, which still hasn't entirely penetrated all of economic development practice, was brought about by calls for greater equity and for extending access to skills development[xxviii]. Instead of finding opportunity through industry or jobs and working to connect people, the place-based approach recognizes that any kind of job experience, whether volunteer, part-time, or full time work, is essential to get and retain a job[xxix]. Moving up the typical career ladder is not an option for everyone. For some people, getting

out of poverty is often a nonlinear process and may require starting with a volunteer position or part-time work. It may also involve failure. By focusing on building skills, improving education levels, providing job experiences, and furthering better working habits of entire neighborhoods, communities, or housing projects, place-based practitioners aim for community-level outcomes. A successful outcome of such programs would be having a large percentage of a low-income neighborhood engaged in some form of education or training. In other words, by broadening the approach of workforce development, equity principles become just as important as the drive for economic growth.

Such place-based approaches have become increasingly popular in economic development in part due to their focus on quality of life, which aims to attract industry and its workers of highly valued firms[xxx]. Within workforce development, place-based approaches manifest themselves in two categories of programs. I have categorized them as holistic-community development and youth development. Both focus beyond the job itself as the sole outcome of the program. Instead, the emphasis is on the individual's overall well-being as well as a higher quality of life for the community. The two approaches have much in common in terms of implementation and practice, but each strategy aims at different age demographics with respect to the labor force.

Holistic, Community Development.

The first category, a holistic, community approach, involves programs addressing a much broader age demographic. These can range from long-term training programs like Focus HOPE and Project QUEST to short-term programs like Glendale Youth Alliance's

Summer Brush Clearance Program. These programs are characterized by not only improving educational and skill outcomes, but by empowering young people through public service, civic engagement, or entrepreneurship; by offering services to deal with drug addiction, unhealthy relationships, criminal histories and mental health problems; and by focusing on quality of life in the community.

Focus HOPE's mission is to "build a metropolitan community where all people may live in freedom, harmony, trust and affection"[xxxi]. This is done through career training programs, a supplemental food program, and an educational initiative. The career training programs target at-risk young adults and offer an environment for training and job placement while simultaneously offering services that provide support for transportation and emergency food, clothing, and shelter. Students also have access to workshops on a range of topics from job placement assistance to financial literacy. Graduates of the program go on to work in the information technology and engineering fields. As opposed to the previous workforce paradigm that sees people as products to attract business, Focus HOPE looks to nurture young men and women and create a better environment in which they can thrive.

Project QUEST sees itself as a community-based workforce development program and aims to "place people at the center of a genuine, far-reaching economic development strategy"[xxxii]. The program works with local residents who would otherwise be on public assistance and offers, through a range of local partnerships, outreach, recruitment, job search, job placement, case management, and academic services. What makes Project QUEST unique is the partnering with community colleges, faith-based institutions, and

multiple public sector organizations. The program then leverages these alliances through networking to create a stronger community-based change. By having a strong social network, Project QUEST allows participants to explore different facets of the community and experience different perspectives and views of the job market. It should be noted that the perspectives and skills gained are very specific to sectors and jobs.

Glendale's Youth Alliance Program takes a similar approach through the use of public service. The program initially started conducting brush clearance from hillsides as a part of a wildfire prevention effort. Now it has extended the role of youth and their job responsibilities in positions within local government, hospitals, and businesses. Part of the training involves life and job skills training ranging from CPR, first-aid, conflict resolution, and tool training (e.g. plumbing or construction tools). The Program pays the wages, with the exception of some high-skilled jobs, and businesses get to underwrite the cost of workers' compensation. Each participant also receives a personal mentor/counselor to work with on a weekly basis to discuss concerns, questions, or thoughts. Participants have defined the approach as working with the "whole person" as opposed to treating the "working" part of a person. From a holistic point of view, the community benefits through the public service of youth who are offering their time and energy. The youth, meanwhile, benefit through civic interaction, education, and having a mentor to consult with in difficult times.

Comparative studies examining workforce programs have shown that those characterized by a holistic, developmental approach are more successful[xxxiii]. Each of the above programs offers unique benefits to individuals and the community at large. Much

like the traditional workforce model they provide the work-related skills needed to succeed in the job market and also provide local businesses with a much more competitive labor force. What sets this approach apart is its broader focus on the community at-large through partnerships and its provision of a wide range of social services. This approach applies to a broader-ranging demographic and can include adults who have dropped out of college or even spent a few years in the labor force. The youth development approach, meanwhile, applies to a much younger age group and applies a different range of services. It should be noted that these programs are holistic, but still are traditional in the sense that they build skills for specific jobs in specific sectors.

Youth Development

Youth development programs focus on the skills necessary to successfully transition to adulthood, both professionally and personally. These programs often include counseling, guidance, mentoring, and leadership development. While still aimed at linking young people to workforce experiences and increased educational opportunities, they often have explicit goals like improving self-esteem and autonomy. These programs act as a combination of personal and workforce development and often include youth who are not technically of the labor force age (16 and above). These programs often take the form of youth entrepreneurship programs or artisan workshops. Two examples include the European ARTISAN program and the CCLC programs of New York.

The ARTISAN program was started as a way to address high rates of youth unemployment and also create new outlets for participation in society[xxxiv]. The program

aims to improve youth training and employment opportunities, create guidance and counseling systems, and strengthen social integration. It is targeted towards those who have little or no basic job qualifications and who are unable to participate in other social opportunities for many reasons. ARTISAN used the performing arts as vehicle for socialization, learning, and social integration while leveraging creativity and organizational networks. This program helps participants develop critical thinking and technical skills, while also working to include socially excluded individuals. Reported outcomes of the program have been an established network of trained youth leaders who can more effectively promote and support youth arts participation in the arts and a model curriculum which will present the arts as a legitimate and accessible vocational route for young people.

In New York, the 21st Century Community Learning Center (CCLC) grant program provides funding for after-school programs across the state in poor communities[xxxv]. Through state grants, the programs create sources of income for disadvantaged youth, increase parent participation and social capital, improve interpersonal skills of job participants, and increase exposure to activism. There is an also added benefit for working families as this program acts as a safe space for after school supervision. By seeing young people are inextricably linked to families and communities, the goal is to provide a place to grow and be looked after during the time between school ending and parents getting off of work. In a dissertation measuring the costs and benefits of the CCLC program, Kristen Powlick found these programs produced job opportunities in poor communities and, considering all labor costs, produced a total average benefit of $5,310 per CCLC center[xxxvi]. Furthermore, after school care has shown to reduce juvenile crime up to 20% and increase

self-reported feelings of safety for youth[xxxvii].

Holistic-community and youth workforce development uses equitable and economic principles that allow youth to participate in economic development. By focusing on traditionally overlooked populations, these programs are representative of the new thinking brought about by concerns and criticisms of traditional workforce development. These programs reflect a more nuanced and local approach that benefit more than private businesses or local governments. If we are to be concerned with a stronger workforce, greater quality of life, and equality of opportunity and education, we should focus more energy into support of youth programs, through best practices replication, research, and better policy.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the field of economic development's approaches to youth engagement and strategies of workforce development. Given recent unemployment numbers for youth ages 16-24 and the negative impact of unemployment in the long-term, workforce development strategies become even more important. The original incentive of attracting or retaining firms and investment still exists, but newer paradigms of thinking are emerging which address the community as a whole and important skills for individuals. These benefits add value to both people and place. In the next chapter, I will explore how artisans and the arts add value to economic development and how the industry in which they are a part of, Artistic and Cultural, are approached in theory and practice.

Chapter 3: The Arts and Economic Development

In the preceding chapter, I discussed the importance of incorporating youth into economic development programs and the potential benefits for people and place. This chapter will explore the second part of my broad research question, namely the importance of the arts for economic development. I will explore how artisans and the arts add value to economic development and how this field has been approached historically. First, I will discuss why cities and regions have turned their attention and policies to the artistic and cultural industries. Next, I will focus more specifically on artisans and how they are incorporated into programs involving youth and workforce development-type strategies. This section will include several examples of existing programs at various scales (city, state, regional), and the benefits and challenges of incorporating these programs. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of how the arts impact economic development.

Artistic and Cultural Industry as Local Economic Development

The idea of planning for and supporting the artistic and cultural industry through economic development is a relatively new concept[xxxviii]. Part of the reason for this rising interest is to harness the economic potential of the emerging "creative class"[xxxix]. One of the biggest proponents of this theory is Richard Florida, who claims the rise of human creativity is becoming the defining feature of current economic life[xl]. His claim is that new technology, wealth, and various economic benefits things flow from creativity. Florida's ideas and support for this concept has caused much debate in the world of economic

development policy[xli]. As support for the artistic and cultural industry has grown, there have been two main ways in which regions and cities associate it with economic development planning and policy.

First, the businesses and workers associated with the artistic and cultural industry are viewed as a type of "amenity" used to attract skilled labor and high growth firms. Amenities, defined as "location specific, non-tradable goods and services that benefit residents of a region in their role as workers or consumers," are central to creating a high quality of place, which is what draws specific workers and firms to regions or cities[xlii].

Amenities fall into three broad categories: neighborhood, urban, and environmental. Neighborhood amenities are important for resident home life and living conditions and include things like quality housing, quality schools, and safe communities. Urban amenities are important for tourism, entertainment, and social interaction and include things like artistic and cultural assets, unique architecture, diverse entertainment, and dining experiences. Environmental amenities, including climate, air quality, water quality, and provision of park space, are also important for tourism and social interaction, but can provide recreation and health benefits, as well. From the perspective of local economic development, each amenity is meant to act as an attractor of capital, business, and industry, which will indirectly spur economic development.

The second way cities and regions view artistic and cultural industry is as a major contributor to economic growth and development. They see artistic and cultural activity as an attractor of tourism, high skilled workers, and outside firms[xliii]. Various studies showing economic impacts from concerts, festivals, and other events related to the artistic and

cultural industry have validated these claims[xliv]. Further research has argued that provision for the arts, leisure pursuits, and aesthetic considerations play a new role for government and the health of central cities depend on these cultural advantages[xlv]. However, the argument has been put forward that these are casual claims that require more evidence[xlvi].

Partly to blame is the challenge of defining industries that qualify as artistic and cultural. This may stem from the mixture of visions advocating for creative class support, which have created conflict and confusion in the field of research[xlvii]. To help resolve this confusion, The New England Foundation for the Arts (NEFA) published an influential economic analysis and research framework including definitions of the creative economy by enterprise and occupation called, "The Creative Economy: A New Definition." For purposes of workforce development, support for the creative economy applies to programs addressing training or support for occupations falling within the "new definition". The paper published by NEFA categorizes cultural occupations into the following occupational groups: Performing Artists, Visual Artists, Creative Artists, Applied Artists, Heritage Artists, and Artisans (crafts). Each group represents an opportunity for incorporating the new place-based strategies into the field of workforce development. In other words, these are avenues for which artisans can participate in workforce development strategies. Because of my focus on artisans, I will explore how they have been incorporated into these strategies in practice at various scales.

Incorporating Artisans

Numerous strategies for incorporating artisans into economic development have

been pursued at international, statewide, regional, and local scales. Internationally, the Non-Profit Organization (NGO) Aid to Artisans provides design expertise, product development, business training, and market linkages to working artisans through the creation of local partnerships, training workshops on industry trends and technology, and access to exhibitions and trade shows to help sell their wares[xlviii]. Aid to Artisans sees crafts as the second best source of income behind agriculture for marginalized groups in developing countries and hopes to build skills that can be transferred to other industries or parts of the community.

At the statewide level, the Artisans Center of Virginia (ACV) focuses on developing and implementing systems and strategies to improve economic outcomes for Virginia artisans and their communities while assisting them in promoting local culture[xlix]. The ACV uses various initiatives to harness the economic and cultural assets of statewide artisans. First, a statewide craft registry recognizes artisans, patrons, businesses, and art organizations to help unify an established brand, build support, and add value to all involved participants. Second, a yearly Jury program identifies "Master Virginia Artisans" and their work as best in the field and provides opportunities to display their work in galleries, studios, sales venues, or exhibitions throughout Virginia. Third, a Studio School helps to hone vocational and trade skills while providing the business and marketing skills needed to sell their crafts and services. Finally, conferences and exhibitions, sponsored by the ACV, are held throughout the state to strengthen social networks, market products, and spread ideas and techniques in the field. In this way, ACV is designed to serve artisans, prospective patrons, galleries, and communities throughout the state of Virginia.

The Pennsylvania Wilds Initiative operates at the regional level with the aim to raise visibility and profitability of "art-centric" businesses throughout Northern Pennsylvania[l]. This is done through the provision of technical assistance, branding of high quality crafts, creation of online identities, and strengthening of new networks to allow for greater collaboration of ideas and businesses. Networking and collaborating within the region also allow for stronger marketing and branding identities. The Pennsylvania Wilds Initiative is tied to a much larger effort to conserve natural resources and energize other economies and is unique in that it applies to a rural region.

The opportunities created from involving artisans in projects are many. For one, working with artisans can provide an opportunity to tie language, culture, community, history, and heritage together. The Hopi Pu'tavi Project in New Mexico, for example, started as an initiative to bring recreation, education, and employment opportunities to local youth through an arts and crafts immersion program involving mentoring and workshops[li]. Local Hopi artisans teach bead working, weaving, pottery, and other craft activities to youth by using the Hopi language. After six weeks, youth and the artisans collaborate to sell the works at an art exhibition. The goal of the program is to assist in the passing on of language, culture, and community of the Hopi people.

Second, the creation of economic opportunities for local residents and businesses can be greatly enhanced by artisan programs. At the ACV, the creation of new partnerships and outlets to sell artisan goods through exhibitions and galleries helped artisans reach new markets and sales opportunities. Not only does this benefit the artisan with increased income, but it also creates a niche good for the region in hopes to attract tourism or outside

investment. Research based on similar networks in North Carolina has shown member artisan studios and farms have shown an increase of 23% in sales and craft shops and galleries saw a 28% increase in revenue[lii].

Third, the education stemming from technical assistance, youth workshops, and vocational and skills-based training can help artisans hone their craft, improve workmanship, increase creativity, and lead to new research opportunities. Education also remains one of the best defenses against unemployment and the decline of jobs.

Fourth, professional opportunities can arise through the creation of partnerships, sales opportunities, and networking that takes place from working with artisans. This can also partly stem from the visibility given to artisans in the form of trade shows, exhibitions, conferences, and galleries. Furthermore, each opportunity is a chance to increase social and personal networks within the community.

Of course, with the benefits brought by these initiatives also come challenges. The biggest issues faced by these programs are the lack of funding, the challenge of finding appropriate and functional art space where they can operate, and the obstacles to accessing capital and markets.

First, funding to implement the program is always an issue to be balanced against other needs and concerns, which is a common problem in government spending. The best organizations use a combination of membership fees and government funding, but not all programs can afford that luxury. The funding challenge can therefore often be a barrier to implementation, since not all artisan programs are fiscally cost-effective[liii]. The resolution of this issue is usually found through the community context in which the program exists.

For example, in the case of the Artisan Center for Virginia they were able to implement a state funded collaboration; however, the Pennsylvania Wilds Initiative used a regional approach due to the nature of their art.

Second, studies have shown the importance of physical space for the arts in community and economic development[liv]. Such programs have the potential to facilitate the building of social networks, community revitalization, and artistic development, but finding appropriate spaces in the right locations can be difficult, and the management of these spaces can create its own challenges. An often-cited reason for the challenge of securing and managing appropriate spaces for such artisan program is planners' and policymakers' lack of experience with the arts. A deeper understanding of the types of arts that are appropriate to certain spaces, locations, and programs would yield better management and overall results.

Third, finding access to the market for the artisans' wares can often prove difficult. Learning the skills and receiving training is often only half of the process for artisan training programs. The second element is finding a way to connect the artisan to markets and potential buyers. The resolution of this challenge lies in the partnerships and networks within the community, which should be strengthened to provide added opportunities for marketing locally. Adding a skills component to artisans program that focus on product development, business training, and marketing will help artisans think about and develop new ways to sell their products to a greater array of consumers.

So, although there is an array of challenges facing these programs, they also represent important opportunities for creating community-wide economic, educational, and

social benefits. When artisan programs focus on specific demographics, like youth, further benefits can be accrued like the counteraction of negative issues like unemployment, poor social and personal skills, and juvenile crime[lv].

Conclusion

As mentioned previously, the youth unemployment outlook has not been positive, especially for youth of color. With the recent rise in attention to artistic and cultural activity as well as research supporting benefits for youth who participate in arts and crafts, opportunities arise for workforce development programs that combine artisan promotion with youth development. While traditional, sector-based strategies have been weak in terms of addressing youth artisans, new programs are emerging out of this trend and are adding value to both participants and communities. One program that is an exemplar of this concept is the Palmetto Artisan Program, which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. This program was started as a way to curb aggressive street peddling and property damages from the collection of materials used to create crafts. The program has been considered a success in not only improving community conditions through the decline of juvenile crime, but the teaching of both personal and professional skills[lvi]. Programs like this show how youth artisan programs can be the vehicle for improving standards of living and general life outcomes for youth populations and the community at large.

More broadly, youth artisan programs can provide a viable vehicle for improving standards of living and general life outcomes not only for youth populations, but also for the community at large. These programs add a number of benefits for communities,

program participants, and prospective employers through the development of social networks, personal and professional skills, and curbing of negative issues like crime and unemployment. Traditionally, youth programs were created as the result of workforce development initiatives using sector-based strategies to attract new business, capital, and infrastructure. This traditional approach has faced criticism by both scholars and practitioners and helped bring about a new shift toward placed-based strategies focusing on amenity and quality of place. Because of this shift, artisan and cultural industries have become highly sought after by many regions, municipalities, and economic development practitioners. Youth artisans, often made up of excluded, minority, or low-income populations, already work within the artistic and cultural industry and provide an excellent opportunity to be incorporated into current policy and programs. If practitioners and scholars in the field of economic development planning wish to focus more attention on these populations, as some have called for, and focus on creating a higher quality of life, attention should be paid to these programs and the outcomes associated.

Chapter 4: Youth and Arts-based Programs in Practice

In the preceding chapters, I have shown that by incorporating the arts and youth with strategies of economic development, benefits can be seen for private businesses seeking higher skilled labor markets, communities looking for a higher quality of life, and young people desiring equality of opportunity and work experience. Chapter two demonstrated how youth have been involved through workforce development programs using job training and educational initiatives designed to improve the value of a city or region's labor force. Chapter three showed the role of arts in economic development and its potential to improve quality of place through the production of amenities, local goods, partnerships, and opportunities of expression. This chapter will review prominent programs across the country that working with both youth and the arts, while simultaneously acting as a force for economic development.

The programs below combine an arts-based education with some form of job training in hopes of improving the lives of young people and the communities that involve them. These programs were selected from research conducted by the YouthARTS Development Project, which comprised a comprehensive look into arts programs designed for youth at risk with the purpose of developing, testing, and disseminating "best practice" models[lvii]. The Project reviewed more than 600 abstracts of youth art programs conducted by Americans for the Arts and then chose specific programs to investigate based on best practices. In order to evaluate what defines "best practices", the Project reviewed literature on arts-based youth programming, interviewed representatives from programs around the

country, and held focus groups with artists and social workers.

My selection of programs will illustrate the variety of programs working in this field by exploring program operations, purposes, scope of work, and varying historical and geographic contexts. I also want to paint a picture of their common qualities, decision-making, general practices, and how they contribute to local economic development in order to draw lessons for my analysis of the Palmetto Artisans program. I first explain how each program functions on a day-to-day basis as well as throughout the year, including outlining mission statements, targeted population age groups, and seasonal changes throughout the school year. Second, I review how each program was started and what important decisions were made that shaped the programs. This will include short historical narratives and backdrops of the sociopolitical landscape. Third, I explore how exactly these programs contribute to local economic development and how youth are an integral part of that contribution. Finally, I will explore what makes these programs successful and examine challenges they have overcome. This will allow me to look at the bigger picture of artisan-based youth programs, the landscape they inhabit, and what the implications are for other cities and regions looking to implement similar programs. In addition, this review also provides a basis for my assessment of the Palmetto Artisan Program in the next chapter, which represents a different approach to arts-and youth-based economic development. The programs I have chosen are as follows: Art-at-Work from Fulton Country, Georgia; Youth Arts Public Art from Portland, Oregon; Gallery 37 from Chicago, IL, Manchester Craftmen's Guild from Pittsburgh, PA; and Young Aspiration - Young Artists from New Orleans, LA.

Artisan-based Programs in Practice

1. Art-at-Work (Fulton County, GA)

Described as an "impact driven job readiness program", Art-at-Work is a youth arts program based in Fulton County, GA[lviii]. The program seeks to use art as a vehicle for serving at-risk youth using education and skills building. The program provides youth ages 14 to 16 with a summer program where part of the time is spent learning different skills to produce saleable art, and part is spent learning how to run an exhibition where that art is then sold. Students who join the program become "Apprentice Artists" and learn to create original works of art. The program operates throughout the year with ten-week sessions during the school year and shorter four-week sessions in the summer. The program has a very specific target population: "urban, at-risk, underserved youth". Not only must they be 14 to 16 years of age, but they also must be referred by either the Fulton County Juvenile Court system or by a community entity, like a public school or social service agency.

The program was created in 1995 by the Fulton County Department of Arts and Culture as a way to broaden opportunities for teens interested in the visual arts. As the program became successful, a partnership was formed between the County's Arts and Culture Department and the Juvenile Court system broadening the outreach efforts towards their target population. The decision to make this connection was a proactive step that resulted in a greater funding pool as well as broader reach towards its target population.

The program contributes to local economic development through reduced recidivism, workforce training subsidized by the county, and arts-based education. Art-at-work contributes by improving quality of place as well as the quality of the labor force.

Reduced recidivism means less juvenile crime and increased feelings of safety, leading towards a better quality of life[lix]. Job-readiness classes, leadership workshops, technical skills training, and personal development programs create better candidates for current and prospective employers[lx]. The arts-based education they receive makes them particularly suited to a variety of niche positions including working with stained glass, clay, furniture making, glass making, printmaking, jewelry-making, and ECO-art from recyclable materials. Each of these contributions means creating value for people and place. Each year Art-at-Work reaches people and place through over 100 service contracts awarded which help to reach over an estimated five million people through community festivals, art exhibitions, plays, music concerts, and more[lxi].

Art-at-Work approaches "at-risk and underserved" youth who do not have strong access to work opportunities or social networks with positive role models. While noble, this is not the source of its success. That comes through the incorporation of this group into the community through art. It gives youth a meaningful purpose and opportunity to contribute to their community, which leads to better educational and skills outcomes over the long term and also improves self-esteem and confidence[lxii].

Art-at-Work has also worked to overcome multiple challenges. The joint collaboration between an arts entity and a juvenile system would seem like a tenuous relationship, but the program has made it work and simultaneously increased their outreach and pool of participants. However, They could further improve their reach and impact through increased funding and outreach. Increased funding could be achieved through seeking grants or a lobbying for a restructuring of local government resources. Outreach

and visibility could be improved by participating in local festivals, events, or community-wide initiatives. Furthermore, they could benefit from having a physical space, studio, or location to house their work for public display. Research has shown that art spaces can provide intangible resources like opportunities to build and maintain social capital, peer networks, and a shared identity[lxiii].

2. Youth Arts Public Art (Portland, OR)

The Youth Arts Public Art Program based in Portland, Oregon involves youth in the production and administration of a public arts project from start to finish. The program pairs local artists and art organizations with the Multnomah County Department of Adult and Juvenile Community Justice. The artists team with probation officers who then select youth to participate in a 12-week afterschool program. The culmination of the program is a youth-planned exhibition where all artwork, invitations, press materials, production, and other materials are created by youth participants.

One example of a completed project was the creation of a 10-minute documentary exploring the pros and cons of laws that strengthen sentencing for crimes committed by youth. This video has gone on to be shown in other venues across Portland, including local schools and the Portland Art Museum Northwest Film Center.

The program began in 1995 after a new juvenile justice complex set aside money to be allocated for public art. The money made it possible for the Regional Arts and Culture Council to create an art program for youth on probation. Currently, the programs operate at

three separate sites with all having the same goals and vision: "to teach art skills; teach life skills […]; create opportunities […]; raise self-esteem; and create a quality art project for public display." [lxiv] A much larger network of partners help in decision making and region-wide collaboration. These groups include the Regional Arts and Culture Council, Multnomah County Department of Adult and Juvenile Community Justice, Multnomah County, individual artists, and various art organizations.

Youth Arts Public Art contributes to local economic development by creating local art as a public good, forming new relationships and partnerships with youth and professional artists, and teaching business, marketing, and social skills to all project participants. In sum, the public art exhibitions and trained participants add value to the community through improving the quality of place and skill-level of people.

Research shows that through exposure to entrepreneurship experiences and skills learned on the job, young people feel empowered and are more likely to be successful in educational and career outcomes. As evidence, David Campbell and Jean Lamming evaluated numerous youth workforce development programs using comparative case studies and found that many had positive or even "life-changing" work experiences[lxv]. These types of experiences lead to greater positivity and confidence in the work environment. Also, by giving youth in the juvenile justice system an opportunity to experience outlets outside of a disciplinary structure, studies show increased feelings of safety and reductions in juvenile crime are achievable for program participants[lxvi]. Furthermore, these impacts have been shown to counteract issues of unemployment and poor social skills [lxvii].

This program is successful in part because of its development of unique art projects, and also because of its regional reach throughout Portland. The teaming up of professional artists with youth provides exposure to alternative professional avenues and future networking opportunities. Furthermore, the preparation, organization, and teamwork involved that leads up to a final performance or production, gives youth real responsibility and accountability. Each of the three sites of Youth Arts Public Art result in various forms of art given to the public, which strengthens its visibility and exposure.

Like Art-at-work, Youth Arts Public Art has made the collaboration between arts entities and a juvenile system not only successful, but simultaneously increased outreach, visibility, and pool of participants.

This program has evolved over time within the Regional Arts and Culture Council and now offers a variety of projects. By leveraging these projects within low-income communities to create community partnerships and attract people and capital, the program is an example of how arts-based youth programs can act as a revitalization tool for underserved communities.

3. Gallery 37 (Chicago, IL)

In Chicago, Illinois, Gallery 37 has developed an Advanced Arts Education Program to teach workplace skills to local youth through art. The stated goal of the program is to create meaningful employment and training in the arts. The program is run

thanks in part to collaboration between the City of Chicago, Chicago Park District, the Chicago Public Library, the Chicago Department of Family and Support Services, and the Chicago Public School system. Students ages 14 to 21 meet five days a week for two hours for the entire school year at Gallery 37 Center for the Arts. Students are given daily bus passes to assist with transportation costs. Students are taught by a team of teachers paired with professional artists from partner organizations and take classes in visual, performing, and culinary arts. Students are also actively recruited by local colleges and even have the potential to earn a stipend.[lxviii]

The program was created in 1991 by the City's Department of Cultural Affairs and backing from the former Mayor Richard Daley and his wife Maggie Daley. The program decided to use an undeveloped lot in downtown Chicago as a space for artistically inclined youth to hone their skills. In 1996, the Gallery formed a partnership with the local school system and began to collaborate with schools on programming. In 2000, the Gallery gained more funding from private contributors and expanded to include technology, sports and communications. The success of the Gallery continues to attract investment, ambitious youth, and recognition.

Gallery 37 contributes to local economic development by leveraging citywide partnerships, offering spaces for youth to focus their energy, offering job training in a variety of areas, and providing pathways to college and higher education. Perhaps the strongest contribution of Gallery 37 is exposure to a variety of networks for both youth and prospective employers and academic institutions. By acting as a center for learning and art, the center has attracted investment and scholarship that can be reinvested within the

community to create value for the city of Chicago.[lxix]

Similar to the previous programs, this program empowers young people through the exposure to job skills and practical experience that has been shown to improve educational and career outcomes for young people[lxx]. This program is also an example of one that reduces juvenile crime[lxxi], unemployment, and poor social skills[lxxii]. Specific academic outcomes are increases in number of students completing high school or enrolling in activities involving college preparation.

The program is successful for the broad range of skills and courses taught, the networks and partnerships created, the attraction of public and private investment, and it is also a classic case of community revitalization. It now offers a complete array of arts programs ranging from Culinary Arts, Dance, Literary Arts, Opera Workshop and Theater, and Visual and Media Arts. Because of its student output and high quality of learning, it has become a place for universities to offer scholarships and provision of stipends. Furthermore, Gallery 37 is a classic case of community revitalization in that it took an empty lot and turned it into a place that attracts both public and private investment.

Although they give vouchers to pay for travel, the time it takes to reach central Chicago still makes it difficult for some students to attend. A program as successful as this would do well to expand into underserved communities by creating another satellite gallery. Gallery 37 is located downtown and far from many communities as well as students who patronize the gallery. By expanding into less wealthy parts of Chicago, Gallery 37 has an opportunity to aid in restoring and vitalizing communities through cultural renewal.

4. Manchester Craftsmen's Guild (Pittsburgh, PA)

The mission of Manchester Craftsmen's Guild (MCG) is to "educate and inspire urban youth through the arts"[lxxiii]. MCG is an apprenticeship-training program in Pittsburgh, PA that focuses on ceramics, photography, drawing, and computer support. Students participate in experiences that build on life-skills development, art, and cultural awareness. MCG offers afterschool studios throughout the school year and summer studios for interested artists of many ages. MCG has become the centerpiece of revitalization effort in Pittsburgh through its focus on youth and art.

The formation of MCG began in 1968 by Bill Strickland, a local entrepreneur who wanted to help combat the economic and social problems he saw throughout his community. Strickland used a row house as the location for an informal art program to teach pottery and photography to inner-city minority youth. He became a mentor to inner-city children and youth who had a passion for art. As the leader of the program, Strickland earned a lot of well-deserved recognition and was soon asked to assume leadership of the Bidwell Training Center, a struggling trade school that served mostly locally displaced steel workers. Strickland began to broaden the focus from only steel worker involved skills-training to include other fields like horticulture, medical research. Within several years, and after much fundraising, Strickland was able to combine both the Bidwell Training Center and his passion for the arts when he opened a 62,000 square foot arts and education center. The development and its program continue to attract investment and the interest of community members to this day. Most recently, MCG was host to the 2008

National Council on Education for the Ceramic Arts conference.

Since its funding, MCG has contributed to local economic development through the attraction of new partnerships, investment, attracting scholarship and academic opportunities, the creation of public art, and the training of youth to create a stronger workforce. In other words, MCG adds value to people and place through continual investment in its labor force and community.[lxxiv]

Like the previous programs, MCG empowers young people through practical work experience and exposure to the professional world. Research has shown that this experience can improve educational and career outcomes for young people over time. These programs also provide constructive and positive outlets for youth after school, which has been shown to reduce crime and increase feelings of safety among students.

The success of the program stems from Strickland's public presence and the work he has put into creating MCG. It was his good standing in the community that resulted in his appointment of the Bidwell Training Center, which he turned into a successful community catalyst. He attracted investment, which in turn has helped to open up pathways to jobs and training for local youth and residents. In this sense, it is a classic case of arts-based programming assisting in economic development.

This program has faced many challenges since its inception. The founder, Bill Strickland, began his mission in a row house with little access to resources. It was because of his networking and good standing in the community that helped lead him to opportunities that would create the successful operation that it is today. MCG could continue to leverage its good standing and use its art to create public spaces integrated with

local amenities. For example, an art space dedicated to the presentation and display of local history, art, and culture within a park could be used to bring about awareness of certain groups and their issues and experiences. Research shows these types of spaces can improve the urban quality of life, expand business and tax revenue base, and aid in a more positive regional and community image. In a 2011 study on the connection between arts and economic development, Carl Grodoch found that many art spaces were seen as anchors of revitalization in that they inhabited vacant buildings, saved the destruction of historic structures and attracted artists and audiences from around the area[lxxv].

5. Young Aspiration | Young Artists (New Orleans, LA)

Young Aspirations | Young Artists (YAYA) is an arts and social service organization based in New Orleans, LA that trains students in the visual arts and the entrepreneurial aspects of running an art-related business. Students work with professional artists to create works of art, which are then exhibited and sold to the general public. The program operates as an after-school program, which offers studio space and mentoring to young artists from age 13 to 25. At the end of their time in YAYA, artists will have developed a skill set ranging from technical art design, art pricing, marketing, finances, taxation, and artist career development.

The program was started in 1988 by a local artist named Jana Napoli who observed students after-school with nothing to do. She brought them in to her studio and invited them to paint. Afterwards, she asked the local business community to observe their works

and possibly invest in their future. These partnerships were the beginning of YAYA and have continued to support the financial demands of running the program.

YAYA contributes to local economic development through workforce development and improved quality of life. First, the program exposes youth to professional networks helping them to gain an understanding of the professional world. On top of this real world education, program participants also gain understandings of finance, marketing, and networking. Second, youth also have opportunity to be formally trained in skills that can lead to professional careers in curating or are sales.

The program sees its success through youth development and networking. Through partnerships both nationally and abroad, YAYA gives young artists the opportunity to be exposed to other cultures, painting techniques, artistic styles, and personal perspectives that contribute both to artistic and personal development. Furthermore, these partnerships help youth connect with working artists and studios, which can increase their exposure to job opportunities and facilitate their professional networking.

YAYA boasts a success rate of 98% high school graduation rate for all of its program participants. YAYA also believes in the importance of travel and exposure to other cultures, so they set up travel opportunities to art projects and exhibitions in other cities.

When Napoli started this program she was by herself in her studio. Now, with the connections of alumni, she has partnerships and connections throughout the community. She has overcome lack of capital, funding, or support from the beginning to form one of the most successful art programs in New Orleans.

To increase YAYA's effectiveness, it could work to form partnerships with the great number of musical and art festivals that operate throughout New Orleans. The National Governors Association Center for Practice's report on the role of the arts in economic development cites several examples of local government joining forces with business and the arts to revitalize downtowns[lxxvi] and YAYA is well positioned to emulate these cases. The National Endowment for the Arts, which offers a number of grants for just such occasions, would be an excellent resource for this opportunity.

Commonalities Across Programs

Each of these programs illustrates the possible contributions of artisan-based youth programs to local economic development through education and workforce development. They were selected because they represent "best practice" models that have diverse approaches and structures; however, they all share commonalities that are important to operating a successful program.

For one, each program leverages an education in the arts combined with job training in a specific skill. That skill could be visual communications, arts and crafts, pottery, marketing, or the production of an art exhibition. Arts education has been shown to benefit youth development through increased "creative autonomy," which has been shown to be an important factor for successful adulthood[lxxvii]. Furthermore, research conducted about the importance of arts-based education has found that it improves student motivation, social competencies, creative thinking and engagement[lxxviii]. Also, a recent study conducted by the Brookings Institute shows that entrepreneurial high-tech innovators tend to have

significantly higher rates of participation in arts and crafts throughout their lifetimes than do their less entrepreneurial and innovative colleagues[lxxix]. The National Assembly of Arts Agencies provides a plethora of research articles, cases, and resources on the importance of an arts education.

Second, each of these programs uses partnerships with local professional artists to act as mentors to youth. Not only do such relationships provide inspiring examples for young artists, they also furnish avenues for the creation of formal and informal networks that can lead to future collaboration, jobs, and innovations. Research shows that these networks are important in economic development policy, because each party has specific knowledge about different parts of the city and how to make development happen[lxxx].

Third, these programs had the advantage of space to operate in the form of brick-and-mortar. This was either provided for by various government funding sources or by NGOs and private donors. By having a dedicated physical space to collaborate, teach, and create, art programs can help build social networks, which in turn will contribute to both community revitalization and artistic development[lxxxi].

Finally, each program has a source of funding that generously supplies their work either through grants or contributions from the tax-base. This should go without saying, but art and training programs are generally not for-profit and require some cash flow; however, there is precedent for a grant-less and non-tax-base funded art-based training program, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

In addition to the above commonalities, I've identified key factors that have helped to make these programs successful. In the case of Art at Work, successful collaborations

were the result of forming partnerships. With Youth Arts Public Art, the use of public exhibits, performances, and public product displays leads to legitimacy to both the program and the youth involved. Gallery 37 used its flexibility, inclusiveness, and openness to broaden its scope, which has led to increased investment and visibility. MCG, through the initiative of Bill Strickland, stayed locally connected and gained visibility, which resulted in his appointment to the Bidwell Training Center. Strickland was able use the center as a springboard for MCG and other disciplines. YAYA uses ongoing training and gives participants multiple perspectives of the art world from the creative side of idea generation to the business side of selling art as a product.

These programs had a variety of positive impacts on the quality of life for both people and place. In short, individuals benefited from training and education and communities benefited from investment, cultural activity, and safety. First, training programs increase the supply of a skilled and educated labor force, which also mean increased long term success for individuals. Sometimes this success is created through increased social networking, which can open doors to new opportunities, and partnerships that were present beforehand. Second, communities that have implemented programs of this nature see improvements in quality of life through reduced crime[lxxxii], strengthening of social networks, and creation of spaces that aid in artistic development and community revitalization[lxxxiii].

Thanks to a variety of support mechanisms, these programs have been successful in working with youth and preparing them for future careers in art or other industries. However, the Palmetto Artisan Program in Charleston, SC has achieved similar results in

terms of training, education, partnerships, and innovation, but without access to the same level of social and economic resources as the programs discussed in this chapter. In the next chapter, I will describe the establishment and structure of this program, analyze the factors that made it a success, and discuss the lessons for youth- and arts-based economic development elsewhere.

Chapter 5: The Case of The Palmetto Artisan Program

In the preceding chapter I outlined several successful art-based youth programs which all leverage an arts-based education, partner with local artists, have space or infrastructure to operate, and have generous funding streams. This chapter will show what led to the formation of the Palmetto Artisan program, how it functions, how it contributes to local economic development, and what researchers and policymakers can learn from its accomplishments. I suggest that this program is unique in its ability to turn a negative issue involving youth into a program with positive implications for the city of Charleston (Figure 5.1). Furthermore, the Palmetto Artisan Program is a unique exemplar in terms of creative development of extensive partner networks and the securing of financial and resourceful contributions. Finally, the program is unique in that it took a historical, artistic technique using a local resource to create a marketable craft that has value to both tourists and Charlestonians alike.

Figure 5.1: Map of the City of Charleston, SC.
Source: Nathan Brigmon

Charleston History and Leading up to Palmetto Artisan Program

The City of Charleston is known for its historical ties to colonial America, its involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, and its significant role during the Civil War. During the colonial period, Charleston became an important trading center and, at one point, was the wealthiest and largest city south of Philadelphia[lxxxiv]. Because of its location and surrounding agrarian economies, the city became a prominent port during the slave trade. At one time, 57% of all Africans brought to North America to be sold into slavery entered through the ports of Charleston[lxxxv] and, in 1820, Charleston's population had a black majority. Figure 5.2 shows the City Market, the former location of the entry point for these slaves. The slave population in Charleston has left an indelible mark on the culture, art, traditions, and language of today's city.

Figure 5.2: View of the Charleston Market
Source: Kate Thornton via The New York Times

The long history of the city also supports a strong tourism industry. Today, the city's most popular tourist and shopping destination is the City Market, one of the oldest markets in the country. At the market, items that represent Charleston's history and character are sold, including handcrafted sweetgrass baskets, low-country food items, and traditional southern clothing. For small business owners and local artisans, having a spot on the market is a great opportunity for exposure to the public and a chance to sell their wares.

Certain artisans receive special treatment due to their important place in North Carolina history, especially those of Gullah descendants. The term "Gullah" refers to the language and the descendants of African slaves who live in the Carolina low country. The Gullah artisans make handmade sweetgrass baskets and special spots are reserved for them in the market, and they are also given certain exemptions from city and state ordinances. Among these are the exemption from the South Carolina State Sales and Use Tax, a waiver of the requirement to have a business license, and exemptions from a variety of zoning measures like obtaining a permit to sell on the side of the road[lxxxvi].

Another group that used to sell their goods in the market was the so-called "rose peddlers" or "Rose Kids", youth ages 10 – 18 who sold handmade roses made from the leaves of the Palmetto tree. The Palmetto is South Carolina's State Tree and holds a special place in history. Thanks to its dense, yet sponge-like structure it was used to line the walls of Charleston's Fort Moultrie during the Revolutionary War and is credited as playing a major role in saving the city[lxxxvii]. The tree would go on to be celebrated, placed on the State Flag of South Carolina, and become a great marketing symbol for products using it as a symbol or crafts made from its material.

The so-called Palmetto Roses are made from the new growth of leaf fronds off the top of the Palmetto Tree. The Charleston City Paper has published a "How To Make a Palmetto Rose" guide complete with video step-by-step written instructions (Figure 5.3)[lxxxviii]. The process begins by stripping several frond strands from the main frond, while still leaving a connection at the base. Next, each individual strand is folded at the beginning of the stem, about 6 inches from the tip, creating a spiral effect. When you have folded until the end of

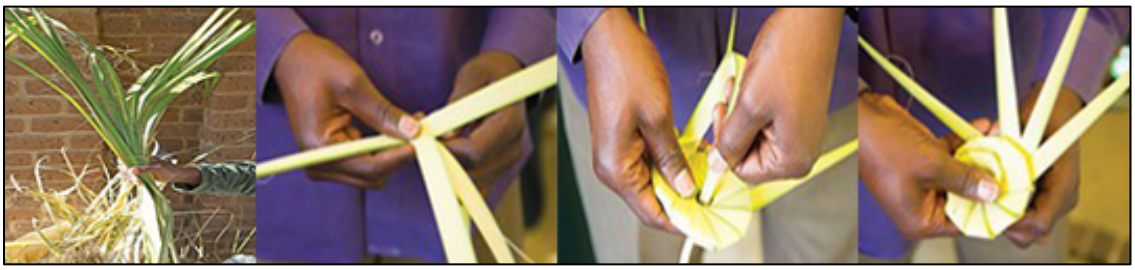


Figure 5.3: How to Make a Charleston Palmetto Rose
Source: Adam Chandler via The Charleston City Paper

the strands are almost gone, the strands are then pushed through the center of the spiral downwards towards the stem. Next, the top of the flower is twisted until the spiral turns into a rose. The final step of creating a Charleston Palmetto Rose is to place a rubber band around the neck of the rose to keep it in place. Joyce Coakley, a College of Charleston historian has said this practice originated as a creative way to recycle basket-making scraps. According to him, they used to be called "Confederate roses" and the practice is at least a century old. Eventually, making roses took on many roles in South Carolina culture. As Jimmy Bailey, Director of YESCarolina put it, "it is a business; it's an art form; it's a heritage."

In the early 2000s, a lot of Charleston youth picked up the technique from a family member or a friend and began selling the roses. Typically, they would collect the palmetto fronds from palmetto trees in parks, on private property, and wherever else they could find

them. After folding the roses, the "rose kids", as they came to be called, would walk around

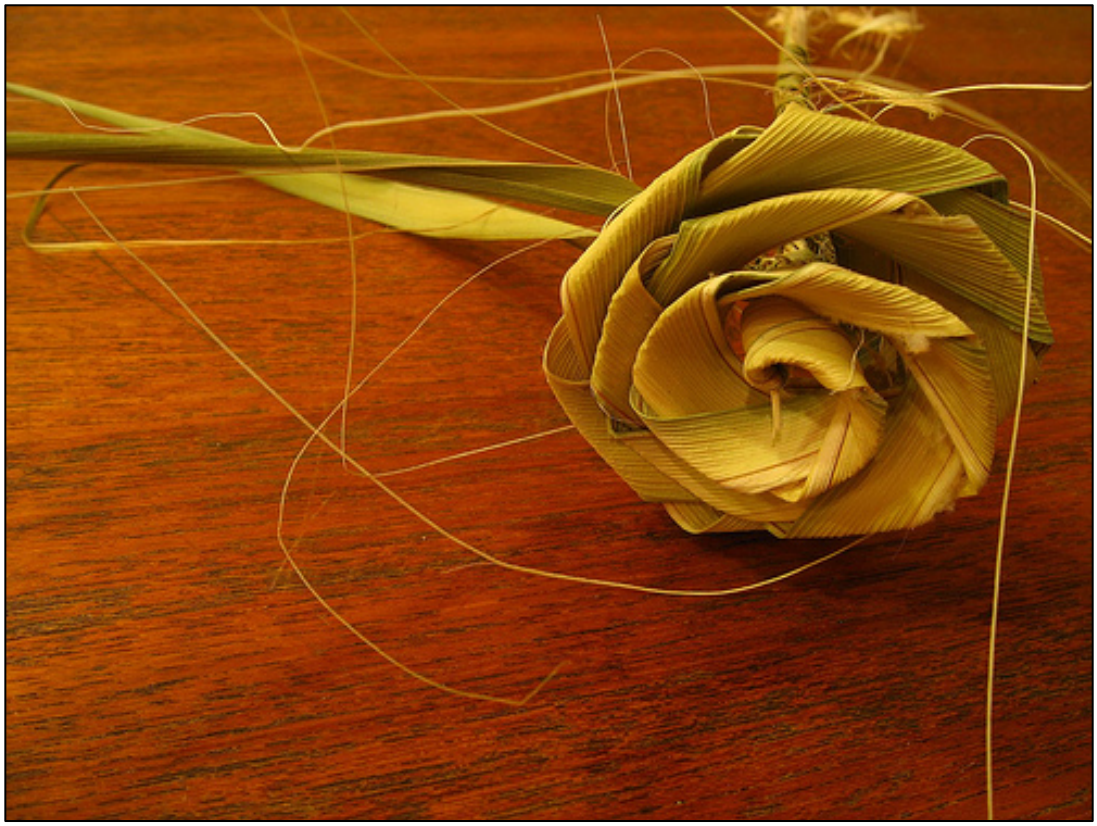


Figure 5.4: Palmetto Rose
Source: Michael Brown via South Carolina Radio Network

Charleston's retail and market districts attempting to sell roses. Figure 5.4 shows an image of what these roses look like when they are ready for sale. The rose kids generally would roam the streets unsupervised and often find themselves getting into trouble. As Edward Meyers, a caricature artist who works on the waterfront, said, "it's cute, but they are a nuisance." –[lxxxix]

One of the most notable incidents occurred when a local business called to complain of a kid urinating on the wall inside of their store. The most common complaint about these street peddlers was the aggressive peddling of their wares. Said Marylin Reeves, owner of a small business who put up a warning sign to rose peddlers to stay away: "I hated to put

out the sign and my heart goes out to some of the children, but tourists would cross the street to get away from them."

In many cases, they would harass and often swear at tourists or walk into restaurants and interrupt customers in the middle of their meal to attempt to sell their roses. With a lack of customer service training or social aptitude, the rose kids would make many tourists and customers feel uncomfortable and they would then complain to city officials or business owners. According to Chris Christopher, a local resident who has chased kids of trees in her yard, "by allowing this to continue, the city is condoning theft."

However, since the Palmetto Roses have such deep historical value and connections to Colonial Charleston, many residents wanted to preserve this tradition. Also, many officials and local community leaders did not want to punish the youth, fearing it could be one of the worst messages that could be sent to them[xc]. To some, these kids merely wanted to make money from tourism like many other Charleston businesses, and they are in the process preserving an important part of the local heritage. In Jimmy Bailey's, Director of YESCarolina, words, "this (tradition) was brought over from Africa and we need to preserve it, and what better way to preserve it than make money at the same time?" Rather than ignoring the issue or banning the sale of artisan roses outright, Mayor Joe Riley and City Council decided to take this negative issue and turn it into a positive. As some local officials argued, because of its historical significance, there is great respect for the product that the Rose Kids make, as well as for their effort in trying to sell it: "These kids are just trying to make an honest dollar," said James Lewis Jr., a Charleston councilman. "If we run them off the streets, then they're going to end up hanging out with drug dealers

and we're going to have all kinds of crime on our hands."[xci] With the community support for the efforts of the youth, Charleston officials, specifically those in the Department of Economic Development, began to develop a plan to work with the youth.

Rationales, Actors, and the Establishment of the Program

Trying to ameliorate the problems caused by the aggressive peddling, bad behavior, and property damage was merely part of the rationale of starting the program. It was also recognized that the kids were trying to become businessmen and businesswomen and make money from the tourism industry like many others in the Charleston area. One of the big advocates and creators of the program was Jimmy Bailey, who sees this program as part of a larger vision pushing for economic equality. When the US Conference of Mayors presented Mayor Joe Riley and the City of Charleston with award for America's "Most Livable" City, Riley asked Bailey to come to the podium to say a few words. Bailey described his ambition of working to bring about economic equality for all people in the United States as being at the heart of everything he does. One method for accomplishing that is changing laws that prevent young poor kids from reaching their full potential. In the acceptance speech, he described the means for channeling that rationale like this:

"I know a secret that if fully understood […] could possibly have implications for the future of our society. Low-income children are born with special gifts and talents that prepare them for wealth creation and business formulation. They are skeptical of hierarchy, they are accustomed to stress, they are not afraid of failure, they're creators, and full of chutzpah. In other words they have street sense that we at YESCarolina want to turn into

business smarts."

From its inception, the goal of the Palmetto Artisan program was to create a pathway for youth to become certified city vendors as well as to prepare them to be better salesmen. This would be accomplished through a training course, recognition by the City as licensed vendors, and the establishment of a support network made up of local businesses and city officials. As soon as the idea of an entrepreneur class took hold, however, it took some convincing on the part of City staff to get youth involved in the program. According to Susan Griffin, who played a large role in getting the program off the ground, over 90% of the youth she contacted were looking for jobs elsewhere. It took many hours of Griffin and others speaking with parents over the phone and getting the word out before the Program eventually came to fruition. After three years of planning and preparation, the Palmetto Artisan Program was finally launched in 2007.

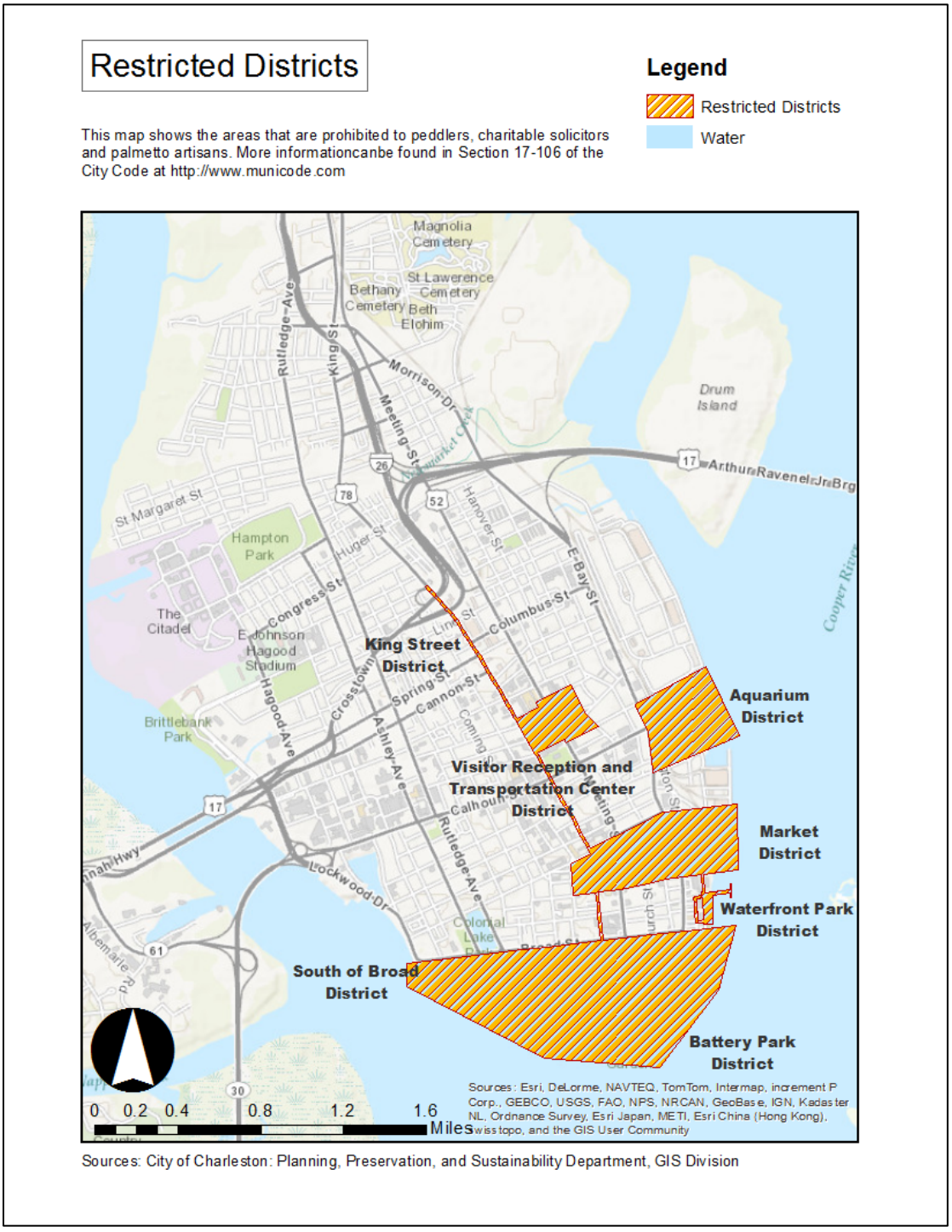
The program is administered by the Department of Recreation who is responsible for administration, staffing, and ensuring the artisans complete the permitting process of the program. Operating the program out of this department makes sense given the variety of other training courses offered, including gardening, pottery, fencing, and others. This department is also the most frequent and experienced handler of youth programs.

When it comes to the teaching component of the program, YESCarolina is contracted to teach a one-week business course, or BIZ Camp, to the Palmetto Artisans before they can become certified city vendors. YESCarolina is a local non-profit that works with youth in the Charleston area in many capacities. Other activities include hosting a series of business plan competitions for high school students, a mentor program for youth

interested in business, and a training program for teachers wishing to become entrepreneurship advocates.

Once Biz Camp is completed, the newly permitted artisans are free to sell throughout the city except in restricted districts (see Figure 5.5). They can be seen throughout the peninsula sitting on the sidewalks, folding palmetto fronds and offering tourists a deal for roses. They can be easily noticed by the amount of palmetto leaves lying on the ground beside them waiting to be folded into a rose. Before the program, the selling technique was more guerilla-style and, depending on the location, illegal. Now, the Rose Kids have special artisan permits hanging around their necks, and they have the confidence that they are a part of the business community or tourist industry just like any other business.

Youth are free to sell using all of the skills and techniques learned in BIZ camp. If they are caught selling roses in one of the restricted districts, the Department of Recreation employs a monitor to handle complaints of either the Artisans or local businesses, if an Artisan is misbehaving. The monitor's job is part-time and entails being visible and available in case something needs to be brought to the attention of program administrators. Also, while the program supports youth selling roses in Charleston, not all who sell roses have completed the program or are certified vendors. Still, youth who fail to get certified or who decide not attend the program still represent Palmetto Artisans in the eyes of tourists or various local businesses. So, when they misbehave or cause problems, the whole program has the potential to look bad. While the unofficial vendors may only have numbers as big as 8-10, the amount of Palmetto Artisans in the program is currently 51.



Sources: City of Charleston: Planning, Preservation, and Sustainability Department, GIS Division

Figure 5.5: Map of Restricted Districts.
Source: Nathan Brigmon

There are also those that support the program in other capacities. The fronds come from an anonymous landscaping/tree nursery business on John's Island who donate the palm fronds at no charge. The fronds are stored at a local florist who also provides refrigeration and storage space for no charge. Local restaurants have provided beverages free of charge to the kids on hot summer days. Ice cream shops sometimes give free ice cream and also contribute monetarily to the program. Several other vendors on the market purchase their roses and offer bits of advice and counsel. When asked as to why these businesses would want to assist, Yarborough, who is the Director of the Department of Recreation…? had an excellent response: "It's probably more of a hassle for them than anything else and yet they are willing to do it and they've done it the whole time… Honestly, I think that most people want to be of help. They see the potential and good in these kids and they want to help."

Through these relationships and real-world experiences, the artisans have begun to understand the process of growing and running a business. They learn how to build meaningful and supportive relationships with customers and others around them. Whereas before they would harass tourists for not buying roses and rush through the sales process, today the Artisans are patient and have learned that politeness can pay off. The skills they learn in the classroom and on the street can be applied in future endeavors, but perhaps more importantly, they can be applied in different contexts and later in life. Research shows that experiences such as those offered through the Palmetto Artisans program can improve the youth's value as candidates in the job market through improved problem-solving ability, decision-making, money management skills, interpersonal skills, and more.[xcii]

Contributions of the Program to People, Place and Economic Development

This program has been so effective given limited resources largely due to four factors: safety, creation of partnerships, community philanthropy, and focus on historic preservation. Before the program, there were reports of kids getting robbed at the end of the day and losing their day's profit. The logical course of action would have been to report the robbery to the nearest police officer. However, the rose kids did not have a healthy relationship with the police, who were usually chasing them out of the Market or from storefronts. Now the artisans are legal city vendors and have the respect and protection of the police like any other city vendor. Also, with the provision of palm fronds, the youth no longer have to climb trees with machetes and cut down their own materials to make roses, which makes their work much safer.

The partnerships that have formed as a result of the program have provided the youth with self-confidence and also a feeling of being productive members of the community. Also, new partnerships have created new opportunities for growth and education. Now, wedding planners contact local florists and make orders for the artisan roses. The florist then calls the Department of Recreation, who in turn contracts several of the artisans to make sometimes up to 200 roses. Another partnership is between the rose kids and the sweetgrass basket makers, who make another form of handmade low country craft. Often, the basket makers will purchase several roses from the youth to sell alongside their own crafts. This support and creation of networks is especially unique because of the lack of effort it took to get local businesses and community members to support the Artisan Program. In other words, as soon as word got out about the program, the phone started

ringing at Susan Griffin's and Laurie Yarborough's offices. There was no marketing or solicitation effort needed to ask for support.

Another aspect of the Palmetto Artisan Program that makes it unique is its basis in heritage and history, which gives the rose and the Rose Kids a special connection to place. Since the program is based on existing practices and artistic techniques, a marketing brand and narrative is already present to assist in promotion of materials and support of the program. Not only does the technique of making the roses have African roots that trace back hundreds of years, but the main resource used, the Palmetto Tree, is significant because of its connection to the Revolutionary War and its prominent place on the state flag.

Through its unique approach to involving youth in economic development efforts, this program creates value in nuanced ways to the two principal areas that local economic developers seek to improve: people and place. It creates a more valuable workforce by building skills, experience, and educational levels in a population that is particularly at-risk and vulnerable. It also creates city vendors out of youth who were originally shunned. The art they create constitutes a local good that is converted into a classic export product, leading to creation of wealth (however small). Furthermore, by increasing partnerships and social networks, the program has laid the foundation for future collaboration, jobs, opportunities, and idea creation. By supporting youth in a professional capacity, research has shown that these experiences can have a positive impact on career development and trajectory by influencing work habits[xciii]. For example, in a 2011 youth development study that took place over six months, a group of students exposed to peer support, coaching, and

positive reinforcement were found to have had marked improvement in the following areas: learning how to set goals and taking steps to achieve them, believing in themselves, and in involvement with groups where they feel cared for and valued. The program also creates a better place by enhancing the experience of Charleston as a place or destination. With the new training and customer service skills given to the youth, the City has essentially trained new business owners to offer better service and forge a more positive image of the city. While not all 51 Palmetto Artisans are in the street selling roses everyday, they do have the potential to make up to $200 in one day[xciv].

Chapter 6: Discussion and Analysis

As evident by the various programs discussed in Chapter 4 and the positive changes in Charleston resulting from the Palmetto Artisan Program, arts-based youth programs have significant potential for economic development through their benefits to both people and place. Cultural amenities, especially those created by the arts, assist in creating high quality of life and attracting high quality workers and firms to a city or region. Also, studies have shown that investing in the arts through education can have lasting impacts, including helping prepare students to become future innovators. Moreover, programs that combine youth and the arts may lead to additional equity benefits if they provide assistance to low-income, vulnerable populations that don't normally have access to training program or early education. Such arts- and youth-based economic development programs can also increase social capital, partnerships, and lead to the formation of new social networks throughout the community, which in turn can spur innovation or new opportunities for young people.

The case studies in chapter 4 provided lessons for successful implementation of such programs. In the case of Art at Work in City, successful collaborations were the result of forming partnerships, while in the case of Youth Arts Public Art, the use of final public exhibit, performance, or product on display for the public lends legitimacy to both the

program and the youth involved. Gallery 37 uses its flexibility, inclusiveness, and openness to broaden its scope, which has led to student scholarships, private investment, and outreach to schools. MCG stays locally connected and involves, which in turn leads to opportunities for investment, visibility, and networking that the program has been able to capitalize on. YAYA uses ongoing training and gives all participants a comprehensive introduction to the art world from idea creation to public sale, which makes it a successful program.

From the analysis in this report, several key lessons emerge for other cities and regions interested in similar work with arts-based youth program. First, such programs should be based on local knowledge, heritage and art. In the case of the Palmetto Artisan Program, the use of the Palmetto Rose made it easier for the community to support an existing local product. The Palmetto Rose is also tied to local culture and tourism, so the creation and sale of it is a celebration of the community. Furthermore, by drawing on an existing local art technique, it was easier for program organizers to facilitate partnerships and social connections. This could be seen in the collaboration between the Rose Kids and the local florist who offered to store the roses free of charge, and also the sweetgrass basket makers who began purchasing roses on a weekly basis.

Second, programs should focus on vulnerable populations who otherwise will not have access to economic development opportunities. Inequalities concerning access to job

opportunity for young people have long-lasting effects and, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the trend in unemployment is particularly harsh for many in Hispanic and Black populations.

Third, it is recommended to support programs, efforts, or strategies that increase partnerships, social networking, and opportunities for collaboration. In the case of the Pennsylvania Wilds Initiative, the networking and collaborating between rural businesses throughout Northern Pennsylvania creates a regional brand that can be used to market a larger identity.

And finally, rigorous methods for evaluation should be developed to ensure the goals of the program are met. As put forth by the YouthARTS Development Project, an evaluation tool will also help to pinpoint the factors that contribute to impede the program's success. Furthermore, having a form of documentation will help current and future program participants learn from previous endeavors and build off the successes of others.

The Palmetto Artisan Program contains the beginnings of a unique model for smaller cities with few economic resources, but with plentiful and significant local traditions that can be capitalized on in for arts and crafts development. Chapter four outlined several programs that have been vetted and categorized as successful for the methods used and results achieved. The Palmetto Artisan Program, given fewer resources, uses similar methods, but builds on historical artisanal knowledge and harnesses local philanthropy. It built on an existing, artisanal tradition and the skills of its workers, the rose

kids, and incorporated this informal economic activity into the tourist industry, while simultaneously helping end the negative perceptions of the informal rose peddling. By these standards, the program has truly made the city a more livable place for businesses and residents, but also for the youth engaged in this unique art form.

Appendix:

Figure 1.1: Image of Sweetgrass Baskets and Palmetto Roses Page 2

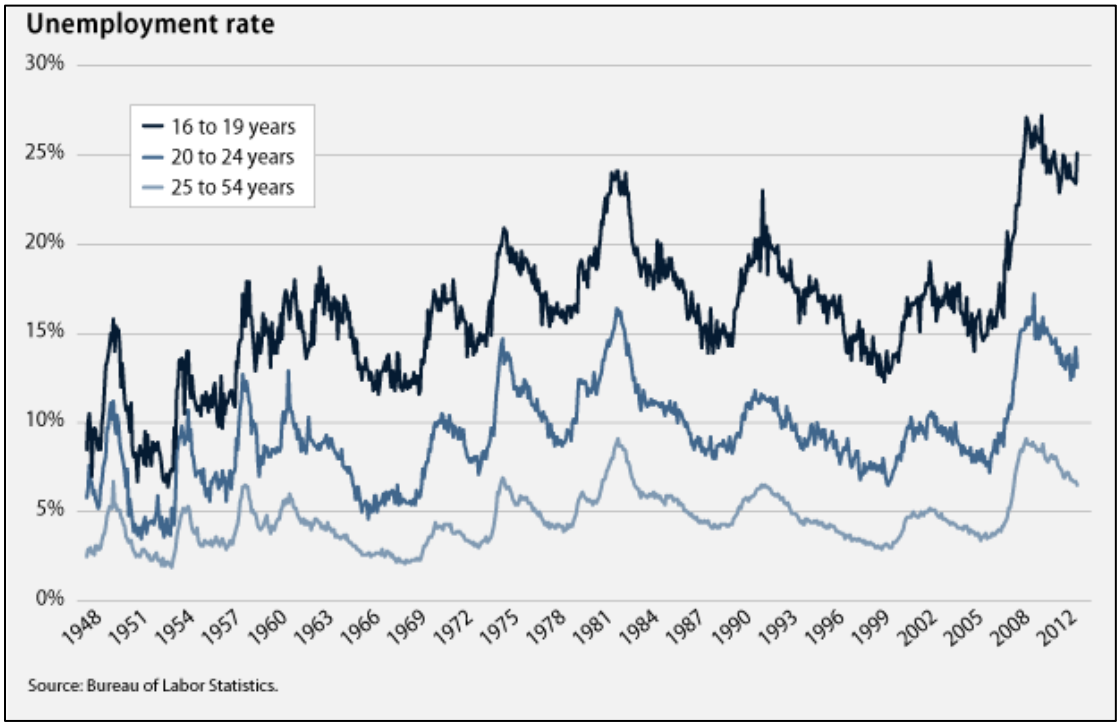
Source: Mike and Joyce Hendrix via Travellogs.us

Low Country Sweetgrass Baskets Charleston, South Carolina

Accessed August 10, 2013

< http://travellogs.us/2010%20Logs/South%20Carolina%202010/10-61%20Charleson%20SC/Sweet%20Grass%20Basket%20Charleston/10-61aa%20Sweet%20Grass%20Baskets.htm>

Figure 2.1: Table of Youth Unemployment Rates from 1948 - 2012 Page 12

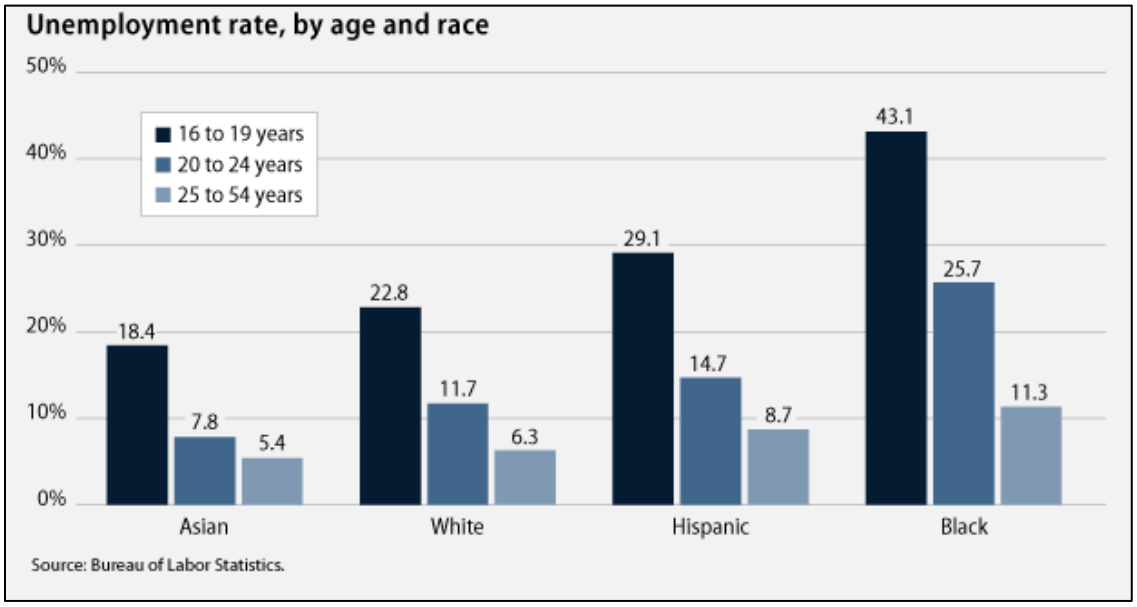


Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics via AmericanProgress.org

Ayres, Sarah. (2013) "The High Cost of Youth Unemployment," Center for American Progress. Accessed August 10, 2013.

< http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/labor/report/2013/04/05/59428/the-high-cost-of-youth-unemployment/>

Figure 2.2: Table of Unemployment Rates by Age and Race Page 13



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics via AmericanProgress.org

Ayres, Sarah. (2013) "The High Cost of Youth Unemployment," Center for American Progress. Accessed August 10, 2013.

< http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/labor/report/2013/04/05/59428/the-high-cost-of-youth-unemployment/>

Figure 5.1: Map of the City of Charleston, SC Page 49

Source: Nathan Brigmon

Figure 5.2: Image of the Charleston Market on Market Street Page 50

Source: Kate Thornton via The New York Times

Lorre, Rose Maura. Charleston's (Now) Great Hall. *New York Times.* September 2, 2011. Accessed August 10, 2013 < http://travel.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/travel/great-hall-at-the-charleston-city-market-heads-up.html?_r=2&>

Figure 5.3: Image of Artisan Making a Charleston Palmetto Rose Page 52

How to Make a Palmetto Rose

1. Strip four leaves from the spear ensuring that they remain connected at the base (the sturdiest part of the leaf). The strands should end approximately 12 inches from the base, which becomes the palmetto rose stem.

2. Lay the four leaves horizontally across both hands with your palms facing upward.

3. Take a leaf at one end and fold it at a 90-degree angle to the stem. Crease it with your fingers.

4. Take the next leaf and fold it in the same direction at a 70-degree angle with the stem

5. Take the third leaf and fold it in the same direction at a 45-degree angle with the stem

6. Take the next leaf and fold it in the same direction at a 22-degree angle with the stem

7. Repeat steps 3-6, folding the leaves across the stem, maintaining 25 degrees of separation between the leaves throughout the flower. This gives the palmetto rose its circular shape.

8. Make sure to maintain a small hole in the center of the flower as you fold the leaves.

9. When you have about six inches left at the end of your leaves, flip your piece over and push the stem through the small hole in the center of the flower.

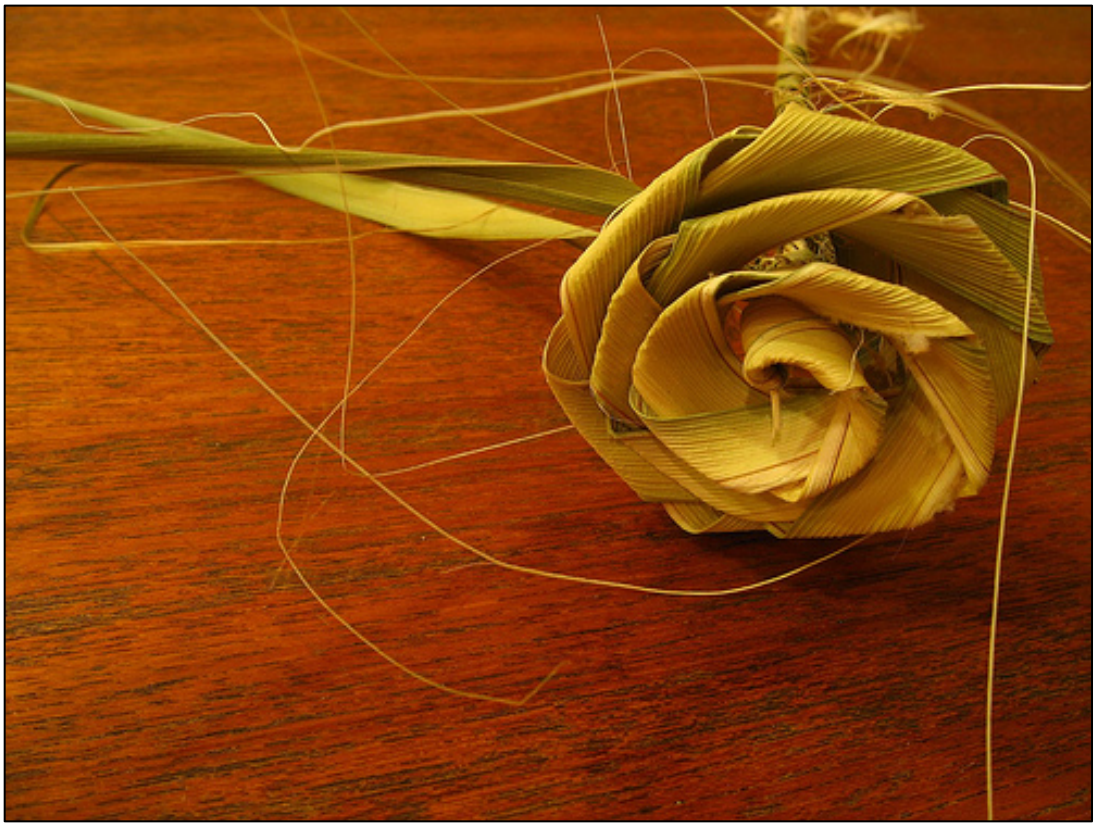
10. Hold the stem firmly in one hand, twisting the top of the flower with the other hand until you create the desired shape and form.

11. Wrap a rubber band around the stem, encompassing the ends of the leaves.

Source: Adam Chandler via The Charleston City Paper

Egan, Jacel. Video: How to Make a Palmetto Rose. January 1, 2012. *Charleston City Paper.* Accessed August 5, 2013. <http://www.charlestoncitypaper.com/charleston/video-how-to-make-a-palmetto-rose/Content?oid=3671490>

Figure 5.4: Image of Charleston Palmetto Rose Page 53



Source: Michael Brown via South Carolina Radio Network

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Figure 5.5: Map of Restricted Districts Page 58

Source: Nathan Brigmon

Based off of map from City of Charleston's Planning, Preservation, and Sustainability Department, GIS Division. Can be found here: <http://sc-charleston.civicplus.com/DocumentCenter/View/490>

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