8. Rock me like a hurricane!: how music communities promote social capital adept for recovery

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8.1 INTRODUCTION

When Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans it affected much more than the buildings, homes, and infrastructure of the city. While the physical damage was obvious, it was more difficult to determine how the storm and flooding would affect the city's diverse array of social networks. In particular many feared the death of the city's cultural identity - a critical draw for the New Orleans' tourist industry. Even if New Orleans did rebuild, would it be the same New Orleans that it once was? While many recovery proposals have correctly noticed that New Orleans' culture is critical to its tourism, its tourism is critical to its economic prosperity, and an obvious link exists between New Orleans' culture and its local wealth, such proposals have also suggested top-down policy solutions to plan the process of cultural renewal.

This chapter investigates how music communities have engaged in rebound and recovery from the bottom up by deploying social capital resources embedded within their networks. I focus in particular on the Garage Rock and New Orleans' Jazz music communities. I define music communities as the sub-cultural social networks that surround groups of musicians and fans.[1] As will be discussed below, some of these communities were particularly adept at post-hurricane recovery. By analysing the strategies deployed by members of specific music communities, this chapter highlights the importance of social capital in the process of disaster recovery. This chapter complements the small but growing literature identifying the ways in which specific communities rely upon social networks as much as physical capital resources in overcoming adverse circumstances (Beggs et al. 1996a, 1996b; Hurlbert et al. 2001; Wellman and Frank 2001; Chamlee-Wright 2008a; Chamlee-Wright and Storr 2009).

In a setting where much of people's physical resources were literally

under water and washed away, researchers witnessed a tendency for disaster victims to rely upon social relationships to assist rebounding and recovery (Rodrigues et al. 2006; Boettke at al. 2007; Watkins 2007; Chamlee-Wright 2008a). As a member of the Mercatus Center's research team investigating post-Katrina recovery, I had the opportunity to hear first-hand the stories of how people faced and ultimately overcame the hardships presented by Katrina. Narratives from a wide range of socio-demographic backgrounds consistently put focus upon families, churches and community groups as the heroic characters of their recovery stories (Chamlee-Wright and Storr 2009; see also Chamlee-Wright and Storr, Chapter 6, this volume). Comments like 'I wouldn't be here were it not for my community' were a frequent refrain. But not all communities were equally resilient and not all resilient communities were resilient in the same way.

Sociologists define social capital as the productive value of social relationships. Like physical and human capital, social relationships contribute to production processes - they help people accomplish their plans (Coleman 1988; Lin et al. 2001). Granovetter (1973, 1983, 1995, 2005) has explained how individuals associate in groups and define the functional role social networks play in social mobility and other productive ends. More recently, Baker and Faulkner (1991) and Shin and Oh (2002) have specifically examined social capital within cultural communities. Hoffman and Oliver-Smith (2002) and Peacock et al. (1997) have investigated the effects of natural disasters upon gender, ethnicity and cultural identities. Chamlee-Wright and Storr (2009) investigate how members of ethnic communities in New Orleans have relied on their social networks after Katrina, but little to no work has been done to describe the processes of response and recovery that cultural communities - communities dedicated to the production of tangible cultural outputs, such as cuisine, music, film and art - experience during and after a natural disaster. This chapter addresses this gap.

Furthermore, this chapter investigates the process by which music communities and the outputs they generate are reconfigured in the aftermath of a significant shock; a process some have called 'creative destruction' (Schumpeter 1942; Cowen 1998, 2002). Before the storm a variety of musical scenes shared the city. Hip-hop, Rock and Roll, Rhythm and Blues, Cajun, Zydeco, Jazz, Folk, Heavy Metal and Garage Rock all had carved independent and overlapping niches. Though each scene was a unique community, the broader image of 'New Orleans' music' was a collective asset formed by the interaction and coexistence of different social groups. The types of social capital accessible to different music sub-cultures played a significant role in influencing who was able to return and who was not, thereby shaping a new cultural landscape within New Orleans.

This chapter argues that music communities are generally robust and that they can be adapted to support exile, return and recovery. Some music communities returned slowly or not at all, yet their processes of evacuation and relocation were generally made easier by social capital assets developed within music communities. Music communities that did return, similarly, owed their successes to the evolved characteristics of their social networks. Music communities held complementary stocks of physical resources, knowledge and social capital particularly adept to recovering from the hurricane.

I draw from the Austrian tradition of economics and social science to interpret social capital as a heterogeneous resource in accomplishing diverse plans (Lachmann 1956; Chamlee-Wright 2008b; Chamlee-Wright and Meyers 2008). Long before Katrina, New Orleans' music communities formed social networks, at least in part, to accomplish goals and fulfill plans critical to the flourishing of the sub-culture. Music networks create, arrange and use all forms of capital (including social capital) in ways that evolve to suit their needs. The success of a given music scene depends upon how robust its capital and social capital networks are in meeting the challenges of the natural disaster. Music scenes that had historically evolved a regional touring routine, complementary physical capital, a uniquely New Orleanian identity and a recognized value for for-profit commercial centers (that is, bars, nightclubs, concert venues) returned faster and more resiliently than other music scenes.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 8.2 surveys the relevant literature on social capital as it pertains to the recovery of cultural communities. Section 8.3 presents evidence from the Garage Rock and New Orleans' Jazz sub-cultures to describe the specific ways in which various forms of social capital were used in the recovery of these musical scenes. Interview data are supplemented by source material from traditional media.[2] Section 8.4 offers concluding remarks and policy suggestions.

8.2 THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL RECOVERY

In traditional models of economic production and distribution, actors make decisions to maximize their utility, income and consumption according to constraints. Simply put, people want more goods and services more cheaply and easily. Social capital is one form of resource that individuals use to accomplish their plans along with knowledge, physical capital and human capital. More social capital, just as more units of any productive input, should enhance productive capacity. Social scientists have

recognized the important role social capital plays in substituting for financial resources, particularly within poor communities. For example, Venkatesh (2006, 2008) observes high levels of mutual assistance within Chicago's urban housing projects. Without financial capital to pay for formal services, such as babysitting, food shopping, travel and so on, individuals rely upon friends and family members to help each other in times of need.

Because it is more subtle and difficult to recognize, social capital is often overlooked as an input into economic production and much social capital research aims to shed light on the productivity social capital makes possible (see Burt 1995, for example). This failure to recognize the role social capital plays is particularly disconcerting when considering the production of cultural products like music. Part of the value consumers attach to such products is found in the social networks and sense of community the music scene creates. In turn, it is often these same qualities that attract musicians into a particular music scene and help to ensure a consistent source of artistic productivity.[1]

The role of social networks within music communities has not been well documented. The structure of social networks has been shown to have influence upon the artistic content and style of different musical genres. Booth and Kuhn (1990) point out that economic conditions influence the sound and style of popular music. Park et al. (2006) explain that connections within music networks map onto differences between current musical styles and changes over time. Heckathorn and Jeffri (2003) argue that ethnic heterogeneity in Jazz networks lead to smaller, more closely knit communities such as seen in San Francisco. New York's Jazz networks, on the other hand, stretch farther and access more people because musicians share a similar ethnic identity. Shin and Oh (2002) trace patterns in music style to the relationships between writers and performers. Finally, Mark (1998) explains that friendships amongst performers are witnessed by consumers who then influence and define musical categories when they purchase baskets of goods such as albums and memorabilia. But little has been said about how socially embedded resources within these networks might be productively deployed in the context of extreme external shocks, such as that posed by a natural disaster.

Under ordinary circumstances individuals join together to form bands, bands group together to put on concerts, record labels group together artists of similar styles, and audience members socialize to form lasting relationships with each other and sometimes the artists themselves. Concerts allow producers and consumers to meet and interact. Individuals within music scenes forge connections that can be used to expand the music network in new directions, produce more and better music, and

build social relationships that otherwise would not exist. Just as Chamlee-Wright (2002) and Storr (2008) have argued that market-based spaces serve a dual role as social space, music networks often serve multiple functions. Individuals use music networks to date, find employment, share housing and connect with other musicians.

In a disaster setting it might seem reasonable that the high priority that individuals place upon social relationships and social networks would diminish in the face of primary needs, such as shelter and basic provisions. Disaster victims seek to evade and survive the immediate threats posed by the storm, manage their lives away from the affected region and contend with the resulting damage. Given the priorities residents are likely to have, such as repairing their homes, and the significant costs associated with rebuilding, one might expect that consumption and production of cultural products would plummet. But this assumption ignores the potential for individuals to make use of valuable social capital by continuing to participate in the activities that define the social network. The physical damage done to homes and automobiles may make social connections all the more important as substitutes must be found (such as a friend's van for transportation or a sofa to sleep on). Despite the surface impression that cultural products are luxury items, the functional aspects of their associated social capital may make them more affordable and desirable in scarcity-plagued environments. As such, the rate of return and successful recovery of music communities after a disaster may be higher than expected.

Given the fact that musicians are often resource poor in the traditional sense, it might also be reasonable to assume that they would be more vulnerable in the aftermath of disaster than middle-class disaster victims. But given the fact that music is defined more by social networks than it is by tangible inputs, techniques or technologies, they may in fact possess similar or even greater capacity for resilience. Hurricanes and other disasters obviously deplete stocks of physical capital, such as instruments and equipment. And this destruction negatively impacts music communities by displacing and rearranging people, causing some individuals to move, and forcing some key network hubs to close down. But a hurricane's affect upon social capital can be less devastating than its effect on physical capital. Thus, in a context in which nearly everyone suffers the impact of the physical devastation, cultural communities may be in a relatively preferable position to rebound and recover from natural disasters, relative to communities that are not characterized as possessing robust and adaptable social capital.

As Granovetter (1973,1983) has explained, there are characteristic features of social networks that influence their productive capacities. He argues that weak rather than strong ties make for more productive social

capital. Strong ties such as familial relationships require strict reputation mechanisms and enforcement techniques in order to grow larger and extend to include more people. When networks held together by weaker ties such as friendships and loose acquaintanceships grow larger they harness physical and human capital resources otherwise inaccessible to strong-tie networks. I argue that Granovetter's insights on social capital – that social capital is an under-recognized input towards the production of outputs, and that weak-tie networks are generally more productive than strong – hold true in the case of some music sub-cultures. Music communities, particularly those that are not bound to a specific geographical location, are adept at producing, storing and using weak social capital ties because of their distinctive functional features. Social networks within such music scenes are often large and far-reaching. The weak but reliable and repeated ties characteristic within such communities afford their participants an essential source of adaptive resilience. Social networks within music communities naturally produce relatively functional stores of social capital insofar as they are comprised of large, far-reaching and weakly tied networks. A disaster context brings to the forefront these far-reaching weak ties of music networks. Large groups of relatively heterogeneous populations, people who were not immediately related to one another, people whose essential connection to one another was a shared appreciation for similar music, helped each other evacuate, find temporary housing outside New Orleans, return, rebuild, and find permanent housing and re-employment after the disaster.

And yet, as will be discussed below, music communities that possess stronger and more tightly bonded social ties also exhibited their own form of resilience by leveraging and reconfiguring their social capital resources to meet the challenges of dramatically changed circumstances. In other words, no matter what the nature of the social ties embedded within the various music communities – weak or strong – creative reconfiguration of these resources proved vital in the wake of disaster. Further, this creative response suggests that a process of on-the-ground discovery has allowed these communities to survive (and even thrive) in the face of considerable hardship.

8.3 EVIDENCE FROM NEW ORLEANS' MUSIC COMMUNITIES

Following Katrina I conducted a series of interviews in New Orleans with individuals who considered themselves part of the New Orleans' Garage Rock sub-culture. These interviews, along with interviews and reports

in the popular news media reveal coherent strategies for how members of various music communities deployed social capital resources in their attempt to recover after the storm. But interview data and media coverage also suggest that different music communities drew upon different kinds of social capital resources to affect their respective strategies.

8.3.1 Resilience Within the Garage Rock Scene

Out of the first wave of the British Invasion evolved the Garage Rock scene in the mid-1960s (Keefe 2007). The Beatles, The Rolling Stones and lesser known acts like The Sonics and The Seeds were part of this movement. 'As the name of the genre suggests, the main component of Garage Rock is its raw low-budget sound. . . . Although the genre's heyday was the mid-'60s, a Garage Rock Revival sprouted in the '80s, and a third wave is underway in the 2000s' (Keefe 2007).[4] One such revival has occurred in New Orleans in recent years.

After Katrina concern over the return and recovery of the city's cultural identity was widespread. Internationally popular rock group, OK Go's lead guitarist, Damian Kulash remarked in an interview, 'I was always a fan of New Orleans' music and it's hard to come and see what's *not happening*. You feel like you're seeing the remnants of a great community – and we don't just want to watch it come to an end' (Goodman 2006, emphasis added). Cultural journalist Larry Blumenfeld (2006) predicted that it would be hard for the city's culture to survive amidst the high rents and low employment opportunities after Katrina. And yet, some music sub-cultures exhibited strong recovery and quick rebuilding.

Nine months after the storm the New Orleans' Garage Rock music scene had significantly recovered. According to performance schedules for Memphis venues, and corroborated by interview reports, bands began playing concerts while displaced from the storm as early as two days after Katrina hit. Live music and disc jockey performances began almost immediately while scene members negotiated their first weeks in 'exile'. Members were not only able to attend to logistical concerns thanks to connections made within the music community – Memphis musicians within the Garage Rock scene offered places to stay and access to borrowed instruments – they could also earn money and raise awareness about the New Orleans' cultural cause by performing in local venues. Members of the New Orleans' Garage Rock scene reported that they were able to raise attention, awareness, charitable giving and financial support by invoking their New Orleans' identity. As members of the Garage Rock scene launched and completed projects, held public celebrations and staged musical performances in evacuation cities, residents of those cities found

a tangible way to connect to the plight of those most directly affected by the storm. By the time scene members finally returned to New Orleans they could immediately be productive, both as musicians and as participants in the wider recovery effort, as it was well-recognized that recovering New Orleans' cultural scenes was a critical piece of the overall process.[5] Goodman (2006) observed that young and single musicians were better prepared than older musicians with families to rebuild at least part of New Orleans' cultural identity. Garage Rock members typically fit this profile well. Further, Garage Rock scene participants benefited from an extensive web of social and physical resources.

While the relative youth of the Garage Rock scene was an advantage in the recovery process, it might be expected that the low incomes also characteristic within this group would be a considerable disadvantage for the proprietors of music venues that featured Garage Rock bands. For several months after the storm, the New Orleans' population was obviously smaller. Similarly the Garage Rock community had been divided between those who returned and those who remained in evacuation cities. Key commercial locations in the Garage Rock community were, again, divided between those still unopened, those making repairs and those that were already serving customers. Despite the low population levels, the few venues that quickly reopened serviced large groups. As those who returned to New Orleans intermingled with new New Orleans' immigrants, the venues that were able to reopen serviced a larger and more diverse community seeking social space and night-life activities than they had before the storm.[6]

As in other reports of hurricane victims exploiting their social capital resources to evacuate, return and recover, individuals within New Orleans' music scenes found functional value from their social networks. Rather than reducing their sub-culture participation, subjects reported putting high priority in saving their music equipment and record collections. The recovery process induced rational calculations – artistic outputs were salvaged not only because of their aesthetic appeal but because they were explicitly perceived as valuable and productive. Given the widespread effects of the storm, rare local records were that much more rare – and valuable, thus motivating time and energy for them to be salvaged (interview with Miss Kitty Lynn).

As Granovetter (1973, 1983) suggests, the weak ties characteristic of the Garage Rock sub-culture were among the most valuable in helping its participants to return. Offers of housing, transportation, performance and recording opportunities among loosely affiliated acquaintances afforded members of the community the opportunity to gain access to resources critical to survival, but also afforded opportunities for cultural and artistic

innovation. Long before Katrina, in a published interview, members of Memphis Garage band, the Oblivions discussed a recording experience with New Orleans Garage keyboardist Mr Quintron:

> Quintron took a bus up to Memphis from New Orleans for eight hours . . . . (We had sent him a tape of the songs but it never got delivered to him - so he came up not knowing what song we wanted to do!). The first song we played him . . . he said 'I always wanted to cover this song!' So we knew we were on the right track. So we recorded for 8 hours, then put him back on a bus that night for another 8-hour ride. Incredible! (Christmass 2005)

As this recollection suggests, the improvisational quality and simplistic performance style of Garage Rock' fosters a tendency for its members to develop weak ties, and this tendency was evident after Katrina. Individual band members displaced by the storm could re-form and continue to perform and record with replacement 'sit-in' artists from other bands within the network. Lefty Parker who at the time of his interview was the manager of the Circle Bar, a Garage Rock venue, commented that after the storm he played with bands 'he never would have thought of playing with before, but everyone was so eager to play again once they returned' (interview with Lefty Parker). Garage Rock musician Miss Kitty Lynn described how post-Katrina living arrangements fostered new connections, observing that 'I guess we were all friends before, but after living in one house for several months, now it's even more so.' DJ Matty, and guitarist of the Royal Pendletons supported this view, 'There was a lot of crossover before but now there's really a lot. So many people were together for like two months, three months.' The positive and cross-fertilizing effects are only measurable by anecdote at this stage but may be more quantifiable in future years as musicians continue to attribute the post-Katrina context as a significant influence upon their art.

Post-Katrina New Orleans was a context in which even those with financial resources often found it impossible to gain direct access to the services they needed, such as contractors and building supplies. The social capital embedded within the Garage Rock sub-culture connected individuals to the people with the skills and tools most needed for hurricane recovery. Miss Kitty Lynn described volunteers with professional contracting experience striving to rebuild a Garage Rock venue, The Mother-In-Law-Lounge:

> It's like a big party. They've been working on it the past couple of days. Everybody that's around that knows each other that does construction . . . . They got an electrician, they got a plumber. . . all volunteered. They had generators and turntables, and barbecue. Everybody is hanging out and celebrating.

The mutual assistance exhibited within the Garage Rock community helped to compensate for limited access to both financial and physical resources. As within other low-income sub-cultural groups, participants within the Garage Rock scene tapped social capital resources, but unlike most low-income sub-cultural groups, who typically rely upon close ties of family and close friends, participants within the Garage Rock scene were able to rely upon weak ties. Participants in the Garage Rock sub-culture possessed a form of social capital particularly well suited to the circumstances a post-disaster context creates. Garage Rock musicians were used to playing impromptu performances comprised of conveniently on-hand musicians throughout the southeast region. When the hurricane hit, these individuals were well prepared with mobile units of physical capital, for sale merchandise and a dense network of friends and colleagues in unaffected areas.

8.3.2 Resilience Within the New Orleans' Jazz Community

Like the Garage Rock community, the New Orleans' Jazz community also exhibited a pattern of post-disaster resilience. But rather than weak ties, members of the Jazz community relied upon strong ties specifically connected to the New Orleans' community and family. Many New Orleans' Jazz bands have a professional identity that is closely tied to the city, thus the opportunity costs of relocating outside New Orleans are significantly high. Music producer Mark Bingham correctly foresaw that bands like The Radiators and The Nevilles would obviously survive and return to New Orleans because their image was so tied to the city (Goodman 2006). There are two versions of Bingham's insight – one basic and one complex. In its most basic interpretation he was making a prediction. The long-standing tie between Jazz and the larger cultural identity of New Orleans meant that if New Orleans' culture were to return after Katrina, Jazz must play an integral role. With time Bingham has been proved correct. A casual observation of New Orleans' culture today – now several years after Katrina – could not ignore the prominent position of Jazz music. With dozens (perhaps even hundreds) of bands and performance venues, the motivated Jazz enthusiast in today's New Orleans could literally listen to a different band play at a different venue every night for months on end.

In its more subtle and complicated form Bingham's insight helps to unbundle this basic narrative into its more nuanced components. Important distinctions divide the New Orleans' Jazz scene before Hurricane Katrina that help to explain the nature and character of Jazz post-Katrina. Strongly correlated with Jazz's more established following in New Orleans (compared to lesser-known music styles like Garage Rock), some of its

members had achieved national recognition and stature. In short, there were both big-time and small-scale Jazz acts in New Orleans before the exogenous shock. Casual observation might suggest that it is the 'big-time' acts that could afford to return, but again, first impressions can be deceiving. The post-Katrina scene is not only comprised of big names; nor did all the big names return. While some wealthier and more established musicians returned, and some less-known and poorer musicians remained away, further distinctions are necessary.

If we consider the pool of successful pre-Katrina Jazz musicians, we can divide this group into two rough categories. For some Jazz musicians their success was an impediment to their return because they faced higher opportunity costs if they returned to New Orleans. '[D]isplaced musicians say they did not fully appreciate how much better the financial opportunities were in other cities' (Jurgensen 2006). The portion of successful Jazz artists who did return to New Orleans fit Bingham's narrative more closely. Those musicians who returned tended to have a public image and reputations more closely tied to New Orleans – Kermit Ruffins and the Neville Brothers, for example.

But the post-Katrina Jazz scene is a more complicated phenomenon still. Jazz is a more technically advanced art form compared to Garage Rock. Previously disconnected Jazz musicians might be able to come together in an impromptu fashion, but they must possess similar levels of skill. Whereas a working knowledge of a few basic power chords can prepare a guitarist to play with several Garage Rock bands, this sort of casual reconfiguration is less likely among professional Jazz musicians. One would expect collective action problems to stand as larger obstacles to Jazz musicians compared to others, but once resolved one would also expect the return to be larger and more complete. Large fundraising and commercial events such as the annual New Orleans' Jazz and Heritage Festival (Marx 2005) also helped move the Jazz network towards a positive tipping point.

And yet, the post-Katrina Jazz community is one that has undergone significant reconfiguration and redefinition. Though high-profile musicians had the ability to coordinate charity donations and raise awareness at the national level, it tends to be younger musicians who are having the greatest impact in the local context. Unlike the pre-Katrina Jazz scene, in which popular artists played concerts at a wide variety of clubs throughout the city, now several iconic figures have reserved their schedules to weekly intimate performances. Kermit Ruffins, founder of the Rebirth Brass Band, plays a Thursday midnight set at Vaughn's – a small but intimate bar and popular local hangout (McNulty 2009). Similarly, the Soul Rebels Brass Band plays a weekly show at Le Bon Temps Roule – another

small bar for locals in the uptown Garden District. The remaining Jazz scene is arguably more heterogeneous and youthful than it was before the storm. As iconic figures carved their consistent schedules, the remaining Jazz clubs appear to have diversified their musical offerings. Snug Harbor bills itself as 'New Orleans' Premier Jazz Club' – there's no smoking or talking during performances. But the remaining Jazz clubs along Frenchmen Street in the Bywater neighborhood are offering a wider, more eclectic selection of Jazz artists than the city is accustomed to. Beyond traditional New Orleans' Jazz, there is Dixieland, modern Jazz, Jazz-influenced Hip-hop, Ragtime, Callypso, European swing, Klezmer, and several 'other musical styles have emerged to respond to the musical tastes and preferences of new, young, urban and transient populations of local residents.

8.4 CONCLUSION

The heterogeneous nature of social capital held by music communities before and after Hurricane Katrina illustrates a process of creative destruction. There is no single and unified group that can be considered 'New Orleans' music' just as there is no single unified group that can be labeled 'New Orleans'. If New Orleans is to recover, and more specifically, if New Orleans' music is to recover, it will be a process whereby different groups self-organize and redefine themselves. Further, it will be a process by which different groups and sub-groups facing specific opportunity costs and constraints will return at varying rates and according to strategies that reflect these particular circumstances. After Katrina varying types of music communities found ways to solve the collective action problems they faced, but those solutions reflected the specific opportunities and constraints embedded within each community. Individuals relied upon the varied and specific stocks of social capital their communities afforded in order to achieve their plans for relocation, rebuilding and recovery.

The variation in pace of post-Katrina return and variation in strategies of reconfiguration reveal an internal complexity within sub-cultural communities. One implication of this complexity is that government planning efforts to recreate the cultural scene in the wake of disaster is likely to be limited by the fact that a top-down process will not have access to the knowledge embedded within the wide variety of cultural scenes in New Orleans. Though many political responses pay lip service to culture, such responses inevitably treat culture as a homogeneous stock to be manipulated by outsiders rather than a heterogeneous structure of socially embedded resources calling for an on-the-ground process of discovery. This

cultural heterogeneity suggests that post-Katrina policies favoring subsidization of cultural redevelopment may be problematic if government intervention has the effect of distorting or crowding out solutions that emerge from the bottom up. For example, policies that subsidize already well-recognized music scenes or specific acts may have the unintended consequence of crowding out solutions from less well-recognized artists and music communities. Thus the foregoing analysis suggests that post-disaster policies that target cultural communities with subsidized support may do more harm than good.

NOTES

1. See Fischer (1976, 1982) for reviews and extensions of sub-culture analysis.
2. These interview data were not included within the Mercatus Center's collection of neighborhood-based interviews.
3. Economists have taken note of the real influence that market economies have upon the amount, content and quality of art (Cowen 1998, 2002). In wealthier societies more time and attention can be paid to both producing and consuming art and culture. Profitable markets in art are competitive markets, and competition yields innovation and the creation of 'the new'.
4. Abbey (2006) and Jones (2005) have written thorough journalistic histories of the genre including information on bands, record labels and popular songs.
5. Drawn from field notes taken during interviews with DJ Matty and Miss Kitty Lynn. Confirmed by interview with booking agent for Memphis nightclub Motorcity. These patterns were also confirmed by reports and email exchanges posted through social networking sites used by the Garage Rock music community.
6. Peter Gordon and Sandy Ikeda (2007) similarly recognized a positive trajectory of post-Katrina New Orleans' neighborhoods.
7. See Keefe (2007), Abbey (2006) and Jones (2005).

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