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SOCIAL CAPITAL-RELATED CO-PRODUCTION

IN A MARKETPLACE

by

Lynne Ann Pryor

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

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SOCIAL CAPITAL-RELATED CO-PRODUCTION IN A MARKETPLACE

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University of Nebraska, 2006

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This study employs a social capital perspective and critical ethnographic methods to investigate the operation of co-production in a socially-rich marketplace. The phenomenon of interest is a form of co-production between and among marketers and consumers that is related to social capital (referred to herein as social capital-related coproduction or SCRC). By examining a more complex form of co-production than typically depicted in the marketing literature, this research extends knowledge about the nature, boundaries, and effects of co-production.

Moreover, the concept of SCRC is useful to gain insights about how social and commercial elements may interact in marketplaces. It contributes to our understanding of marketplace processes and relationships by enhancing our grasp of how marketplace activities and meanings are embedded in larger social entities and co-produced by marketers and consumers, offering insights on tensions and conflicts between individual agency and collectivity in the marketplace, highlighting the convergence and divergence of marketplace and community interests, and shedding light on how the market both undermines and enhances SC. Findings suggest that SCRC has protean qualities, which are reflected by the varied motives, actors, ties among actors, intended beneficiaries, forms of co-production, benefits, consequences; interpretations of the DRA, and marketplace levels that are associated with SCRC. An understanding of these protean qualities can aid marketing scholars in at least two ways. First, it can help them to differentiate SCRC from co-production that results from primarily psychological motives (e.g., an interest in the intrinsic value of what is created) and co-production that is dyadically-oriented to another individual rather than a larger social entity. Second, it also can help scholars to explain many marketplace relationships and actions that may conflict with conventional notions of individual self-interest and relationships between retailers and consumers.

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Chapter 1

CONCEPTUALIZATION, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AND PROPOSITIONS Background

This study was the follow-up phase of an ethnographic investigation in a downtown retail area (DRA). An earlier exploratory phase, discussed later in this chapter, focused on whether and how social capital manifests itself in a DRA marketplace. This earlier phase revealed a form of co-production between and among marketers and consumers that is related to social capital (referred to herein as social capital-related co-production or SCRC). (SCRC is defined in the next section). SCRC was the phenomenon of interest in this follow-up study. SCRC was examined in the context of a DRA. The study, therefore, provides both a better understanding of SCRC, and an understanding of how SCRC by marketers and consumers affects and is affected by the social and commercial nature of a DRA.

Marketing scholars' understanding of the interplay of social and commercial elements in marketplaces remains limited. This is particularly apparent in the case of DRAs. (While the purpose of this study was not to explore factors which may contribute to the vibrancy of DRAs, the DRA did provide a suitable research context for an investigation of SCRC, for a number of reasons. These I discuss below.)

Evidence about DRAs' economic, cultural, and social contributions to the qualityof-life and development of communities suggests that vibrant DRAs can do more than expand goods and services options. They can enhance infrastructure efficiencies, employment, tax revenues, residential property values, social interaction, social and cultural functions, and civic engagement. Moreover, DRAs' goods and services, architecture, amenities, and cultural and social activities can attract tourists and in-shoppers. In these and other ways, DRAs can be integral parts of communities' identities and characters and contribute to their on-going development and regeneration (Civic Economics 2002; National Trust for Historic Preservation 2004). Conversely, the demise of DRAs in the United States and Europe has a host of dysfunctional effects and erodes the social and economic underpinnings of communities (Lewis 1994; Rohwedder 1992; Shils 1997; Stone 1997).

Despite this growing recognition about DRAs' roles in community development and life (Shils 1997; Presti 2003), marketing scholars devote little attention to the nature and dynamics of DRAs (Pryor and Grossbart 2006). This omission seems to reflect narrow views of markets and market processes within the field. Narrow views implicitly or explicitly depict marketplace actors as agents who seek self-interest via individual actions (transactions) in a social organization (a market) with an exchange nexus (Lichbach and Seligmann 2000). Narrow views offer valuable insights about individual efforts by marketers to make competitive gains or by consumers to satisfy shopping desires. However, they neglect important facets of the marketplace due to their asocial, atomistic, or narrowly dyadic orientation (Grossbart and Pryor 2002).

In contrast to narrow views, broader views reflect the idea that the social whole of the marketplace is not reducible to the micro-level or the sum of its parts. They focus on issues such as how desires and the flow of goods, institutions, and collective action in the marketplace are related to the ties among actors, negotiation of acceptable demands in social life, and consciousness of the larger social aggregate's outlook (Douglas and Ney 1998). Some marketing scholars recognize the need for a broadened understanding of these matters. They call for studies of neglected facets of marketplace processes and relationships. These studies concern group-level social action (Bagozzi 2000) and the joint involvement of marketers and consumers in producing marketing activity (Peñaloza 2000; Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). They also examine extraeconomic dimensions that underlie buyers' and sellers' actions and marketplace ambiance (Sherry 1990) and tensions between governing market logic and communal relations (Kozinets 2002).

This study of SCRC and the social and commercial nature of the DRA complements work on these matters. It contributes to a broadened view of marketplace processes and relationships in multiple ways. It enhances our grasp of how marketplace activities and meanings are embedded in larger social entities and co-produced by marketers and consumers. It offers insights on tensions and conflicts between individual agency and collectivity in the marketplace. It highlights the convergence and divergence of marketplace and community interests. Furthermore, it sheds light on the paradox of how the market undermines and enhances social capital, because commerce makes individuals and groups more useful to one another (Adler and Kwon 2002).

The remainder of this chapter is divided into six sections.

- First, we define and briefly introduce the concepts of social capital (SC), coproduction, and SCRC. They are discussed in more detail in this chapter.
- Second, we describe the goals and findings of the exploratory phase of this study and present the research questions which guided this follow-up phase.
- Third, we explain how this study relates to prior research on co-production and embeddedness.
- Fourth, we discuss SC and its possible sources, benefits, and consequences.

- Fifth, we use these insights about SC and its sources, benefits, and consequences to describe the development of eight propositions about SCRC in a DRA which guided this study.
- Finally, we discuss this study's potential contributions to marketing knowledge.

Key Concepts

This study used Portes' (1998) concept of social capital (SC).

• *SC refers to actors' abilities to secure benefits via membership in networks and other social entities.*

These abilities emanate from the motives of actors who provide or facilitate these benefits. Their motives (or expectations, as Portes also describes them) are related to these actors' actual or perceived memberships in social entities. Actors may seek or passively receive these benefits. In either event, actors (marketers or consumers, in this case) obtain benefits due to the motives of other actors (other marketers or consumers) who are members of an actual or perceived social entity. These entities may include networks of marketers and/or consumers, informal or formal groups (e.g., merchants on a block side or civic, patriotic, and professional organizations), and large diffuse collectivities (e.g., those who work in, shop in, or support the DRA). Portes refers to motives that relate to such social entities as sources of SC. He identifies two general categories: consummatory motives and instrumental motives. Each category includes two types of motives.

Consummatory motives relate to the expression and maintenance of basic values, commitments, and orientations that guide the affairs of a social entity (Portes 1998). The two forms of consummatory motives are value introjection and bounded solidarity. Value introjection operates when individuals help others due their socialization into consensually established beliefs about norms or obligations (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Bounded solidarity is associated with identification with other members of a social entity. It functions when individuals assist others due to their actual or perceived shared membership in a group or an awareness of their common situation or fate.

Instrumental motives concern means-ends relationships that are linked to a social entity (Portes 1998). The two forms of instrumental motives are expected reciprocity and enforceable trust. Expected reciprocity operates when individuals help others due to their beliefs that they will receive benefits from others for providing assistance. The benefits that they eventually expect to receive may differ from those that they originally provided. They also may not come from the person that they assist. For example, they may sometimes take the form of group approval. Enforceable trust operates when individuals assist others due to their confidence that repayment is insured by the social entity's ability to sanction the other party if she/he does not fulfill the terms in question (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993).

• Co-production refers to marketers and/or consumers jointly creating or producing retailing functions and less commercial activities in a DRA marketplace.

A non-exhaustive list of these types of functions and activities is in Table 1. On a store level, DRA marketers and/or consumers may co-produce retailing functions that are associated with the retailing mix, retail strategy, and retail services (Levy and Weitz 2004). For instance, they may be jointly involved in assisting customers, creating merchandise displays, decorating stores for holidays, or getting information on new merchandise to stock. On an area level, they may co-produce charitable events, entertainment, parades, and varied activities in conjunction with area sales events.

Insert table 1 about here

The frequency of these kinds of co-production is unknown because they have not been studied. However, media stories, academic and nonacademic research reports, and observation suggest that their occurrence is not limited to any particular DRA. For example, there are stories of other downtown marketers and consumers helping merchants after a natural disaster or fire (Lehr 2005; Silvers and Hixson 2005), consumers and marketers initiating large-scale restoration projects (Rolland 2005), consumers contributing both time and money to improving and maintaining historic structures in a DRA (Presti 2003), and marketers working together on both area level issues like parking and more store level issues concerning marketing and retailer communication (Presti 2003). Communities across the country provide many examples of marketers and consumers participating in charitable, political and cultural activities, and patriotic events in DRAs (e.g., holiday activities, St. Patrick's Day parades, Fourth of July celebrations).

• The co-production of these functions and activities that is related to SC is referred to as SCRC (social capital-related co-production).

Our interest in SCRC was based on the view that these types of co-production among marketers and consumers influence and reflect the social and commercial functioning and meanings of the marketplace. This study investigated the nature of SCRC in a DRA and its sources, proximal benefits, and more general positive or negative consequences.

SCRC does not encompass all possible cases of co-production in a DRA. For example, it does not encompass co-production that is due to motives that are not linked to a larger social entity. Thus, it does not include co-production that is based on psychological motives (e.g., the perceived intrinsic value of creating what is co-produced). Likewise, it does not include co-production that is due to motives that concern a dyadic relationship (e.g., a friendship) but is not related to a larger social entity. Moreover, as subsequently discussed in more detail, SCRC does not encompass forms of co-production that have been examined in prior marketing research (e.g., self-service).

There are theoretical and empirical reasons to expect co-production in a DRA to be related to SC. In theoretical terms, this expectation is consistent with the idea that marketplace relationships are forms of social organization that link individual and collective-level factors. Through the interplay of these factors, marketers and consumers affect and are affected by outcomes that foster and constrain their individual and collective views and behaviors (Lichbach and Seligmann 2000). As Portes (1998) and others suggest, a SC perspective links micro- and more general-levels of social analyses (Flora and Flora 1993; Schuller, Baron, and Field 2000). It explains the motives that sustain and regulate the actual and imagined relationships among actors. It also relates individual actors' behaviors to the pattern of relations and social resources among actors, various social entities, and institutions. In the context of this study, these actors are marketers and consumers and these institutions are stores.

The likelihood that co-production in a DRA may be related to SC is indirectly reflected by evidence about its role in many economic and social aspects of community life (Braadbaart 1994; Davis 1973; Fernández-Kelley 1995; Flora 1998; Flora and Flora 1993, 1998; Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2002; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Isham and Kahkonen 2002; Mintz 1961; Paldam and Svendsen 1999; Portes 1998; Putnam 1993; Teachman, Paasch and Carver 1997; Wallace and Shmulyar 1999; Woolcock 1998). For example, this evidence indicates that SC affects exchange, economic development, employment, organizations, and community sustainability. It also suggests that SC has effects in areas such as education, families, youth, democracy and governance, collective action, crime, public health, and life satisfaction. Possible links between these diverse aspects of community life and SCRC in a DRA are discussed in later sections. Furthermore, the plausibility of the idea that SC is related to co-production in a DRA is supported by findings from the exploratory phase of this study. Its methodological details are described in Chapter 2.

EXPLORATORY PHASE FINDINGS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR FOLLOW-UP STUDY

Exploratory Phase and Its Findings

The exploratory phase of this study focused on whether and how SC manifests itself in a DRA marketplace. It was initially guided by Coleman's (1988) conceptualization of SC. Coleman defines SC by its function. For Coleman, SC is a variety of entities with two common characteristics: "they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure" (98). He argues that social relations form capital resources for individuals via processes such as establishing obligations; expectations and trustworthiness; channels for information dissemination; and norms and sanctions (103-4). Thus, a goal in this phase was to determine whether the possible link between SC and co-production among marketers and consumers was consistent with Coleman's views. A second goal was to identify emergent themes to help form research questions in the proposed follow-up phase. The exploratory findings support the idea that SC facilitates co-production among marketers and consumers. They also highlight SCRC's more general consequences in the DRA. The following themes emerged from these findings.

Varied reasons for SCRC. Actors seem to engage in SCRC for diverse reasons, including self-interest, which do not entirely correspond to the factors noted by Coleman. Those also report varying degrees of (including little or no) emotional involvement, bonding, identification, and communal sentiments in connection with their actions.

SCRC among diverse types of actors. In some cases, marketers or consumers, rather than both marketers and consumers, are involved in the types of SCRC in Table 1.

Varied types of ties. Actors involved in SCRC do not always have direct social or economic ties. Some consumers or retailers are bridges in interlocking consumer-to-retailer, retailer-to-retailer, and consumer-to-consumer networks. For example, some customers introduce retailers to other consumers who are potential employees, make goods that the store may sell, or have expertise that the retailer may tap. In addition, some retailers bring together other retailers for new joint promotional events. Some consumers also bring consumers without previous ties together for work on DRA-related activities.

In other cases, there are perceived rather than actual ties. For instance, some marketers and consumers involved in SCRC at the area level (see Table 1) do not know or meet one another. Moreover, those who are affected by or intended to benefit from SCRC may include those who engage in co-production and other unidentified persons who do business in or shop in the DRA.

Different parts of the marketplace. Facets of SC (e.g., reciprocity, generalized reciprocity, and sympathetic treatment) seem to be linked with SCRC in single stores and in larger parts or all of the DRA. For example, some customers expect favored treatment from a retailer they help (e.g., calls when new goods arrive) and some retailers expect customers they help (e.g., with a charity event) to pay full price rather than buy items on sale. In addition, some consumers and retailers engage in SCRC for the DRA as a whole, or for some portion of it, because they expect non-specific future benefits or recognition.

Mixed effects. Beyond its proximal benefits, SCRC seems to have positive and negative effects for those involved in co-production and for others. For instance, some consumers and retailers indicate that they develop a sense of bonding and identification with others from staging or watching DRA parades. In contrast, other consumers and retailers express resentment about the congestion, other inconveniences, and lost sales due to these events. More broadly, social norms and social control (Portes 1998) seem to both foster and reinforce SCRC and, sometimes, constrain personal freedoms. For example, a retailer noted that she does not let employees display cups with a national coffee chain logo, due to her sense of identification with small coffee house owners in the DRA.

Varied meanings. Actors appear to have different interpretations of the marketplace context in which SCRC occurs. For example, some retailers and consumers view the DRA in solely commercial terms as a place to sell or buy, whereas others also regard it as a site for social, political, and commercial expression.

Their varied interpretations seem to underlie their different responses to elements that blur social-community-commercial boundaries in or near the DRA. These elements include: stores with open doors and placards, blackboards, goods, or charitable groups' booths in front of them; street musicians and performers; hot dog, flower, and cinnamon nut street vendors; restaurants with outdoor seating; social and civic activities, such as charity wine and cheese tastings and holiday parades; and the nearby homeless shelter.

Moreover, some retailers and consumers differ in the extent of their: impersonal versus both social and commercial interactions with others in the DRA; emotional or social involvement with DRA events; and feelings that participation in DRA events is consistent with their social responsibilities as community members.

Protean qualities of SCRC. Overall, these emergent findings are consistent with the idea that SCRC, like consumption, has protean qualities (Kates 2004, 383). These qualities may be reflected in many ways (Figure 1). For instance, actors involved in SCRC may have varied motives and ties. They may co-produce varied functions and activities that differ in extent of commercial character. For example, they may co-produce customer service, store and street decoration, and social, political, and cultural undertakings, such as memorial services for public figures and charitable fund raising events.

Insert figure 1 about here

In addition, SCRC may involve different numbers of co-producers in one or more stores and portions of the DRA. It also may affect different numbers of people. For instance, a consumer may entertain shoppers in a store, retailers on a block side may cosponsor an event, and many consumers may stage a holiday parade. Moreover, SCRC may create benefits for some marketers and consumers and positive and negative consequences for other actors. Furthermore, what is co-produced, why it is co-produced, who is involved and affected, etc. may both reflect and influence different interpretations of parts or all of the DRA. The possible interplay of these elements at different levels of the DRA is reflected in the arrows in Figure 1 and is discussed later in the chapter.

Research Questions for Proposed Follow-Up Study

The exploratory findings raised questions about the sufficiency of Coleman's (1988, 1990) conception of SC for purposed to this study. Evidence of SCRC's protean qualities and the distinctions between benefits and consequences appear to be more consistent with Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) and Portes' (1998) views of SC than with Coleman's earlier theorizing. Unlike Coleman, Portes emphasizes the diverse motives associated with the sources of SC. According to Portes (1998, 5) his own definition of SC is clearer than Coleman's. Portes also notes that Coleman fails to distinguish among the sources of SC, the benefits created by SC, and the ability to obtain these benefits via membership in social entities. In addition, as discussed in a later section, Portes devotes more attention to different possible consequences of SC than Coleman.¹

¹ Portes (1998) also contrasts his views of SC with those of Bourdieu. Portes notes that Bourdieu stresses the benefits that actors gain via participation in groups and their deliberate creation of sociability to build this resource (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1985). Bourdieu focuses on several ways in which SC allows actors to obtain benefits. It helps them get direct and indirect access to economic capital (in loans, tips, market protection). It helps them gain cultural capital, via contact with contact with persons of expertise and refinement. It also helps them gain affiliation with institutions that confer valued credentials of institutionalized cultural capital. Portes contrasts his own emphasis on consummatory and instrumental motives for providing assistance with what he regards as

Therefore, the research questions and the propositions for this follow-up study were developed based on Portes' perspectives. Portes' views about SC are discussed later in this chapter. This study addressed the following questions.

- Why do marketers and consumers engage in SCRC in a DRA marketplace?
- What configurations of marketers and consumers are involved in SCRC? In other words, does SCRC occur among marketers and consumers, among marketers, and among consumers?
- Who are the intended beneficiaries of SCRC?
- What types of prior ties exist among those involved in SCRC?
- Does SCRC occur and create benefits on a micro-, meso-, and macro-level, i.e., does it involve different numbers of actors, stores, and portions of the DRA?
- What are the consequences of SCRC, beyond the specific benefits it may create, in terms of marketplace behaviors and meanings?

Investigating these issues allowed us to indirectly address apparent inconsistencies in evidence about other types of co-production in other settings. For instance, research suggests that co-production in a membership-based organization is not related to continuous commitment based self-interest (Gruen, Summers, and Acito 2000). Yet, other work indicates that self-interest and other non-specified motives besides perpetuation of the community are related to co-production in brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn 200; Muniz and Schau, unpublished) and subcultures (Kates 2002, 2004). Examining the pro-

Bourdieu's greater emphasis on reasons that actors seek benefits and more instrumental treatment of SC (1998, 3).

tean qualities of SCRC in a DRA helped indirectly explain this apparent inconsistency. It also provided added explanations for reasons for co-production, in addition to the existence of common threats (Muniz and Schau, unpublished), brand worship (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), and competition among brands (O'Guinn and Muniz 2000).

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER RESEARCH

This study complements research concerning co-production and embeddedness.

Co-production

Most marketing research on co-production concerns a customer and a firm's employees directly or indirectly participating in the joint production of goods and services. Examples include consumers engaging in self-service or producing services from purchased items when they shop for, prepare and consume products (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Vargo and Lusch 2004). A smaller body of work deals with how marketers and consumers co-produce marketing functions, brand-related activities and meanings in brand communities (e.g., see McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). In addition, a few studies explore how marketers and consumers co-produce activities and meanings in marketplaces such as trade shows and flea markets (Peñaloza 2000; Sherry 1990).

It is not feasible to fully differentiate between these types of co-production and SCRC in a DRA, because SCRC in a DRA has not been previously studied. However, it is possible to make some initial distinctions regarding the setting in which co-production occurs, what may be co-produced, the types of actors who may be involved, the reasons that they may co-produce, and the consequences of co-production.

The setting in which co-production may occur. Marketing research on coproduction deals with several types of settings. Most typical are specific retail sites (e.g., in cases of self-service in a store or withdrawals from an ATM machine) and homes or other places where customers assemble or prepare products for consumption (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Vargo and Lusch 2004). Other sites are temporary, e.g., a trade show, flea market, or brand rally (Peñaloza 2000; Peñaloza and Gilly 1999; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Sherry 1990). Finally, there are unspecified settings in which coproduction occurs among dispersed brand owners (Brown, Kozinets, and Sherry 2003; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Schau and Muniz 2002), a subculture of consumers (Kates 2004), or members of a professional organization (Gruen, Summers, and Acito 2000). In contrast, the DRA setting in this study was larger in scale and less related to a specific store or brand. It might be characterized as a relatively stable and enduring, geographically concentrated, and socially rich marketplace community (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002). Research in this setting allowed the investigation of marketplace actors in an explicitly social context, which may contribute to the development of behavioral marketplace theory (Wright 2002).²

² The DRA setting also offers opportunities to avoid the tendency in prior SC research to focus on contexts in which SC is most likely to exist because actors share goals, interests, or characteristics. These commonalities are apparent if the context involves a single or-ganization (Burt 1997), parochial school (Coleman 1988), type of business (e.g., the diamond trade; Coleman 1988), or actors with common ethnicity (e.g., Hispanic immigrants; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). As Gittell (2003) notes, there is a lack of work on SC among actors who have few apparent commonalities in terms of their interests, lines of

What is co-produced. Most examples of co-production in prior marketing involve cases in which consumers and marketers jointly produce goods and services, e.g., when consumers fill their tanks at gas station or heat up processed foods at home. (Bendapudi and Leone 2003 and Vargo and Lusch 2004 provide an extensive set of examples and a theoretical overview.) A smaller body of work refers to brand owners modifying products and a marketer and brand owners or brand owners themselves producing events and marketing activities. Specific examples of co-production in this literature include production of brand rallies and advertising for a brand abandoned by its original manufacturer (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Schouten and McAlexander 1995).

In contrast, this study was concerned with co-production of store level and area level activities and functions. (A non-exhaustive list of examples is in Table 1.) The rationale for this focus was based in our interest in the DRA as marketplace setting. In this setting, what is co-produced varied in degree of commercial emphasis. Store level and area marketing level functions and activities with a commercial emphasis included customer service and display of merchandise for a store or group of stores and area-wide sales events. business, or characteristics. (Coleman [1988] refers to SC among Cairo merchants, but he does not offer details.) Gittell argues that scholars should investigate SC among heterogeneous organizations and diverse actors, which is based on social, economic, and political values and goals (6), rather than common organizational membership, religion, or ethnicity. This study conforms to her logic. It suggests that SC and SCRC in a DRA may be associated with diverse types of establishments and professional organizations, actors [marketers and consumers], values, and goals.

Functions and activities with an ostensibly less commercial nature included social, political, and cultural undertakings, such as aesthetic decoration, memorial services for public figures, and charitable events. For instance, a group of persons co-operated to decorate stores along the main street for Halloween, others provided musical entertainment to shoppers in a store, while still others (carolers) provided this to shoppers throughout the DRA. On an area level, actors joined together to stage art festivals and holiday parades.

Types of actors involved. The actors in most research on co-production are customers and a marketer (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Vargo and Lusch 2004) or owners of a given brand (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). In contrast, a wider set of actors are involved in SCRC in a DRA. The neglect of this issue is consistent with the criticism that marketing theory offers limited insights into the co-production of market practices and norms by consumers and marketers (Vargo and Lusch 2004). This neglect limits our grasp of the range of co-operative or coordinated ties among marketers and consumers and the wide set of actors who are involved in SCRC.

Such cooperation and co-production among these actors may seem counterintuitive, if viewed from conventional perspectives that assume individual self-interest, dyadic relationships, and traditionally defined roles for sellers and buyers. In prior research, the actors involved in co-production are depicted as marketers (who seek efficiencies) and their customers (who want services from products that they buy) or brand owners (who want to protect, enhance, or obtain services from the brands they own). However, actors besides marketers and their customers or owners of the same brand were involved in SCRC of store level and area level activities and functions in this study.

As Grossbart and Pryor (2002) note, marketing research on retailing has an atomistic or dyadic bias. It overemphasizes retailers' roles as rivals. It neglects the potential for retailers to engage in SCRC with one another, even if they do not have ties with as buyers and sellers or strategic allies. It also neglects the potential for consumers to be involved in SCRC with retailers, although they may not be these retailers' customers. Moreover, it overlooks the potential for consumers to be involved in SCRC with other consumers, although they may not be part of the same brand community or patrons of the same stores.

There are many examples of how such marketers and consumers became involved in SCRC in a DRA. Marketers co-produced store level functions and activities with other marketers, by providing parking or other services to consumers who are not their own customers. Consumers co-produced store level functions and activities (e.g., help a mer-chant relocate after a fire) and area level functions and activities (e.g., DRA beautification projects) with marketers who they did and did *not* patronize. They also engaged in SCRC with other consumers with whom they did and did *not* have consumption-related ties based on common brand ownership or store loyalty (e.g., to co-create patriotic political ceremonies or music festivals).

SCRC offers more insights about the collaborative actions of these diverse types of actors than prior conceptions of co-production. Evidence of their existence extends theories about co-production. For instance, it expands the domain of issues beyond whether or how consumers can be managed as customers in the co-production process (Bendapudi and Leone 2003). It casts a new light on Prahalad's (2004) argument about the need to debate the idea that co-production issues concern how the firm should engage the customer. It also requires a qualification of his suggestion that customers, customer communities, and firms interact in co-production and that often multiple firms must work together because no single firm can provide the total co-creation experience. This qualification is needed because SCRC includes a more diverse set of marketers and consumers than Prahalad envisioned.

Reasons or motives for co-production. Most prior studies of co-production implicitly or explicitly suggest that reasons for co-production stem from marketers' desires for sales or reduced costs and buyers' desires to get benefits from products (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Vargo and Lusch 2004). Their suggestions about these motives seem to stem from their tendency to focus on co-production in dyadic buyer-seller relationships. Other motives for cooperation and co-production among these actors may seem counterintuitive, if viewed from conventional perspectives that assume individual self-interest, dyadic relationships, and traditionally defined roles for sellers and buyers. In prior research, the types of actors involved in co-production are depicted as those who have vested interests because they are marketers (who seek efficiencies) and their customers (who want services from products that they buy) or brand owners (who want to protect, enhance, or obtain services from the brands they own).

In contrast, this study focused on SCRC, which is rooted in actual or perceived membership in social entities (e.g., groups, networks, or larger collectivities, such as downtown merchants, downtown shoppers, or community members). Consequently, it considered different and more diverse reasons for the co-production than are examined in prior marketing studies. The potential reasons included varied consummatory (value introjection and bounded solidarity) and instrumental motives (expected reciprocity and enforceable trust) that may be appropriated by members of a social entity. (These motives are discussed in greater detail in later sections.)

A relatively few marketing studies do refer to what may be socially-based motives, in reports that co-production among brand owners is prompted by common brand worship (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), common threats to a brand (Muniz and Schau, unpublished), and competition among brands (O'Guinn and Muniz 2000). Arguably, their findings may reflect bounded solidarity among brand owners but these studies do not explicitly acknowledge the roles of these or other motives for co-production.

Although the motives for SCRC are wider in scope than those that are considered in prior research on co-production, they are not all encompassing. The previously noted motives for SCRC differ from the motives that are typically associated with other forms of co-production. Moreover, they differ from motives for co-production that are primarily based on the intrinsic value of what is co-produced or on a dyadic tie (e.g., a friendship) rather than membership in a lager social entity.

Consequences of co-production. Marketing literature on co-production primarily focuses on its proximal benefits for co-producers (i.e., efficiencies for marketers and services from products for consumers; Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Vargo and Lusch 2004). In contrast, this study also examined other less proximal and more general consequences for several reasons.

First, SC is rooted in actual or perceived membership in social entities (Portes 1998). Thus, the intended beneficiaries of SCRC in a DRA were not limited to those who are co-producers. For example, merchants and consumers collaborated on preservation

projects and holiday parades to benefit all DRA businesses or families in the community. Moreover, SCRC created public goods. For instance, SCRC helped make the DRA a focal point for social events, cultural activities, and civic pride for others besides those who are co-producers.

Second, factors that are associated with SC had positive and negative consequences (Portes 1998). Consequently, SCRC had mixed effects on marketplace activities and behaviors. For instance, SCRC reflected and contributed to a climate of trust that enhanced marketers' operating efficiencies and consumers' satisfaction. However, it also limited their freedoms of action and their options.

Third, SCRC affected and was affected by the meanings of the DRA. Most of the literature on co-production does not deal with its link to marketplace meanings. The exceptions indicate that co-production among marketers and consumers and among consumers is associated with consumption, economic, social, cultural, and political meanings in temporary settings, e.g., a trade show (Peñaloza 2000); a flea market (Sherry 1990); a brand rally (McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig 2002; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Schouten and McAlexander 1995); and an anti-marketing event (Kozinets 2002). Likewise, SCRC shaped and was shaped by a DRA's meanings. However, marketers and consumers who used the DRA in different ways expressed different views about its meanings. In addition, there were tensions and inconsistencies in their views about the market-place's formal, commercial, festive, and other qualities (Peñaloza 2000; Pryor and Grossbart, 2006; Sherry 1990). Yet, there were socially acceptable variations in marketplace meanings because, as it has in other settings, SC fostered tolerance or reconciliation of differences (Flora and Flora 1993). Because SCRC also functions in this way, it helped

limit conflicts about a DRA's meanings as a commercial, consumption, political, social, and cultural space.

Embeddedness Research in Marketing

This investigation complements research on embeddeness in marketing. Insights on SCRC shed light on how marketplace activities and meanings are embedded in larger social entities and co-produced by marketers and consumers. SC is a specific manifestation of the more general idea of social embeddedness (Coleman 1988; Hite 2003; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Embeddedness refers to the contextualization of economic activity in on-going patterns of social relations that affect interactions among individuals and organizations in the marketplace (Lichbach and Seligmann 2000; Polanyi 1944). It reflects the idea that socio-cultural factors are central, not peripheral, features of market processes (Granovetter 1985, 505).

This investigation differed in focus and approach from most marketing work on embeddedness, in terms of the setting and ties it considers, its less dyadic focus, and its less structural emphasis.

Setting and ties. This study examined a broader setting and set of relationships than these other studies. It was concerned with an on-going marketplace and with relationships among actors who may not have exchange or formalized ties. It considered ties among consumers who did not patronize the same store(s) and ties among consumers and marketers whether or not they had economic transactions or formal links. In contrast, most marketing studies of embeddedness focus on more limited settings and ties between buyers and sellers or strategic allies. They do not deal with a wide range of commercial and social activities and relationships in an on-going marketplace. They do not consider how ties of a social, but not necessarily commercial, nature may affect the character and functioning of the marketplace.

Among the few marketing studies of embeddedness involving consumers and marketers, only Sherry (1990) takes a broad view that considers social and cultural dimensions (in a periodic flea market, which is not an on-going marketplace). Frenzen and Davis (1990) offer a more limited treatment of marketer-consumer relationships, in a home party setting. They gauge SC as tie strength and buyer indebtedness to the seller and their concern centers on the impact of embeddedness on consumers' purchases. Most marketing studies of business-to-business embeddedness examine ties between actors in a distribution channel (Moorman, Zaltman, and Desphande 1992; Wathne, Biong, and Heide 2001); firms with interorganizational links (Anderson, Hakansson, and Johanson 1994); industrial buyers (Bonoma, Bagozzi, and Zaltman 1978); and firms in services and other business-to-business situations (Reve and Stern 1986; Wathne, Biong and Heide 2001). Thus, in general, marketing studies of embeddedness do not deal with links among marketers and consumers who are not their customers. In addition, they do not examine links among firms that have informal relationships and are not partners in strategic alliances or economic transactions. Therefore, they may gloss over important aspects of marketplace relationships and not adequately capture the relational dynamics among firms and consumers. In contrast, this study concerned how SC operates among actors who may or may not be involved in economic transactions or formalized relationships.

Less dyadic focus. This study also had a less dyadic focus than most marketing studies of embeddedness. As Anderson, Hakansson, and Johanson (1994) note, an unjustified form of dyadic atomization (Granovetter 1992) results if an analyzed pair of firms

is abstracted out of their embedded context. They suggest many reasons for considering how a pair of firms is embedded in a larger business network context. For example, business networks have advantages beyond the sum of their dyadic relations. There are also positive and negative effects of a relationship between a pair of firms, due to their direct or indirect links to other firms. Furthermore, patterns of adaptation between firms are affected by adaptations of the networks in which they are embedded. Finally, their relations with a wider set of other firms affect the positive or negative qualities of firms' identities. Arguably, similar logic applies to a larger collectivity of firms and consumers in a DRA.

Less structural emphasis. Moreover, this study placed less emphasis on structural aspects than most marketing research on embeddedness. As Uzzi (1996, 675) notes, a structural focus concerns how the quality and architecture of relationships influence economic activity; it gives limited attention to other types of embeddedness that relate to culture, social structure, and political institutions (Zukin and DiMaggio 1990). Work on embeddedness in other fields considers more than these structural aspects and offers a broader perspective than is evident in most marketing studies. It suggests that marketplace actions and exchanges are embedded in, and defined by, social and cultural factors that have a robust effect on the nature of markets (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Schumpeter 1950). These factors are larger in number and more complex in their interplay than those that are examined in most marketing studies of embeddedness. Arguably, marketing studies of embeddedness with a structural emphasis take a reductionist view that strips the idea of embeddedness of the sociological richness and synergistic properties highlighted by Polanyi (1944, 1957), Coleman (1988), and others. This study was intended to shed light on the economic, social, and cultural interplay in the marketplace.

SC AND ITS SOURCES, BENEFITS, AND CONSEQUENCES

This study used the conception of SC suggested by Portes (1998) and Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993). They distinguish SC from its sources, benefits, and consequences. The nature and relevance of these elements are examined in the following subsections.

The Nature and Sources of SC

According to Portes (1998), SC refers to actors' abilities to secure benefits via membership in networks and other social entities. This ability emanates from the motives of other actors who provide or facilitate these benefits. In particular, Portes suggests that the sources of SC lie in consummatory and instrumental motives (or expectations) that may be appropriated by members of a network or collectivity under certain circumstances. He notes that these motives (which he also refers to as expectations) differ from those that are involved in a simple dyadic exchange that is not embedded in a larger social structure (e.g., a group, network, social entity, or collectivity). Portes' distinction between consummatory and instrumental motives parallels categories of community issues (e.g., see Laumann and Pappi 1973) and is consistent with the idea that SC is built and maintained via expressive and instrumental actions (Lin 2001).

Consummatory motives. Portes (1998) suggests that consummatory motives relate to the expression and maintenance of basic values, commitments, and orientations that guide the affairs of a network or collectivity. He identifies two forms of consummatory motives, which are value introjection and bounded solidarity. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) indicate that value introjection operates when individuals help others due their socialization into consensually established beliefs about norms or obligations. It has theoretical referents in the social underpinnings of legal contracts (Durkheim [1893] 1984) and functionalist economic sociology (Parsons and Smelser 1956). Bounded solidarity is associated with identification with other members of a social entity. It exists when individuals assist others due to their actual or perceived shared membership in a group or an awareness of their common situation or fate. Bounded solidarity operates in terms of situational reactive sentiments and has sociological referents in working class consciousness (Marx and Engels [1847] 1948; [1848] 1948) and the solidarity bonds in ethnic and immigrant communities (Tilly 1990). Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) suggest that a sense of in-group solidarity among members and resulting appropriable SC are strengthened by factors that are related to a sense of external opposition and to social construction. Factors that are related to feelings of external opposition include the distinctiveness of characteristics distinguishing members from the general population, the amount of prejudice associated with these traits, and the probability of exit from the situation. Factors that are related to social construction include the extent to which members' construct a collective identity and common cultural memory.

Although not specifically identified as such, examples of concepts in the SC literature that may be associated with consummatory motives include goodwill and fellowship (Hanifan 1916, 130); cohesion (Flora and Flora 1993; Schuller, Baron, and Field 2000; Woolcock 2001); trust (Doney and Cannon 1997; Schuller, Baron, and Field 2000); and social norms (Adler and Kwon 2002; Coleman 1988; Putnam 1993, 2000; Robison, Schmid and Siles 2002; Schuller, Baron, and Field 2000). Other possible indirect references to consummatory motives may be present in suggestions that SC's salience lies in the social and economic value that actors find in their networks and social entities, due to obligations and sympathetic treatment (Coleman 1988; Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2002; Lin 2001; Lin, Cook and Burt 2001; Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998; Putnam 1993, 2000; Robison, Schmid and Siles 2002; Schuller, Baron and Field 2000). However, sympathetic treatment need not be exclusively consummatory; it may also be instrumentally motivated.

Instrumental motives. According to Portes (1998), instrumental motives are concerned with means-ends relationships. He identifies two forms of instrumental motives, which are expected reciprocity and enforceable trust. Expected reciprocity operates when individuals help others due to their beliefs that they will receive benefits for providing assistance. These benefits may differ from those that they originally provide. In addition, these benefits may not come from the person they assist. In some cases, they may take the form of group approval. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) suggest the notion of expectations about reciprocity has sociological referents in the analyses of exchange in social life (Blau 1964; Simmel [1908] 1955). Expectations about enforceable trust operate when individuals assist others due to their confidence that repayment is insured by the sanctioning capacity of the network or collectivity. Portes and Sensenbrenner indicate that enforceable trust operates in terms of particularistic sanctions and rewards that are linked to group memberships and that its sociological referents include substantive rationality in economic transactions (Weber ([1922] 1947) and the qualities of ethnic entrepreneurship (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986). Arguably, enforceable trust also is a reflection of the importance of closure as indicated by Coleman (1988).

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) also suggest, as a source of SC, enforceable trust is affected by external and internal factors (within the collectivity or group). In terms of external factors, enforceable trust and resulting appropriable SC are positively related to outside discrimination and negatively related to options outside the groups for securing social honor and economic opportunity. In terms of internal factors, they are enhanced by the collectivity's (immigrant community's) ability to confer unique awards on its members and the extent to which it has the internal means of communication to allow it to monitor the behaviors of members and publicize the identities of deviants. (As previously noted, other aspects of trust also have consummatory implications [Doney and Cannon 1997; Schuller, Baron, and Field 2000]. Sanctions may also serve other collective purposes, as when groups use sanctions and barriers to deal with external threats [Lin 2001]).

Effects of social mechanisms, structural features, and qualities of ties. Social mechanisms may foster and enhance consummatory and instrumental motives related to SC. For example, motives may be affected by inscription, through which norms, expectations, beliefs and characteristics are transferred to and internalized by members via socialization and enculturation (Pierik 2004). Motives may be influenced by ascription, i.e., outsiders' attributions about members' characteristics, behaviors, and beliefs (e.g., the idea that Italians are passionate). In addition, motives may be impacted by the use of unique language codes that act as social boundaries, distinguish members from nonmembers, and enhance norms and trust (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). Motives may also be fostered and enhanced by the social entity's ability to use sanctions (Aguilera 2003; Coleman 1988; 1990; Lin 2001; Portes 1995; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993).

Likewise, structural features and qualities of ties among members may also contribute to members' consummatory and instrumental motives. For example, strong ties, bonding, density and closure may foster cohesion, reinforce perceived homogeneity, and limit outside influences. Weak ties and bridging may facilitate information flows between groups and, in some cases, social inclusion (Aguilera 2003; Burt 1997; Coleman 1988; 1990; Granovetter 1973; Lin 2001; Portes 1998; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Schuller, Baron and Field 2000; Woolcock 1998, 2001). These features and ties also may enhance members' joint problem solving arrangements (Uzzi 1996). For instance, bonding and bridging forms of SC may increase acceptance of multiple views, depersonalization of politics, focus on process, and members' abilities to take collective action and gain collective benefits (Flora and Flora 1993).

Finally, other structural elements and mechanisms may enhance imaginary ties and enhance commonalities in actors' views. Research in other areas suggests that structural equivalencies foster similarities among actors, e.g., those central in advice networks may develop similar views of their constantly ringing phones. This work indicates that structural similarities in social environments contribute to similarities in individuals' views and actions. Borgatti and Foster (2003, 1003) note that this result is reflected in the idea of mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and the notion that structurally equivalent actors recognize each other as comparable and imitate aspects of each other, even if the have not met (Burt 1987).

Furthermore, structural mechanisms may influence connectivist mechanisms, which involve interpersonal transmission processes such as modeling. For instance, actors' opportunities to interact are affected by their positions in a social entity and its density (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, 258; Uzzi 1996). In addition, coupling, uncoupling, and other structural mechanisms help establish bounded solidarity and boundaries of trust (Granovetter 2001; Portes 1998). Thus, structural similarities in positions may contribute to commonalities in views, sense of identification, and enforceable trust among actors despite their lack of direct ties.

SC's capital-like qualities. Portes' (1998) conception of these motives as sources of SC is consistent with scholarly views about SC's capital-like qualities and uses as a non-monetary form of capital (Adler and Kwon 2002). For example, SC may be convertible to other advantages, e.g., money and favors (Bourdieu 1985). It may also complement or substitute for other assets. For instance, social connections may compensate for a lack of funds or reduce transaction costs (Anheier, Gerhands, and Romo 1985; Smart 1993). In addition, like other forms of capital, SC may be appropriable by the actors involved (Coleman 1988), endowed to new parties, or withheld from excluded parties (Hechter 1987). Moreover, SC may be increased via use and diminished by non-maintenance and contextual changes (Sandefur and Laumann 1998).

Benefits from SC

Portes (1998) distinguishes between immediate benefits and more general consequences of SC. The varied benefits of SC that he notes include job-related benefits, such as access to employment and upward occupational mobility. They also include business benefits, such as entrepreneurial success, loans, information and tips on opportunities, access to markets and employee discipline. Furthermore, they encompass other personal benefits, such as training and supervision for skill development and academic achievement.

Other scholars refer to general personal benefits, such as sympathetic treatment and sympathy (Coleman 1988; Hanifan 1916; Putnam 2000; Robison, Schmid and Siles 2002), moral and material support and work and non-work advice (Adler and Kwon 2002), and social support (El-Bassel, Gilbert, Rajah, Foleno and Frye, 2001). In addition, they indicate that SC may create more specific benefits. SC may offer access to broader sources of information and improved quality, relevance, and timeliness of information (Adler and Kwon 2002; Burt 1992; Coleman 1988; Lin 2001; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). SC may enhance actors' influence, power, and control (Adler and Kwon 2002; Coleman 1988) and facilitate beneficial brokering activity (Burt 1997). Furthermore, SC may provide reputational capital as collateral for loans (Chong and Gibbons 1997) and aid entrepreneurship efforts (Lazerson 1995). Moreover, SC may provide certification of social credentials, reinforcement of identity, and recognition (Lin 2001).

Scholars also identify numerous benefits of SC for organizations. It may improve supplier relations (Asanuma 1985; Uzzi 1997) and capabilities to acquire, integrate, and release resources (Byler and Coff 2003). It may enhance efficiency of information diffusion (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998), information transfer, decision-making, and organizational learning and adaptation (Uzzi 1997). SC may increase interunit resource exchange and product innovation (Gabbary and Zuckerman 1998; Hansen 1998). It may also enhance allocative efficiency (via information diffusion, reduced redundancy, increased trust, and lower opportunism and monitoring costs) and adaptive efficiency in acquiring, combining and releasing other resources via learning, cooperation, and creativity (Blyler and Coff 2003; Nahapiet and Goshal; Uzzi 1997).

The benefits gained from SC at any given time only partially reflect how actors actively use SC (Burt 1992, 1998, 1997; Flap 1991; Lin 2001; Lin and Bian 1991; Lin and Dumin 1986). Actors may gain benefits they do not seek, because others have consummatory or instrumental motives for helping them without being asked. In addition, all actors may not receive the same benefits, because they may seek, obtain, and be offered varied types of benefits at different times (Koka and Prescott 2002).

Consequences of SC

Positive consequences. Portes (1998) identifies multiple broadly defined categories of positive and negative consequences of SC. The consequences that are usually regarded as positive include family support (which is beyond the scope of this study) and norm observance or social control. Norm observance is reflected in diverse ways, including aspects of value introjection and expected reciprocity. It is also reflected in rule enforcement among actors who try to maintain discipline and foster compliance. This form of social control, which is often rooted in bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, may lessen the need for formal or overt controls.

Other scholars also note possible positive consequences of SC that partially overlap with Portes' (1998) depictions. They include citizen involvement to solve community problems (Hanifan 1916, 130), less need for formal controls (Adler and Kwon 2002), and fluid movement of economic resources (Frank and Yasumoto 1998). SC may also create beneficial public goods, as when many members benefit form efficient democracy or from the actions of a few members who maintain norms and potential sanctions (Coleman 1988; Paxton 1998). In addition, some of the previously noted benefits may actually be more general consequences. It is difficult to make these determinations because, unlike Portes (1998), other scholars typically do not distinguish between benefits and more general consequences.

Negative consequences. Portes (1998) also notes that the potential effects of SC are not always be complementary. They may be in conflict. For instance, the potential for

SC to provide social control may clash with its potential to provide specific benefits. This may be the case if social controls conflict with benefits of SC that arise from the ability to evade existing norms. Thus, a larger collectivity's ability to enforce rules can be undermined by networks that facilitate evasion of rules for private benefit.

Portes (1998) suggests that this possible inconsistency underscores the need to avoid moralizing statements about the virtues of SC, social relationships, social controls, and collective sanctions. Instead, we should consider the actual and potential beneficiaries and those who may be disadvantaged from SC and its less desirable consequences. Based on research evidence, he highlights four negative consequences of SC. In these cases, the effects of social control differ from the previous descriptions because the factors that create appropriable SC resources may also constrain or direct individuals' actions away from positive consequences (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993).

The first negative effect of SC is exclusion of outsiders. The strong ties, bounded solidarity, and trust that benefit members may also restrict outsiders from access to economic benefits (e.g., when ethnic groups dominate trades, unions, and lines of business). The second negative consequence of SC is that more affluent members may be constrained by excessive claims by others who free ride on bonds and norms for mutual assistance. These excessive claims hamper the success of business initiatives. The third negative effect of SC is that the social controls and demands for conformity in a group or community may restrict individual freedoms and outside contacts. As a result, the young and independent-oriented persons may be encouraged to leave. The fourth negative effect of SC is downward leveling norms. Individual success may be discouraged because it un-

dermines group cohesion, particularly in groups in which solidarity is based on a sense of common adversity and opposition to the mainstream or external society.

Negative consequences noted by other scholars include gridlock or diversion due to individuals' pursuit of influence; free rider and tragedy of the commons problems; and fragmentation of the broader whole due to focal subgroup solidarity (Adler and Kwon 2002). The norms and closure that are related to SC may also limit consideration of alternatives, independent actions, and innovation (Coleman 1988). Thus, SC may result in excessive costs to maintain strong ties (Ahuja 1998); inertia and restricted flow of new ideas (Gargiulo and Bernassi 1999); reduced production (Hansen 1998); lack of innovation (Adler and Kwon 2002); and aversion to information and new methods (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998).

IMPLICATIONS FOR SCRC IN A DRA: RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

The prior considerations about the nature of SC and its sources, benefits, and consequences have implications in terms of SCRC in a DRA marketplace. They shed light on the diversity of motives for SCRC, the actors involved, and the nature of their relationships. They also offer insights about the intended beneficiaries of SCRC and the levels at which it may occur in the marketplace. These implications and related propositions they generated are discussed in the following sections. Figure 2 contains a graphic depiction of the tentative framework that underlies this study's reasoning about SCRC, its sources, and its effects. It is consistent with Portes' views about the sources, benefits, and consequences of SC. Insert figure 2 about here

How Marketers and Consumers May Be Involved in SCRC in a DRA

It is useful to note examples of how marketers and consumers were involved in SCRC in a DRA, before considering their motives. Marketers contributed funds and time to DRA activities and development efforts with other marketers or consumers. These activities included area promotional events that did not directly benefit their individual businesses. Development efforts focused on goals such as beautification and commercial expansion of the DRA. In addition, marketers helped other marketers via recommendations on vendors, customer referrals, store merchandising and display, and participation in joint promotional activities and co-operative buying arrangements. They helped other marketers' customers and cleaned up after their own customers, so as not to disadvantage other marketers in the area. They offered other marketers goods at special prices, assisted others in emergencies, took one another's merchandise deliveries, and shared display fixtures. They also co-operated with one another and contributed to the efficacy of the DRA by assisting other marketers who had fewer resources or contacts, less business knowledge and experience, or poorer store locations.

Consumers were jointly involved with marketers or other consumers in volunteer efforts for the DRA, including holiday parades and charity events. They helped retailers by assisting other customers, promoting retailers via word-of-mouth, and building floats and displays for area events and parades. Consumers also co-produced charity activities involving DRA stores, bars, and restaurants with other consumers (e.g., dinners, parties, etc.), decorated stores as part of community events, provided entertainment, and extended available goods and services (e.g., via offering homemade goods and their unique skills to merchants and other consumers, gift-wrapping). Furthermore, consumers attempted to maintain the marketplace's atmosphere via their collective efforts. For example, they organized to support or oppose municipal actions that affected the area's character or protested new stores that threatened the viability of existing establishments. For instance, they supported initiatives to beautify the DRA or preserve its architecture. Moreover, they joined with marketers or other consumers in using the DRA as the locus for the discussion of broader political and social issues and demonstrations.

Motives for SCRC

Consummatory motives. The prior considerations and research in marketing supported the expectation that marketers and consumers have diverse consummatory and instrumental motives for these and other types of SCRC in a DRA (see Figure 2). For example, we anticipated that consummatory motives associated with value introjection may lead marketers to work with other marketers or consumers in many of the previously noted ways. This supposition was indirectly supported by evidence that normative commitment, which is associated with moral obligation toward the group and professional duty, is positively related to co-production in a life insurance sales agents' organization (Gruen, Summers, and Acito 2000). Similarly, we anticipated some consumers may be jointly involved with marketers or other consumers in DRA activities due to value introjection, e.g., they may express their patriotic, religious, political, or ethical values in holiday events, parades, protests, etc.

Moreover, as in Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) theorizing about SC, external and internal factors seemed also apt to influence marketers' and consumers' feelings of in-group or bounded solidarity and identification. For instance, DRA merchants and shoppers may feel that they are subject to prejudice because they have or think that they have socially distinctive characteristics that distinguish them from other marketers and consumers in the population. This expectation was consistent with evidence of the cohesive effects and the accompanying joint activity among consumers in the Star Trek community due to derision and ridicule (Kozinets 2001).

Although not specifically reported in these terms, a sense of identification due to recognition of common circumstances and common opposition also seemed to exist in other contexts in which co-production is reported. For instance, SCRC due to bounded solidarity appeared to occur among consumers who sense their shared opposition to marketplace forces (Kozinets 2002). It seemed to exist among consumers who contest the marketer in the brand communities for Xena: Warrior Princess and Saab (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Schau and Muniz 2002) and among Star Wars fans and Volkswagen owners (Brown, Kozinets, and Sherry 2003). Bounded solidarity also appeared to exist in brand communities that coalesce due to competition between brands (O'Guinn and Muniz 2000). In addition, it seemed to develop in other situations (Muniz and Schau, unpublished). It was evidenced when owners were devoted to a brand, worked together due to necessity, had a common enemy or cause, and faced similar challenges and threats (VW Beetle and Star Trek). Moreover, it seemed to arise when consumers dealt with derision, ridicule, and strong rivalry (Apple versus Windows; Palm versus PocketPC; and Saab versus Volvo); and a shared history and marketplace abandonment (Apple Newton users).

Likewise, in DRA contexts, recognition of common circumstances and common opposition also seemed apt to arise due to the actual or potential threat and opposition posed by entry of mass merchandisers or chain stores into the area and the development of retail complexes in other area of the city. The likely resulting bounded solidarity seemed similar in many respects to the cohesion (and co-production) in brand communities that stemmed from aversive factors and relevant threats (Muniz and Schau, unpublished).

In addition, consistent with Portes and Sensensenbrenner (1993), we felt that marketers' and consumers' feelings of collective identity and common memory might be developed and reinforced by the DRA's activities and events and their direct or vicarious participation in them. This and other forms of social construction were apt to contribute to a sense of "weness" among those who become involved in a DRA. This likelihood was indirectly supported by evidence of participation and memories of unique community acitivies in other consumer contexts (Kozinets 2002; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). Moreover, social mechanisms that contributed to the construction of social boundaries, distinguished members from nonmembers, and enhanced norms and trust in other settings (Nahpiet and Goshal 1998) appeared to parallel the effects of powerful and unique terms and meanings in brand communities (Muniz and Schau, unpublished, 33) and of phatic language in high risk activity groups (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993).

For similar reasons, we anticipated that consummatory motives associated with bounded solidarity might underlie marketers' efforts to help or facilitate help for other DRA marketers. In other words, they might engage in SCRC with other marketers due their sense of identification with business people in the area. This expectation was indirectly supported by indications that affective commitment, which is focused on positive emotional attachment to a professional marketers' organization, is positively related to members' involvement in co-production activities in the group (Gruen, Summers, and Acito 2000). Likewise, some consumers might engage in co-operative efforts with marketers or other consumers due to their identification with the DRA (as a symbol of the community) or their sense of connection with other consumers who patronize area stores (Grossbart and Pryor 2002).

Except for the suggestion that consumers and individual marketers jointly build specific brand communities (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002), there were few reports on co-production among consumers and marketers due to bounded solidarity. However, there was evidence of bonding, communitas, and co-production among consumers and marketers in a temporary river rafting setting (Arnould and Price 1993). Indirect evidence of what seems to be bonded solidarity among consumers included reports on consciousness of kind, responsibility to other community members, and co-production in brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau, unpublished). It was also indirectly reflected in reports on a sense of connection to other brand owners (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002), socially cohesive elements in subcultures of consumption (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), and how identification and bonding are rooted in common consumer experiences (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993).

Moreover, SCRC among consumers and marketers based on bounded solidarity seemed likely to occur when distinctions between marketer's representatives and consumers become blurred at rallies and special events for brand communities and consumption subcultures. Some of these aspects of bounded solidarity between consumers and a

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marketer and SCRC might also exist in other brand, consumption, and subculture contexts, e.g., among Volkswagen owners and Star Wars fans (Brown, Kozinets, and Sherry 2003), and in the gay subculture (Kates 2002, 2004).

Instrumental motives. We reasoned that instrumental motives are also apt to underlie SCRC in a DRA. For instance, motives linked to reciprocity should lead marketers to co-produce marketing activities with other marketers because they expect to receive recognition or unspecified future benefits from others in the business community when they need assistance (i.e., they expect generalized reciprocity to operate). Consumers may also engage in SCRC with DRA marketers based on reciprocity expectations. In these cases, they may expect to get recognition or favored treatment (e.g., respect, awards, status, and special ordering privileges and prices) from retailers or other DRA patrons. Similarly, consumers may co-produce marketing activities with other consumers in the expectation of receiving recognition from those involved or other marketers or consumers (Gruen, Summers, and Acito 2000; Okleshen and Grossbart 2000, 2001). Although not identified as such, the literature on consumers' production of services from goods that they buy from a marketer also includes many examples of consumers co-producing with a single firm for apparently instrumental reasons linked to reciprocity. In these cases, the parties believe they will benefit from such co-operation (e.g., Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Dabholkar 1990; Goodwin 1988; Lusch, Brown, and Brunswick 1992).

Consistent with Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) observations, external and internal factors seemed also apt to elevate SC related to enforceable trust among marketers and consumers. In terms of external factors, this enforceable trust and resulting appropriable SC may be heightened by outside discrimination faced by DRA marketers and patrons and by their lack of options for obtaining social honors and economic opportunities outside the DRA. In terms of internal factors, enforceable trust and resulting SC among marketers and consumers are likely to be enhanced by their abilities to confer awards, monitor behaviors, and publicize the identities of deviants. We felt these abilities should be more evident among marketers than consumers because, compared to consumers, marketers are fewer in number, more organized (e.g., via a professional group), and they have a more continuous physical presence in the DRA.

As SC research on French bankers suggests (Frank and Yasumoto 1998), actors in relatively undifferentiated social structures (with less stable and sparser social ties) face challenges in using enforceable trust because they encounter obstacles in effectively using sanctions. These actors are more likely to rely on reciprocity, whereas actors in more differentiated social structures are more likely to rely on enforceable trust. Thus, in a DRA, consumers may be more reliant on reciprocity, whereas marketers may be more reliant on enforceable trust. Still, both instrumental motives for SC may exist in both groups. This supposition is indirectly supported by consumer research, which offers more accounts of reciprocity than enforceable trust. There are limited indications of monitoring of behavior, identification of deviations from norms, and effects of actual or potential sanctions among large collectivities of consumers (for exceptions, see Kozinets 2002; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). However, there are indirect indications that instrumental motives of reciprocity and enforceable trust are related to co-production in consumer subcultures and brand communities (Kates 2002, 2004; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau, unpublished).

The prior evidence and reasoning was consistent with the expectation that marketers and consumers have diverse consummatory and instrumental motives that are associated with SCRC. It led to the formation of the following proposition:

P1: Marketers and consumers have consummatory and instrumental motives for SCRC in the marketplace.

Actors Involved in SCRC

A likely implication of SC's appropriable nature and other qualities appeared to be that SCRC may occur among marketers and consumers, among marketers, and among consumers in a DRA marketplace. The relative neglect of these matters in our field is one basis for the criticism that marketing theory offers limited insights into the co-production of market practices and norms by consumers and marketers (Vargo and Lusch 2004). One result of this gap in marketing knowledge is a limited grasp of the range of co-operative or coordinated relationships among marketers and consumers. As Grossbart and Pryor (2002) note, marketing research on retailing has an atomistic or dyadic bias. This bias contributes to the depiction of retailers as rivals and underemphasizes the nature of their collaborative efforts and joint contributions to the DRA. It also leads to a neglect of consumers' roles as co-producers with retailers and with other consumers. Such cooperative activities and co-production may seem counterintuitive, if viewed from conventional perspectives that assume individual self-interest, dyadic relationships, and traditionally defined roles for sellers and buyers.

The prior discussion suggests that SCRC involves more than a consumer producing services for her/himself from a good s/he has bought. It also highlights indirect evidence that SCRC occurs among consumers and among consumers and a marketer (or a marketer's representatives) in brand communities and subcultures of consumption. An added implication of the previous discussion and examples is that SCRC in a DRA potentially involves a broader set of individuals than co-production in the aforementioned contexts. A DRA includes multiple marketers and consumers who may be involved in coproduction. In terms of number, diversity, and proximity of actors, the DRA setting is unlike brand communities in which the marketer has abandoned the brand (Muniz and Schau, unpublished) or there is a single marketer (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). The marketers in a DRA marketplace seemed also likely to have more opportunities and motives for SCRC than the national marketers serving a spatially dispersed subculture (Kates 2002, 2004).

In some respects, co-production in a DRA setting seemed apt to be consistent with Prahalad's (2004) conception. He suggests that customers, customer communities, and firms interact in co-production and that often multiple firms must work together because no single firm can provide the total co-creation experience. In a DRA, there are ample opportunities for multiple forms of co-creation by varied configurations of marketers and consumers. As noted, marketers may co-produce with one another. Moreover, there is considerable potential for consumers to play active co-production roles and do more in co-production than produce services on an individual basis for their own individual consumption. Consumers may co-produce among themselves on a collective basis and coproduce with marketers on an individual and collective basis. The potential for varied configurations of marketers, consumers, and marketers and consumers as co-producers and for their diverse motives for co-production casts a new light on Prahalad's (2004) argument about the a need to debate the idea that co-production issues concern how the firm should engage the customer. They also extend the domain of issues beyond whether or how consumers can be managed as customers in the co-production process (Bendapudi and Leone 2003). These considerations suggested the following proposition.

P2: SCRC occurs among marketers and consumers, among marketers, and among consumers.

Ties among Actors and Intended Beneficiaries of SCRC

Two added implications of the diverse motives and actors associated with SCRC concerned the ties among those involved and the intended beneficiaries. Research high-lights SC in networks (Burt 1997; Lin 2001) and in other larger, less dense social entities in which imagined relationships are apt to be influential. These entities include collectivities of ethnic minorities (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993) and neighborhoods in which parents let children play without their supervision because they rely on other community members, including those they do not know, to monitor and protect them (Coleman 1988).

Likewise, SCRC in a DRA is apt to include a large and diverse set of marketers and consumers who have both actual and perceived or imagined ties (Anderson 1983; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001). Consistent with the previously noted research in other contexts, their relationships may involve ties of a transactional, social, and/or limited nature. For instance, these ties may include arms' length business relationships and business friendships (Schonscheck 2000; Uzzi 1997) among retailers and transactional exchange relationships and dyadic commercial friendships (Beatty and Jungki 1996; Price and Arnould 1999; Reynolds and Beatty 1999) between retailers and consumers. They may also include relationships among retailers and among retailers and consumers that are social but do not involve economic transactions and ties that do not involve prior direct social or economic transactions. There are multiple reasons for these expectations.

Indirect evidence from marketing and other disciplines. First, marketing investigations in other contexts underscore how marketers and consumers with a diverse set of ties may be jointly involved in producing marketing activity and stimuli that contribute to a marketplace's social character (Peñaloza 2000; Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). Similarly, a diverse collectivity of marketers and consumers is apt to be jointly involved in shaping the DRA's socio-commercial character and socio-cultural meanings. Different factors may lead them to feel connected to one another even if they do not have direct ties. They may recognize retailers' collective effects on the marketplace, via their merchandise and service mixes (Levy and Weitz 2004), economic and aesthetic impact on the community (Lagrance 1999; Pacelle 1996), and influence on consumers' experiences and responses to the cultural environment (Bloch and Ridgeway 1994; Shim and Eastlick 1998). They may also see themselves as members of a group with shared values and views of the DRA as a site of cultural, political, social, and economic expression (Grossbart and Pryor 2002; Pryor and Grossbart 2004).

Second, the expectation that actors with diverse ties may be involved in SCRC is consistent with research outside marketing. It is compatible with evidence that economic ties and personal ties are not requisites for SC among entrepreneurs (Hite 2003). It also conforms with the idea that diverse sets of actors, including some without direct social or transactional ties, may form a collectivity that affects its members' consummatory and instrumental motives for SC (Portes 1998). Marketers or consumers may have such motives and a sense of joint involvement in the DRA, even if they do not have economic or social ties with all those involved. In consummatory terms, their norms, identification, and sense of bounded solidarity may extend to others with whom they do not have direct economic or social ties (or share identical patronage patterns). They may be instrumentally motivated to help others, based on reciprocity beliefs that they will receive recognition or help from others in the DRA in the future (if they need it). In other cases, they may be motivated by expectations of enforceable trust. For example, one retailer may help another based on the belief that the other party will meet the terms involved due to the sanctioning capacity of the DRA business community.

A DRA's permeability and uses. Third, the likelihood of diverse ties and imagined links among those involved in SCRC reflects the DRA's economic, social, and physical permeability and multiple uses. This permeability is due to retailers entering and exiting, the DRA expanding or contracting over time, and variations in patronage patterns (i.e., who visits the DRA and the time, frequency, and duration of their visits). Moreover, retailers and consumers who primarily use the DRA during the day may differ from bar, restaurant, and tattoo parlor operators and patrons who primarily use the DRA at night. These actors may have different views of the DRA's social and physical composition and different direct ties. Yet, their common use of the area may foster a sense of interdependence, cooperation, appropriable SC, and SCRC among them.

Structural elements and mechanisms. Finally, other structural elements and mechanisms may foster diverse ties, imaginary ties, and perceived commonalities among marketers and consumers who are involved with the DRA. For example, DRA marketers and consumers who shop in the DRA may feel linked to one another, even if the have not met, due to structural equivalencies in their positions with respect to the DRA. This out-

come is consistent with the idea that structural similarities in social environments contribute to similarities in individuals' views and actions (Borgatti and Foster 2003; Burt 1987; DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

In addition, structural similarities that are associated with being a marketer or shopper in the DRA are likely to increase these actors' opportunities to observe and interact with one another. These opportunities and the interpersonal transmission processes that they make possible can create links among marketers and consumers in a variety of ways. For instance, they can contribute to modeling, commonalities in views, and sense of identification among some marketers and shoppers despite their lack of direct or intimate ties. These types of outcomes are consistent with reports that actors' opportunities to observe and interact are affected by their positions in a social entity and its density (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, 258; Uzzi 1996). They are also consistent with the idea that coupling, uncoupling, and other structural mechanisms help establish bounded solidarity and boundaries of trust among actors (Granovetter 2001; Portes 1998).

Diversity of ties and beneficiaries. The prior reasoning suggests that the collectivity or collectivities that are involved in SCRC in a DRA may encompass a large and diverse set of marketers and consumers with a wide scope of ties. These ties may not be limited to individual marketers' relationships with those to whom they sell or from whom they buy. They are also not confined to consumers' ties with marketers from whom they buy. Likewise, they are not restricted to ties among consumers who own the same brand or shop in the same store. Instead, they also include the set of real and perceived links that may exist among marketers and consumers who are not their patrons; marketers who typically may be considered rivals; consumers who do not patronize the same stores; marketers and consumers without instrumental motives for interaction or prior ties; and marketers and consumers who may not have direct contact with one another. Thus, the actors involved in SCRC may co-produce for others beside themselves. They also may not have prior commercial or interpersonal relationships with those with whom or for whom they co-produce. These perspectives were reflected in the following propositions.

P3: Prior transactional or interpersonal ties are not requisites for marketers' and consumers' involvement in SCRC.

P4: The intended beneficiaries of SCRC are not limited to those who engage in it.

SCRC on Multiple Levels

An added implication of the prior reasoning is that SCRC is apt to occur at multiple levels in the marketplace (see Figure 2). For purposes of brevity, the possible consummatory or instrumental motives for SCRC are omitted in the following examples. As in any activity in which multiple persons are involved, diverse motives are apt to operate.

For instance, on the micro-level, SCRC may involve a pair of or relatively few marketers and/ or consumers and one or two stores. Thus, a retailer A may gain help in finding a store fixture vendor from retailer B (who was recommended by retailer C); two consumers, one of whom is a customer, may help a retailer decorate her/ his store; or a retailer and a consumer may help a second retailer unload merchandise. On a more mesolevel, SCRC may involve a somewhat larger set of marketers and/or consumers and set of stores. For instance, retailers located on a side street may help a retailer, who they view as one of their own, after a fire. In addition, consumers and bar and restaurant owners may work together to create and promote a charity event. On the macro-level, SCRC may involve a larger and more diffuse collectivity of marketers and/or consumers and most or all DRA stores or the area itself. For example, all DRA retailers and many consumers may co-operate to stage a Halloween event for children and families. We proposed, therefore:

P5: SCRC by marketers and consumers in the marketplace occurs on micro-, meso-, and macro-levels.

Benefits from SCRC on Multiple Levels

The likelihood that SCRC creates benefits on multiple levels of the DRA is indirectly supported by the previously noted reports that SC in other contexts fosters varied types of benefits. Likewise, SCRC is apt to create benefits at different marketplace levels ranging from a store to the DRA as a whole for other more direct reasons. For example, varied numbers of marketers and/or consumers may be involved in SCRC and they may be jointly involved in a wide set of store level and area level functions and other activities. In other words, there should be benefits from SCRC on micro-, meso-, and macrolevels, just as there are multiple levels of SCRC (see Figures 1 and 2).

In addition, different levels of benefits on one level of the DRA may be generated from SCRC at other levels of the marketplace. For instance, there may be macro-level benefits from micro-level SCRC if two retailers co-operate to create benefits for the entire DRA business community. Conversely, all DRA retailers may pool their efforts to assist one retailer who is a victim of tragic circumstances.

These complexities make it problematic to anticipate all the forms of SCRC in the marketplace or all the specific benefits they create. Both may be broader in scope than the co-production and benefits reported in the brand community, subcultures, and other con-

texts in prior marketing studies. Moreover, they should exist on multiple levels. This reasoning led to the formation of the following proposition:

P6: SCRC by marketers and consumers in the marketplace creates benefits on mi-

cro-, meso-, and macro-levels.

Consequences on Multiple Levels

As in other contexts in which SC is studied, there were apt to be positive and negative consequences of SCRC in a DRA. Moreover, consistent with our prior logic, these outcomes are apt to occur on multiple (i.e., micro, meso-, and macro-) levels (see Figures 1 and 2).

Positive consequences. For example, the norm observance, social control, and compliance that underlie SCRC may be associated with a number of positive consequences. Marketers who do business with one another or coordinate their efforts in DRA-wide activities may not feel the need to monitor their peers or rely on formal controls and contracts. This type of coordination, combined with reciprocity-based SC, may facilitate the flow of economic resources among marketers and aid their allocative efficiency and adaptive efficiency. Therefore, specific marketers, subgroups of marketers (e.g., those in a subarea of the DRA), and DRA marketers in general may be able to avoid costly contracts, make agreements and decisions relatively quickly (e.g., about purchases and promotions), adapt to opportunities, and handle problems in a timely fashion. In addition, marketers and consumers may not feel that it is necessary to monitor the behaviors of their counterparts. As a result, marketers may save the time and costs that might otherwise be expended to monitor customers in their stores. Consumers may also save the time

and costs that might otherwise be devoted to checking the adequacy of marketers' offerings and prices.

Likewise, SC and SCRC may help marketers and consumers deal with DRA problems and opportunities (e.g., typical DRA issues regarding parking, zoning, beautification, and preservation). Their abilities to deal with these matters may help make the DRA become a focal point for social events, cultural activities, and civic pride, as well as a site for the marketing, economic, and consumption-related activities that are commonly associated with a marketplace. In this and other respects, SC may create public goods. The possible meaning(s) of the DRA to marketers and consumers may be an added consequence of these elements. For example, beyond its role in fulfilling economic and consumption related functions, the DRA may also be seen as a multi-faceted locus of political, social, and cultural activities and meanings, and as source of civic pride for many marketers and consumers.

Negative consequences. Alternatively, such possible social, cultural, and civic activities and meanings may have negative connotations for some marketers and consumers. (A proposition about marketplace meanings as a consequence of SCRC is discussed in the next section.) There also may be other negative consequences of in a DRA. For instance, the norms, bonds, and expectations that underlie SCRC may be disadvantages for marketers and consumers who are seen as outsiders. These underlying factors may act as barriers to new stores and, thereby, disadvantage some consumers or even some DRA marketers who might benefit from retail agglomeration effects that result from more stores offering goods in the same product categories. If similar factors lead marketers to favor a certain group of local shoppers, other local shoppers and nonresidents who shop in the DRA may also be disadvantaged.

In addition, some marketers and consumers may be free riders, who take advantage of the bonds and norms for support but do not contribute to SCRC or make excessive claims on successful merchants or other DRA patrons' goodwill. For instance, some marketers may also rely on some of their peers to do the work that benefits the DRA, promotes special area events, etc. Similarly, some consumers may repeatedly ask long established merchants for donations and help for community causes or rely on other consumers to work on area projects from which they benefit (e.g., parades and family events). Furthermore, excessive demands on the DRA as a whole may lead to tragedy of the commons effects. For example, an increasing number of special events downtown may exceed the capacity for merchant participation and consumer tolerance. Overutilization of the DRA may strain merchants' finances and time, the parking capacity of downtown lots, the service capacity of downtown restaurants, and consumer tolerance.

Moreover, marketers' and consumers' freedoms of action may be constrained by the social controls that arise from previously discussed norms, bonds, and expectations. For example, marketers may be discouraged from making individual efforts to break away from co-operative buying arrangements and find individual sources of supply. Marketers may also limit their employees' freedoms to decide which stores they patronize, whether to participate in area events, etc. Consumers may also face sanctions from other consumers or marketers if they shop outside the DRA, recommend non-DRA stores, etc.

SC may also contribute to a downward leveling of marketers' norms. Consequently, rather than respond to their own customers' desires, they may maintain practices accepted by other merchants in matters such as store hours and services offered. They may also not serve consumers' interests, by avoiding competitive actions against other retailers in the DRA. For instance, they may not fully leverage their potential advantages by refraining from competitive actions such as aggressive pricing, comparative advertising, and offering goods that overlap with merchandise carried by other marketers in the area. In addition, they may become enmeshed in decision gridlock due to fear of disadvantaging some retailers in the area or because of opportunism on the part of particular individuals who take advantage of SC-related expectations to pursue their own self-interest. (The potential for consumers to be disadvantaged by closure and cohesive relationships among firms is indirectly reflected by the erosion of customer-orientation in firms linked in cooperative alliances [Rindfleish and Moorman 2003]).

Moreover, the welfare of others in the DRA may be decreased by the solidarity of a subset of merchants or consumers who use SCRC to pursue their own interests. This focal group solidarity may create divisions among DRA merchants and consumers and undermine or conflict with the social factors that may otherwise enhance benefits for the entire DRA. For example, merchants and customers from stores in a particular section of the DRA (e.g., the DRA's main street or specific side streets) may use SCRC to pursue their own interests at the expense of other marketers and consumers. A related form of localized in-group orientation may lead established marketers to give new marketers to the area less favorable treatment and less voice in area activities and governance.

In addition, both marketers and consumers may eventually find that the costs of maintaining strong ties are excessive. For instance, they may face such excessive costs due to their increasing dependence upon key relationships. Thus, marketers may feel

forced to offer discounts to key customers even when they are aware that the goods could be easily sold at undiscounted prices. Likewise, consumers may feel pressure to make purchases in the DRA although there are more attractive alternatives exist elsewhere.

The prior examples illustrate mixed consequences of SCRC, which may create possible both positive outcomes and negative results and tensions among marketers, among consumers, and among marketers and consumers. Although it is not possible to predict specific consequences, these examples suggested that mixed outcomes were likely to occur at different levels of aggregation.

P7: SCRC by marketers and consumers in the marketplace has positive and negative consequences on micro-, meso-, and macro-levels.

Marketplace Meanings

As noted at a number of points in the prior discussion, marketplace meanings are also likely to be a consequence of SCRC by marketers and consumers. They are treated here as a separate category of consequences because classification of meanings as positive and negative is problematic. Moreover, marketers and consumers may share conceptions of the marketplace but disagree about the valence of those meanings. For instance, many people may recognize that a DRA is a center for evening entertainment, recreation, and socializing but disagree as to the desirability of this meaning.

The previous discussion includes many examples of potential ways in which marketplace meanings may both shape and emerge from the joint and coordinated actions of marketers and consumers in a DRA. (In Figure 2, the arrow from multi-level effects of SCRC back to sources of SC indicates the indirect effect of marketplace meanings on SCRC.) The likelihood that these meanings may be social, cultural, economic, and political, as well as consumption-related, in nature is consistent with diverse theoretical views about the marketplace. For instance, this expectation is compatible with the notion that, in any given community, the creation of meaning is negotiated through the symbolism of the marketplace and is a source of identification for those involved (McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig 2002). It also reflects the postmodern interpretation of the consumer as an active link in the continual production and reproduction of images and symbolic meanings (Firat, Dholakia, and Venkatesh 1995). More generally, it is consistent with the idea that socio-cultural factors are central, not peripheral, features of market processes (Granovetter 1985, 505).

Moreover, research in other contexts underscores marketers' and consumers' joint involvement in producing marketing activity and stimuli that contribute to the social character of the marketplace (Peñaloza and Gilly 1999). In addition, evidence also indicates that consumption, economic, social, cultural, and political meanings are co-created among marketers, among consumers, and among consumers and marketers in other settings. For example, these settings include an industry trade show (Peñaloza 2000); a spatially dispersed consumer subculture and other subcultures of consumption (Kates 2002, 2004; Schouten and McAlexander 1995); brand communities (McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig 2002); anti-marketing events (Kozinets 2002); and family gatherings (Wallendorf and Arnould 1991).

Similarly, marketers and consumers are apt to be jointly involved in the creation and maintenance of a DRA's socio-commercial character and meanings as a consumption-related, economic, social, political, and cultural space. However, marketers and consumers may not universally accept these meanings. This expectation is consistent with the idea that the market reflects tensions within and between the meanings and values of marketers and consumers (Peñaloza 2000). For example, these tensions may reflect differences related to the formal, commercial, festive, and other possible perceived qualities of the marketplace (Pryor and Grossbart 2006; Sherry 1990). It is also compatible with the notion that monolithic meanings may not entirely dominate or preclude the possibility of individual expression and distinction in the marketplace (Kates 2002). Furthermore, it is consistent with suggestions that different actors in the marketplace may have different views. Their varied perspectives may result from the fact that the marketplace, like a consumption object, has polysemic symbolic qualities that enable variation in interpretation and use (Holt 1997). Moreover, like brand meanings, marketplace meanings may be accepted or even institutionalized to a certain extent, but be sufficiently ambiguous or malleable to assume socially acceptable variations (Kates 2004).

Likewise, in the DRA, different and contested marketplace meanings are apt to result from the diversity of marketers and consumers, locations, motives, and opportunities and sites for co-production. Marketers and consumers may use the DRA at different times (day versus night, weekday versus weekend, more typical occasions versus holidays or event-focused days, etc.) and for different purposes (e.g., shopping, entertainment, exercise, and civic activity). They may interact with and witness different activities in different parts of the DRA because they work or shop in different stores (e.g., merchants and shoppers on the main thoroughfare may have different experiences than those on side streets). In addition, they may be involved in different SCRC activities.

SCRC may play a role in this regard, because it may contribute to tolerance or reconciliation of differences in marketplace meanings. Evidence in other contexts indi-

cates that SC may divert attention from potential community divisions, because it fosters depersonalization of issues and concentration on common goals and interests (Flora and Flora 1993). SCRC seemed also apt to function in this way and to contribute to common and divergent views about a DRA's character as a commercial, consumption, political, social, and cultural space. Our final proposition concerned the development of market-place meanings.

P8: SCRC by marketers and consumers contributes to shared and contested economic, social, political, cultural, and consumption-related meanings about the DRA marketplace.

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO MARKETING KNOWLEDGE

This study increased our understanding of the role and implications of SC in coproduction, interfirm relationships, and commercial and business friendships in the marketplace. The following discussion reviews contributions in these areas.

SC and Co-Production in the Marketplace

By examining the SCRC that occurs among a variety of marketers and consumers in a DRA, this study expands our knowledge about the nature, boundaries, and effects of co-production. Specifically, it broadens our understanding of the motivations that underlie co-production, its protean qualities, and the nature and range of possible effects.

As noted earlier, in the marketing literature, co-production is typically depicted in one of two ways. It is characterized as interaction in, and participation by, a customer and a firm's employees in the joint production of goods and services (Bendapudi and Leone 2003). Consideration of co-production in these terms is largely limited to self-service or a consumer's joint involvement with a marketer to produce goods or services for her/himself (Vargo and Lusch 2004) and consumers' roles as partial employees (Bendapudi and Leone 2003). Alternatively, co-production refers to joint involvement by consumers or a marketer and consumers in creating marketing activities, functions, and meanings (McAlexander, Schouten, and Koenig 2002; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Peñaloza 2000; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). In either depiction, managerial implications are discussed in terms of how the firm should engage the customer (Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Peñaloza 2000; Prahalad 2004). As a result, this body of work examines a relatively circumscribed set of actors, motives, and outcomes.

This study differs from prior work in terms of its setting and perspectives about co-production. SCRC may be differentiated from co-production that results from a simple dyadic exchange that is not embedded in a larger social structure (Portes 1998, 9). Likewise, SCRC differs from co-production primarily due to psychological motives, such an interest in the intrinsic value of what is created. SCRC also differs from co-production that is oriented to another specific individual but is not linked to a larger social entity. In addition, this study focuses on a wider set of actors and ties among actors who are involved in or influence co-production. It considers how customers, customer communities, and firms interact in co-production and in the creation of the total co-creation experience (Prahalad 2004). It also encompasses marketers and consumers who did not have transactional ties as sellers and buyers, interpersonal social ties, instrumental motives for interaction, or direct contact with one another.

By adopting a SC perspective, we gain insights into the motivations underlying co-production and addressed apparent inconsistencies in findings about the reasons for co-production. Such an approach also provides added explanations for co-production, in addition to recognized motives that are related to such factors as the existence of common threats (Muniz and Schau, unpublished), brand worship (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), and competition among brands (O'Guinn and Muniz 2000).

Moreover, this study reveals the protean qualities of SCRC. These are reflected in the varied ties and motives associated with marketplace actors as well as the marketing functions and activities produced. Marketplace co-production encompasses a wider set of marketing activities and occurs on a more collective level than previously considered. In addition, it creates positive and negative outcomes for other marketers and consumers and contributed to a marketplace's meanings, offerings, and uses. Thus, the experiences resulting from co-production are not consumed in the conventional sense, because marketers and consumers are not be the direct beneficiaries, in an instrumental sense, of the co-production in which they engaged.

These findings raise issues about tensions between governing market logic and communal relations, as suggested by Kozinets (2002). He seems to argue that markets operate on or against consumers and "directly affect individual consumers by homogenizing them and suppressing their self-expressive capabilities" (22). In contrast, this study considers how consumers and marketers jointly influenced a marketplace's meaning and functioning and both reduced and heightened market-community tensions. The presence of such opposing effects helped reconcile the scholarly debate on whether the market undermines or enhances SC, because commerce makes individuals and groups more useful to one another (Adler and Kwon 2002). Furthermore, because marketers and consumers jointly influence the socio-commercial nature of the marketplace via SCRC, conventional distinctions between merchants and customers, as producers and consumers, merchandisers and shoppers, performers and audience members, and providers and recipients were blurred.

In these and the previously noted respects, this study helps integrate narrower and broader views of the marketplace, broaden our understanding of co-production, and offers new insights into:

- The diverse motives of marketers and consumers for engaging in SCRC in the marketplace;
- The varied configurations of SCRC (i.e., for SCRC to occur among marketers and consumers, among marketers, and among consumers;
- The protean qualities of co-production;
- The intended beneficiaries of SCRC;
- Benefits of SCRC and the levels on which they are created; and
- The consequences of SCRC, beyond the specific benefits it may create, in terms of marketplace behaviors and meanings.

Interfirm Relationships

Much of recent research on interfirm relationships follows Arndt's (1979) call for a broadened conceptualization of markets. This broadened view seeks to avoid an unduly narrow focus on the buyer or seller as the unit of analysis, a short-term orientation, and an overemphasis on economic and psychological interpretations of the marketplace.

One reflection of this broadened focus is scholars' tendencies to highlight the importance and nature of strong bonds between buyers and sellers (Wathne, Biong, and Heide 2001). Their work offers insights on facets of the development and maintenance of interfirm relationships (e.g., see Dwyer, Schurr and Oh 1987). For example, it explores norms in interfirm relationships (Gundlach, Achrol, and Mentzer 1995; Heide and John 1992). It also examines the role of trust (Doney and Cannon 1997; Moorman, Deshpande, and Zaltman 1993; Morgan and Hunt 1994; Sirdeshmukh, Singh, and Sabol 2002; Zaheer, McEvily, and Perrone 1998; Zaheer and Venkatraman 1995). In addition, it investigates the formation and use of governance structures (Brown, Dev and Lee 2000). Furthermore, it considers the effects of long-term orientations towards relationships (Ganesan 1994; Gundlach, Achrol, and Mentzer 1995; Ring and Van de Ven 1994; Sheth and Parvatiyar 1995).

Scholarly interest in cooperative relationships among firms also is reflected in research on networks, alliances, and embeddedness (Achrol 1997; Walker 1997; Zajac 1998). This work focuses on the formation and evolution of networks and alliances (Bucklin and Sengupta 1993; Gassenheimer, Houston and Davis 1998; Oliver 1990). It also investigates social networks (Granovetter 1985), governance mechanisms (Jap and Ganesan 2000; Larson 1992) and outcomes within alliances (Deeds and Hill 1996). (For an informative review see Gulati 1998). Most of this research adopts one of six conceptual approaches, including transaction cost economics, resource dependency, strategic choice, stakeholder theory, organizational learning, and institutional theory (Barringer and Harrison 2000). In general, these studies focus on:

- Dyadic interactions between buyers and sellers (e.g., Uzzi 1997);
- Manufacturing and/or technology firms (e.g., Bear 1998; Marti and Smiley 1993; Nishiguchi 1994);
- Firms that form relationships for specific business (versus social or other) purposes (e.g., Aldrich and Mueller 1982; Balakrishnan and Koza 1993; Barney

1991; Gomes-Casseres 1996; Hagedoorn1993; Hamel 1991; Miles and Snow 1992); and

 Purposes that are rooted in economic outcomes (e.g., reduced transaction costs, increased speed to market, market access, technical knowledge acquisition, and product development).

Thus, although work in this area has broadened the conceptualization of markets, it generally concentrates on limited types of firms, relationships, and motives. Scholars suggest that this work is limited by an under-emphasis on the qualities of these relationships and theories regarding the social and cultural contexts surrounding them (Barringer and Harrison 2000; Borch and Arthur 1995). Moreover, from the viewpoint of this study, it fails to explore relationships among multiple firms and consumers who may or may not be their customers. A SC perspective offers new insights into these phenomena and new bases for examining aspects of relationships among firms that are neglected in the marketing literature. In particular, this study broadens our understanding of:

- Relationships among retailers versus the prevailing focus on manufacturing and/or technology firms (e.g., Bear 1998; Marti and Smiley 1993; Nishiguchi 1994);
- Relationships among firms that are not formally linked as buyers and sellers or strategic allies, as is the case in most interfirm studies (e.g., Gulati 1998; Uzzi 1997);
- Relationships among actors in more than two firms versus dyadic interactions and relationships among small firms, as advocated by Borch and Arthur (1995);

- Relationships among multiple marketers and their shared and unshared customers, which are neglected in the marketing literature;
- Relationships that are affected by social norms that are external to the actors' organizations and not necessarily rooted in clearly articulated organizational goals; this focus is consistent with the call for research on the cultural and social contexts of actors involved interfirm relationships (Borch and Arthur 1995);
- Informal (non-strategic) relationships versus the current emphasis on relationships formed for specific business purposes (e.g., Aldrich and Mueller 1982; Balakrishnan and Koza 1993; Barney 1991; Gomes-Casseres 1996; Hagedoorn 1993; Hamel 1991; Miles and Snow 1992); and
- Social aspects of relationships versus the current emphasis on economic or psychological facets of relationships (Barringer and Harrison 2000).

Commercial and Business Friendships

Commercial friendships are a subset of marketing relationships that are bounded by the commercial context and, "similar to other friendships, involve affection, intimacy, social support, loyalty, and reciprocal gift giving" (Price and Arnould 1999, 50). The limited marketing research in this area examines antecedents and consequences of commercial friendships and (to a lesser extent) contextual matters surrounding them.

Beatty and Jungki (1996) suggest that sales associates are highly selective and instrumental in their relationships with customers. They initiate their commercial friendships with customers in order to serve strategic purposes. Like other researchers in the area, they stress positive benefits of commercial friendships. They note that, "[r]elationship customers did not report any significant costs or frustrations in these relationships, although we consistently probed for negatives during interviews" (14). Similarly, Reynolds and Beatty (1999) report that customer-salespersons relationships lead to positive results in satisfaction, loyalty (to both salesperson and firm), word-of-mouth (WOM), share of purchases, and social benefits. Price and Arnould (1999) also link commercial friendships to customer satisfaction, loyalty, and positive WOM. However, they note that positive WOM may be constrained by clients who refuse to share their hair stylists with friends or family members. Thus, with this one possible exception, research indicates that the outcomes of commercial friendships are positive.

Research also suggests that the context affects commercial friendships. Price and Arnould (1999) observe that the setting may constrain the formation and nature of such friendships. In their study of friendships between hair stylists and their clients, they note the existence of relative compartmentalization – friendship is possible but limited to the service context. They indicate that, "the salon provides a sacred space set apart from ordinary activity (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989) where a special, intimate friendship between people (who are often quite dissimilar) can thrive" (47). They find that friend-ships are circumscribed by the context, in the sense that few participants in their study interacted outside the service setting.

Work on commercial friendships has a dyadic focus. According to Price and Arnould (1999), people's friendships are best understood in the context of their network of actual social relationships. However, their findings do not indicate that commercial friendships may be linked (on an actual or imagined basis) to a larger and less structured social collectivity. In contrast, this study offered a wider interpretation of friendships in the marketplace that extends beyond friendships among marketers and consumers. It focused on ties among marketers (business-to-business links), ties among marketers and consumers, and ties among consumers. Compared to the constrained social friendships in Price and Arnould (1999) or the instrumentally-focused friendships in Beatty and Jungki (1996), this study also examined a potentially wider range of ties because it considers both consummatory and instrumental motives. This broadened view of friendships is consistent with work outside the marketing area.

For instance, Uzzi (1997) suggests that friendships among business people may be widely construed and not commercially centered, in the sense that they may be embedded and socially constructed. He also notes that transactions may be embedded in social relations and that social relations may be partially embedded in economic relationships (i.e., reverse embeddedness may exist; 1996, 679). Schonscheck (2000) also indicates that business friendships that are developed for business advantage are partial or incomplete in nature in comparison to complete friendships. Incomplete business friendships are coincidental, contentious, and narrowly circumscribed. The parties view one another as replaceable. They change business friends, as their instrumental needs change. In contrast, complete friendships involve reciprocal love and one person's affection for another is based on his/herself or character. This study allowed for friendships that are less commercially-focused and more complete than those examined in prior marketing research.

Thus, this study broadens our understanding of commercial friendships and offers new insights into:

• Commercial and business friendships in networks and larger social entities as opposed to the dyadic relationships that are examined in prior work;

- Added outcomes; for example, commercial and business friendships may produce consequences for other marketers and consumers who are not involved in a given relationship;
- Negative outcomes that contrast with the positive depiction of outcomes in prior studies; for instance, commercial and business friendships may lead to altered expectations or norms for behavior (e.g., customers may initially treat their retailer friends in a sympathetic manner let them give more attention to other patrons; however, over time, they feel taken for granted and dissatisfied);
- Potential constraints created by commercial friendships, in addition to limitations
 on positive WOM, as noted by Price and Arnould (1999); friendships and actual
 and imagined ties among marketers and consumers in a DRA may create multiple
 ties, conflicting obligations, and other constraints; and
- A wider range of friendships in the marketplace than the constrained social friendships in Price and Arnould (1999) or the instrumentally-focused friendships in Beatty and Jungki (1996).

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

The following sections include discussions of the research context, rationale for the research design, ethnographic data collection, and data analysis and interpretation in this study.

Methodology and Research Procedures

Research context. The study site was a DRA in a Midwestern city with a population of about 90,000. The DRA encompasses 27 block sides with 130 stores, service establishments, and restaurants (see Figure 3). Its size and retail business allow adequate opportunities to participate in, and observe, retailer and consumer activities. I have lived in the city for over 20 years, I have co-founded of three specialty stores in the DRA (and continue to co-own two of the three), and I know many of the retailers and many of my own and other stores' customers.

Insert figure 3 about here

The city and DRA are noted for their vitality. The city/county area's nearly 3% annual population growth is the largest in the region (Lawrence, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce website). In recent years, the city was ranked one of the nation's: top 10 smaller metros regional economies; 50 hottest cities for business relocation and expansion; top dozen most distinctive destinations; best-preserved and unique communities; and top 15 best small arts towns (Lawrence, Kansas, Convention and Visitors Bureau website). Arguably, such recognition is partially due to historic, cultural, and aesthetic nature of the DRA and its adjacent neighborhoods. Local sources refer to the DRA as

"the retail, service and professional, governmental, entertainment, and social center of our community" (Downtown Lawrence, Inc., website). They stress its mix of contemporary and traditional architecture and art; local and chain stores; and cosmopolitan and local traditions, services, and events (Lawrence, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce website).

Rationale for research design. This study used an ethnographic approach to investigate the plausibility of its research propositions. These methods offer opportunities to gain an in-depth understanding of the economic, social and cultural patterns and meanings in communities, institutions, and other social settings and to develop holistic pictures of what people do, know, think, and feel (Burawoy 1998; Creswell 1998; Denzin 1978; Marcus 1986; Merriam 1988; Patton 1990; Sayre 2001; Schensul, Schensul and Le-Compte 1999). In some ways, it resembles ethnographic marketing studies of marketplaces that focus on the sociocultural nature and culturally productive activities of marketers and consumers (Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988; Peñaloza 2000; Sherry 1990). Like these and other ethnographic work, this investigation used multiple data sources and methods. In this case, it employed participant observation, different types of interviews, analyses of secondary sources and artifacts, and recursive data collection.

Ethnographic methods differ form the quantitative methods that are often used in work on SC (cf., Onyx and Bullen 2000) but which critics suggest are premature given our lack of knowledge about the nature of SC (cf., Foley and Edwards 1997; Portes 1998). Arguably, similar criticisms apply to work on co-production (for a review, see Bendapudi and Leone 2003).

In this regard, scholars suggest that ethnographic methods are suited to situations that exist this study. In particular, they indicate that these methods are needed if the issues are generally neglected in existing research and difficult for researchers to describe; are complex and situated in multiple systems; deal with matters of process and not just outcomes; and concern how participants make meaning of their experiences (Creswell 1998; LeCompte and Schensul 1999; Merriam 1988; Patton 1990; Sayre 2001). Ethnography was also used here to understand the inner logic that may govern this DRA marketplace, but is not solely based on a conscious pattern of behavior or strategy (Alasuutari 1998). Consequently, interviews were combined with other methods to offer clues about SCRC, due to the possibility that informants' behaviors may be guided by assumptions that they take for granted and cannot articulate (Malinowski 1961).

Ethnographic Data Collection

Data collection included an exploratory phase and a follow-up phase. Table 2 provides an overview of data collection and sampling considerations in these two phases. The exploratory phase spanned 36 months. The follow-up phase spanned an additional twelve months. Both phases involved participant observation; semi-structured field interviews; long interviews with key informants (retailers and consumers); and secondary data collection of artifacts (including photos; fliers posted in stores; newspaper, television, and Internet-based newspaper reports on DRA activities; and ads, direct mail, and other print material from stores and the DRA). Examples of semi-structured field interviews (items varied depending on the context and activity) and long interviews forms for both phases of the study are presented in the appendixes. The follow-up phase also include semistructured field interviews, to clarify and amplify issues that emerged.

Insert table 2 about here

Participant observation. The use of participant observation methods reflects the notion that the community involved with the DRA may be best understood as a complex system that is greater than the sum of its parts. To understand its relational dynamics, one must observe and participate to be able to share the environment, problems, background, language, rituals, and social relations of the actors involved (Van Maanen 1988). My personal and professional relationships in the DRA provided the requisite access and acceptance to secure data via participant observation (Lofland and Lofland 1995). To further aid this acceptance, I continually sought to establish rapport with others in the setting and not provide cues to how my personal views may diverge from their perspectives.

My participant observation activities included attending 36 unique DRA events (on multiple occasions, in many cases; e.g., sidewalk sales, parades, and art shows; see Table 3), working as a retailer, and shopping with consumers. In the exploratory phase, I attended all major events that occurred in the DRA (e.g., merchants' holiday open house, Halloween, St. Patrick's Day parade, and Art in the Park). I also worked as a retail clerk in all four quadrants of the DRA (see Figure 3), to insure that data was not drawn from an isolated sub-section of the area. In addition, I observed activities in stores shopped in all parts of the DRA. Similar participant observation activities continued in the follow-up phase and was be supplemented by a focus on the specific functions and activities listed in Table 1.

Insert table 3 about here

Following Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995), field notes from participant observation reflect both a thick description of the interaction and setting and my impressions. I sought to achieve a balance between active interaction and recording activities. Field notes were recorded during and immediately after the interaction, as the situation warranted. They include both objective and subjective notations, to develop a thick description. Thick description is a process that "reports meanings, intention, history, biography, and relevant relational, interactional, and situational processes in a rich, dense, detailed manner; [and hence] creates the conditions for interpretation and understanding" (Denzin 1989, 144).

Information on the organization of data collection of field notes in both phases of the study is in Tables 4 and 5. Hymes' (1986) descriptive SPEAKING served as a flexible template to organize data collection in the field and capture observations, while remaining attentive to theoretical, methodological, and personal considerations. It refers to the setting or scene (S); participants (P); individual participant's intended ends, outcomes, or goals (E); act sequence (A); key, tone, manner, or spirit of activities (K); instrumentalities (I), which include the medium of communication between parties; norms of interaction and interpretation (N); and genres (G) or participants' characterizations of the setting, activity, or event. This framework was used in a suggestive, rather than rigid, manner and adapted to the phenomenon and situation (Bland 1990). Data were collected for salient aspects of the framework, which depended on the setting, event, and activity encountered.

Insert tables 4 and 5 about here

Interviews. Interviews with retailers and consumers are used to gather added insights about their views and motives and clarify questions that arise. These activities include semi-structured field interviews with actors encountered during participant observation and long interviews with key informants. Semi-structured field interviews allow researchers to interview actors in the naturalistic setting, so that they may describe and explain activities within the consumption culture in which they are involved (Sayre 2001; Sherry 1990). These customers and retailers are selected, as they are encountered in the field, on the basis of their involvement in critical events rather than on the basis of expert knowledge (Sayre 2001). A fuller description of the field interview process and typical questions is in the Appendixes.

Long interviews with key informants are used to clarify unresolved issues that arise in the interpretation of observation and semi-structured field interviews. Following McCracken (1988), these interviews were conducted to offer insights into the content and patterns of daily experience from the actors' perspectives and situate other data into a fuller social and cultural context. The long interview is as a more efficient and intense alternative to other interview methods, such as the unstructured ethnographic interview (cf., Spradley 1979).

Questions for long interviews were initially derived from a literature review and subsequently refined based on evidence and insights gleaned from participant observation, semi-structured field interviews, and other data sources. The evidence and insights helped highlight implicit and explicit assumptions of marketing scholarship (e.g., the atomistic and dyadic bias in depictions of relationships involving marketers and consumers) and this researcher's associations, assumptions, and experiences related to the domain of inquiry (SCRC). They also provided bases for identifying added categories and relationships beyond those in the literature and enhancing my ability to listen to key informants. The long interview questions capture biographical data and encourage informants to "tell their own story in their own terms" (McCracken 1988, 31, 33-4). Interview questions for both the exploratory and follow-up phases are in the Appendixes.

In the exploratory phase, the interview process included initial nondirective questions, followed by planned prompts to elicit testimony about the research issues in this study in an unobtrusive manner. Per McCracken (1988), efforts were made to provide an accepting and secure atmosphere for long interviews. I conducted six interviews with retailers, and six with consumers. In the follow-up phase, similar methods but a revised interview instrument were be used. The initial key informants were retained, and additional key informants added. Most interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Three retailers preferred not to be audiotaped. On these occasions, I took notes and transcribed these notes. In addition, semi-structured follow-up interviews were conducted, to provide clarification or elaboration of issues. These interviews were conducted both with the earlier key informants and additional informants. In total, this study reflects insights from 15 key consumer informants and 23 key retailer informants. Characteristics of key informants, by pseudonym, are provided in Tables 6 and 7.

Insert tables 6 and 7 about here

Photography and secondary data collection. Throughout this study, I collected 305 photographs of DRA activities and events that were taken by myself, my husband, and friends. Photographs record people and places and supplement and or counter field notes and interviews (Peñaloza 2000). Photographs have long been used to document anthropologic and ethnographic studies (Sayre 2001). The use of photographs provides the means to capture dramatic moments, the sequence of specific actions, and participants' interactions with one another and with objects that are important to emic understanding of the situation (Arnould 1998). Photos also may highlight emotional intensity and unarticulated meaningfulness and document the various referents used by actors. In this sense, photographs may focus research attention on moments when informants contend "nothing (interesting) is going on" (parentheses in original, 488) but culturally patterned behaviors are still visible (Wallendorf and Arnould 1994). Other visual and printed materials were gathered from web sites or other sources, including the city government, retailers, and local print and broadcast media, to gain a fuller understanding of the interplay of consumers and the DRA business community with the larger social structure.

Sampling design. In the tradition of naturalistic enquiries, this study employed an emergent purposive (also termed as theoretical) sampling design with a serial selection of sample units that is based on the researcher's field experiences rather than specified a priori (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Sample units relate to individuals, times, places, institutions, scenes, events, activities, and artifacts (e.g., fliers posted in stores, advertising material, pamphlets, and print and electronic media reports; see Table 8; Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf 1988; Charmaz 2000). They were chosen to offer insights about the research issues of concern (P1-P8) as they relate to the DRA and portions of the area and to tap

into the complex character, organization, and logic of the DRA culture (McCracken 1988). As a naturalistic enquiry, this study was not predicated on the premise that a larger sample is necessarily better, particularly if depth of understanding is sacrificed through a focus on quantity (Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf 1988). Instead, it was concerned with sampling a sufficiently varied set of people, scenes, events, activities, and artifacts to represent the actors and character of the setting.

Insert table 8 about here

Thus, data from participant observation and semi-structured interviews was collected in all parts of the DRA, during the daytime and evening, during each season of the year, and at all DRA events. In addition, other data was gathered from all four quadrants of the DRA (see Figure 3). Interviews were conducted with retailers with stores on the main street and those with stores on side streets and consumers who differed in terms of their use of the DRA (e.g., weekday versus weekend shoppers and patrons of stores in different DRA sectors). Fieldwork encompassed weekdays and weekends, daytime and nighttime activities, and typical day-to-day activities and special events (e.g., parades, sales events). Semi-structured field interviews were conducted with retailers and customers who were involved in different critical events that occurred in different parts of the DRA during different times of the year. For instance, consumers who assisted other consumers in a store, or worked with others consumers or retailers in creating a parade, were interviewed. In the follow-up phase, retailers and consumers engaged in co-production were interviewed regarding their motives, the benefits to themselves and others, etc. For long interviews, key retailer informants were initially selected on the basis of their experience with the DRA, ownership of a DRA store for more than five years, or active involvement in the downtown merchants association. Key consumer informants were initially selected via retailers' recommendations about those who shopped extensively in the DRA. Findings in the exploratory phase suggested that a more varied set of key informants should be selected in the follow-up phase. For example, during the exploratory interviews, key retailer informants suggested that side street merchants and main street merchants may differ in their experiences. In addition, key consumer informants suggested that consumers' experiences may differ due to a variety of factors, including when they shop (e.g., weekdays versus weekends), whether they live in or out of town, and the stores they patronize. Exploratory fieldwork supported these reports. In the follow up phase, efforts were made to collect data from a varied set of sample units (people, scenes, events, activities, and artifacts; see Table 8).

P1-P4 concern the actors involved in SCRC (and their motives, ties, and intended beneficiaries). P8 concerns marketers' and consumers' shared and contested meanings about the marketplace. To investigate the plausibility of these propositions, marketers and consumers who attend, participate in, co-produce marketplace events and activities were interviewed in the follow-up phase. In addition to key informants from the exploratory phase, other key informants were selected who could provide other insights about SCRC. Observation, snowballing methods, and media reports were used to identify those who do and do not participate in SCRC and those who seem to be affected by SCRC. Evidence from key informants' interviews were compared with and supplemented by information from semi-structured interviews with marketers and consumers who did and did not engage in SCRC, and photographic and other secondary data sources.

Similar steps were taken to evaluate the plausibility of P5-P7, which concern the operation, benefits, and positive and negative consequences of SCRC on multiple levels of the marketplace (micro-, meso-, and macro-levels). For example, data was gathered for individual stores (e.g., for sales events or classes to educate consumers), multiple stores in a portion of the DRA (e.g., for activities or charity events involving some of DRA re-tailers or stores), the entire DRA (e.g., downtown parades and other area-wide activities and events). Secondary data was also examined for evidence of positive and negative consequences at the three marketplace levels.

All forms of data collection continued until patterns related to the overarching research issues became recurring and exhaustive and themes became saturated (i.e., new data fit into categories already identified; Charmaz 2000; Creswell 1998).

Ethnographic Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis and construction of analytic categories followed McCracken (1988). This process encompasses five stages with increasing levels of generality. The first stage is reading the text to understand its factual aspects and gain insights into the informant's own speech and associations. As parts of the interview present themselves as relevant, these are marked. The second stage is the development of initial observations. The object is to extend these observations, explore their implications, and compare observations to isolate logical relationships, opposition, and contradictions. In the third stage, observations are reconsidered in isolation and in relation to one another. Earlier observations provide the basis for further discovery and a process of refinement occurs. General properties of the data are now discernible. In the fourth stage, the researcher makes decisions about interrelationships, redundancies in the data, key themes, and potentially hierarchical organization of themes. The fifth stage requires that the researcher assemble the themes discovered in individual interviews into a synthesized thesis. This is a transformative process through which cultural categories become analytic categories and the particulars of individual lives reveal more general properties with the community under study.

The interpretation of ethnographic data requires that the researcher transform the data into theoretically useful knowledge. In addition to coding and summarizing patterns in the data, this process may require a return to the literature (Meloy 2001). Moreover, to accurately represent the lived experiences of the participants studied, steps are taken to insure the validity of interpretations.

During the follow-up phase of the investigation, transcripts and other textual evidence (e.g., news articles) were coded using Ethno5 ethnographic software. The use of software did not materially affect the coding process as described above, but served as a structural aid by allowing for construction of reports by code (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte 1999).

Verification and validity. This study attempted to draw upon the researcher's insights but used verification procedures to guard against effects of potential biases, due to researchers' and informants' personal characteristics and orientations and their relational dynamics (Stewart 1998). Several approaches were used to verify and validate the data collection, analysis, and interpretation process. Fieldnotes, interviews, and photographic evidence were utilized to provide multiple perspectives to compare data across research methods and sources and to assess validity of findings (Denzin 1989; Miles and Huberman 1984). The evidence was searched for negative case studies or counter arguments that provide bases for added scrutiny of the data, inconsistencies with current theory, and potentially undiscovered analytical categories. Moreover, the supervisory committee chair acted as an external auditor and checked for areas of disagreement and consensus in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of these data. Although recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985), consistent with Wallendorf and Arnould (1991) additional external audits were not be used. The size and variety of collected data lessened the need for and the possibility of completion of external audits.

In addition, several key informants reviewed the findings and provided member checks (Lincoln and Guba 1985). In both phases of this study, drafts of a seminar paper, a conference abstracts, and a journal article were reviewed by two to four key retailer and consumer informants, due to their distinct roles and expectations with regard to the DRA (Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988). They were asked to comment on draft copies of articles and extended abstracts. On two occasions, key informants attended conference presentations of portions of this work. In 2004, a customer key informant attended a conference on contemporary issues in retail management. In 2006, a retailer key informant attended this same conference. These member checks were useful in confirming researcher impressions and interpretations. Their confirmation provided some evidence of the trustworthiness of the understandings developed in the early fieldwork. They also provided the basis for extending the sampling plan for the follow-up phase, to include side street merchants, and both weekday and weekend shoppers.

Chapter 3

FINDINGS

This discussion includes descriptions of findings and examples from field notes (FN), interviews (INT), field interviews (FI), emails (EMAIL), photos, articles and letters to the editor from the *Lawrence Journal World* newspaper (followed by citation, e.g., Sanner 2005; or Local briefs 2001, if no author), and postings on Lawrence Journal World weblogs (BLOG; dates are numerical, e.g., 030190 is March 1, 1990). They are illustrative and representative of the evidence about SCRC in the marketplace. Per our prior reasoning, they are not intended to suggest that all functions or activities in Table 1 are jointly created by SCRC or that all marketers and consumers engage in, have the same motives for, or are similarly affected by SCRC of specific functions or activities. Rather, the findings indicate that SCRC plays an important role in the DRA. Marketers and consumers co-produce most types of store level functions and activities (except for alterations, bridal registry, credit, personal shoppers, provisions for customers with special needs, and repair services) and all types of area level functions and activities in Table 1. SCRC also plays a role in the co-creation of store maintenance and operations (e.g., repairs and building modifications), consumer clubs and support groups, and sports celebrations. Table 9 provides an overview and examples of findings by proposition.

Insert table 9 about here

Motives for SCRC

Per P1, marketers and consumers have consummatory and instrumental motives for SCRC of area level and store level functions and activities. As might be expected, the motives of those who co-produce specific functions and activities differ in some cases.

Consummatory Motives

Value introjection (VI) as a source of area level SCRC. VI operates when individuals help others due to beliefs about norms or obligations. Marketers and consumers indicate that they join in producing some area level functions and activities due to their senses of (communal, ethical, patriotic, religious, political, and professional) obligation. VI is a source of SCRC of aesthetic enhancements and amenities (e.g., benches), cultural activities, contests, ceremonies, charity events, festivals, celebrations, parades, political events, and joint promotions and sales-related activities. (The roles of other motives in these and other forms of SCRC are discussed in subsequent sections.)

Due to VI, retailers and consumers work together to create, retain, and showcase the DRA's character and historic district designation, restore and preserve buildings, and co-create events (e.g., Western Frontier Days, reenactments of Quantrill's 1863 raid and temperance movement rallies, and the city's sesquicentennial celebration).

They support the arts in the DRA, e.g., they fund, create, and exhibit art and cocreate art walks, arts programs, and the Art Tougeau art-on-wheels parade (see Figure 4).

> Insert figure 4 about here Art Tougeau Parade

They co-produce other parades, e.g., the Annual Old Fashioned Christmas Parade (with 120 horse-drawn vehicles; see Figure 5), the St. Patrick's Day Parade (a fundraiser for charities, with about 100 entrants and several thousand spectators), the Earth Day Parade (with about 150 marchers from varied groups, such as Cans for the Community [recyclers advocates] and the Maya Zahira School of Belly Dance), the Cardboard Boat Parade (a fundraiser for the Chamber of Commerce's leadership program, with about 40 entrants and several hundred observers), and the Independence Day Parade.

Insert figure 5 about here Christmas Parade

They co-produce civic and charitable events including the Mass. Street Mosey (a wine and cheese tasting event for an agency serving persons with disabilities), DRA Halloween Trick-or-Treating (that draws several thousand participants and features storefronts painted by children; see Figure 6), the Festival of Trees (with co-created adorned trees sold to benefit a child welfare agency), the Festival of Poinsettias (a month of 23 holiday events, charity fundraisers, theater and concert performances, exhibits, and craft sales that is supported by 40 DRA retailers and other businesses) and the Gingerbread Festival and Auction (with co-created gingerbread houses sold for Big Brothers/Big Sisters), among others.

> Insert figure 6 about here Halloween Trick-or-Treating

They co-produce political events, including marches, demonstrations, speeches, and debates on diverse topics (such as the Iraq war, abortion, legalization of hemp, national chains' labor practices, environmental protection, and animal rights).

Finally, they co-produce retail and other activities at the annual DRA Sidewalk Sale. It involves about 125 stores, about 30,000 people from the greater Lawrence area, persons who staff booths for political groups, candidates, opponents of a proposed city smoking ban (bar owners and patrons), and 16 nonprofits (e.g., United Way, Red Cross, County Aids Project, and Free Leonard Peltier Defense Committee [a Native American activist in prison]). In addition, radio stations air live shows while street musicians, magicians, and other entertainers perform and persons distribute pamphlets on social and political topics (see photos in Figures 7 and 8; Byrd 2004; *Local briefs* 2001).

Insert figures 7 and 8 about here (2004 and 2005 Sidewalk Sale photos)

Examples of VI's links to area level SCRC are reflected in these excerpts. Where else in Lawrence do the merchants in one area continually donate merchandise, services, windows for display, candy for a safe Halloween, free visits with Santa, art shows, parades and donations to the United Way and other community groups? Lots of things are purely meant to be a service to the community. The downtown merchants are real people who have chosen Lawrence as their home. They believe in Lawrence and they support it 100 percent. . . . We have a special community of people who care Midge Grinstead, Manager, Natural Way, 820 Mass. (Grinstead 1990) During the week surrounding Aug. 21, the Eldridge Hotel will take downtown Lawrence back in time for the Civil War on the Western Frontier Days. This year is the 135th anniversary of Quantrill's Raid, when William Clarke Quantrill assembled 400 men in Missouri and attacked Lawrence in the early morning of Aug. 21. . . . "It was one of the worst massacres of human life ever," said Rob Phillips, manager of the Eldridge Hotel. During the week, there are tours and lectures-- and even a re-enactment of the raid, at the end of the week. "It's an event that will educate and help people to experience the history," said Phillips. (Johnson 1998)

(Lawrence resident) Bill Crowe wants to make the Lawrence sesquicentennial more than a big birthday party. "It's a nice mix of a little hoopla, with the parade and celebrations in the park," said Crowe, treasurer of the Lawrence Sesquicentennial Commission. "But it's more about the educational stuff and the cultural activities we're leaving behind." The 150th anniversary of the city's founding culminated in a week of events ending today, but the Sesquicentennial Commission has been working for four years on leaving a legacy that members hope will remain for generations to come. . . . "It sounds hokey to say that, but it's important. . . . " (Rombeck 2004)

A work of art can transcend the physical space it occupies and actually pull people together. That's what Maria Martin has discovered during 14 years of organizing the Lawrence Indian Arts Show. . . . "It's just so much a part of me that it would be hard for me to envision my world without art," she said. . . . Among the features that make the center of town so rich is the First Friday Gallery Walks, which Martin and a group of local gallery owners initiated several years ago. . . . "The downtown strongly supports the Outdoor Sculpture Exhibition because it adds interest to the downtown and furthers its function as a park. In this case, it's a sculpture garden," said Schachter, a sculptor and planner for Downtown Lawrence Inc. " . . . with pieces that are attractive or make you think." (*Awards recognize key contributors* 2002)

The Eldridge Hotel will have its Old-Fashioned Christmas Parade Dec. 6. The hotel will also host the annual Gingerbread Festival and Auction from Dec. 3 to Dec. 6. The houses will be auctioned Dec. 3 as a benefit for Big Brothers/Big Sisters of Douglas County. The houses, made by local residents and businesses, will be on display at the Eldridge, Lawrence Riverfront Plaza Factory Outlets and other businesses. Children can also make their own graham-cracker houses and will be eligible for prizes. "The real satisfaction for participants is that this raises money for Big Brothers and Big Sisters," said Rob Phillips, manager of the Eldridge Hotel. (Koger 1997)

[Local resident Ken Wertzberger] donated 44 bottles [of wine], worth approximately \$3,500, to the live and silent auctions of the sixth annual "Salute! -- A Festival of Wine & Food," an annual fund-raiser that benefits the Lawrence-based Cottonwood Inc. . . . "I'm giving red zinfandels, ports from Portugal, old cabernets, a rare Spanish wine and a rare wine from Washington state that is supposed to be the best merlot in the country, called Leonetti," Wertzberger said. "I have given something to the auction every year. It seems like a worthwhile event, and I like wine, so they kind of go hand in hand. (Baker 2004a)

Mary Wilson had mixed emotions a year ago about going to war in Iraq. Today she thinks it is a big mistake. That's why Wilson was one of about 300 people who participated in a march Saturday morning through downtown Lawrence. The march was followed by a peace rally in South Park to mark the one-year anniversary of the invasion of Iraq. . . . Marchers gathered at Buford M. Watson Jr. Park at Seventh and Kentucky streets, then made their way south on Massachusetts Street to the sound of a bagpipe and the somber beat of a single drum. At the front of the parade, marchers carried a banner bearing the words "Casualties of War ---What For?" Others carried black boxes in the shape of coffins with American and Iraqi casualty statistics printed on their sides. At South Park, yellow ribbons were distributed in honor of U.S. soldiers and Iraqi civilians killed during the war and occupation. The ribbons were then tied to tree branches. (Belt 2004)

VI as a source of store level SCRC. VI also underlies SCRC of store functions and activities among retailers, who help one another with advertising, mailing lists, promotions, and media kits, joint sales events, displays, and vendors (e.g., finding new or cheaper printers). Many retailers also help one another with transport and storage. They help unload shipments, store one another's goods, and share staff and packing materials.

Moreover, some retailers co-produce sales events due to VI. For example, 10 retailers jointly produce a holiday open house event that. They all independently produce and send a direct mail piece to their own customer list. Several stores have participated for 10 years. Over time, new retailers are invited to replace those no longer in business. They generally seek to benefit from associating with better-known stores, whereas more established retailers express a sense of obligation to take part to support newer businesses. These established retailers bear greater costs (due to their larger mailing lists) and expect smaller financial gains from cooperation because newer firms have fewer customers to share. Yet, they indicate that their desires to take part have not lessened.

Furthermore, both retailers and consumers help other retailers due to VI. They paint store interiors, create and move merchandise displays, lend items for store displays and decoration, make gift baskets, provide entertainment and refreshments at store events, and help secure better store locations. They also assist with other retailers' relationships with vendors and transport firms. Many retailers report (and customers confirm) that customers introduce them to vendors. In other instances, retailers help other retailers improve channel relationships. For example, a retailer spoke to a vendor on behalf of another retailer to "smooth out" (FI, Nicola) a conflict between the two parties.

VI leads consumers to help merchants distribute flyers, spread positive word-ofmouth about stores, recruit employees, get information on new merchandise, and keep stores clean (they bus their tables in restaurants). They also help retailers with customer service. They give other customers (even strangers) product and service information and recommendations; merchandise demonstrations, and other assistance. For example, a former storeowner indicates that she co-produces in different ways due to her feelings about the DRA. She distributes flyers for bands performing downtown, busses her own table in restaurants and coffee houses, and picks up trash in stores and on sidewalks. I: Why did you do these things?

R: [In the case of helping the bands,] out of the goodness of my heart . . . [In the case of bussing because] it really helps the staff because they don't have that many people out on the floor. . . . Also the other customers that were waiting in line to get a table and now they have a clean table. . . . [In the case of picking up garbage] I do that out of habit. I don't go around picking up cigarette butts but wadded up paper cups, I'll pick up. As long as it doesn't look too gross, I pick it up. . . . (INT customer, Hannah 2006)

Due to VI, some customers provide in-store entertainment and bake goods for special store events. For example, a harpist plays each year at a multi-store holiday open house because she thinks that music adds to the seasonal celebration. Another customer says she bakes shortbread each year for a British shop's Christmas sale because she believes that it is "essential" to the celebration of Christmas in Great Britain.

Bounded solidarity (BS) as a source of area level SCRC. BS operates when actors help others due to their actual or perceived membership in a group or awareness of their common situation or fate. Retailers' and consumers' comments support the idea that BS contributes to area and store level SCRC, although it is more typical among retailers.

External threats foster BS-related SCRC. For example, a banker notes that DRA retailers worked together to lobby against the "visible threat" (INT, Maureen 2005) of a mall that non-local developers tried to erect on the outskirts of the city in the late 1970's. In the following excerpt, a restaurant owner explains why he served on the city commission in order to protect the DRA from retail development in other areas of the city.

Schumm didn't sit on the sidelines for downtown's biggest battles since Quantrill and his band of raiders torched Massachusetts Street in 1863. When . . . Jacobs Visconi & Jacobs -- the giant "enclosed retail" company -- unveiled plans for a downtown-sized mall along South Iowa Street, Schumm didn't simply complain about the prospect of downtown being killed off as a commercial district. He got elected. "That's why I jumped into the middle of the political game," said Schumm, who joined the city commission in 1979. "Was downtown going to become unique and carve out something unique for itself, or was it going to be flattened out like a pancake for a mall? So I got involved. "I guess you could say we were successful, because we didn't let a mall come into town, and downtown has prospered." (Fagan 1999c)

City administrators also try to deter national chains by supporting small retailers. Administrators won't actively oppose national chains from coming downtown, but instead will use city money next year to help attract smaller shops to the area and encourage existing ones to expand. Downtown will get some muscle next year to fight off a rush of national chains that sap the central business district of its smalltown character, Lawrence city commissioners decided Tuesday. During a study session, commissioners agreed to give Downtown Lawrence Inc. \$50,000 to help bolster its economic development efforts. The idea: Hire a full-time administrator, in-terns and part-time office staff who will work to attract new locally owned shops to locate downtown, as well as encourage existing mom-and-pop businesses to expand. Before it's too late. "The downtown is, I think, probably on the edge of a very big change," Commissioner Marty Kennedy said, referring to the recent closing of The Loft, the upcoming closing of Chet Johnson Furniture Co. and the coming departure of Pier One Imports, all longtime downtown retailers. "We're on the edge of a major transition and it is important to maintain that small-town, down-home shopping area." (Fagan 1999b)

BS also led DRA bar owners to try to stop a proposed smoking ban, as noted in this excerpt. They sought signatures to oppose the ban at the Sidewalk Sale (see Figure 9).

Dave Boulter is feeling a little picked on by City Hall. He owns Henry's, a combination coffee shop and bar on Eighth Street, one of the few coffee shops in town that allows smoking. But the Lawrence City Commission is talking about cracking down on the growth of downtown drinking establishments. And in a separate development that causes bar owners equal alarm, the commission later this month will discuss the possibility of a smoking ban in public places in the city. "It's hard enough to run a business without having difficulties with the city," Boulter said. Judging by the turnout last week at a gathering of more than two dozen bar and restaurant owners worried about the possibility of a smoking ban, Boulter's not alone in his feelings. "A number of guys have lost sleep over these issues," Boulter said. "These guys feel the city could come in at any moment and shut down our business." City officials say, however, that their aim isn't to harass bar owners. "The interest in protecting downtown ... coincidentally happens to be coming at the same time we're getting the smoking task force report," Commissioner David Schauner said. (Mathis 2004a)

Insert figure 9 about here Red Lyon Sidewalk Sale

Moreover, a sense of shared membership leads retailers and consumers to cocreate parades, ceremonies (political, religious, athletic, and memorial), festivals, celebrations, political and cultural activities, joint store promotions, and area sales events. Those that I attended included: the St. Patrick's Day Parade and Band Day (see the photos in Figures 10 and 11), the Annual Old-Fashioned Christmas Parade, the Festival of Poinsettias, Halloween Trick-or-Treating event, a Princess Diana memorial service, several pep rallies, and two celebrations of University of Kansas sports teams' victories. In such cases, SCRC often involves consumers' attendance and informal participation and more formal organization and financial commitment from retailers, as evident in the following excerpt:

"After we heard the [annual Christmas] parade was going to be discontinued, some of us just went to him [Rob Phillips, a downtown hotel owner and the former sole financial supporter of the Christmas parade] and said what can we do to help, and this is what we came up with," Madl said. Last year 44 businesses and organizations bought a parade sponsorship. Madl said she'd like to add about 20 more sponsors this year but isn't sure whether that will be possible with the sluggish economy. She said the group needed to raise at least \$5,000 to cover basic expenses. Each sponsorship costs \$175 and provides every parade participant with a Lawrence hotel room on Friday night, and it goes to pay for a Friday evening chili supper and dance for all parade entrants. Businesses will have their name placed on one of the carriages and will be invited to the chili supper and dance, in addition to having the opportunity to ride in the parade. (*Downtown businesses try to save parade* 2002)

Insert figures 10 and 11 about here 2004 St Pats newspaper photo, Band Day

In addition, BS underlies merchants' involvement in Downtown Lawrence, Inc. (DLI), an organization that is intended to represent their common interests.

Maria Martin with DLI began the meeting by saying that "one of the goals of Downtown Lawrence, Inc. is to help the community merchants in their marketing and help to bring people downtown." (FN DLI regular meeting 2005)

BS also contributes to SCRC in the DRA's promotional and sales events and the activities that accompany them. For example, comments by retailers and consumers who are involved in SCRC of retail, nonprofit, charitable, political, entertainment, and other activities at the annual Sidewalk Sale indicate that they participate due to their affinity with others. Some feel links to all who participate. Others focus on subgroups (e.g., re-tailers located on the same block side and consumers who work for specific causes). This excerpt reflects some of these varied actual and imagined ties.

"Most cities throughout the country have sidewalk sales, but I don't think they're as unique. Ours is more like a carnival atmosphere, with entertainment and food, and arts and crafts, besides merchandise." The unique mix of downtown retailers also make it interesting for shoppers. ``They can find the mainstream things or they can find the one-of-a-kind," Flannery said. ``The other thing that's intangible is just seeing all their friends and the thousands of people that come from all over to be a part of it all." Flannery knows a little bit about the sale. Besides being involved with it himself for many years, his father was instrumental in getting it started more than 30 years ago. "He and a group of merchants started it in the '60s," Flannery recalled last week. "They thought it'd be a good time of the year to get rid of a lot of stuff. So, they decided they'd put it out on the sidewalk -- and the rest is history." (Brack 1998)

The recently inaugurated Moonlight Madness sale also involves BS and SCRC.

Downtown merchants are hoping to boost sales on Thursday evenings. Members of Downtown Lawrence Inc. will play host to the inaugural Moonlight Madness Sale from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. May 6. About 50 stores are expected to participate in the event by offering discounts and other specials, said Maria Martin, executive director of Downtown Lawrence Inc. "Thursday night is the traditional late night for our retailers downtown, and I don't know that many people realize that," Martin said. Most stores are open until 8 p.m. Thursdays, about two hours later than their normal closing times. Sue Vance, manager of The Children's Book Shop, 937 Mass., said merchants hoped the event would help lure area shoppers on Thursday evenings to the downtown area. "Business hasn't been great on Thursday nights," Vance said. "It is really a much easier time to visit downtown than on a Saturday. You can come down and get a free parking space, have some dinner and then do a little shopping. It makes for a nice evening." (Lawhorn 2004b)

Retailer and consumer informants' comments also suggest that BS arises from perceived commonalities. For example, some actors note that they feel that they share concerns about parking, homeless persons, and littering by bar patrons in the DRA. Others also feel that they share pleasure in the DRA's artwork and beautification. Those with shared sentiments co-produce DRA clean up projects, political activities (e.g., to support building parking garages, expansion of the DRA Art Center, and ordinances on homeless persons in the DRA), retailer-sponsored auctions to benefit homeless people, and parties for homeless people hosted by consumers in neighborhoods adjacent to the DRA. Moreover, BS among retailers and consumers and their ties to the DRA leads them to give visitors help, e.g., information, directions, and recommendations on stores, restaurants, and parking. Retailers assist visitors even if they are not their own patrons. Consumers do the same, even if visitors do not patronize the same places that they frequent.

BS as a source of store level SCRC. Events, threats, and perceived commonalities foster BS-related SCRC at the store level by retailers and consumers They help clean and sort merchandise, provide child care for customers, clean and paint store interiors, restore and preserve store exteriors, and share, move, store, and assemble display fixtures.

For example, BS-related SCRC occurs after fires. The first two excerpts below concern two stores damaged by a fire in 2000. The third one illustrates how threats to the DRA environment (e.g., destruction of historic buildings or trees) create SCRC.

[DRA retailer] Magerl said the sympathy and advice of downtown business owners [following the fire in his store] has helped ease the [recovery] process. Some, such as Milton's and the Community Mercantile, donated food to workers remodeling the bakery. "There's been wonderful support," Magerl said. "We've had some sense of empathy from businesses that have suffered similar incidents, like Sunflower. I think if there's a positive, it is just the response from other businesses that have come through in ways they didn't have to." (Meagher 2000)

Second Chance Children's store, 15 W. Ninth, lost most of its clothing stocks from the smoke wafting from the burning warehouse behind it. Owner Amy Laughlin said she was touched by the outpouring of help Local Girl Scouts washed some of the baby clothing and salvaged what they could. Customers also donated clothes, hangers and other supplies. "If you have to have a tragedy, Lawrence is the place to do it," Laughlin said. (Meagher 2000)

Plans for a Borders bookstore, to be located at 700 N.H., also drew fire from hundreds of Lawrence residents, many of whom wanted the city to preserve a former livery stable targeted for demolition. A compromise approved this month calls for saving two exterior walls. (*City commission* 1997)

In many cases, BS-related SCRC occurs among retailers who identify with one another due to their commonalities such as locations on the same block side or, as in the following excerpt, their experience as small struggling enterprises.

I: What was their motive [when they helped her open and later close her store]?

R: I think they wanted me to succeed cuz they both had a good understanding of what it was like having a new business and maybe not knowing how to start it. And not knowing what I am running even, and I think they were trying to help me. And I think it also benefited them, they knew they could get some assistance from me as well, especially towards the end. They got some merchandise off me at the same low price.

I: Who do you think that they expected to benefit from what they did?

R: Probably all the stores, they probably saw it like that. (INT, customer and former retailer, Banks 2005)

BS-related SCRC also occurs among retailers and consumers who feel linked to one another due to perceived or actual shared membership in social entities that encompass multiple businesses (e.g., art galleries and bars that feature bands) or form around a store (e.g., anime enthusiasts). They co-produce activities and events, such as promotion of bands, art installations and exhibits, anime and book group meetings, the Red Hat Ladies parade, displays of models of military scenes and equipment and car collections, chess matches, craft exhibitions, and foreign language, cooking, and jewelry-making classes. The following excerpts highlight a DRA band subculture and art group.

Do I think there's something in the drinking water that makes Lawrence special, a hotbed for amazing new music? Probably not. I think that a true scene exists where there is a group of people who are selflessly supporting each other and working together toward a positive goal. It's more of a community than anything, not just an abundance of decent bands who happen to have a decent draw and some national attention." (Harkness 2001)

Around the tables, the group feels more like a conglomeration of old friends than an art club. In fact, the artists do things together outside their weekly meetings and have even taken group painting trips to places like Oklahoma and Arkansas. In many ways, the Downtown Tuesday Painters are as much a support group as social club, says Carole, who remembers being welcomed warmly when she joined. "Sometimes we try to help solve each other's problems," she says, "like if some group member has an illness in the family." (*Only on Tuesdays* 2004)

Instrumental Motives

Expected reciprocity (ER) as a source of area level SCRC. ER operates when actors help others due to their beliefs that they will get benefits from others in return for providing assistance. These expected benefits may not be those that they originally provided or come from the person that they assist. For example, they may take the form of group approval. Comments by retailers and consumers suggest that sometimes ER is a motive for SCRC. They expect to get benefits from other retailers and consumers for their actions. Among other things, ER leads them to co-produce parades, celebrations, and charitable events, join in preservation efforts, contribute to cultural and artistic activities, and take part in shared promotional events. These comments typify some of their expectations.

Lawrence businesses are being asked to pony up for about \$5,000 worth of expenses associated with downtown Lawrence's horse-drawn Christmas parade. The annual Eldridge Hotel Old Fashioned Christmas Parade will be at 11 a.m. Dec. 7, but for the third year in a row, area businesses are being asked to help defray the costs of the parade to ensure its future survival. Peach Madl, owner of The Sandbar, is leading the donation drive, and she's telling businesses it is a good investment because of the additional people the parade attracts to the downtown area. (*Downtown businesses try to save parade* 2002)

I pointed out his participation in Halloween [noted in past field work]. He takes great pride in passing out candy. . . . 'Yea we give out about 5,000 pieces of candy a year.' I asked, 'why do you do this, why do you participate in this?' He said 'I think it is very important; it draws a lot of people downtown.' (FI Halloween 2005)

I: Why do they [retailers and consumers] do those things [support parades]? R: Think about how much fun it is and they probably get free drinks. The customers get residual benefits from that. Ya. But the people who own the Sand Bar do it for exposure. Yea. Don't you think? They get great exposure. (INT customer, Hannah 2005)

I think everyone who participated in the [Mass Street] Mosey [a charitable event based in the DRA] will have made new friends and will know many of the owners of downtown businesses even better. So I think it could bring these businesses new customers. (FI Mass St Mosey 2005) Moreover, ER is a source of joint historic preservation activity in this DRA (in addition to other motives for such efforts). Former DLI President John Francis actively supports preservation of DRA buildings. Although preservation of his own building stemmed from VI, in the following excerpt he suggests that others who join in preservation efforts to benefit from resulting promotion of the DRA and (store level) tax credits.

[Benefits of the historic designation include:] Federal and state rehabilitation income tax credits by property owners for rehabilitation expenses. Eligibility for historic preservation grants. Continued maintenance, preservation, and renovation of downtown buildings. Promoting tourism. Supporting the goals of Horizon 2020. Currently, building renovation projects and new construction projects in the Downtown Conservation Zoning District are subject to design review by the city of Lawrence for conformance to the Downtown Design Guidelines. For projects that do not seek to use the tax credit programs or preservation grants, there will be no additional review process. We believe that the designation of Downtown Lawrence as an historic district will help promote downtown and its businesses. (Francis 2002)

ER also fosters SCRC of the arts in the DRA (like VI and BS). As these excerpts suggest, artists may expect benefits from joining in such efforts.

In 1992, a Lawrence Arts Center survey estimated that more than 900 writers and visual and performing artists lived and worked in Lawrence. This creativity is well-represented in the city's annual art festivals. The Lawrence Art Walk, Harvest of Arts, Art in the Park and the Holiday Art Fair all reaffirm art's presence in

the community. . . . This year, the ArtWalk will include more than 50 artists exhibiting at studios, workshops and galleries. . . . The event allows the public to meet artists, see demonstrations and purchase art. . . . Participation is open to any artist who pays the registration fee and has a Lawrence address for his or her residence or studio. The fact that work is not screened beforehand, is juried or has to fit a theme allows a broad participation. "You can do it as you wish, and can control the weekend's events as you wish," Wysocki said. "For the cost of registering, you get a lot of benefits." (Heinz 1999)

"It's always exciting to be accepted into an exhibition," said Beth Van Natta, a Halstead artist whose limestone-and-steel piece, "Just a Little Evil," is on display on the northwest corner of Eighth and Massachusetts streets. "This one is particularly nice because it runs for a whole year, so it gets the artist quite a bit of exposure." (Merkel-Hess 2001)

He talked at length about social characteristics of the market that prompted him to perform there. Yet, when a passerby drops a dollar bill in his violin case, he grinned and said that he also has instrumental reasons for performing. Young children are really enamored or intrigued by his violin playing and they often stop. They go to their parents and ask them to put money in his violin case. He laughed and said you know of course obviously another reason for me to perform here is that I do make money. I could see in his box change and a lot of bills – even a brownie. He said yes, people even leave him treats and that he is trying to earn money to buy a new violin so this gives him that as well. (FN from discussion with a violinist who performs at the Farmers' Market 2005)

Moreover, ER (like VI and BS) motivates SCRC among retailers. Some retailers cite ER-related reasons for their activities in the DLI, participation in events such as the Sidewalk Sale and Moonlight Madness, sponsorship of other DRA activities and events, and the help that they give one another in area events and activities. Some consumers also suggest that they participate in DRA activities and events because they expect recognition from retailers, other consumers who participate, and the community.

ER as a source of store level SCRC. ER is a source of SCRC of many types of store functions and activities. Consumers often introduce retailers to new marketing communication outlets, by offering them opportunities for sponsorships (e.g., for community activities, charitable events, and youth sports leagues) and advertising (e.g., in prom guides, school yearbooks, and church bulletins). In these situations, consumers seek funds for organizations and retailers hope to build sales and goodwill. Some consumers and retailers also promote DRA businesses, in anticipation of unspecified future benefits; for example, consumers hang flyers for DRA businesses and promote them via word-of-mouth.

I: Why do you think they did those things? (promoting band and local bars by distributing flyers)

R: They were promoting the bar and the band also they got to see the show for free and unlimited drinks for free.

I: Did you think they wanted themselves to benefit or their musicians?

R: Probably the musicians. . . . And the bar, yea. They cared about the bar too. (INT customer, Hannah 2005)

Field observations and interviews with retailers provide many indications that that consumers assist in store activities, services, and operations. For instance, they help with delivery, merchandise demonstrations, and employee recruitment. They offer advice (e.g., on products and services that stores might sell, advertising outlets, and store design) and loan display and decoration items to retailers. They also participate in special interest groups in the DRA (e.g., anime fan, model builder, and book discussion groups). The reasons for their actions vary. They typically indicate desires to expand the range of products and services in the DRA. Still, in many cases ER is a motive for those who say they expect to get recognition from retailers and other consumers. ER is also a source for SCRC of store decoration. Many DRA businesses promote local artists by displaying their work. A retailer refers to the reciprocal aspects of this SCRC, in this excerpt.

At the Paradise [Cafe, 728 Mass.], we usually have several artists' works on display. It's good for the artist 'cuz it's free, and it's good for us because we get to change our environment every couple months at no cost, and we don't have to put up with the kinda pre-fab kitsch you see in chain restaurants. That's pretty much how it works downtown. Most restaurants and coffee shops don't charge for displaying work. And we don't handle sales. The artists just leave cards so buyers can contact them directly. (FI retailer, Eric 2004) ER also contributes to SCRC among retailers. Some of them refer customers to other DRA stores, to enhance their own reputations and get referrals and help in return. Likewise, as these excerpts note, they depict other stores favorably, "cover" for other merchants who are late or who keep irregular hours, and help one another's customers.

R: We always present other stores favorably. It doesn't help me at all to say anything negative so even, here's a good example. There's a cheese shop down the street, one block away. We're out of something, we send them customers all the time, and it happens vice versa.

I: Do customers of any of those businesses ever come into your business for any reason, to ask questions or

R: You know the cigar guy frequently does not stick to his hours. He opens late a lot of times and a lot of people come in and ask. Soap Momma's have erratic hours and they'll come in and ask about that.

I: How do you treat those customers? Can you describe a typical conversation? R: You know, all I will say, is, I suppose it's the cigar person whose customers come in the most. Do you know when he is going to open and I'll say, he says 11, he usually here within 30 minutes. If it were somebody I would probably even welcome them to wait in my store, if it were raining or snowing, but most of them are in and out. (INT retailer, Julie 2002)

Enforceable trust (ET) as a source of area level SCRC. ET operates when individuals help others due to their confidence that repayment is insured by the social entity's abilities to monitor behavior and sanction the other party if she/he does not fulfill the

terms in question. For example, ET leads retailers to share limited resources (e.g., parking spaces), maintain their properties, and cooperate in joint promotional activities and events due to the sanctioning capacity of other DRA retailers. Retailers and their employees are also expected to park in outlying areas rather than in spaces intended for customers. This issue has been contentious for over a decade, with accounts of efforts to force compliance dating back to 1989. Some persons are vocal about pressures to comply.

(S)teps to free the parking spaces included a mailing, dated Nov. 10, from the Downtown Lawrence group. It contained a list of names of people who had received more than 10 parking tickets at meters in the period from July 1 to Sept. 14. ``If any of your employees or neighbors are on that list," wrote Martha Bryant, recently resigned executive director of the group, ``you may want to remind them that the short-term meters and free two-hour parking lots are intended for retail, professional and service customers." She added: ``Save the spaces for the spenders." (*The parking projects* 1989)

Adding to his disgust is the response he's gotten from the city and Downtown Lawrence Inc. to a letter to the editor printed in the Lawrence Journal-World about the situation. "The Downtown Lawrence letter was just plain rude," Johnson said. "Don't write me these letters and try to scare me." In his letter, Jerry Bottenfield, Downtown Lawrence executive director, called Johnson and his colleagues' use of the parking lot at Borders, 700 N.H., "rude, immature and shortsighted." "I guess it was a letter about good citizenship downtown as much as anything else," Bottenfield said. (Blackwood 2000b)

Retailers' responsibilities to the DRA community to police their premises and their patrons' behaviors have also been issues over the years. Occasionally, one or more retailers complain about trash left by bar patrons on sidewalks. Still, as a group, bar owners have been largely successful in forcing negligent proprietors to comply with a city ordinance that makes owners responsible for maintaining their properties (see Figure 12).

"We're working on the campaign to just bring more public awareness of the current city ordinance that says each one of us is responsible for the sidewalk up to the curb no matter what," Peach Madl, owner of the Sandbar at 17 E. Eighth St., said. "We have to keep on it." (Blackwood 2000a)

> Insert figure 12 about here Peach Madl and Sand Bar employee cleaning up

Moreover, some retailers indicate that they fulfill financial and service obligations to the DRA with the expectation that their counterparts will do the same. For instance, they serve in DLI offices, work on DLI committees, and give funds to collectively underwrite the DRA's events, activities, decorations, and beautification projects, and to compensate the city for free parking during events

ET also creates an indirect form of social control for SCRC. It inhibits public opposition to co-produced activities and helps create means for accommodation. For example, a national bike championship took place in the DRA in 2005. Fifteen blocks were closed to vehicles for a full day, which disrupted normal activity and caused many stores to lose sales. The race was staged again in 2006. Many retailers (privately) note that they did not voice their opposition to the 2005 or 2006 race due to fears of public criticism and reprisals from other DRA retailers and consumers. Instead, they worked with the DLI and city to change the 2006 race date, time, and details, so that they will lose fewer sales.

ET may not create these types of compliance among retailers, if acceptance of the norms involved is not sufficiently widespread. This was true for a failed attempt to fund a business improvement district (BID) in the DRA, via an assessment paid by property and business owners. BIDs deliver services, such as sanitation and maintenance, public safety, visitor services, marketing and promotional programs, capital improvements and beautification in an area. Due to insufficient acceptance of the BID concept among merchants, the following publication of delinquent dues did not produce compliance.

Those businesses facing suits for being delinquent in paying their final BID assessments and the amount of those assessments are: (Petitions filed Thursday) Harbor Lights, \$187.50; George's Furniture, \$202.50; Kwality Comics, \$120; Deans Books, \$127.50; Stuff, \$195; Guenther Jewelry, \$112.50; Penny Annies, \$195; The Alley Popper, \$100; Bogarts, \$104; Chasers, \$128; The Bottleneck, \$200; Laciece, \$208; Mercklings Used Furniture, \$120; Uncle Andy's Hambonery, \$135. (Petitions scheduled for Dec. 21 filing) The Flower Shoppe, \$187.50; S.C. Pomeroy's, \$345; George's Pipe Shop, \$90; Downtown TV, \$50; Murphy's Furniture, \$37.50; Calamity Jane's \$82.50; Rainforest Studio, \$80; Great Plains Numismatic, \$80; Spectrum Optical, \$80; Kellas Gallery, \$120; Richards Music, \$80; Bahnmaier Liquor, \$100; Prairie Music, \$60; Hults Office, \$50; Medical Transcription, \$50; North Park Management, \$50; Fleetwood Small Engine, \$37.50; Noteworthy Productions, \$37.50. (Petitions scheduled for Jan. 5 filing) Scholle Chiropractor, \$50; Mobile Locksmith Shop, \$37.50; Hill Chiropractor Clinic, \$37.50; Fashion Cuts, \$50; Armour Amusement, \$37.50; Donald Moss, \$50; My Own Two Hands, \$50; Red Hot Garage, \$60; Ronald Schneider, \$50; Spriggs & Sons, \$50; Stitches with Style, \$50; Hairbenders School, \$50; Mobile Glass Co., \$50; Phillips & Associates, \$50. (Taylor 1989)

As anticipated, fewer consumers than retailers refer to what might be seen as ET as a source of SCRC. Still, comments by some consumers seem to indicate that ET affects some of their event attendance and participation. They suggest that that going to DRA parades, events, and activities is expected in this community. For example, one consumer reports that she is not inclined to attend events due to her aversion to crowds. She does not go to the Sidewalk Sale (the event that draws the most people), but she attends and takes part in DRA parades, festivals, and musical venues. She explains that, "I think it's [attendance and participation] just sort of expected" (INT Beth). She and others note that they volunteer to manage booths, bake goods, and contribute to DRA events in other ways with the assurance that other consumers will do likewise.

ET as a source of store level SCRC. ET underlies SCRC of some store activities. For example, some merchants note that they take part in pub crawls, joint open houses, and other charity and sales events because they can rely on the sanctioning capacity of the group to ensure that other retailers fulfill their obligations. (Pub crawls encourage consumers to visit a series of bars. Typically, participating bars advertise the event, offer discounts and giveaways, and give proceeds to a charity.)

ET also fosters common DRA store practices. Most stores have extended hours on Thursday evenings, close between 5:00 and 6:00 pm on other weekdays, and open at noon or 1:00 pm on Sundays. Many retailers suggest that they face sanctions if they do otherwise. Competition (from retailers elsewhere and on the Internet) makes longer store hours seem attractive to some merchants. Yet, one informant, who recalls when such a change was unimaginable, says when "somebody wanted to stay open late on a day other than Thursday, you'd have thought Hitler had come to town!" (INT banker, Jane 2005).

Moreover, retailers report relying on customers to monitor one another when they leave the sales floor to locate gift boxes, inventory, and other stored items. Their worries about theft are eased by expectations that customers will not steal in front of other customers. Retailers suggest that, generally, DRA customers are honest and trustworthy.

I would like to think that not very many people steal from us. We know that people do. We know that, uh, that people don't return videos and sometimes we have to go out and get them. But not on a big scale. (INT retailer, Mary 2001)

Consumers make limited references to ET as a source of store level SCRC. Many of them do note that they have expectations about other local customers' behaviors in DRA stores. They expect them to help create a pleasant atmosphere through sympathetic treatment of retailers, e.g., not complain or "make a scene" and wait patiently, although stores may be understaffed. In a number of cases, they add that they do not expect customers to act in these ways in stores outside the DRA.

ACTORS INVOLVED IN SCRC

Per P2, there is area and store level SCRC among marketers and consumers, among marketers, and among consumers.

Area Level SCRC among Marketers and Consumers

Marketers and consumers co-produce aesthetics, ceremonies, charitable events, contests, festivals, holiday celebrations and parades, cultural activities, and sales events.

Aesthetics. Retailers and consumers co-create DRA aesthetics through beautification and preservation activities. Consumers routinely join in DLI sponsored events, such as the May Springtime Spruce Up and October Downtown Clean Up. Retailers and consumers use their own cleaning tools and DLI provides trash bags and coffee. They also work together on less frequent projects, including planting bulbs when city funds are available and providing financial support for acquisition of sculptures. (See Figures 13 and 14). In addition, the Lawrence Preservation Alliance (of merchants and residents) is at the forefront of efforts to preserve buildings and obtain (and retain) historic district designation. Their focus and outlook is reflected in this excerpt.

Borders sought to raze a former livery stable at 700 N.H. . . . [and] drew intense feelings from dozens of downtown property owners, preservationists and others who feared losing a valuable piece of Lawrence's past. The company eventually agreed to save two of the stable's exterior walls, but the remainder was reduced to rubble to make way for the 20,000-square-foot store, which opened late last year. The old post office is located at the same intersection, and KU wants to sell it, possibly as early as April. And local preservationists want to make sure the grand two-story Beaux Arts building doesn't suffer the same fate as the old livery stable. [Downtown retailer] Carol Francis, past president of the Lawrence Preservation Alliance, called the Borders project a "ridiculous" loss of local history and culture. "We have places in Kansas that are searching for economic development," Francis said, "and what do they have to offer? The big ball of string? A concrete prairie dog? They're searching for things, and Lawrence has them right here -- in the middle of downtown -- but because different factions dug in their heels so quickly, we are unable to save them all." (Fagan, 020798d)

Insert figures 13 and 14 about here Jayhawk sculpture financed by merchants and produced by local artists, plantings

Ceremonies, charitable events, contests, festivals, holiday celebrations, and parades. SCRC among merchants and consumers is evident at DRA events, such as holiday activities, charity events, parades, and sports celebrations. I attended and participated in many such events (e.g., the St. Patrick's Day Parade [2001, 2003-2005], Halloween trickor treating [2001–2005], and the Annual Old Fashioned Christmas Parade [2003-2005]). Retailers and consumers contribute to SCRC in many ways. For example, the DLI sponsors the Halloween event, merchants wear costumers and give out candy, and children paint store windows. Merchants also plan each year's Christmas parade, pay for non-local participants and a barbecue the prior night, decorate carriages that they sponsor, and serve hot drinks. The DLI pays carolers. Consumers march, ride horses, help decorate the carriages, and wear costumes. These excerpts depict other cases of co-production by marketers and consumers. Schulte said the Octoberfest will feature about 23 artists, food and music. . . . Next Thursday's Halloween activities include: A pumpkin parade and costume contest at 5 p.m. in South Park. Prizes will be awarded for the best costume in four age categories from preschool through sixth grade. The opening of the Witches Walk at 5:30 p.m. at 720 Mass. The Witches Walk, new this year, will be held in a corridor between downtown businesses. It will feature spooky displays and hands-on activities for children age10 and under, Schulte said. (Dekker 1991c)

Also this weekend, finalists in the 22nd annual Halloween painting contest, sponsored by the Lawrence Parks and Recreation Department and Lawrence Breakfast Optimist Club, will "paint the town." According to Lee Ice of the city parks and recreation department, about 50 youth in three age categories fifth- and sixthgraders, junior high schoolers and senior high schoolers will paint their Halloween sketches on downtown merchants' display windowsfrom10 a.m. to 2 p.m. Saturday. The students, who were selected to do the paintings from previously submitted sketches, will be judged on originality, creativity, use of space and the execution of their painting in comparison to their sketch. Top three winners in each age category will be honored at the Nov. 5 Breakfast Optimist meeting. (Dekker 1991c)

We give out about 5,000 pieces of candy a year [on Halloween]. (FI retailer, 2005)

The Eldridge Hotel will have its Old-Fashioned Christmas Parade at 1146 a.m. Dec. 6. The hotel will also host the annual Gingerbread Festival and Auction from Dec. 3 to Dec. 6. The houses will be auctioned Dec. 3 as a benefit for Big Brothers/Big Sisters of Douglas County. The houses, made by local residents and businesses, will be on display at the Eldridge, Lawrence Riverfront Plaza Factory Outlets and other businesses. Children can also make their own graham-cracker houses and will be eligible for prizes. "The real satisfaction for participants is that this raises money for Big Brothers and Big Sisters," said Rob Phillips, manager of the Eldridge Hotel. (Koger 1997)

(T)his year's festival of food and wine also will offer an entirely new component: the "Mass Street Mosey." This event [is] organized in partnership with the Downtown Lawrence Merchants Assn. . . . Those who purchase tickets will receive a special wristband that will enable them to stroll Massachusetts Street while sampling a variety of red and white wines and hors d'oeuvres at eight participating Lawrence businesses. . . . The ultimate goal of the . . . festival is to raise funds that will be used to improve the quality of life of [disabled] consumers, paying expenses that Medicaid dollars won't cover, according to Wallert and Jim Otten. (Baker 2004a)

The Kansas University men's basketball team will be honored Monday with a downtown parade. The parade, sponsored by Downtown Lawrence and the Law-

rence Chamber of Commerce, will begin at 4 p.m. and will go along Massachusetts Street from Seventh Street to South Park. Players, coaches and managers will ride in convertibles. The KU Pep Band and cheerleaders also will participate. (*Fi*-

nal four 2002)

Cultural activities. Marketers and consumers co-produce numerous cultural activi-

ties including concerts, street music and performances, art parades, slide shows, and art

walks. The following excerpts illustrate some of these forms of cultural expression.

Starving Artists Movers, a Lawrence moving company, sponsors the musicians and others who play downtown every weekend. "For jazz heritage to be perpetuated, you have to put it out on the streets," Kozak said. (*Complaint* 2001)

Noon: Art Tougeau Parade on Massachusetts Street from South Park to the Lawrence Visitors Center-Union Pacific Depot in North Lawrence. Art Tougeau party to benefit Social Service League, 4 p.m., Replay Lounge, 946 Mass. Screening of "Leo Beuerman" and slide show of folk art, 7:30 p.m., Watkins Community Museum of History, 1047 Mass. (*Lawrence datebook* 1999)

Sales events. The Annual Sidewalk Sale is a prime example of area level marketer-

consumer SCRC. The photos in Figures 15-19 depict some of the tables of merchandise,

entertainers, social service agencies, nonprofits, and political candidates at the event.

Insert figures 15 through 19 about here Tables of merchandise, entertainers, social service agencies, nonprofits, and political candidates

Store Level SCRC among Marketers And Consumers

Marketers and consumers also co-produce store functions and activities, such as

those related to merchandise assortments, relocation and resumption of business opera-

tions, employee recruitment, and sales events.

Merchandise assortments. Consumer and retailer informants stress (and I regularly found in fieldwork) that decisions on stores' merchandise assortments are co-produced. Consumers and retailers also suggest that consumers often recommend products to help merchants or inform other customers about items that they themselves enjoy.

The [modeling] club members routinely made suggestions about items for the store to carry and the retailer frequently responded that that would be/or had been done. (FN 2001)

We learn about new items [from customers] or they give us ideas about things that they'd really like to see us carry that we didn't know about before or they let us know about events or, you know, it could be anything. But it's not just one customer. A lot of people have a lot of opinions. (Laugh.) (INT retailer, Mary 2001)

Relocation and resumption of business operations following fires. During this study, consumers often helped merchants move, paint, and clean the premises when they relocated their stores in the DRA (see photo in Figure 20). They also did a variety of things to help retailers resume business after fires, as the following examples illustrate.

Insert figure 20 about here Toy Store shelf photo

More than two months after a fire destroyed a 100-year-old downtown warehouse, the last business affected by the afternoon blaze is preparing to reopen. The six businesses along the corner of Ninth and Vermont have recovered to varying degrees, but all believe the support of customers and the community have turned a tragedy into a rebirth. Au Marche, 19 W. Ninth, lost more than 75 percent of its inventory and had to clean and replace much of its shelves and carpet, owner Lora Duguid said. It reopened after three weeks, in part due to community support. "It was really neat, because the day after the fire, I started getting messages and emails from customers offering to help," Duguid said. (Meagher 2000)

There were also grateful . . . for the many people who stopped to lend comfort and encouragement. "I'll watch your children. I'll wash your clothes," said Amy Laughlin, owner of Second Chance Children's Clothing, 15 W. Ninth, of the offers she received. "It's incredible. I can't even put words to it." (Meagher 2000)

Employee recruitment. Both fieldwork observations and comments in interviews indicate that employee recruitment is another form of store level SCRC.

You know I may have done employee recruitment unconsciously. Mentioning 'you should work with so and so, she is just so great or I just saw a sign in the window somebody is looking for help, blah, blah, blah...' Ok. I think I have done that before. (INT customer, Jenny 2006)

Sales events. As previously explained, marketer-consumer SCRC of store sales events also occurs. For example, I attended a Holiday Open House sponsored by 10 merchants in 2001, 2004, and 2005. In many stores, consumers helped make mail pieces, decorate and set up displays, prepare refreshments, provide entertainment, and wrap gifts.

Area Level SCRC among Marketers

Area level SCRC among marketers includes the co-creation of aesthetics, ceremonies, charitable events, contests, festivals, holiday celebrations and parades, and cultural, political and sales-related activities.

Aesthetics. As the examples in the following excerpts typify, retailers have a history of jointly funding projects to beautify and decorate the DRA. The DLI helps coordinate clean up activities, provides decorations, and secures city funds for landscaping.

Jayhawks on Parade is a nice example of how downtown business owners have used their own money to keep art downtown. [Acrylic figures painted by local artists are displayed in the DRA and sold later as a community fundraiser.] It costs something like \$4,500 to sponsor a Jayhawk, and downtown businesses sponsored 10 [of 31]. A number of us also support Van Go Mobile Arts which is an organization that uses arts projects as a means of teaching job skills to disadvantaged kids. You'll see the artwork those kids produce in downtown businesses like Prairie Pond and Milton's. And if you walk around downtown, you'll also see how many stores incorporate the work of local artists into their décor. I'm thinking of places like Prairie Pond, Wheatfields, Local Burger. All of those places have actually hired local artists. I'm not talking about, you know, selling their paintings. They actually have permanent murals or tile features. These are permanent works of art that make these downtown stores something really special. (INT, retailer Peggy 2006)

Downtown was swept clean Saturday morning. Armed with bags and brooms, 29 people scoured the streets for trash and swept the sidewalks as part of the "Downtown Springtime Spruce Up" organized by Downtown Lawrence Inc. "Our goal was to pick up all the litter and sweep as much as we can," Sarah Fayman, the group's president, said.... The cleanup day was conceived of by the DLI board of directors. DLI wants to market downtown as an attraction a place to come spend a day. Toward that end, they want to make sure the area is putting its best foot forward. "No.1 on the list was to clean it up," McFarlane said. Mayor Erv Hodges, as well as several other city officials, stopped by to help. "It looks like the 700 block needs help," Hodges said, grabbing trash bags. "Give me two." A little farther down the street, Maria Martin from Southwest and More, Melodie Christal from Savannah Lingerie and Anne Yetman from The Bay Leaf were sweeping in front of their stores. "I'd do it once a month if we could get more people," Christal said. The other two agreed. ... The hope, [McFarlane] said, is to make downtown cleanup a regular event. (Haynes 1999)

Martin said the goal to establish downtown as a destination place had spurred several smaller projects, including a downtown beautification effort. Members of the association, which includes about 150 businesses, started the effort Monday by gathering with city officials to plant 338 mums in planters that line Massachusetts Street between Sixth and 11th streets. "Given the right weather conditions, all of downtown should soon be in bloom," Martin said. . . . "Working on a beau-

tification project is something all of our members can take part in because everybody has a sense of pride about how downtown looks." (Lawhorn 2002a)

"We're going to sport some new Christmas decorations," she said. "We won't have the tinsel candy canes or trees." Instead of the decorations, Downtown Lawrence Inc. is sponsoring new holiday banners. . . . In addition to the white lights that shine from the trees in downtown during the holidays, the skyline will be outlined as well. Most downtown business pitched in to purchase the new lights. "So many businesses from the biggest retailer to the smallest services overwhelmingly agreed to light to downtown for Christmas," McFarlane said. "It's heart-warming." (Haynes 1998)

At 6 p.m., long strings of Christmas lights began to blink on to outline the buildings, not the trees, of Massachusetts Street. . . . The new lights for the buildings cost a total of \$25,000. Downtown Lawrence Inc.'s member businesses financed the project. (FN 2004)

The DLI beautification committee reported that they have from the City a commitment of funding \$90,000 to help landscape the downtown. They are planning on putting in flower beds and other bedding that will flower even throughout the winter time, so they have year round planting in an effort to bring people downtown and create perhaps tours with master gardeners of the various plantings. (FN 2005) SCRC among merchants has been in instrumental in preserving the DRA's historical integrity and highlighting its historical properties. A city task force with sixteen DRA retailers and property owners created preservation guidelines for historic buildings. Other retailers jointly lobbied the city for designation of the DRA as a historic district.

[Retailer Jeff] also says that he has been very active working [with other retailers] to create in Lawrence a Historic District for about 25 years and finally succeeded last year. (FN 2005)

Ceremonies, charitable events, contests, festivals, holiday celebrations, and parades. SCRC among merchants creates numerous ceremonies, charitable events, contests festivals, holiday celebrations, and parades. Many of them are highlighted elsewhere. The following exemplars require substantial involvement from merchants.

The Festival of Poinsettias is a month long holiday celebration of 23 events and activities including charity fund-raisers, theater and concert performances, exhibits and craft sales. The festival is supported by 40 partners downtown Lawrence retailers, professional services and other businesses across the city. (Baker 1999)

Participating downtown stores plan to hand out candy and other treats from 5:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. Oct. 31. The event attracted about 1,000 children last year. The group will continue to kick off the Christmas holiday season with Santa's "rescue" from the roof of Weaver's Department Store. This year's event will be Nov.

29. Downtown Lawrence also has a contract with a group of carolers to provide music every weekend between Thanksgiving and Christmas. (Lawhorn 2002a)

The president of the Downtown Lawrence business organization said Tuesday the group would help pay for fireworks for this year's Fourth of July. Andy Ramirez, president of the organization, said the Downtown Lawrence board of directors heard a presentation by a member of the Lawrence Jaycees, which are seeking to raise about \$7,000 for the local Fourth of July fireworks show. The Jaycees have put on the show for many years. The Independence Days organization, which has conducted Lawrence's annual Fourth of July celebration, has shared the cost of the fireworks in recent years. However, a revenue shortfall after the 1990 festival caused Independence Days to close its office and consider canceling or scaling down this year's festival. "I think the Jaycees may be able to pay for some of the fireworks from (spectator) ticket sales, but they're going to need a substantial amount of funds from other sources," Ramirez said. He said Downtown Lawrence businesses are considering donating 1 percent of a single days' sales to help pay for the fireworks this year. Ramirez said the proceeds may be collected during a special promotion, which could be held in conjunction with the Kansas Relays this spring. (Dekker 1991b)

Downtown Lawrence's first benefit auction last weekend surpassed expectations, according to one of the organizers. More than \$5,500 was raised at the auction, which was held Saturday night at Liberty Hall, said Ron Johnson, co-owner and

vice president of Johnson Furniture and a Downtown Lawrence member. Johnson, who came up with the auction idea, said he had hoped to at least break even. The proceeds, after expenses are paid, will be split between Downtown Lawrence for its promotional efforts and the Lawrence Arts Center. More than 125 items were auctioned, ranging from a garbage disposal to food gift certificates to a diamond earring and necklace. (*Downtown Lawrence Auction* 1990)

Cultural and other activities. In addition to SCRC of other cultural activities by retailers and consumers, retailers co-produce the annual First Friday Gallery Walks and Outdoor Sculpture Exhibitions. They also sponsor less frequent events, e.g., DLI's "Walktober" that encourages residents to use the DRA for walking and exercise regimes.

The [DLI meeting's] program today was about "Walktober" which is a new event to downtown Lawrence, inspired by an individual merchant's participation in 10,000 steps-a-day program. It is co-produced by downtown Lawrence Corporate, downtown merchants, two community organization, CHIPS and Lawrence Memorial Hospital. In terms of attendees I recognized perhaps about half of those who were at the meeting. Many were long time downtown merchants [including] John Francis from Francis Sporting Goods, Ernie Cummings from Kizer Cummings Jewelers, Winn Campbell from Winfield House, Bob Schumm from Bob's Smokehouse, Lora from Au Marche, and Sally from Brits. (FN 2005)

Sales-related activities. Retailers co-create several sales events (notably, the Sidewalk Sale and Moonlight Madness) and sales-related and other marketing communication items, such as joint promotional materials, newspaper and TV advertising, an illuminated DRA directory and locator map, and a website highlighting DRA stores.

Oh the downtown sidewalk sale that is an example of all the retailers getting together and saying, ok on this day the 3rd whatever of July we will all come out and then they coordinate that. That is a big example I guess of them all coordinating an event to help each other. (INT customer, Jenny 2005)

DLI has about 170 members. Donations to the organization have doubled in the last year, from about \$33,000 in 1997 to \$66,000 in 1998, said David Longhurst, DLI past president. Those funds are used for promotion costs, downtown Christmas lighting and for the annual Festival of Poinsettias. . . . "Downtown sort of has to continue to develop and have new things to attract people," said George Paley, owner of Natural Way Natural Fiber Clothing, 820 Mass. (*Agenda* 1999)

Maria Martin, co-director of Downtown Lawrence Inc., said the nonprofit organization was advertising the area as the "Heart of the City." Melodie Christal, codirector of Downtown Lawrence Inc., and Martin have been working to promote the downtown area as a "destination place" since the beginning of the year. "Our advertisements really have been an effort to invite people to visit, shop and eat downtown," Martin said. "We want it to become people's central meeting place." (Lawhorn 2002a) *Political activity*. SCRC among retailers also results in political activity that protects the DRA and limits commercial development in other areas of the city. Their efforts include endorsing pro-DRA candidates, lobbying city planners and officials, and serving on the DLI board and city commission, as these examples suggest.

Downtown Lawrence recently announced its endorsement of three candidates in the race for city commission. The group of downtown business owners and supporters is the only special interest group to publicly announce its support for candidates in the election. The group announced its support of Bob Schumm, Bob Schulte and John Nalbandian in a recent edition of its newsletter, which is distributed to about 360 downtown businesses, said Andy Ramirez, president. "The board elected to endorse those particular candidates that we thought had the strongest views compatible with our goals," Ramirez said. Seven board members interviewed candidates who "we felt had a plank in their platform regarding downtown Lawrence" on a range of issues having to do with downtown and the entire city, he said. (*Downtown Lawrence endorses candidates* 1991)

Downtown shopkeepers sat up and took notice last fall when Stanley K. Tanger & Co. announced plans to build a factory outlet center in North Lawrence, right off the Kansas Turnpike. Some merchants, including the owners of the Lawrence Riverfront Plaza Factory Outlets, became worried it could suck their business and tenants away. . . . Representatives of the Lawrence Riverfront Plaza and Down-

town Lawrence Inc. were able to persuade the Lawrence-Douglas County Planning Commission to delay the project a month. (Toplikar 1993b)

When JVJ – Jacobs Visconi & Jacobs, the giant "enclosed retail" company -- unveiled plans for a downtown-sized mall along South Iowa Street, [downtown retailer Bob] Schumm didn't simply complain about the prospect of downtown being killed off as a commercial district. He got elected. "That's why I jumped into the middle of the political game," said Schumm, who joined the city commission in 1979. "Was downtown going to become unique and carve out something unique for itself, or was it going to be flattened out like a pancake for a mall? So I got involved. "I guess you could say we were successful, because we didn't let a mall come into town, and downtown has prospered." (Fagan 1999c)

Retailers have also organized to oppose a new jail and to support a new parking garage, benches and other amenities, and ordinances on homeless persons in the DRA.

The proposed jail isn't welcome at the south end of downtown, a business and property owners group says. Downtown Lawrence Inc. doesn't want a new county jail built in its back yard. In a letter to Lawrence and Douglas County officials, the association of downtown business and property owners outlined its objections to building the new jail directly south of the Judicial and Law Enforcement Center. That site, which is occupied by a county parking lot, is on the edge of South Park. (Mellinger 1995) The task force created by the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce already recommends building a new garage across Kentucky Street from the Lawrence Aquatic Center, between the Lawrence Senior Center and Lawrence Public Library. Commissioners, having grappled for years with requests for increased downtown parking, are ready to turn to the advisory board for advice. Mayor Marty Kennedy plans to appoint its remaining members Commissioner Erv Hodges already has agreed to serve within a month. The board's other members will represent various interest groups, Kennedy said, but particularly downtown property owners and business leaders. (Fagan 1998a)

[Maria Martin, DLI administrator] also reported some success in regard to their issues in terms of the homeless activities downtown that two weeks ago they [members of the DLI subcommittee] were successful in passing additional ordinances particularly to take care the aggressive panhandling and the use of the right away and actually sleeping on the downtown sidewalks by the homeless people. (FN DLI regular meeting, 2005)

Store Level SCRC among Marketers

There is store level SCRC among merchants in areas such as advertising and promotion, merchandise assortments, store design, store location, and vendor relations.

Advertising and promotion. Retailers have joint promotions, such as open house sales events, "Lazer Block Parties" (on-site local radio station broadcasts), and are planning joint production of promotional brochures. Several merchants stress how the local

paper's unwillingness to run merchants' co-sponsored ads (except holiday sales events and some charitable ads) limits cooperative efforts.

Advertising in the local paper is expensive. My [business] partner asked our sales rep [with the local paper] if we could share ads with other downtown businesses and the answer was no. Then she asked if we could share ad packages [have two or more stores fulfill a commitment to purchase enough ads over a given period of time to qualify for volume discounts]. The answer was still no. He couldn't even explain why. She mentioned that we share ads with other stores to promote our Christmas sale and he said that was an "exception." They had a pretty heated exchange. She told him that the prices make it impossible for small, local stores to use the local paper [for advertising]. He started pointing out several downtown businesses that advertising regularly. She responded that the first two he mentioned were jewelry stores who do millions in sales and have been around for decades, and that she predicted the third he named would be going out of business soon. And, you know, that store did go out of business a month later. (FI retailer, Ruth 2006)

The retailer told me that three downtown stores were jointly producing gift baskets. The idea was to carry the baskets in all three stores, so that each could provide the others with increased visibility. The idea was hatched, she said, as a way to help one of three parties – a small floral business on a side street downtown – because she was "really struggling to make it." (FI retailer, Mary 2006) *Merchandise assortments*. Many retailers indicate that they rely on one another for advice and information on merchandise assortments for their stores.

He has been very helpful to us on how to go to markets . . . We have also asked him if we can start carrying some of his lines of children's art work and clocks that he has to supplement the "Aunt Meg" which is his daughter's line. He is more then willing let us take over the lines of children's type art work and decorations that he has. (INT retailer, Ruth 2006)

Because of [another DRA retailer's] suggestions I am going to order Halloween costumes and carry two lines of strollers. (INT retailer, Beth 2005)

Store design. Retailers give advice and assistance to one another in creating retail displays. Many of them report receiving items from other merchants, e.g., mannequins, display fixtures, slat wall, shelving, decorative items, counters, and clothing steamers.

They had some old racks that they weren't using they got them for free and they said, "you can just have them." I got help like that. (INT customer and former re-tailer, Banks 2005)

When we were upstairs in his space that he is allowing us to use before we even take possession to store our stuff, I mentioned the picket fences and he said when he use to have his clothing store there that he used those to block off the windows so children couldn't get in there and he said that we were more than welcome to use those. He also said that he had a clothing steamer down in his basement that he does not use any more with his home furnishing and that he would let us have that because we probably have to steam out ruffles on beds, children's clothing and what not. . . . There is also an antique display case up in his storage area that had; I had asked him where it came from it had a plaque on it something about some historical society. I asked him one day where it came from and he said he couldn't quite remember but he said that he would be glad to let us use it if we wanted to. (INT retailer, Ruth 2006)

Store location. Retailers suggest that they help one another get the best store locations. They jointly buy properties, share news information on properties that will become available, and share opinions on negotiating terms and reasonable rent at DRA locations.

Vendor relations. The following excerpts reflect some of the varied ways in which retailers help one another develop and maintain ties with vendors, by mediating one another' relations with a vendor, helping unload a shipment, and combine their purchases to meet vendor minimum order requirements.

[The retailer] said "you know, the other day that vendor called me and said 'I want to apologize to you, I have been taking up your time and in talking to another downtown business, they explained to me . . . exactly how they see you have a very narrow interest in my product line and I feel very differently now and I have a much richer understanding of what your store is doing and the ways in which I can help you." (FN 2005) Well, the minute the truck got here, Au Marche was swarmed with people. There were 67 cases on the Antler truck. I had the time to unload 10 cases, more customers came and the truck driver was not very helpful and he was getting a little antsy. On this particular order, there were three cases for Wheatfields. So, I called Katie, thanked her for calling me at home, and told her the Antler truck was here. She came over, with two Wheatfields employees in tow, and the three of them unloaded the remaining 57 cases! (EMAIL retailer, Nicola, 2002)

[The] merchant also then described to me her relations with many of the other downtown businesses because it is difficult for downtown restaurants to handle European cheeses, they now look to her retail store to provide a wholesale function she wouldn't normally play in terms of European cheeses for three downtown restaurants on a regular basis cheeses and European waters and then a fourth restaurant will come in just on their regular basis and buy some European mustards. (FN 2005)

When we were at Market we wanted to order some china for children, Emma Bridgewater was the line, but the minimum was so high that we decided not to order it. Then when my partner came back and was talking to her British import store friend, it turns out that she orders things on a regular basis from Emma Bridgewater and since she has already met her minimum she said that she would order some of the children's plates on our behalf without having to get a large amount. (INT retailer, Ruth 2006)

Area Level SCRC among Consumers

Area level SCRC among consumers also affects aesthetics, ceremonies, charity events, contests, festivals, celebrations, parades, cultural activities, and political events.

Aesthetics. SCRC of aesthetics occurs among consumers, although it is more common among retailers or retailers and consumers. For example, during this study a consumer group worked to install a sculpture of the poet Langston Hughes in the DRA.

Evans said the roundtable group hopes the city will announce the artist selected for the project during Hughes' birthday celebration in February 2002. She said the group has suggested a location for the sculpture the corner of Ninth and Vermont streets in front of the Carnegie Building, the current home of the Lawrence Arts Center, where Hughes spent many hours reading as a child. (Ludwig 2001)

Ceremonies, charitable events, contests, festivals, holiday celebrations, and parades. SCRC among consumers contributes to ceremonies, charitable events, contests, festivals, holiday celebrations, and parades. Several examples are highlighted below.

Independence Day will be a busy holiday throughout Lawrence, with music in South and Burcham parks, a downtown parade, fireworks and an Oregon Trail dramatization scheduled. The day's activities will kick off between 1:45a.m. and noon with the third annual July 4 parade in downtown Lawrence, sponsored by the United Veterans Organization of Douglas County. The organizations. Four groups, including the 312th Army Reserve Band, will perform in the park, and food --including Indian fry bread, funnel cakes, hot dogs and hamburgers -- will be sold, coordinator Dan Robins said. There also will be games, entertainment and crafts booths, Robins said. At 2 p.m. Sunday, Kay Kuhlmann will be featured in her original work, "Daughters of Courage," in a special benefit performance for the Douglas County Historical Society and the Elizabeth M. Watkins Community Museum. Kuhlmann's dramatization brings to life segments from the lives of women who traveled westward 150years ago on the Oregon Trail. (Price 1993)

It's been nearly 20 years since a novelty string band first gave an impromptu performance in the downtown Lawrence post office and made the night of April5 fun for procrastinating taxpayers. . . . The Alfred Packer band isn't the only tax night attraction. The event has evolved to include a cast of regular characters that include Lecompton's Michael Coffman, with his road kill stew and other dishes, and City Commissioner Mike Rundle, who does a clog dance. There have been surprises as well. One year Ralph Nader showed up when he was in Lawrence to lecture at Kansas University. Another year a Lawrence couple was married during the party. . . . The band will start playing at 9 p.m. Friday. Others will have a chance to play later during a jam session. The band has traditionally played the "William Tell Overture" during the last few minutes before midnight's tax deadline. The road kill menu might be served this year from an open tent outside the post office, 645 Vt., and include meat from musk ox, elk and deer, said Coffman, who is on lists at the Douglas and Jefferson county sheriff's offices to be called to pickup deer carcasses found along roads. Also on the menu will be wild greens enchiladas and wild turkey and dumplings. (Belt 2005a)

Lawrence, a community of cultural variety, received an additional injection of diversity during Saturday's Celebration of Cultures, a festival of exhibits, cuisines and crafts.... held on portions of Eighth Street in downtown Lawrence Sanghoon Lee, a Kansas University graduate student, was setting up a booth with the Kansas University Korean Student Assn. He said the group was represented to introduce the festival crowd to the culture of Korea.... A couple of "doors" down was a booth offering Malaysian delicacies. "We want to let people know about Malaysian food," Siew Siva, Lawrence, said. . . . One of the exhibits at the festival was put on by the Friends of Hiratsuka. "Hiratsuka is Lawrence's sister city, and we wanted to let people know about it," Louis Copt, vice president of the group, said. "We also want to increase our membership."... James Whiteside, Evanston, Ill., senior at KU, attended the festival as a result of eating breakfast downtown. "I decided I wanted to see what was going on with the different cultures," he said. . . . Ligia Simmons and Lucila Olea, both of Lawrence, and originally of Ecuador and Chile respectively, set up a booth to share their countries with the visiting crowd.... Throughout the day ... people gathered around a stage to see everything from Middle Eastern belly dancing by Ruth Austin, Lawrence, to American Indian dancing by Haskell Indian Junior College students. There were also Korean and Okinawan martial arts demonstrations. (Small 1991)

Cultural activities. SCRC among consumers culturally enhances the DRA. Besides the just noted cultural festival that they organize, consumers also perform music in the DRA on evenings, on weekends, and at events. Moreover, their work has educated the public about Langston Hughes and other artists and writers from Lawrence.

"City of the Arts" may be a relatively recent moniker for Lawrence, but it wouldn't have been a misnomer 50 years ago. The very people who founded Lawrence in 1854 carried their musical instruments along with their essentials on the cross-country trek to begin the city by the Kew. Five of those musicians formed the first Lawrence city band -- the direct ancestor of the ensemble that brasses up South Park on summer evenings to this day. The band might be the earliest documented evidence of the arts in Lawrence. . . . (Paget 2004b)

Backers of an effort to ensure free admittance to a February symposium on poet Langston Hughes will be selling commemorative T-shirts Thursday during the annual sidewalk sale downtown. The group's sales table will be in the "pocket park" in the 700 block of Massachusetts Street between the Eldridge Hotel and Silver Works. The T-shirts sell for \$10. "Langston Hughes was always a man of the people, so it only seems appropriate that the symposium be open to all," said Nancy Hiebert, one of the organizers behind the T-shirt fund-raiser. Hughes lived in Lawrence from 1903 to 1915. (*Langston Hughes T-Shirts* 2001) People who are spearheading an effort to establish a downtown arts corridor say it would be a big money-maker. The vision calls for Central Square where artists could show their wares and give demonstrations amid covered walkways and brick-lined paths, attracting visitors from around the country. That atmosphere -- already a reality for places like Santa Fe, N.M., and Burlington, Vt. -- could be a part of Lawrence, too, speakers at a Lawrence Art Guild public forum said Tues-day night. "The artistic community of Lawrence has been virtually untapped as an economic resource," said Diana Dunkley, a Lawrence artist who is spearheading an effort to establish a downtown arts corridor. "People don't come to Lawrence to see the art because it's not centrally located," she said. "If we could have thatthey would come for the art." (Dekker 1995)

Political events. SCRC among consumers contributes to political protests and forums for political expression in the DRA. During this study, among other issues, consumer protests concerned the legalization of hemp (weekly), protecting a DRA tree, police brutality, abortion, sweatshop labor, chain store dominance, the Iraqi war, and environmental dangers.

Carrying anti-abortion signs and pushing baby buggies, about 220 people marched Saturday through downtown Lawrence to protest Friday's anniversary of the 1973 Roe vs. Wade decision. The marchers, many of whom were members of Lawrence Kansans for Life, carried their protest down Massachusetts Street, from Sixth Street to the South Park gazebo. . . . After walking down Massachusetts to the South Park gazebo, the marchers held hands, said a prayer and said they would keep fighting for their cause. . . . The marchers were also asked to sign postcards urging U.S. Rep. Jan Meyers, R-Kan., and U.S. Sens. Bob Dole and Nancy Kassebaum, both R-Kan., to oppose the federal Freedom of Choice Act. . . . Several of the marchers then walked back to say a prayer on the sidewalk in front of the office of Dr. Dale Clinton, at Seventh and New Hampshire streets. Clinton is a Lawrence physician who performs abortions. (Toplikar 1993a)

They came with costumes, face paint and old couches. They came to "reclaim the streets." What started at South Park as a modest parade of 20 bicyclists ended in a massive block party/protest Friday night in the heart of downtown Lawrence. Hundreds of revelers just after 6 p.m. blocked the 600 block of Massachusetts Street with sofas and equipped with sidewalk chalk, noise makers, and a portable stereo system proceeded to make merry. "We're doing this so people of all different types can get together in a public space and take something that's ours without the permission of any authority figures," said Ailecia Ruscin, a Kansas University graduate student. "There are some people who have more of a political agenda for having it here," she added, gesturing to the national chain retail stores on the west side of the street. Chalk writing on the sidewalk in front of The Gap read "No slave labor" and "Destroy your capitalist mother." ... Protesters hung a giant sign on American Eagle Outfitters that said "A new reality is better than a new product."... Protesters distributed printed fliers with a sort of manifesto decrying the mutations of capitalism.... The parade traveled north down Massachusetts Street, turned right at Eighth Street and merged with a huge group of partiers/protesters who were on foot near Borders Books and Music. From there, the group marched down the middle of New Hampshire Street, turned west on Seventh and heaved several couches out of the rear of a parked U-Haul truck to block the street. . . . By 9 p.m., the protesters had dissipated peacefully, and police made sure everyone was off the street before allowing traffic to pass through the block. (Paget 2001)

Consumers also work together to co-create forums for other rallies, speakers, and political events in the DRA. Furthermore, they recruit others, as the following excerpt typifies. In my fieldwork, I was asked to register to vote, sign petitions to stop the city smoking ban and to free American Indian activist Leonard Peltier from federal prison, and picked up yard signs for candidates for District Attorney and Sheriff.

Members of the Douglas County Democratic Party were registering people to vote. Scott McKenzie, director of Douglas County Democratic Coordinated Campaign, said his group had signed up at least 30 people by 10 a.m. They started at 7 a.m. "We ran out of forms at 8:45a.m.," McKenzie said. "I had to run and get some more. The sidewalk sale has been great, and we're just getting underway in our drive to register voters." (Byrd 2004)

Store Level SCRC among Consumers

Stove level SCRC among consumers encompasses advertising and promotion, customer service, merchandise demonstrations and merchandise displays. Advertising and promotion. SCRC among customers includes product recommendations, word-of-mouth recommendations, and distribution of promotional flyers by and among consumers, as illustrated in the following excerpts.

One woman approached a man in line and asked him about the Russian tea he was buying. He began to describe the flavor (though I could not hear his comments) and they both left the line to return to the tea area. (FN 2001)

If it is a product that I use and I like and I want people to go there and keep that store alive, I would tell people about it a lot. Oh I saw that at this place and you need to go there and oh, my favorite store downtown is this one and I may not be related to that person but it is just something I like share with my friends. So that example the benefit, you really are thinking, well it is two fold, you ascribe for the store and for your friends. You see a benefit to both parties. Right, yea. Like there are certain stores down there that you enjoy so much don't want it to go out. (INT customer, Jenny 2005)

I: What about talking to another customer about the products and services of other downtown stores?

R: Oh, sure, I could see doing that. If you're looking for something and it's not in the store you're in you might say oh yeah well go down and try out whatever Hobbs or the Bay Leaf or whatever if you know they might have the product they're looking for. (INT retailer, Beth 2005) A lot of people will ask me about videos and they'll say well, you know, I want to see Fawlty Towers and I'll say 'oh, be sure to check Brits because it's only 50 cents a day and you know, a lot of places . . . it's three dollars or something (INT customer, Alexandra 2001)

We were just at the Brewery last night and I was sitting in a way you know that I could see like a bulletin board back by the bathroom that they have with ads on it that had bands that were going to be at Liberty Hall which is not their place but would be at Liberty Hall and oh I can't remember maybe things that were for sale, too, but I remember seeing the bands that were going to be playing and things like that and other stores do that, too, I'm pretty sure. I definitely have this idea in my mind of bulletin boards and posters and like you'll see some stores will put up maybe little flyers for various things going on around town or may be they're trying to raise money for some kid with cancer or you know stuff like that so yeah you do see a lot of flyers for things. (INT customer, Beth 2005)

Customer service. Both consumers and retailers report that consumers provide customer service assistance to patrons in DRA stores. Consumers add that that they do not normally do these things in stores outside the DRA, particularly not in chain stores (e.g., Kohl's, Target, and Sears). The following excerpts highlight these matters. [I]f I'm in the Bay Leaf and someone's wondering and looking at cookware and I know I have it you know I might 'oh, I know that's fantastic. You'd really love it' and you know you'd actually kinda almost sell the person on um you know the item or this store (INT customer, Beth 2005)

I think I have actually assisted customers finding different things. I saw that over there, or the bathroom is around the corner. . . . If the person that is supposed to be helping the customer isn't helping the customer that needs help, I sometimes will swoop in. Unfortunately it sort of is a compulsive thing, I think and it may not be normal. It may be kind of crazy for doing it. (INT customer, Jenny 2005)

Merchandise demonstrations and merchandise displays. Other relatively common areas of SCRC among consumers merchandise demonstration and display. They are noted in the following interview excerpts.

If I is see something I like I will be sure to tell somebody about it. Let's see. I have probably have unwittingly demonstrated a piece of merchandise. Look at how this fits on my head. Wow! I am sure that I have done that probably before. There was a time I would feel obligated to provide some sort of feed back to the retailer if for example I noticed that they had mislabeled something, that is not really a baby bed, that's a doll bed; you know that kind of thing. If somebody didn't know and tried to put their baby in there they could fall out, it could get bad, you know that kind of thing. I believe there have been times when I have taken a piece of merchandise and prominently displayed on the table, thinking this

should be over here. I may have moved something to make it more prominent. (INT, customer, Jenny 2005)

SCRC AMONG ACTORS WITHOUT PRIOR TIES

As expected (P3), prior transactional or interpersonal ties are not requisites for marketers' and consumers' involvement in SCRC. There is indirect and direct evidence of SCRC among marketers and consumers without prior ties (as well as those with ties as buyers and sellers, on-going acquaintances, friends, family members, etc.).

First, some co-produced activities and events are broad in scope. They involve a large and an ostensibly diverse set of persons, as suggested by the list in Table 1, photos in Figures 21-26, and these excerpts.

Insert figures 21 - 26 about here Concert in the Park, Robert Burns event, Lawrence Art Walk, Save the Tree Protest, Big Snake lecture at public library, Farmers Market

Downtown Lawrence Inc. expects the annual sidewalk sale, which runs from sunrise to sunset, to attract 30,000 shoppers. (*Local briefs* 2001)

(A)bout 16 non-profit groups would be selling food and other items during the

[Sidewalk] sale. (Dekker 1992)

(H)undreds of people flocked to Massachusetts Street to watch the annual St. Patrick's Day Parade, which included floats and vehicles. (*Looking back* 2001) (T)he special event is the 19th annual Fall Arts and Crafts Fair, which will bring 150 to 160 exhibitors to South Park. (Cassell 1998)

About 120 equine entries delighted the crowd at the ninth-annual downtown Christmas parade. (*Looking back* 2001)

More than 100 area and regional artists will fill South Park with fine art during the 43rd annual Art in the Park. . . . A variety of musicians will play on the hour at the South Park gazebo, and food and drink vendors will line Massachusetts Street. (*Art in the Park only a week away* 2004)

Consumers provide entertainment, act as judges, and co-produce the overall atmosphere through their sheers numbers. Consumers also affect the nature of the event, wheeling strollers, visiting with one another, and bringing their pets along. Although there are prior ties among some consumers and some marketers, the vast majority who attend have no prior ties to others. (FN Art in the Park 2005)

I: Have you been to other things downtown?

R: No, we just [moved] to Lawrence in August. But we will come back hopefully and see more things. (FI Halloween trick-or-treat event with several thousand participants, 2004)

Second, a large and diverse set of marketers and consumers often engage in SCRC in these and other cases. For example, they may be established and new retailers (which

mirrors evidence that economic and personal ties are not requisites for SC among entrepreneurs; Hite 2003), merchants who are competitors (e.g., in pub crawls, art gallery walks, at the Farmer's Market), and retailers who primarily operate during daytime versus evenings and weekends (e.g., proprietors of bars, tattoo, and entertainment establishments). They may also be newer and long-time residents, consumers who patronize different stores and use the DRA at different times, and marketers and consumers who are not their customers (e.g., when SCRC encompasses multiple stores or all the DRA).

Third, those who initially join in SCRC due to colleagues, friends, etc., may become part of the SCRC of a more encompassing event or activity that involves others with whom they do not have direct ties. This often occurs with SCRC of area level functions and activities (see Table 1) or multiple stores (e.g., the Watkins Museum Mother's Day Tea and Princess Diana Memorial). The following excerpts and photos in Figures 27-30 reflect different facets of such situations.

They are friends of ours. They asked if we could build a boat and then we ended up building two boats. (FI Cardboard Boat Parade 2004)

I told a service station owner, who participates each year, that I'd seen a photo in the Journal-World of the flying saucer float that he built for the Art Tougeau Parade. He seemed to be an unlikely participant in Art Tougeau. "Do you know any of these other folks" I asked. "A few," he said. "Not a lot. But it's fun, and each year you meet a few new people." (FI Art Tougeau Parade 2006) I: Who were the other people I saw with your float?

R: Well, I did have a friend, and mainly a lot of people who work at [store].

I: Do you know all those people?

R: I knew most of them, but not all. But almost all. Most of them work at the store. My mom used to work there, so I know some of them. (FI St. Pats Parade 2005)

Insert figures 27 - 30 about here Float construction for Art Tougeau Parade 2006, Cardboard Boat Parade, St. Patrick's Parade; Couch Protest

Fourth, as discussed, actors' motives for SCRC may relate to a diffuse social entity. In these cases, the links among individuals may be perceived or imagined. Even with no direct ties, retailers and consumers may have a sense of joint involvement in the DRA due to their emotions, behaviors, or views. They may anticipate a sense of solidarity with others in a future event or activity. They may feel linked due to their similar behaviors (e.g., if they work, shop, or engage in SCRC in the DRA). They may sense their similar views about DRA retailers' contributions (e.g., in goods and services and economic, aesthetic, social, and cultural impact), the DRA's value as a community resource, and the DRA as a site of economic, cultural, political, and social expression. These comments typify various aspects of the perceived ties of many consumers and retailers in this study.

I: Does [the Holiday Open House] seem to be important to them? Do you get feedback?

R: It's funny because I don't get so much on the day, the day of, but the feedback I get is, uh, people who couldn't make it. 'Oh, I'm sorry we couldn't make it to your open house.' I don't know how many people I've heard that from. I've got a couple of emails and people will be telling me for weeks that 'We're sorry we couldn't make it to your open house.'

I: You say that you place an ad or you send a mailer. It's a commercial event, a sales event –

R: And that costs a lot of money.

I: Yeah. And then they apologize to you for their failure to attend. They seem to feel that you might have noticed their absence.

R: Right! That's the way they feel when they say it and I'm thinking 'Golly, I can't remember who you are.' (Laughs.) (INT retailer, Mary 2001)

She raised her hand. 'Oh! Oh! I just have to comment on this year's Halloween event. It was one of the most extraordinary events I have had in my experience downtown.' A downtown retailer, and owner of two stores, she described how this was the first year she had not been at market during Halloween and was able to hand out candy. She emoted on the feelings her participation brought about. She felt 'excited,' connected,' and 'proud.' 'This is one event,' she said, 'that we simply must continue to support. I never got that before.' (FN DLI regular meeting, 2005) I think [DRA retailers] do have this very strong identity of being a downtown business. Do you know what I mean? And its' uh very important to them and you know so I, I even before we talked about why people have businesses downtown [in setting up interview], it always struck me that people have businesses downtown for more than just like making money. Do you know what I mean? Like there's a certain prestige or maybe not even prestige but a certain something about having a business downtown. It was a way to be a really strong part of the community um you know and just a part of Lawrence by having this business downtown. You know, it didn't strike me that 'yeah, let's start this business downtown because we want to rake in tons of cash' I didn't really have that impression, you know, that that's why people were doing that. (INT customer, Beth 2004)

She leaned across the counter, lowering her voice, 'There's a whole group of us, you know, who support this downtown.' (FN 2001)

And I know that other people shop here because they do like something different; they do like being different and not being just part of the Wal-Mart crowd. (INT retailer, Mary 2001)

INTENDED BENEFICIARIES OF SCRC

Per P4, the intended beneficiaries of SCRC are not limited to those who engage in it. Many marketers and consumers co-produce to benefit others beside themselves. For example, due to their consummatory motives, consumers who are quoted in the following excerpts co-produce to benefit retailers because they are DRA merchants. I: Who did you expect to benefit from what you did (bussing her own table DRA restaurants)?

R: The staff so they wouldn't have to come out and do it. Also the other customers that were waiting in line to get a table and now they have a clean table. (INT customer, Hannah 2006)

I: Who did you expect to be the beneficiary of the parade float?

R: I was hoping the stores would benefit through the high profile of doing that. I thought that would be a great advertising thing.

I: How many stores were involved [in constructing the float]?

R: Two.

I: What do you think, did they benefit?

R: I think that they did because not only is it great that the St. Patrick's Day parade is on Cable Channel 6, but they rerun it, like forever – over and over again.
They run it a lot. So really in terms of people who are insomniacs and watch a lot of cable, they get the television as well as the day of the event, the promotional expects.

I: Any idea why they rerun the parade?

R: I don't know. I guess it is just something to do because they don't have enough tape or something. They got to have something on. I don't know. You can't buy that kind of exposure. It's free! (INT customer, Jenny 2006)

Consumers also co-produce benefits for other consumers via charity events in the DRA, as is evident in the following example.

Nearly 300 people sauntered, strolled and ambled their way through downtown Saturday morning, raising money for the Douglas County AIDS Project. The annual walk raised \$12,400 for the agency, which serves around 80 HIV-positive community members and reaches out to thousands more through education projects. "Have you ever seen such a sight in your life?" asked Geri Summers, executive director of DCAP. "OK, maybe, but it's still exciting." The walk started at Maceli's, 1031 N.H., and ended there with a catered breakfast for the walkers which included teams from local businesses, health agencies, Kansas University student groups and churches, as well as dozens of individual walkers. "I wish more people would come out and walk, to support the cause," said Barbara Willis, who walked with a team from the Unity Church of Lawrence. Willis said she'd known several people who died of AIDS.... Among the walkers Saturday was 17-year-old Eric Hazen, who said he had recently been diagnosed with HIV. He said he hoped the walk would help people "see that there are people out there when you need help." And he was gratified by the sight of so many participants. "Right now," Hazen said, "it means the world to me." (Mathis 2006)

Moreover, many retailers see others as primary beneficiaries of the time and money that they devote to many DRA activities and events, e.g., the Christmas parade, the national bike race, and the events that are depicted in the first two items below. The merchant in the field note echoes many retailers' views on the DRA Halloween Trick-or-Treating event (for which children's attendance rose from about 1,000 to 4,000 during this study). At 6 p.m., long strings of Christmas lights began to blink on to outline the buildings, not the trees, of Massachusetts Street. Maria Martin, director of Downtown Lawrence Inc., the organization that puts the event together each year, said the lights had been moved to the buildings because of safety concerns about the electrical conduits used to power the tree lights. The new lights for the buildings cost a total of \$25,000. Downtown Lawrence Inc.'s member businesses financed the project. (Senter 2004)

Using the ladder of a Lawrence fire truck to descend from a downtown rooftop, Santa Claus made his grand entrance to the city Sunday afternoon in front of about 200 people who waited in sub-freezing temperatures. Dozens of children looked to the rooftop at about 1 p.m. Sunday as Santa suddenly appeared atop Weaver's Department Store at Ninth and Massachusetts. "I think it's exciting," said Kyra Johnson, 8, of Lawrence. "It's neat." Six-year-old Kurt Hanson Jr., who was with his father, Kurt Hanson Sr. of Lawrence, said he was surprised to see Santa on the building. Asked how he thought Santa managed to get on the roof of the building, Kurt Jr. said, "He came from the moon." . . . Among children's shouts of "Be careful, Santa," the man in the red suit carefully climbed down the ladder as bell-ringers from Plymouth Congregational Church played "Jingle Bells." (Dekker 1991d)

I asked him if he took part in DRA Halloween. He said, "Oh, yes!" He said it is a primary example of a very important event. He gets the most comments about it

from people. He said there would be no place for the Halloween event that means so much to this community's children, if suburban development had taken place in the late 70s and if the DRA had dried up (FN Bill, 2005).

Retailers and consumers also help co-create some events to educate, sensitize, and widen others' perspectives. Several are described in these excerpts.

Bill Crowe wants to make the Lawrence sesquicentennial more than a big birthday party. "It's a nice mix of a little hoopla, with the parade and celebrations in the park," said Crowe, treasurer of the Lawrence Sesquicentennial Commission. "But it's more about the educational stuff and the cultural activities we're leaving behind." The 150th anniversary of the city's founding culminated in a week of events ending today, but the Sesquicentennial Commission has been working for four years on leaving a legacy that members hope will remain for generations to come. "The first two years were pretty much below the radar screen," said Crowe, who is in charge of Kansas University's Spencer Research Library. "It's gone the last couple years where it's slowly built. We wanted to focus on our heritage but had to make this as much as possible looking forward. It sounds hokey to say that, but it's important. " Plans call for the plaza's groundbreaking to be Sept. 19, 2004, part of a weekend of activities surrounding the sesquicentennial. The weekend is scheduled to kick off with a parade Sept. 18 downtown. "It'll be a pretty fancy parade," Hills said. It will be followed by festival of some type in South Park, but details of that event are yet to be determined. (Rombeck 2004)

Although Lawrence takes on a festival-like atmosphere when Civil War on the Western Frontier begins each August, the time is meant to educate and honor. After all, events center around the Aug. 21 anniversary of William Quantrill's bloody raid of Lawrence. Two hundred men died during the 1863 attack, and the city sustained \$1.5 million in damages. "It's a horrible event. We're not glorifying it at all but trying to understand how, when the tensions between groups build up, sometimes very terrible things can happen," says Katie Armitage, a local historian who will lead a walking tour of raid sites. "This is really a commemoration, and it's just part of the extraordinary history of Kansas and Missouri and our whole region." (Paget 2004a)

The "Bleeding Kansas: Where the Civil War Began" Chautauqua opens Thursday in Lawrence and will run through Tuesday. Chautauqua events will be in South Park, 11th and Massachusetts streets, unless otherwise noted. Thursday Noon-1 p.m.: Lunch Pail Lecture, "Territorial Newspapers," presented by Tom Eblen, retired Kansas University journalism professor, free, Watkins Community Museum of History, 1047 Mass. . . . "Territorial School House Vignette," presented by Christine Reinhard, Watkins Museum 1 p.m.-2 p.m.: Children's workshop, "Folktales of African Peoples in America," presented by Charles Pace, Frederick Douglass scholar, chautauqua tent 2 p.m.-5 p.m.: Youth chautauqua camp geared to fifth through eighth graders, Lawrence Public Library, 707 Vt., . . . Territorial history trolley tour through downtown Lawrence, guided by Paul Stuewe, leaves from Eldridge Hotel, 701 Mass . . . Temperance rally, Watkins Museum, ends with "storming" of Free State Brewing Co. around 4:30 p.m. 5 p.m.-6:45 p.m.: Kid-Tauqua tent activities, South Park 5 p.m.-7:30 p.m. . . . Kaw Valley Cornet Band Concert, chautauqua tent 7:30 p.m.: Chautauqua tent program, featuring Frederick Douglass, as portrayed by Charles Pace (*Chautauqua Starts Thursday* 2004)

In addition, charity events are held in the DRA, such as the St. Patrick's Day parade, the Mass Street Mosey, chocolate auctions for the needy and homeless, miniature quilt auctions for varied charities, and the MS Walk. In many such cases, the beneficiaries do not have the purchasing power to have a significant economic impact on the DRA.

Needy and homeless Lawrence residents will be the beneficiaries of a fund-raiser planned by the Community Drop-In Center. "Chocolate and Tea At Three" will feature baked goods and music, as well as a silent auction featuring items from Natural Way, Lawrence Athletic Club, Marisco's, the Kansas City Royals, the Kansas University Athletic Department, The Topiary Tree and others. Tickets are \$25. The event will be from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. Nov. 10 at Abe and Jake's Landing, 8 E. Sixth St. (*Charity* 2001)

After all, what could be better than three days of celebrating locally prepared gourmet food and fine wine — all in service of a good cause? That's the idea behind "Salute! A Festival of Wine & Food," an annual event that benefits Cottonwood, 2801 W. 31st St. Salute, now marking its seventh year, will be Thursday through Saturday in Lawrence. The fundraiser, comprised of three events — Thursday's "Mass Street Mosey," Friday's Winemaker Dinner and Saturday's Grand Tasting — typically brings in about \$50,000 for Cottonwood, a nonprofit provider of employment, residential and support services for people with developmental disabilities in Douglas and Jefferson counties. The six previous Salute events have raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Cottonwood Foundation, according to Peggy Wallert, director of community relations and development. (Baker 2004b)

Several local agencies -- including Women's Transitional Care Services and the Douglas County Rape Center -- will benefit from an event Friday. The annual Pub Night, hosted by Kansas University's Women in Law, will begin at 7 p.m. at Liberty Hall, 642 Mass. The event will include a silent auction, a live auction, and entertainment by students and the Moody BlueBooks, a band composed of law professors. Food will be provided by PepperJax Grill, The Salty Iguana and Carlos O'Kelly's Mexican Cafe. (*Pub crawl* 2004)

Furthermore, as indicated in these excerpts, retailers and consumers who gain intrinsic hedonic benefits (such as fun) from SCRC may still intend to benefit others.

I asked him (a retailer, who built a float) why he participates each year in the Art Tougeau Parade and mentioned that I understand he's even on the steering committee. "It's fun!" He laughs again. "But seriously," he adds, "I think it's a very nice way to give something back to this community." (FI Art Tougeau Parade 2006) The reason I did it that first year because I thought it would be a little fun for me and for the other girls in the bank. Morale booster. Yea, and it gets you out of the office, it gets you outside on a nice sunny day. Gives you an excuse to get out of the office and get some shopping. Those are the residual affects of doing that activity. You probably got good PR for yourself within the bank, you promoted the bank so they benefited. The bottles of water had our name on it. The bank totally got promoted. Visibility. Pleasant and community connection. You are a downtown bank. Oh yea. I think independent local with a lot of people in this community that appreciate it. (INT Anna, a bank employee 2005)

I asked the couple what prompted them to take part in the Mosey. The man said we felt it would be fun, a great way to support Cottonwood [a social services agency that provides residential facilities for the disabled]. The woman nodded in agreement. (FI Mass St. Mosey 2004)

In other instances, those who co-produce for their own benefit are also aware that others directly or indirectly benefit. This is apt to be the case among the retailers and consumers who volunteers to clean up the DRA (see Figure 31) and join in SCRC of the political, promotional, beautification, and cultural activities illustrated in the following examples.

Insert figure 31 about here Consumers and retailers volunteers joining together to clean up the DRA A proposed commercial development policy would lead to a South Iowa Streetstyle shopping corridor on far West Sixth Street and kill downtown, two groups warned Lawrence city commissioners Tuesday. The Lawrence Association of Neighborhoods and League of Women Voters said they opposed a provision in the policy that de-emphasizes downtown's role as the "primary" regional shopping center in the city. And they objected to provisions they said would create a South Iowa-type shopping corridor on West Sixth Street between Wakarusa Drive and the South Lawrence Trafficway. Such a district also would hurt downtown, opponents said. (Mathis 2003b)

Many individuals collaborate to promote Lawrence as a sports destination, and the sports community benefits from the dedication of these enthusiastic allies. The Lawrence Sports Corporation, a nonprofit subsidiary of the Lawrence Convention and Visitors Bureau, has recently landed some prominent national events that will complement the city's solid foundation of core sports activities. Lawrence succeeds as a sports city because of its community spirit, seen in the willingness of public officials to work with local organizing committees to offer the best possible venues, and in the patience of individuals or businesses to focus not on temporary inconvenience but on the larger community benefits. Specifically, USA Cycling has bestowed upon Lawrence the opportunity to be host to the Collegiate National Road Championships for multiple years. (Sanner 2005)

He [Douglas, incoming director of DLI] hopes to bring the same success to Downtown Lawrence Inc., whose more than 150 members work on behalf of more than 300 businesses and their 5,000 employees in a 16-block area long considered the city's cultural, government and historic center. He plans to organize festivals of music and food, featuring downtown merchants and restaurants. He also wants to attract family businesses from surrounding communities to open up shops downtown. Helping small, independent businesses find a home and assisting ones already downtown to grow also will be key, he said. "I want to be able to bring the community closer," Douglas said. (Fagan 2000)

Jon Havener, a Kansas University professor of metalsmithing and jewelry. His painted steel and copper sculpture, "The Jester," can be seen at Eighth and Massachusetts streets. "What it does for the public at large is confront them with something that they're probably not accustomed to seeing," Havener said. "For the downtown itself, it gives it a very different flavor compared to an awful lot of even major cities. We're lucky to be able to put the work downtown and be able to live with it." (Nachison 1996)

Formerly an event in which visitors took self-guided tours of downtown exhibits, the Lawrence ArtWalk now includes city-wide displays of paintings, sculpture, photography, glass, metalwork and other types of artwork. This year, the ArtWalk will include more than 50 artists exhibiting at studios, workshops and galleries. John Wysocki, the ArtWalk's organizer and a wedding/fine art photographer, said that artists, studio owners and university students participated last year. The event allows the public to meet artists, see demonstrations and purchase art. (Heinz 1999)

Lawrence residents got a chance Saturday to become acquainted with the eight sculptures that will dot downtown for the next year. About 50 people walked through downtown with representatives of the Lawrence Arts Center. The tour took participants to all the sculptures in the Outdoor Sculpture Exhibition, where juror Jan Schall gave information about the pieces and explained why they were chosen. In its 16th year, the exhibition features art from all over the country. After a year, the pieces are either sold or returned to the artist. This year's show displays eight sculptures out of 40 submitted. Marlene Merrill, chairwoman of the exhibit, said Lawrence was fortunate to have such a well-known art show. (*Briefly* 2003)

The benefit featured daylong performances by eight bands, children's games and other activities, a bake sale, food vendors and a beer garden. Monetary donations go to the American Red Cross and will be divided among hurricane relief efforts and local relief efforts for victims of the Boardwalk Apartments fire and other recent fires. People also contributed nonperishable food items intended for Lawrence food pantries. The benefit began at 10 a.m., and by the time rain started falling about 3 p.m. several hundred people had come and gone, said Karin Drees, one of several to plan the event with help from businesses and organizations. "We were going along pretty well," Drees said. "The musicians were having a good

time and there were a lot of people here, and then the rain came. Kids were going to the moonwalk because it was covered, and the beer garden suddenly became real popular because it had a canopy." Nevertheless, Drees said she was pleased with the event, which raised about \$1,000 as well as 800 pounds of canned food. "A lot of people had said they wanted to help victims but they didn't know how to do it," Drees said. The musicians played for free. "It's for a good cause," said Arnie Johnson, leader of the band Midnight Special. "We can never really do enough to help these people. It's hard to get volunteers to do something like this. I love playing, and my band does, too." Dan Ward was another attendee who was unaware of the benefit until he and his 3-year-old daughter, Katy, passed by while driving downtown. Later that afternoon he stood next to the castle-shaped moonwalk while Katy jumped around inside. "Once my kid saw the 'bouncing castle,' we had to stop," he said. (Belt 2005b)

SCRC ON MULTIPLE LEVELS OF THE MARKETPLACE

As expected, SCRC occurs on micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of the DRA (P5).

SCRC on the Micro-Level

Micro-level SCRC occurs in the DRA's retail environments (e.g., stores, restaurants, coffee houses, and galleries) and public places (e.g., street corners, benches, vacant lots, parks, art center, senior center, library, and museum). As noted, SCRC of store level functions and activities includes promotional activities, assembly, demonstrations, display of merchandise, customer assistance and service, employee recruitment, store hours, gift wrapping, merchandise and service assortment, signage, store design and layout, and vendor relations. Micro-level SCRC in public places often involves political and cultural activity. Political activity includes protests, distribution of flyers, and demonstrations, e.g., two advocates of legalizing Hemp stand on a street corner on Sunday mornings and encourage drivers to "Honk for Hemp;" anti-chain store advocates display placards outside Gap; and protesters to save an old oak tree gather in a vacant lot. Cultural activities include some art displays, performances by music groups, street musicians, and others (e.g., puppeteers, clowns, and mimes). (In some instances, these activities are at the meso- and macro-level levels.) Other examples of micro-level SCRC, besides those cited in connection to P1-P4, are included below for added clarification.

R: We've had a lot of what we call 'Brits moments' when somebody runs into somebody they – we'll have a British person come in and they'll go 'Oh, are there very many other British people around here?' 'Oh, yeah, there's lots of them,' you know, and they'll be walking around the store and they'll – I'll overhear them– well, they'll start a conversation. 'Where are you from?' They might be neighbors back home. Or even between Americans just wanting to know some information and will ask a British person about that. You know, 'Do people wear tartans in Scotland? I'm going next month, what do I expect?' We've had people who have met and become friends and continue to correspond with each other because they've met in the store. (FN retailer, Mary 2001; assistance to customers)

During meetings of a modeling club (sponsored by a DRA retailer), members (who are customers of the store) take turns giving presentations and assist one another with projects. In one meeting, information was shared about a number of topics, including modeling techniques and history and details of the machines being made (WWII, aviation specs). Other information was not related to modeling (e.g., the Olympics, sports). Because my son and I were novices, much added basic information was directed to us in extremely helpful tones. ("Always clean the plastic – I use Dawn – so the paint will stick." "A clearcoat ensures the stickers won't curl up.") (FN modeling club 2004; assistance to customers)

About 100 people shuffled around a concrete floor and perused art pieces hung from chain-link fence material at Saturday's opening night for the fifth Lawrence Own-Your-Own Art Exhibition and Sale. Featuring 150 art works by 60 Douglas County artists, the show was on the first floor of the Hobbs Taylor Lofts, a new downtown residential development at 750 N.H. "It's a unique way to expose local art to people," said Scott McMichael, a show organizer. "Each year has its own personalized touch." McMichael is also the community development director at Bert Nash Community Mental Health Center. The center will benefit from 20 percent of the proceeds raised at the sale that runs through Oct. 2. The pieces will remain on sale throughout the week, as the first floor of the Hobbs Taylor Lofts will keep 10 a.m.-to-5 p.m. hours until the closing ceremony from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. on Oct. 2, McMichael said. The show typically raises between \$4,000 and \$5,000 for Bert Nash. (Diepenbrock 2005)

She told me she enjoys being a part of the downtown and adding "her little bit" by performing at open mic opportunities at the Bottleneck. She said she also some-

times participates in the Bottleneck's Trivia competition. She said that although she does not currently have a band, some bands perform at impromptu opportunities downtown. The Jazzhaus, for instance, offers open jam sessions. (FI, Bottleneck 2005; entertainment)

SCRC on the Meso-Level

There are multiple types of meso-level SCRC in the DRA. Often, retailers and consumers join together due to commonalities in establishments' locations (e.g., on block sides, side streets, and secondary thoroughfares), goods and service mixes (e.g., book-stores, bars, art galleries, coffee houses, and entertainment venues), threats or problems (e.g., due to discount merchants or chain stores, and disruptions (from a bicycle race, road closings, or fires), or interests (e.g., in charitable causes), or desires to leverage market opportunities (e.g., holiday season sales).

As noted in discussions of P1-P4, these alignments of merchants and consumers co-produce block parties, pep rallies, festivals, and store window paintings in sub-areas of the DRA (see Figure 32), cultural activities (e.g., an ArtWalk tour of studios, galleries, and other places with art, and Harvest of Arts displays of artists' works in DRA businesses), ceremonies (e.g., Chamber of Commerce Citizens of the Year Awards; Lawrence Arts Commission's Annual Phoenix Awards in musical, visual, performing, and literary arts, arts education, and arts volunteer work; and Langston Hughes Creative Writing Award that is co-produced by the Raven Bookstore and Lawrence Arts Center; charitable events and sales events for charities (e.g., pub crawls), political activity (e.g., petitions), help for merchants with stores damaged by fires (e.g., funds and equipment), and marketing and sales events (e.g., joint or coordinated promotions and holiday open houses).

Insert figure 32 about here West 9th Street storefronts

The following examples are from interviews and the media. In the first, a retailer describes how a group of main street merchants formed in the late 70's, due to a common concern about a proposed mall at the south end of town. The other examples touch on some of the previously noted kinds of meso-level SCRC.

"You'd look down the street, you would see one retailer starting sort of this march, head south and as they walked in front of stores, people would come out and join up until eventually you had a group of retailers who joined one another." He said retailers on the 700 and 800 block and part of the 900 blocks that they would as they began wandering, you would see a group begin to emerge and people would join in and eventually they would all go to have coffee at Drakes and other coffeehouses downtown . . . He does recall about a ten year period from 1979 to 1989 when he felt it did renew again. He said that he thought this was brought about by a threat to the downtown in the form of proposed mall that was to be developed in put into town. He said all of a sudden this closed knit group reformed very fast. (INT retailer, BILL 2005)

I: So who's involved in this block party [a promotional broadcast by the local radio station]?

R: Hannah's next door, us, and the radio station. (FI Lazer Block Party 2004; block party; advertising and promotion)

Gallery managers and owners said the local Art Walks downtown galleries take part in have done a lot to bring customers in to their stores. "So many galleries are coming together instead of working individually," Kivett said. The people of Lawrence must realize that the downtown art galleries are special, Schaefer said. "A professor of architecture from San Francisco came into the gallery and said, 'This Mass. Street is what everyone is trying to build prefab, and you guys already have it,'' Schaefer said. (Potter 2004; cultural activity)

Five other Lawrence hotels – the Lawrence Holidome, Holiday Inn Express, SpringHill Suites by Marriott, the Hampton Inn, and the Days Inn, have joined the Eldridge in sponsoring the first "Lawrence Cowboy Winter Gathering" Jan 17-18. The event will feature a Liberty Hall concert by The Sons of the San Joaquin and a trade show at the Lawrence Holidome with vendors selling items such as saddles, hats, clothing and western art. Phillips said organizers are hoping the event initially draws 3,000 to 4,000 visitors and ultimately will attract enough out-oftown visitors to fill the city's 1,200 hotel rooms. "Hotel managers have been meeting for quite awhile to try and come up with ideas to fill our slow times and our slow months, and January is definitely the industry's slowest month of the year here," Phillips said. But is Lawrence a cowtown? After all, most state residents would agree Lawrence's image and the image of, say, Dodge City aren't exactly the same. Phillips isn't concerned Lawrence's urban ways will sink the venture. He said Lawrence has plenty of old west history to share with people. Lawrence historian Steve Jansen will give a 15-minute history lesson at all of the events, telling people about Wild Bill Hickok's stays in Lawrence during the Civil War, Buffalo Bill Cody buying horses near Bismark Grove, and Lawrence visits by John Wayne, Gene Autry and Roy Rogers, who came to Lawrence for the world premiere of "Dark Command," a 1940 movie about Quantrill's raid. "I think people will be shocked by how much cowboy history we have here," Phillips said. (Lawhorn 2002b; cultural activity and sales event)

Roughly 500 people attended the [Lawrence Schools Foundation annual fundraiser, the Foundation Follies on Friday at Liberty Hall]. The event raised about \$25,000 for early-childhood education, teacher grants, leadership development, and student scholarships. (*Schools foundation names teacher of the year* 2006; charity event that is co-produced by the Lawrence Schools Foundation and approximately 1/3 of the retailers in the DRA)

The newspaper lists art exhibitions in local galleries and shops, many of which are in the DRA. The following exhibitions held in the DRA were listed for the week of July 10, 2006: ARTFRAMES, 912 Ill., Exhibit: Paintings by Paul Hotvedt and Lisa Grossman, and prints by the Prairie Print Makers, ongoing.

Diane's Artisan Gallery, 801 1/2 Mass., Exhibit: Jewelry by Cindy Jankovich and weaving by Diane Horning, ongoing.

Fields Gallery, 712 Mass., Exhibit: "Modular Series: Arrangements in Space," by Janet Satz, through July 21.

Lawrence Arts Center, 940 N.H., Exhibit: "Journey: Paintings, Prints and Installations by Jane Voorhees," through July 14.

Lawrence Public Library, 707 Vt., Exhibit: Willem Gebben, wood fired functional ceramics; Keith Lebezon, artists' brushes with character; and Melanie Ungvarsky, glass stone pendants, ongoing.

SilverWorks and More, 715 Mass., Exhibit: Kansas University graduates of the metalsmithing/jewelry department Jim Connelly, Ron Hinton and Fred Scott, on-going.

Southwest and More, 727 Mass., Exhibit: Susan McCarthy, oil pastels, ongoing. Topiary Tree, 716 Mass., Exhibit: Impressionist oil paintings by Joanie Whiteknight, ongoing.

Vermont Street BBQ, 728 Mass., Exhibit: "Kansas: Land, Water and Skyscapes," photography by D.W. Gates, ongoing.

Wheatfields Bakery and Cafe, 904 Vt., Exhibit: Mixed media by Toni Brou, through Aug. 6.

Z's Divine Espresso downtown, 10 E. Ninth, Exhibit: Carolyn Whitaker, portraits painted on mirrors, through July 31.

Zen Zero, 811 Mass., Exhibit: "On the Path Through the Craft," lattice sculptures and framing by Terry Miller, ongoing.

(Pulse calendar 2006; store deign and decoration; cultural activity)

SCRC on the Macro-Level

Macro-level SCRC involves a large and diffuse collectivity of marketers and/or consumers and most or all of the stores or area in the DRA. It encompasses co-production of aesthetic enhancements (e.g., sculptures, decorative banners, holiday lighting, building restoration and preservation, and historical atmosphere), ceremonies, charitable events, contests, cultural activities, festivals, holiday celebrations, and parades, amenities (e.g., parking, benches), and sales events. The following examples supplement the many types of macro-level SCRC that are noted in discussions of P1-4. An aerial view of the Band Day parade, which draws over 2000 participants and several thousand spectators each year, is in Figure 33. A photo of the 600 square foot U. S. flag carried by Heritage Baptist Church members in the 2004 Independence Day Parade is in Figure 34.

The Kansas Sculpture Assn., Bayer Stone Co., and the city of Lawrence are sponsoring the Kansas Stone Sculpture Symposium through Sunday at Burcham Park. Stone artists from around the area will display their work. At 10 a.m. Saturday, Elden Tefft will dedicate his statue, "Keepers of Our Universe" to the city of Lawrence. Tefft has been working on the statue since 1988 in what he calls a community carve. People with no requisite art experience from Lawrence and the surrounding area have come to the park to help him carve the statue. The statue has what Tefft calls an ecological theme, with satellite pieces inspired by the Kansas state song, "Home on the Range." (Artists to exhibit works 2002; aesthetic enhancement)

The Lawrence Visitors Bureau has planned and published three different historical self-guided tours through downtown Lawrence. The maps available at the Lawrence Visitors Center (the old train depot just north of the Mass. Street bridge: 865-4499) also come with all the information you will need to catch a piece of Lawrence history. The beginning and end of "Quantrill's Raid: The Lawrence Massacre" take place away from downtown, but stops two through 12 follow the raiders from South Park to the Eldridge Hotel, and across to Old West Lawrence. (Ritter 2002; cultural activity)

Downtown Lawrence merchants have a unique offering for customers and window shoppers -- a glimpse of the past. Downtown Lawrence Inc., a nonprofit group, has started a new project to highlight the area's history. The association last week began delivering small, framed posters to businesses that list every business that has been housed in their buildings from the late 1800s to the present. The group expects to produce posters for about 130 buildings, and businesses have agreed to display them in their front windows. Maria Martin, executive director of Downtown Lawrence Inc., said she and her husband, Don, have had a similar poster in their downtown shop, Southwest & More, 727 Mass., since 1998."It is still drawing interest from customers," Martin said. "They're always reading it and asking questions about it. We thought it would be a neat idea for

other businesses." Martin said she thought the posters would help educate downtown visitors. "It is a pretty colorful history," Martin said. "Lots of billiard halls and saloons. Plus, there are a lot of people who don't think of downtown as ever being a place that had auto dealerships. This reminds people that we used to have lots of them. It also reminds them that we had places to outfit your horse and carriage." Katie Fabac, a 2004 Free State High School graduate and an employee at Southwest & More, has done most of the research for the project. Fabac used files at Watkins Community Museum of History, past phone directories and discussions with current building owners to piece together the history. "It has been interesting to see how much downtown has changed," said Fabac, who plans on studying English philosophy and history at Wesleyan University in Connecticut. "I found a lot of places called millineries (women's hat stores). I didn't even know there was such a thing." Downtown business owners are excited about the project. Hayden Fowler, manager at The Buckle, 805 Mass., said customers frequently asked him about the history of the store's building. Fowler said he thought the project could spur regular walking tours of the downtown area. "I think ultimately anything that has to do with history in downtown will build business in downtown," Fowler said. Dave Seal, owner of Framewoods Gallery, 819 Mass., said the project played in well with the city's sesquicentennial celebration. He said he expected it to boost sales of history-related prints that his store sells. "I think it could help produce some impulse buying that people didn't plan on doing," Seal said. Downtown Lawrence Inc. officials expect to have the posters completed and

delivered to all businesses by the end of this month. (Lawhorn 2004a; aesthetics, cultural activity)

Thousands of people lined Massachusetts Street to see the [St. Patrick's Day] parade, which had a mix of fire trucks, policeman, people in scuba suits, a ship, miniature ponies, lowrider cars with hydraulics and Scottish bagpipers. Phil Bradley, chairman of the St. Patrick's Day Committee, said he thought at least 10,000 people thronged Massachusetts Street and Locust Street in North Lawrence to see the 15th annual parade. "It was huge this year," he said. "I think it was one of our most attended parades, if not the most attended parade." Proceeds from all this year's St. Patrick's Day activities, including the parade, will benefit the Infant-Toddler Coordinating Council. The Sandbar, 117 E. Eighth St., was a repeat winner for best commercial float. (Merkel-Hess 2001b; parade, holiday celebration, charity event, contest)

Local youths turned Lawrence's downtown into a spooky shopping area Saturday as part of the city's 23rd annual Halloween Paint-In. Fifty-two painters participated in the activity, which was sponsored by the Lawrence Parks and Recreation Department and the Breakfast Optimist Club. The window paintings will be on display through Halloween, said Lee Ice, the city's special events director. Winners in the contest will be given plaques Nov. 10 at a Breakfast Optimist Club meeting at the Lawrence Holidome, 200 McDonald Dr. (Downtown windows painted 1992; aesthetics, holiday celebration, contest)

(T)he 22nd Annual Fall Arts and Crafts Festival [will be held] in South Park, 11th and Massachusetts streets. From 8,000 to 10,000 people are expected to visit the fall festival, according to Duane Peterson, special events coordinator for Lawrence Parks and Recreation. A new event is the Mass. Street Mile Run, which will challenge participants to run from South Park to Francis Sporting Goods, 731 Mass., and then back to the park. Age divisions range from 5 to 70, and winners in each age category will receive awards. Entry fee is \$11 for children and \$13 for adults. Registration begins at 8 a.m., with the race starting at 10 a.m. In addition to the arts and crafts fair, other events include: I Children's events -- train rides, 10 a.m.-5 p.m., \$1; wading pool, ages 6 and under accompanied by an adult, 1 p.m.-4 p.m., free; paint and play pen, 1 p.m.-4 p.m., free. 1 Mass. Street Mile Run -- registration at 8 a.m., run at 10 a.m., \$11 for children and \$13 for adults. I Musical entertainment -- Billy Spears Band, noon; Lonesome Hobo's, 1 p.m.; Lonnie Ray's Blues Band, 2 p.m.; Paul Gray Gaslite Gang, 3 p.m.; Key West Jazz Quartet, 4 p.m. (Biles 2001; cultural activity, contest, festival)

One of Phil Bradley's favorite community events every year is the Lawrence Old-Fashioned Christmas Parade. "It's good, clean, fun entertainment. It gets you in the mood for the Christmas season, it gets the family together, and you get to see the joy on the children's faces," said Bradley, who lives just outside Lawrence and serves on the planning committee for the 12th annual parade, which will be Dec. 3 in downtown Lawrence. The event — founded in 1993 by Rob Phillips, former owner of the Eldridge Hotel — features only horse-drawn entries and riding groups in coordinated costumes. Last year's parade offered the spectacle of more than 250 horses, including 90 horse-drawn wagons and carriages, moving down Massachusetts Street. Entrants typically come from across Kansas, as well as Missouri and Iowa, to participate. (Baker 2005b; holiday celebration, parade)

About 2,200 high school marching band members from Kansas and Missouri are expected Saturday in Lawrence as part of Kansas University's 58th Band Day festivities.... The parade will march down Massachusetts Street from Seventh Street to South Park. (Diepenbrock 2005b; parade)

She said that she tried to participate in committees, as a DLI member. This year she was on the beautification committee, which created a proposal on how to use plants to beautify the DRA. The key idea was that these plantings be enjoyable for about 9 months of the year, rather than just the summer. She went to meetings of the committee and the city commission in which the proposal was discussed. She was amazed when the city committed \$90,000. (FN, retailer, Patricia 2006; facilities and amenities)

They love the ground they walk on and the air they breathe, and Lawrence residents will prove that next week as they participate in numerous activities leading up to the April 22 Earth Day celebration. This year's celebration will feature panel discussions, documentary films and other environmental programs before the climactic downtown parade and festival in South Park. "It's amazing how the Lawrence community reacts to Earth Day," said Diana Sjogren, a waste reduction and recycling specialist for the City of Lawrence. "There are many organizations coming out with a lot of great activities," she said. Those activities start Tuesday and continue daily until April 22 with the Earth Day parade. The parade will begin at 11 a.m. at Seventh and Massachusetts streets and go south to South Park. As many as 200 floats and other entries — with an environmental theme — are expected, Sjogren said. A variety of bands will perform during the afternoon at the park, where there will be children's games. An educational program and demonstration will include a water festival and related hands-on activities, Sjogren said. (Belt 2006b; celebration, parade)

The [sidewalk] sale includes participation of 75 to 100 downtown merchants, many of whom place their wares at reduced prices on the sidewalks in front of their stores. In addition, about 25 nonprofit organizations will be selling concessions for hungry and thirsty shoppers in the downtown area, Blair said. The sale will be held on Massachusetts Street, roughly between Sixth and 11th streets, and along several side streets, she said. (Dekker 1995; sales event)

Insert figures 33 and 34 about here Aerial view of Band Day parade, flag in Independence Day Parade

BENEFITS OF SCRC ON MULTIPLE LEVELS OF THE MARKETPLACE

As anticipated, SCRC creates benefits on micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of the

DRA (P6). Eight categories of benefits were identified via the approach described in

Chapter 2. The benefits that retailers and/ or consumers receive are:

- access to employment/employees;
- access to markets;
- access to information (i.e., broader sources of information and more efficient and timely information diffusion);
- sympathetic treatment/ moral and material support;
- organizational learning/ skill development/ innovation;
- resource exchange; and
- certification of social credentials/ reinforcement of identity and recognition.

This is a smaller set of categories of benefits than exists in the diverse literature on SC, due, in part, to matters of context, terminology, redundancy, and conceptual distinction. As noted in Chapter 1, scholars studying SC work in other contexts than a DRA. They also use varied terms with partially overlapping meanings to refer to the same or related benefits. Moreover, they typically do not distinguish between benefits and more general consequences (which are discussed in connection with P7).

Access to Employment/Employees

SCRC provides employment for consumers and employees for merchants. In interviews, retailers note that many DRA merchants share information on former employees and rely on customers and employees suggestions rather than advertise for help. This occurs at both the micro- and meso-levels.

He said that he had not advertised for help in many years. Many of his sales clerks were University of Kansas students, who recommended one of their sorority sisters as replacements when they graduated or left the store. (FI retailer, Mike 2005)

She said that all employees Liberty Hall have the same social network. It may be natural; they share many of the same interests. But to work there, you generally have to know someone. They're all friends. (FI customer, Allie 2006)

Bar employees help one another get hired downtown. For example, if someone gets fired at one downtown bar, an employee of another bar will go to their boss and give him the inside story, and say, "you know, he got a raw deal." And then that bar will hire the other bar's fired employee. (FI bar patron, Brad 2006)

There is no evidence of access to employment/employees benefits at the macrolevel. Macro-level SCRC initiatives on employment may be unsuccessful because they seem unworkable, as this retailer's reaction to idea of a DRA temp service suggests.

The customer began describe her friend's scheme to the retailer. It involved providing temp services to the downtown community. The employees would "specialize" in working in downtown retail establishments. The storeowner seemed relatively unenthused, pointing out many differences that exist among downtown retailers in terms of practices and policies. (FN, Savannah, 2001)

Access to Markets

On the micro-level, retailers note that in many cases consumers and other DRA retailers introduce them to new customers or new sales venues (e.g., out-of-town festivals). Moreover, many DRA shops, restaurants, and coffee houses give consumers access to markets by displaying their artwork and crafts. These are a few examples.

We've started going to an international festival at Washburn University [an area school]. One of our customers was a student there and thought it would be a good fit. (FI retailer, Mary 2006)

Wheatfields' walls are booked through December 2000. "Artists do well here," she said. "The last exhibit here led to three sales, which is a lot. And, unlike a gallery, the artist gets 100 percent of the proceeds -- that's important if you're an art-ist." (Ranney 1999)

The shop's window was filled with locally made products and a sign encouraging consumers to "purchase locally made goods this holiday season." (FN 12/2005)

Four Kansas University students will deliver a night of performance art from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. Thursday at Olive Gallery and Art Supply, 15 E. Eighth St. Amber Renee McIntosh will open the show with her piece "w.t." at 7 p.m. Jason Barnes will follow with "Peanuts" at 7:30 p.m. Mark Hurst will take the stage at 8 p.m., and Bradford Kessler will close the evening with his fifth performance at the gallery. The event is free and open to public. (*Art notes* 2004)

Many downtown stores, coffee houses, and restaurants carry pastries, breads, and other baked goods produced by other DRA retailers. For example, Wheatfield's bread and Milton's pastries can be purchased in at least four other shops downtown, including Henry's and V's coffee houses. (FN, downtown shopping, 2005)

"Did you hear Painted Lady on west 8th street may be going out of business," she asked. Au Marche is displaying her flower arrangements to help her get a little additional visibility. "Why is Au Marche doing that?" I asked. "Well, I like to think we all like to help each other," she responded. (FN retailer, Marge 2006)

On the meso- level, retailers who co-produce sales events (e.g., a joint holiday open house), festivals (e.g., the Festival of Cultures), and pep rallies (such as one organized by the East 8th Street merchants) get access to a broadened customer base. Moreover, other meso-level activities such as pub crawls, art walks, and wine and cheese charity events encourage consumers to visit businesses they might not normally patronize and retailers to display art work by individuals who are not their customers.

I asked a young woman whose young daughter had a red balloon tied to her wrist why so many people had red balloons. She said, "Oh, it's the Red Balloon To Do. My friend Karen helps arrange it, if you want more information. It's sort of a gallery crawl. You go to all the participating stores and view art, but there're also poetry, dance, and video displays." (FI consumer, Pam and daughter 2005)

She said the three stores were jointly making gift baskets as a cross-promotion. By displaying them in each store, they hoped to lead customers to visit the other two merchants and to gain new customers themselves. (FI retailer, Pam 2005)

On the macro-level, SCRC expands access to markets for most (if not all) DRA retailers including those that do not take part in area activities, events, and promotional efforts or the DLI. Macro-level SCRC enhances the DRA's visibility and patronage. It brings local consumers downtown (e.g., Halloween Trick-or-Treating), attracts people from the outlying region (e.g., the Sidewalk Sale, Old Fashioned Christmas Parade, and Fall Arts and Crafts Festival described below), and draws national attention to the DRA (e.g., the National Bicycling Championship race in the second news item).

Today's Fall Arts and Crafts Festival is just one of many activities in Lawrence's busy downtown. The best thing about Downtown Lawrence is that there is always something to do. Today, the special event is the 19th annual Fall Arts and Crafts Fair, which will bring 150 to 160 exhibitors to South Park. Duane Peterson, of the city's park and recreation department, said the crafts for sale are all hand-made pieces. In addition to the crafts, there will be plenty of food vendors selling barbecued meats, kettle popcorn, turkey legs and more. The fair runs from 10 a.m.-5 p.m. ``It's an event for the entire family to enjoy," Peterson said. ``There's something there for everyone. This fair draws 10,000 to 11,000 people to Lawrence." Children won't want to miss the train rides, moon walk, make-your-own crafts station, or the Wind Wizards' kite demonstration. Peterson said if the weather is nice, the wading pool will be open for the public to enjoy. (Cassell 1998)

Portions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont streets and closed for about seven hours -- from 8 a.m. to 3:15 p.m. -- Friday. The trafficway will be closed from U.S. Highway 40 to Iowa Street from 6:30 a.m. to about 11 a.m. Sunday. The downtown cycling competition likely will be the best for spectators, Sanner said. "I think it will be the most exciting," he said. "We'll probably have 120 participants at one time just tearing down Massachusetts Street going 30 to 35 mph at the same time. Plus, the setting being downtown with the buildings and the landscape -- I just think it's going to be a unique situation." The downtown street closings prompted concern among some business owners. In an effort to mollify them, downtown parking will be free Friday. Additionally, all rides on Lawrence Transit buses will be free Friday and Saturday to help alleviate traffic congestion and difficulties with parking, and perhaps lure more shoppers downtown. Some downtown merchants hope the race will at least be a draw. "Usually when you have a spectacle like this, it usually brings people out," said Jeremy Cain, who works at Hobbs, 700 Mass. "During parades, people find places to park. So I imagine people will find a way to get down here and enjoy themselves." (Henrikson 2005)

Access to Information

Retailers benefit from SCRC by gaining access to information sources, timely tips on opportunities, and other valuable information. There are many examples of expanded sources of information on the micro-level including the following cases.

One of our neighbors [another retailer] told us we should look at the State of Kansas' website at accesskansas.org. The state keeps a database of businesses owned by women and helps Kansas businesses network. They also offer some marketing grants. (INT retailer, Charlene 2005)

Our customers led us to use student groups from the university in our strategic planning and IT work.... [W]e learned a lot about weaknesses in our business practices.... (INT retailer, Peggy 2001)

Another retailer suggested we work with the SBDC guy [the director of the Small Business Development Center] on our marketing plan. (INT retailer, Pat 2005)

We weren't sure how to collect on a bad check, so we asked another retailer down the block. She showed us how to use the district attorney's office's website. So now we know! (INT retailer, Edward 2005)

Moreover, merchants give one another information on products and services they may need such as store awnings, marketing help, accounting, printing, graphic design, and window lettering. Informants also suggest that they learn about opportunities that they might have missed from retailers. For example, merchants report that others give them tips on DRA store spaces for rent which allows them to contact landlords about these scarce vacancies before they are advertised. They also get information on competitors' activities. Some of these matters are noted in the following examples.

I can't tell you how many times I've run into another retailer at Milton's or Wheatfield's and they've told me about some opportunity I would otherwise have missed. That's one of the main reasons I make time to pop out for coffee. You lock yourself in your store, and you miss out on what is going on immediately around you. (FI retailer, Julie 2005)

Guess what? Sarah Fayman just called! She's renovating two side-by-side buildings and would like Brits and Au Marche to consider renting the spaces. She said she wanted two blue ribbon businesses to occupy the space! (EMAIL retailer, Mary 2001) (The owners of Brits and Au Marche developed a relationship with Sarah Fayman through joint participation on DLI committees. Eventually, they moved into the Fayman properties and enjoy very favorable rental agreements.)

It is very common for customers and other retailers to tell us about potential competitors. Sometimes they tell us what Target is carrying that we also carry; other times, they'll tell us about similar stores in other towns. It's nice to have several dozen other pairs of eyes out there at any given time! (INT retailer, Mike 2004) Meso-level SCRC also provides retailers with information sources and timely information. For example, those who work with other merchants on their block (on block parties, decorations, joint marketing programs, etc.) indicate that they begin to share information more widely and get and give each other information sooner. They also learn about landlords, shoplifters, city road projects, and employees and get tips on future store rental vacancies, and new merchandise, supplies, and vendors. Similarly, bar owners report that, through SCRC (e.g., clean-up projects and pub crawls), they create on-going ties with one another, share ideas on their business, and learn about complaints, proposed local ordinances, and other potential threats sooner. Artists and musicians also note (and observations confirm) that they develop more diversified information sources and learn about matters of concern sooner due to their joint activities with retailers.

On the macro-level, SCRC offers retailers access to information via a large set of potential contacts and opportunities to network. For instance, DLI participants receive information that is typically not available to others and they receive it in a timelier manner. They get advance notice of future events, activities, road closings and repairs, policy changes, and marketing opportunities (which was particularly apparent in the case of the bike race). I went to many DLI meetings in which timely topics were discussed, e.g., initiatives on the DRA's homeless population, library expansion, and parking.

The following examples indicate how macro-level SCRC increases access to information in these and others ways.

Downtown Lawrence Inc. continued its promotion efforts Wednesday evening at its annual meeting and barbecue in South Park. Maria Martin, co-director of Downtown Lawrence Inc., said the nonprofit organization was advertising the area as the "Heart of the City." Melodie Christal, co-director of Downtown Lawrence Inc., and Martin have been working to promote the downtown area as a "destination place" since the beginning of the year. "Our advertisements really have been an effort to invite people to visit, shop and eat downtown," Martin said. "We want it to become people's central meeting place." About 80 people attended Downtown Lawrence's annual barbecue, which mainly serves as an event for members to socialize and network. (Lawhorn 2002a)

Downtown Lawrence Inc. will have its annual meeting Monday at Liberty Hall, 642 Mass. . . . Dennis Enslinger, the city's historic resources administrator, will speak about downtown revitalization guidelines. Following Enslinger's remarks, Paul Friedman, Kansas University associate professor of communications, will speak. (*Downtown Lawrence to have annual meeting* 1999)

DLI does sometimes provide helpful information. For example, they'll bring in people to talk to us about issues that are important. Once, a guy from the city talked about downtown historic preservation. Another time, someone from the hospital talked to us about health issues, actually. (FN regular DLI meeting 2006)

Sympathetic Treatment/ Moral and Material Support

On the micro-level, retailers and consumers extend sympathetic treatment in many ways. As evident in these excerpts, many of them indicate preferences for stores in (versus stores outside) the DRA, particularly if they are locally owned and offer locally made goods. DRA merchants make apparent local preferences by displaying works by local artists.

We always present other [downtown] stores favorably. It doesn't help me at all to say anything negative so even, here's a good example. There's a cheese shop down the street, one block away. We're out of something, we send them customers all the time, and it happens vice versa. (INT retailer, Nicola 2003)

I never gave much thought about [the competitive environment of] bookstores [until] Borders came into town, but now, I've been making a special effort, and I don't buy a whole lot of books, but when I do, I've been making a special effort to go to the Raven [a small, locally owned bookstore]. (INT retailer, Julie 2002)

I don't like chain restaurants. So, I like to go to the Brewery or Paradise, um, and, the Latin American – La Paria – and stuff, and I really don't like the idea of chain stores downtown. (INT customer, Alexandra 2001)

Typically, consumers who see themselves as DRA supporters treat merchants sympathetically, via patronage and small purchases that they might not otherwise make.

I know my friend, Sally [last name withheld], will go – she'll go out of her way – she doesn't have a car and so she'll stay at the very local level and she'll go pur-

posely even if she pays a dollar or two more but because she doesn't have a car, she doesn't have the expense of a car, she can put her money into supporting the downtown merchants. (INT customer, Alexandra 2001)

I usually feel guilty so I buy some small thing, like a card. She doesn't have a really good selection of cards but I like to pick up something. (INT customer, Helen 2002)

I: You made a statement in here that sometimes you're at Brits and you think,"What could I buy here to support them?"

R: Um hmm.

I: Brits is a small business. Now Lawrence has had other businesses come and go and not necessarily small businesses, if you recall that clothing store that was where Sears is now, the $\frac{1}{2}$ Price Store

R: Yeah!

I: And there was a time during which Kmart looked really threatened by Wal-Mart and Target. Do you ever have that same sense in a discount center? Do you ever shop at Kmart instead of Wal-Mart because you worry about [Kmart's] future?

R: No. (INT customer, Alexandra 2001)

News accounts, interviews, and field observations also indicate that retailers and consumers receive moral and material support from one another in situations involving disasters (e.g., a fire), a shared sense of loss (e.g., the death of Princess Diana), and artistic and creative matters. These following examples concern these types of situations.

Magerl, who also owns Free State Brewing Company, said he still feels ill when he hears fire engines coming down Vermont. He said he's happy the community has helped to ease the burden of rebuilding a popular business from scratch. "That sense of small town caring and support is easy to lose sight of," Magerl said. "It's wonderful to see that spirit here." (Meagher 2000)

There were also grateful . . . for the many people who stopped to lend comfort and encouragement. "I'll watch your children. I'll wash your clothes," said Amy Laughlin, owner of Second Chance Children's Clothing, 15 W. Ninth, of the offers she received. "It's incredible. I can't even put words to it." (Meagher 2000) Au Marche, 19 W. Ninth, lost more than 75 percent of its inventory and had to clean and replace much of its shelves and carpet, owner Lora Duguid said. It reopened after three weeks, in part due to community support. "It was really neat, because the day after the fire, I started getting messages and e-mails from customers offering to help," Duguid said. "It's almost seeming better than before." (Meagher 2000)

An informal gathering to honor the memory of Princess Diana will be held Friday night at a Lawrence park. . . The Brits Store, 732 Mass., . . . [has] reserved the South Park bandstand from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. Friday night for the gathering. "What we're going to do is to have a condolences book available. . . . Several of the local British people are going to make a few comments. It's going to be very informal." [The store will] continue to accept donations for another week to be sent to one of Diana's favorite charities, the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children in London. (Local Diana memorial planned 1997)

I photographed displays throughout the store that offered information about local artists and musicians. (FN 2001)

Retailers mention many ways in which merchants aid one another by helping with vendors and suppliers. In some cases, another merchant helps resolve a retailer's conflicts with a sales representative who does business with both of them. Merchants also help each other with shipments from trucking firms, UPS, Federal Express, and USPS. This is a significant matter to DRA retailers, particularly smaller ones. They have problems with deliveries. Their stores typically lack docks and sufficient personnel to unload shipments and they open after other business in the city (usually at 10:00 a.m.). If delivery persons have repeated difficulties with these retailers' shipments, they may bypass them to complete routes to larger cities or return the goods to the sender. Such re-routing can delay shipments that merchants need for weekend sales. To facilitate relations with delivery firms, DRA retailers accept and store one another's packages, assist with unloading (as noted in the following email), and pay for one another's C.O.D. shipments.

Just as I was walking up to the door of Au Marche, here comes our big Antler truck (a refrigerated trucking company that brings us pallets of food). . . . Well,

the minute the truck got here, Au Marche was swarmed with people. There were 67 cases on the Antler truck. I had the time to unload 10 cases, more customers came and the truck driver was not very helpful and he was getting a little antsy. On this particular order, there were 3 cases for [merchant's name withheld]. So, I called Katie [Wheatfield's store manager] . . . and told her the Antler truck was here. She came over, with 2 [merchant's name withheld] employees in tow, and the three of them unloaded the remaining 57 cases! (EMAIL retailer, Nicola 2002)

Informants also stress that the DRA community supports retailers when there is illness or a loss in the family. For instance, when a retailer (who was active in joint retail efforts) was killed in a car accident, other retailers offered to help his widow to staff the store and to sell the business. Similarly, a key informant reports that retailers and consumers offered her many kinds of help when she contracted ovarian cancer.

SCRC on various levels also contributes to a social climate of sympathetic treatment on the meso-level that benefits some sub-sets of stores. For example, many retailers and consumers comment that they prefer local coffee houses and will not patronize Starbucks. One retailer reports that she does not allow employees to drink from Starbucks' cups while working. Another reports that she was unwilling to use or distribute Starbuck's gift certificates that a customer gave her. In addition, some informants indicate that retailers in some parts of the DRA receive favored treatment from city officials (as noted in the following excerpt) due to the status of their prominent store locations. City officials and representatives of the Downtown Lawrence business organization will meet to determine the best, least time-consuming way to repair three blocks of Massachusetts Street. At its meeting Tuesday, the Lawrence City Commission directed city officials to work with Downtown Lawrence representatives to develop a specific proposal for the project. (Dekker 1991a)

Meso-level SCRC also leads to moral and material support. For instance, the DLI and merchants on Massachusetts Street (the main thoroughfare) support merchants on side streets, by providing them with display and sales space in front of their stores during the Sidewalk Sale. In addition, the plight of DRA bar owners negatively affected by the proposed smoking ban was publicized, in part, due to the bar owners' petition drive. The first news item concerns bars owners; the others highlight support for retailers after a fire.

Dave Boulter is feeling a little picked on by City Hall. He owns Henry's, a combination coffee shop and bar on Eighth Street, one of the few coffee shops in town that allows smoking. But the Lawrence City Commission is talking about cracking down on the growth of downtown drinking establishments. And in a separate development that causes bar owners equal alarm, the commission later this month will discuss the possibility of a smoking ban in public places in the city. "It's hard enough to run a business without having difficulties with the city," Boulter said. Judging by the turnout last week at a gathering of more than two dozen bar and restaurant owners worried about the possibility of a smoking ban, Boulter's not alone in his feelings. "A number of guys have lost sleep over these issues," Boulter said. "These guys feel the city could come in at any moment and shut down our business." City officials say, however, that their aim isn't to harass bar owners. "The interest in protecting downtown ... coincidentally happens to be coming at the same time we're getting the smoking task force report," Commissioner David Schauner said. (Mathis 2004a)

More than two months after a fire destroyed a 100-year-old downtown warehouse, the last business affected by the afternoon blaze is preparing to reopen. The six businesses along the corner of Ninth and Vermont have recovered to varying degrees, but all believe the support of customers and the community have turned a tragedy into a rebirth. (Meagher 2000)

[Downtown retailer] Magerl said the sympathy and advice of downtown business owners [following the fire in his store] has helped ease the [recovery] process. Some, such as Milton's and the Community Mercantile, donated food to workers remodeling the bakery. "There's been wonderful support," Magerl said. "We've had some sense of empathy from businesses that have suffered similar incidents, like Sunflower. I think if there's a positive, it is just the response from other businesses that have come through in ways they didn't have to." (Meagher 2000)

On the macro-level, informants (such as the one quoted below) and the media often note that DRA retailers receive sympathetic treatment. As discussed, consumers indicate that they make fewer demands on DRA merchants and expect fewer services and somewhat higher prices from them. They indicate that they favor them, in part, due to their efforts enhance the community with parades, festivals, holiday celebrations, etc. You know, I would have to say from my own experience that [DRA customers] are all a little bit better behaved to the retailers downtown than we would be if we went to like Kohls. If I'm at Kohls and because I know they're a multinational corporation and if I get a piece of something there and it's substandard, I will not hesitate to complain. I feel perfectly justified in my complaining to the manager or whoever and you know if I feel like they've advertised a sale and they're not following through of if particular prices aren't marked down like they say they should be I guess maybe I'm just more aware of that when I'm at Kohls. When I'm downtown, I'm more inclined to give the retailers the benefit of the doubt in terms of you know well this is a mom and pop shop. These guys aren't backed by, well, some of the stores are like the Gap, well ok, I'd be a little more careful, I'd be more on them at the Gap, but I'm more likely to give the retailer the benefit of the doubt downtown. (INT customer, Connie 2005)

Arguably, the moral and material support the DRA receives from consumers, consumer groups, and public officials is among the greatest benefits of SCRC. Commercial development in other parts of the city is often limited by concerns over effects on the DRA. The city also gives substantial funding for DRA maintenance and improvements.

The Downtown Lawrence business organization is asking its members to contribute funds for Chapman, whose business was not insured. Andy Ramirez, newly elected Downtown Lawrence president, said anyone wishing to contribute funds may contact the Downtown Lawrence business office, 729 Mass, at 842-3883. Ramirez also said the Downtown Lawrence organization has established a fund for The Chapman at the First National Bank of Lawrence, Ninth and Massachusetts. At its monthly meeting Tuesday, the Downtown Lawrence board of directors discussed ways to help downtown businesses that were affected by the Dec. 24 fire. (Anderson and Dekker 1991)

A proposed commercial development policy would lead to a South Iowa Streetstyle shopping corridor on far West Sixth Street and kill downtown, two groups warned Lawrence city commissioners Tuesday. The Lawrence Association of Neighborhoods and League of Women Voters said they opposed a provision in the policy that de-emphasizes downtown's role as the "primary" regional shopping center in the city. And they objected to provisions they said would create a South Iowa-type shopping corridor on West Sixth Street between Wakarusa Drive and the South Lawrence Trafficway. Such a district also would hurt downtown, opponents said. "Our downtown has already suffered from competition with businesses on South Iowa," said Jeanne Klein, representing the association. "Another de facto regional commercial center will kill it outright." Commissioners delayed a decision on adopting the new commercial chapter of Horizon 2020, the citycounty planning guide. They said they would take a closer look at the document in a future study session. "This may be one of the most important issues this commission faces with respect to the city's development future," Commissioner David Schauner said. (Mathis 2003b)

Taxes collected from stays in local hotels could soon go toward buying new banners promoting Lawrence events. Commissioners informally endorsed spending up to \$12,400 this year for banners touting the Sunflower State Games, Big Blue Weekends and the annual Festival of Poinsettias. ``These are an investment in the tourism industry," said Judy Billings, director of the Lawrence Convention & Visitors Bureau. To buy the banners, which would be displayed downtown and possibly across the Kansas River bridges, commissioners could tap into a reserve account financed by the city's transient guest tax, a 4 percent tax tacked onto rental fees for local hotels. Other projects endorsed Tuesday: Hiring a consultant to devise a ``strategic tourism plan for Lawrence" (\$25,000); install new directional signs in town (\$15,000); and create touch-screen ``kiosks" at the city and Kansas University visitors centers. The city's reserve fund currently has only \$39,000, meaning that all the projects won't get financed right away. (*Downtown to score new banners* 1998)

Worried that downtown Lawrence real estate is becoming so pricey that deeppocketed national franchises will crowd out the "mom and pop" businesses, city commissioners Wednesday told city staffers to look for ways to keep the chain stores at bay. "We may be on the verge of (downtown) losing its uniqueness to franchise operations," said City Commissioner David Schauner. Property values downtown keep going up, swelling the city's tax coffers. But those taxes are particularly burdensome on the type of local businesses that make downtown Lawrence unique, Schauner said. "We don't have another venue that is as closely associated with what people think of as Lawrence as downtown," he said. (Golimowski 2003)

Parking and bus rides in Lawrence will be free May 13, officials said Friday, part of an attempt to calm fears that downtown businesses would be hurt by temporary street closings for a national bicycle race. "I think it would certainly make it more attractive to come downtown," City Manager Mike Wildgen said. "If 25 cents (for parking) is a deterrent, we don't want it to be a deterrent for a day." (Mathis 2005b)

City commissioners Tuesday unanimously agreed to allocate \$90,000 to a downtown beautification plan. Commissioners told staff to move ahead with a new planting strategy designed to ensure that downtown planters are full of colorful plants during more months of the year. The plan includes the hiring of a new fulltime maintenance person to care for downtown plants, along with several parttime employees who would be responsible for weeding and watering. (Lawhorn 2006a)

Martin [co-director of DLI] said the goal to establish downtown as a destination place had spurred several smaller projects, including a downtown beautification effort. Members of the association, which includes about 150 businesses, started the effort Monday by gathering with city officials to plant 338 mums in planters that line Massachusetts Street between Sixth and 11th streets. "Given the right weather conditions, all of downtown should soon be in bloom," Martin said. Martin said the goal of the project was twofold. She said by having high-profile city officials, such as City Manager Mike Wildgen, volunteer to help with the plantings, the program was an "out-front sign" of the partnership between the city and downtown businesses [italics added]. She also said the project did a good job of helping preserve what downtown already had. "Downtown is very attractive now, and that is something we don't want to lose," Martin said. "Working on a beautification project is something all of our members can take part in because everybody has a sense of pride about how downtown looks." The beautification effort will continue with a "Sweep Downtown Clean" project from 7 a.m. to 10 a.m. Oct. 5. Martin said Downtown Lawrence members would gather to sweep sidewalks and pick up trash on Massachusetts, Vermont and New Hampshire streets. (Lawhorn 2002a)

Organizational Learning/ Skill Development// Innovation

On the micro-level, a number of retailers who take part in DLI activities report that they help one another adopt new technologies or improve operations. For instance, they advise one another on ecommerce (e.g., on creating web pages, databases, and shipping policies for internet customers) and on the advantages and uses of different point-of-sale systems (POSs). They also sell used POSs to other retailers at reduced prices. Moreover, as highlighted in the following excerpt, in some cases they share ideas on "going to market" and the benefits of various markets (e.g., goods offered at Atlanta versus Dallas). There is another retailer that sells women's clothing that I have been a customer of hers for a number of years. When I was getting to go to the wholesale market, she gave me quite a few pointers on how to buy merchandise and which markets were good to go to and some general advice and offered to let me call her if I need to ask her any questions regarding the retail market to let her know. She is a downtown merchant and she would like to see us do well. (INT retailer, Ruth 2005)

Our web page was actually the work of several customers. One customer started it back in 1995. He ran out of time to work on it, so another one picked it up. Now we have a web developer, but even he was a customer of ours! We have had so much success on the web that I try to encourage other stores to do this, too. It's a lot of work, but it can be the difference between breaking even and operating in the red. (INT Beth, 2005)

On the meso-level, retail informants indicate that they receive advice and help on varied matters as a result of joint activities among retailers, retailers and consumers, and among consumers. The matters include marketing, sales and growth strategies, network resources, customer relations, and business management. As discussed, actors involved in meso-level SCRC often have shared problems, concerns, and opportunities due to their geographic proximity and common interests, values, and/or goals

On the macro-level, the DLI contributes to learning, skill development, and innovation. It conducts independent research for members' use, develops joint promotional activities based on their suggestions, and offers instruction and training at DLI meetings. The Downtown Lawrence board of directors today approved a \$39,500 budget for 1990 and reviewed initial plans to survey all downtown business owners on a variety of issues. Board members, who met at the Elizabeth M. Watkins Community Museum, said the survey could be mailed or hand-delivered to downtown business owners in February. They said the survey would provide a look at how business owners feel on issues ranging from uniform business hours to eliminating free parking during the holiday season. "We don't really know how downtown feels on a lot of these issues," said Vickie Randle, senior vice president of the First National Bank of Lawrence. "This survey should help us cover everybody's opinion," she said. (Dekker 1990b)

Saturday is the deadline for downtown merchants to take advantage of the city's soon-to-be-completed locator map, which could steer Lawrence Riverfront Plaza shoppers toward other downtown businesses. About 140 businesses have signed up to be included on the illuminated, color-coded map, which sits at the River-front Plaza's main entrance at Sixth and New Hampshire. About 50 additional businesses are expected to sign up before the deadline. The annual cost to be included on the locator map is \$20. The city of Lawrence paid Art and Sign Graphics Corp., 619 Vt., \$2,500 to construct the 4-sided locator sign, which stands about six feet high. The Downtown Lawrence business organization is selling spaces on the sign. The sign has two color-coded maps of downtown Lawrence. The other two sides will contain directories with numbers that will correspond to listed businesses. Once Saturday's deadline has passed, downtown merchants who

have not contacted Downtown Lawrence may have to wait a year before they can be listed on the sign. The organization has an agreement with the city to lease the sign for one year with the option to continue leasing for another nine years. If the locator map generates enough interest from downtown merchants, the money earned will go to construct additional maps in other downtown locations. In conjunction with the sign, Downtown Lawrence also is publishing a brochure with a map of downtown and bits of Lawrence history. The brochure will appear in slots on the locator map and in various downtown businesses. Merchants located in the downtown district are encouraged to contact Laura Schulte at the Downtown Lawrence office, 729 Mass. (*Deadline nears* 1990)

A local sign company has been chosen to come up with a plan for new signs to help downtown visitors find existing parking spaces. Commissioners agreed to hire Art & Sign Inc., 615 Vt., to come up with a ``cohesive identity" for public parking in downtown Lawrence. Contract cost: \$7,900. Work will start with research and planning and will lead to a concept that includes developing a new sign system. A campaign to heighten parking awareness among downtown employees, store operators and shoppers also would be part of the contract. Actual application of the plans would be accomplished through a separate contract. Creating a new parking identity was one of several recommendations presented to commissioners by Lawrence Chamber of Commerce's Downtown Parking Task Force. (*New parking signs coming* 1998) Communication and teamwork will be the focus of Downtown Lawrence Inc.'s annual meeting at 5:30 p.m. Monday at Liberty Hall, 644 Mass. Paul Friedman, an associate professor of communication studies at Kansas University, will present the program, "Together We're Better: Improving Teamwork Within and Between Businesses." (*Faces and places* 1999)

There are also macro-level other initiatives that are designed to help retailers innovate. For example, the local paper launched a website to encourage DRA retailers to jointly maintain a web presence. Many did so, but sales did not reach the desired level, the person in charge left for another job, and the initiative was short-lived. Recently, a private firm began a similar project to attract DRA retailers. Its statement reads: "Town-ShopsOnline.com's mission is to provide an ecommerce marketplace for small business districts, providing small business with cost-effective ecommerce and marketing solutions." The project is in the developmental stage and has not been presented to the DLI.

Resource Exchange

SCRC facilitates on-going exchanges of resources among retailers (besides those that they may get from sympathetic treatment and moral and material support). These resources include equipment, materials, labor, money, managerial talent, information, and facilities, as some of the prior examples illustrate. For instance, on the micro- and mesolevels, some merchants who are involved in SCRC trade or lend one another equipment (e.g., pop-up tents, tables, and chairs for special events), store fixtures, store decorations, employees (to create promotional pieces, unload shipments, run errands, staff stores that are short-handed due to customer traffic or other employees being ill or late), storage space (for goods, equipment, and supplies), supplies (shopping bags, register tape, cleaning and maintenance items, disposable cups, sugar and creamer for coffee, etc.), and money (change and small bills when banks are closed). In addition, they pay for one another's COD deliveries and give one another access to their respective customer lists to promote co-sponsored activities and events. They also lend and exchange their own managerial time to plan these activities and events

On the macro-level, retailers lend or donate their employees' time (to assist in DRA activities and events and DRA clean up projects), managerial time (to serve on DLI committees, plan and assist with events, and appear at city commission meetings), stores' storage facilities for equipment, materials, and supplies for DRA activities and events, and promotional items to support DLI initiatives. Moreover, they exchange information at DLI meetings (e.g., on customer service, promotions, business practices, results of joint periodic surveys of DRA customers and merchants, and market research methods). DRA restaurants also take turns hosting DLI meetings.

Certification of Social Credentials/ Reinforcement of Identity and Recognition

On the micro-level, some consumers and retailers report that they gain social recognition and validation through their involvement with DRA merchants, as noted in following excerpts about art. In addition, some consumers receive recognition from retailers and other consumers for providing puppet shows and playing instruments at stores' holiday open houses, loaning stores items to display, creating window displays, painting store windows, and displaying artwork in DRA shops, restaurants, and coffee houses.

At Java Dive, 10 E. Ninth, manager Adam Mersmann caters to Kansas University art students. "I like to give them a chance because, really, there aren't that many places where they get to show their work," he said. "Galleries tend to be too structured for what they're doing. Java Dive recently expanded, nearly tripling its display area. "I try to change (artwork) every month or so because I like the way it changes things. I don't like looking at the same thing all the time," Mersmann said. Lawrence artist Peggy Shopen recently finished a showing at Border's cafe. "It's a good deal," Shopen said. "It's a nice place to grow before going into a gallery. And what I really like is that you're in an environment that lets people spend time with their coffee, their book or their meal -- and with your work. It builds familiarity. "There's a comfort level there that you don't get at, say, Art in the Park, where people are walking by, it's crowded and there's so much to take in that it tends to overwhelm the viewer." Shopen, who prefers drawing Lawrencearea landscapes, sold one of her pastels during her Border's display. "The buyer happens to be from Germany, so I guess that makes me internationally acclaimed," she said, laughing. In December, Shopen's drawings will be on display -- and for sale -- at the Douglas County Judicial and Law Enforcement Center, 111 E. 11th. (Ranney 1999)

Schaefer, gallery director, said combining the three parts was the vision of the owner to bring together different points of interest for the public. "Art lovers also want a place to meet and talk about art," Schaefer said. "Artists showing here want to recommend books to customers so they can see the influence and connections." (Potter 2004)

In addition, some customers and retailers recommend one another for awards.

Five Lawrence businesses are winners in the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce's Excellence in Commerce awards program. The third annual awards, presented Monday at the Lawrence Holidome, recognize winners and finalists for their business stability and growth, accomplishments within their industries, quality of life for employees and overall community involvement. The program is designed to show the community's appreciation for existing businesses in town, said Shirley Martin-Smith, chamber chairwoman. . . . Weavers Department Store, a downtown fixture on Massachusetts Street since 1857, won in the re-tail/hospitality category. Weavers recently added a department for gourmet home products, and expanded its section for special occasion dresses. (*Chamber presents 'Excellence' awards* 2005)

I once had a customer tell me she recommended me for a, well, it was something like a "nicest person" award. Kind of like Best of Lawrence, maybe. I never knew what came of that. (FN retailer, Emily 2006)

She told me she was excited because she'd recommended a neighboring business owner for Gourmet News' "20 Under 40" Award, which recognizes specialty food retailers under 40. She'd received an email for the magazine's editor, complimenting her on her letter of recommendation. She had her fingers crossed! (FN retailer, Beth 2006)

Merchants' statuses as DRA businesspersons also benefit other retailers and consumers who partner with them. For example, partnering with experienced DRA retailers are assets to persons without small business experience who want to open new stores and individuals who try to lease DRA buildings. Those involved agree that they feel these partnerships enhance their abilities' to get bank financing to open new stores, assure property owners of their viability as tenants, and negotiate more favorable rental terms. In addition, consumers participate in DRA retailer-sponsored clubs that reinforce their statuses and identities. In some cases, others view them as experts in a specific area due to their experience and participation. This was apparent in the modeling club meeting that I attended. Arguably, it also occurs among members of other consumer organizations in the DRA, such as anime, British Car, and book clubs and poetry groups.

At the meso-level, retailers and consumers who work together may get more recognition than they would receive individually. This was the case when bar owners who wanted to challenge the proposed smoking ban worked with one another and consumers to voice their views. Meso-level projects, such as the condominium and retail development on New Hampshire street (a secondary DRA thoroughfare) in this excerpt, also receive recognition from many residents and professional organizations.

The Lawrence Board of Realtors presented the owner and designer of Hobbs Taylor Lofts with the group's Architectural Enhancement Award, presented through its River City Recognition Awards program. The presentation came during a reception Tuesday at the Lawrence Country Club, where 75 attendees applauded the project and the retail, office and residential investments it represents. "I hope it's a big changer and makes a big contribution downtown," said Bo Harris, who is chief executive officer and chairman of Harris Construction Co. Inc., which is developing the building northeast of Eighth and New Hampshire streets. "I hope this brings more residences downtown, and I hope this will help spread the footprint of retail in the downtown. "There are people touting downtown as the center of retail in Lawrence. Projects like this will have to happen to continue that." (Fagan 2005)

On the macro- level, retailers and consumers are aware of retailers' identification with the DRA and its significance. This matter is emphasized in these examples.

I think [DRA retailers] do have this very strong identity of being a downtown business. Do you know what I mean? And its' uh very important to them and you know so I, I even before we talked about why people have businesses downtown [in setting up interview], it always struck me that people have businesses downtown for more than just like making money. Do you know what I mean? Like there's a certain prestige or maybe not even prestige but a certain something about having a business downtown. It was a way to be a really strong part of the community um you know and just a part of Lawrence by having this business downtown. You know, it didn't strike me that 'yeah, let's start this business downtown because we want to rake in tons of cash' I didn't really have that impression, you know, that that's why people were doing that. (INT customer, Beth 2005)

Informant and news accounts also indicate that macro-level SCRC results in community-wide recognition and appreciation of participants. These contributions often generate considerable news coverage and positive letters to the editor, which recognize merchants for their support for parades, activities, and other events. The following excerpt is typical.

The Haskell Earth Day Committee would like to thank the Lawrence merchants and the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce who helped so much to make our Earth Day observance so successful by providing food and prizes for our celebration. The cleanup, picnic and prize raffle on April 22 were a success. We had approximately 80 people — students, faculty, staff, students, friends and kids — participate. We were able to plant trees and flowers and collect several dozen bags of trash and recyclables, notably not only cleaning up our campus but also our sacred sites (the sweat lodges, medicine wheel, cemetery and wetlands). In addition, at the Earth Day Celebration, the Wetlands Preservation Organization was able to collect about 50 new signatures to help stop the South Lawrence Trafficway. We are sure we were able to have such a great turnout because of the support from local downtown businesses. Again, we thank these downtown merchants for helping Haskell Indian Nations University continue our tradition of preservation and responsibility, while heightening awareness and promoting sustainability. Wa-Do. Jenn Gapetz (Gapetz 2006)

CONSEQUENCES OF SCRC ON MULTIPLE LEVELS

Consistent with P7, SCRC by marketers and consumers has positive and negative

consequences on micro-, meso-, and macro-levels in this DRA.

Positive Consequences of SCRC

Five categories of positive consequences result from the norm observance and social controls associated with SCRC. In terms of general positive effects, SCRC:

- reduces the need for monitoring and formal controls,
- facilitates resource flows,
- increases allocative efficiencies,
- increases adaptive efficiencies,
- creates public goods

Reduced need for monitoring and formal controls. The norm observance and social controls that underlie SCRC lessen the need for overt and formal controls in the DRA. At the meso- and macro-levels, retailers are involved in many joint purchasing, sales, clean-up projects, and other activities without formal arrangements or controls, because they assume compliance by other merchants. (They confirm such assumptions in interviews.) For example, retailers take part in (often costly) multi-store and area level sales activities despite no formal means to monitor other retailers' behaviors to insure that they also participate or financially contribute in prescribed ways. In addition, the following excerpts exemplify ways in which expectations about norms and social controls in the DRA limit many customers' behaviors and affect merchants' and customers' inclinations to monitor on another. In fieldwork, I also observed that it is common for retailers to rely on customers to help monitor stores, as is acknowledged in the third excerpt. I would have to say from my own experience that we're all a little bit better behaved to the retailers downtown than we would be if we went to like Kohls. If I'm at Kohls and because I know they're a multinational corporation and if I get a piece of something there and it's substandard, I will not hesitate to complain. I feel perfectly justified in my complaining to the manager or whoever and you know if I feel like they've advertised a sale and they're not following through or if particular prices aren't marked down like they say they should be I guess maybe I'm just more aware of that when I'm at Kohls. When I'm downtown, I'm more inclined to give the retailers the benefit of the doubt. (INT customer, Connie 2005)

I would like to think that not very many people steal from us. We know that people do. We know that, uh, that people don't return videos and sometimes we have to go out and get them. But not on a big scale. And we hope that people trust us and have faith in our pricing structure. I'd say that 90% of the time people think our prices are fair. And then sometimes we'll get someone who's just come over on the boat and are comparing our prices to what prices are in England and, well, most of us realize that they are going to be higher. And eventually they realize. (INT retailer, Mary 2001)

Sometimes I rely on customers to monitor one another. For example, I have to run downstairs to get inventory or boxes [when customers request a box for a gift

item] and I do rely on my customers to kinda watch one another and watch out for the store. (FI retailer, Beth, 2006)

I feel like that they [DRA stores] are not trying to have really high prices like the antique stores have really high prices so the fact that I know that there's a really low markup that you try to get a lot of, um, you know, really low price stuff. That's my total philosophy. And I don't feel that that person's trying to price gouge me or something like that. I know that. (INT customer, Alexandra 2001)

Norms and social controls also affect other kinds of social interactions. For instance, I observed repeated instances in which macro-level events ran smoothly, because retailers and consumers relied on one another to follow guidelines on how the event operated. At DRA Halloween activities, for example, new retailers and consumers watched or asked others to learn how the event was organized. With nearly no exceptions, about 4,000 people (families and individuals) walked in a counter-clockwise direction as they made trick or treat visits to establishments on Massachusetts Street.

Facilitated resource flows. SCRC aids micro- and meso-level resource flows in the DRA. Due to SCRC, retailers and consumer organizations get resources via access to information, sympathetic treatment, material support, and various kinds of exchange. SCRC also helps retailers and consumers release resources, e.g., by selling or giving them to others in the DRA (sometimes, with an expectation of compensation or other benefits due to enforceable trust or reciprocity). At the micro-level, items such as used fixtures, POS systems, equipment, and decorations move among retailers (some check-

out equipment has been used by several stores). Consumers also provide equipment and unique display items to retailers. At the meso-level, it is not uncommon for merchants on side streets to loan, trade, or sell furnishings, fixtures, and equipment to one another.

On the macro-level, merchants also obtain resources through the DRA business organization (DLI), as prior examples and the following excerpt indicate.

Installing fire-fighting sprinkler systems in downtown basements means getting new water lines, and downtown officials want the city to help pay for them. Downtown Lawrence Inc. wants the city to spend more than \$650,000 to help 65 downtown buildings necessary fire protection. Myles Schachter, representing the downtown business association, asked Lawrence-Douglas County planning commissioners to include a handful of downtown water-line upgrades in the city's upcoming five-year capital improvements plan. The upgrades would allow for installation of fire-fighting sprinkler systems in buildings with inaccessible basements. While such buildings are targeted for a new fire code provision that would require sprinklers to be installed, the city's own water lines in the area likely cannot handle the load for such use, Schachter said. The city should install new water mains, a prospect already being reviewed by the city's own utilities department, he said. The costs of such pipes typically are borne by the city at large. The city should pick up other costs as well, Schachter said: \$5,000 for each new 4-inch line connecting the main to each building, plus another \$5,000 "connection charge" for each hookup. Business or property owners would be responsible for the remaining \$5,000 of work required inside each building. "To place the entire

burden of these improvements on the downtown property owners would likely drive many (of) their tenants out of business," Schachter said in his written application submitted Wednesday night. The proposed sprinkler requirement has been recommended by Lawrence-Douglas County Fire & Medical, and comes after a basement fire nearly destroyed Sunflower Outdoor & Bike Shop, 802 Mass., nearly two years ago. "A basement fire in one downtown building can easily and quickly spread to an entire block of stores or worse," Schachter said in the application. (Fagan 1999a)

Increased allocative efficiencies. The norm observance, social control, and compliance that underlie SCRC enhance allocative efficiencies, by helping to limit retail operating and transaction costs. They foster trust and lower opportunism among retailers and consumers. This lets merchants save the time and expenses that they might otherwise spend to monitor customers in their stores. SCRC also helps them reduce expenses through joint purchasing and marketing activities with other retailers. It helps them find desirable locations through access to information. It lets them get donated or less costly items and services via sympathetic treatment, material support, and resource exchange, which lowers the costs of store activities and functions. Moreover, norm observance, social control, and SCRC increase allocative efficiencies, by enhancing consumer receptiveness to retail marketing efforts. As discussed, SCRC increases consumers' responsiveness to promotional efforts, tolerance of price differentials, and acceptance of the range of product choices in the DRA. It also allows consumers to save the time and costs that might otherwise devote to check the adequacy of marketers' offerings and prices. *Increased adaptive efficiencies*. The factors that allow retailers to avoid monitoring and costly contracts help them make agreements and decisions (e.g., on purchases and promotions), adapt to opportunities, and handle problems in a timely manner. Moreover, retailers, groups of retailers, and the DRA (at times in concert with consumers) gain adaptive efficiencies by doing new things or the same things in new ways, due to absorption (learning and knowledge sharing) and responsiveness (adaptive innovation).

On micro- and meso-levels, these findings highlight informal and formal ways in which merchants share information, learn about varied matters (e.g., technology, customer relations, market conditions, and research methods), and try to deal with changes (e.g., retail industry consolidation, retail chains, discount merchants, and ecommerce). Moreover, at the meso-level, retailers often work together to jointly adapt to community concerns. This is evident among bar owners, who are criticized for their patrons' behaviors. The following account concerns their efforts to address the DRA trash problem.

The bar owners of downtown Lawrence have come forward with a plan to help keep downtown cleaner. The plan, to be pitched to the Lawrence City Commission, calls for a cooperative effort between the business owners and the city. "We're working on the campaign to just bring more public awareness of the current city ordinance that says each one of us is responsible for the sidewalk up to the curb no matter what," Peach Madl, owner of the Sandbar at 17 E. Eighth St., said. "We have to keep on it." Madl and others representing nine different downtown clubs and bars met last week to talk about the problem [of trash generated by downtown bar patrons] with two city officials and Fayman. . . . The city alone

can't solve the problem, [City Manager Mike Wildgen] said. "We can't be down there all the time picking up all the trash. You have to do that as a community, and downtown is a community." (Blackwood 2000a)

At the macro-level, observers attribute the DRA's continued vitality to collective efforts by merchants, consumers, and city administrators (as these excerpts reflect).

The state of downtown Lawrence is good but it can always get better, business owners said Monday night at an annual downtown business meeting. "We hope it can remain as good as it is and just get stronger," said Sarah Fayman, owner of Sarah's Fabrics, 925 Mass., and new president of Downtown Lawrence Inc. Fayman was one of about 70 people attending DLI's annual meeting Monday night at Liberty Hall, 642 Mass. Both members and nonmembers of DLI attended. Officers outlined five goals for DLI for the next year and presented them to the membership Monday night: · Find a major source of revenue. · Increase political involvement. · Develop consistency in advertising. · Increase downtown security. · Clarify/increase benefits to members. DLI has about 170 members. Donations to the organization have doubled in the last year, from about \$33,000 in 1997 to \$66,000 in 1998, said David Longhurst, DLI past president. Those funds are used for promotion costs, downtown Christmas lighting and for the annual Festival of Poinsettias. "I think the downtown is as good as it's ever been and with the prospect of other developments, the future looks very bright," said Joe Flannery, president of Weaver's Department Store Inc. Flannery said planned developments in the 900 block of New Hampshire and 600 block of Massachusetts will help

downtown remain a major attraction in the city. "Downtown sort of has to continue to develop and have new things to attract people," said George Paley, owner of Natural Way Natural Fiber Clothing, 820 Mass. (Dekker 1999)

"The effects [of building an outlet mall in the DRA] will be far reaching to the retail community in downtown Lawrence," he said. Ramirez said there is one significant question what will those effects be? "I only wish I had a crystal ball," he said. One of the more pragmatic effects will be elimination of certain lines of merchandise from the shelves of downtown retailers, Ramirez said. "You're going to have difficulty competing with a factory outlet where the customer can purchase that particular item at a better price," he said. One of the positive effects of the new factory outlet mall is that it will be an anchor for the entire retail community downtown, and draw more people downtown, he said. "One of the negative effects of all of this is going to be a tremendous traffic problem," he said. The traffic problem will stem from the number of vehicles traveling to and from the new shopping center from Sixth and Massachusetts streets and from Sixth and New Hampshire streets, he said. He said the problem will also come in trying to figure out how to transport people from the parking garage just to the south of the new center to the downtown. One suggestion is for a trolley to operate between the two. "A trolley is not a people mover," he said. "It really doesn't address transportation problems." He said the organization's design and parking committee is studying the transportation issue and is trying to formulate a solution that

might include expanded bus routes. "We're very concerned about the parking problem," he said. (Toplikar 1990a)

The new [downtown redevelopment] plan ends a five-year breather from battles over a series of commercial development proposals that began popping up in the 1970s and ran the gamut from enclosed malls suburban and downtown to formation of a downtown business improvement district. Each was debated and, ultimately, rejected by the community. Now, Reineman, who is vice president of Weaver's Inc., the downtown department store, thinks it's time for DLI to snap out of its business-as-usual routine and start looking at downtown's options for longterm survival in a growing community. Even if the current proposal eventually goes the way of its predecessors, Reineman says the results will be positive. "This gets downtown back on the public agenda and, if nothing else, it gets people thinking about what we need to go to keep downtown strong," he said. Reineman also believes the current proposal offers the community an opportunity to reach a consensus about the future of downtown. "This report is proactive and not a reaction to some developer's report," he said. The proposal, which was drafted by a Lawrence Chamber of Commerce task force, has been endorsed by the boards of both the chamber and DLI. In an attempt to ensure the future viability of the downtown as the city's central business district, the proposal calls for improving parking, traffic access to downtown and the mix of offerings in the CBD. Perhaps the most controversial planks in the proposal deal with land availability and carry a recommendation that the downtown be expanded. Persuading neighborhoods

adjacent to downtown, which may see the greatest threat in the proposal, that DLI has no interest in replacing housing with retail development, is Reineman's first order of business as DLI president. "Downtown is taking somewhat of a leadership role in presenting this report to the groups," he said. "It's logical that we do that, that we be in the forefront, because downtown does have the most to gain or lose." Reineman, who has been attending meetings the DLI has had with neighborhood organizations, said the proposal has been positively received so far. For his part, Reineman says his role is to emphasize the interdependence between the neighborhoods and downtown. "It takes a strong downtown to keep the neighborhoods strong and it takes strong neighborhoods to keep the downtown strong. It's a mutually supportive relationship," he said. His hope is that the neighborhoods will be solidly behind the DLI and the chamber when they present the proposal to the Lawrence City Commission on March 17. At that meeting, they'll ask commissioners to appoint a citywide coalition to develop a long-term master plan for downtown redevelopment. Already, the fact that the proposal has the support of the chamber and DLI, two groups that both are comprised of diverse memberships, signals something of a coalition, Reineman said. The support from the chamber, which has 1,300 members, is particularly encouraging, he said, because that organization draws its members from all parts of the city. Part of the chamber's support also includes backing for designating downtown as the Lawrence's central business district in Horizon 2020, the city's next planning guide. One implication of that policy is to bar development of a suburban mall that would pose an economic threat to downtown. "There are a lot of precedents

across the country where towns like ours you only have to look as far as Topeka built a suburban mall and the downtown was destroyed," he said. But keeping downtown as the CBD is important for the entire community, not just downtown businesses, Reineman said. When its downtown is debilitated, a community becomes fragmented, he said. "Suddenly, it seems to be very much in vogue across the country to be pro-downtown," he said. "Malls are losing their appeal, so cities everywhere are struggling to revitalize their downtowns, to undo the damage they've done to them." Reineman cited cities such as Salina and Hutchinson as examples and said that Manhattan, which compromised by building an enclosed mall downtown, also is suffering the consequences. "I just feel it's wonderful that Lawrence isn't faced with trying to undo major previous damage to its downtown, and that we can simply focus our energy on continuing to make our downtown better," he said. Reineman believes that part of downtown's strength lies in DLI, which has more than 130 members, one-third of which are non-retail businesses. The organization's strength lies not only in its numbers but in the diversity of its membership, he said. "We truly do not want to lose sight of it," he said, noting that DLI is emphasizing in its discussions to need to preserve and enhance the mix of cultural, historical, social and commercial offerings downtown. (Mellinger 1992)

Creation of public goods. Public goods are created when many individuals benefit from the actions of a few persons and from mechanisms that help to deal with their common problems and opportunities. For instance, many retailers benefit when some mer-

chants underwrite the costs of holiday or charitable events rather than rely on collective contributions from all DRA business or the DLI (e.g., the Old Fashioned Christmas Parade). The item below describes how some retailers pay to hood (cover) meters during the holiday season, which benefits all merchants by drawing shoppers to the DRA.

Thanks to a quick effort by several downtown merchants, the downtown's parking meters are expected to be hooded this Christmas season after all. Although Downtown Lawrence, the downtown merchants association, had earlier decided it was too costly to reimburse the city for the lost parking fees this year, a group of about 70 downtown merchants banded together to continue the tradition. "We have literally gone out on the streets and asked people independently of Downtown Lawrence to contribute money to the effort," said George Paley, owner Natural Way, 820 Mass. Paley and Win Campbell, owner of Campbell's Clothing, 841 Mass., said the merchants hope to get approval from the Lawrence City Commission its Dec. 5 meeting. If the commission approves it, parking meters would be hooded Dec. 6 through Dec. 24, customers 18 days of free parking Campbell said. . . . "It is something that we had started doing about three to four years ago, and it's something that we want to be able to offer as a holiday gesture," Campbell said. (Toplikar 1989)

The DLI also creates public goods. It facilitates representation and decisionmaking for DRA businesses, collects dues, and lobbies the city for added funds. These funds are indirectly redistributed to members via designated projects, promotion and beautification efforts, and other activities that the DLI sponsors or coordinates. The DLI also collects funds to support merchants who are adversely affected by tragedies and disasters, such as fires. The following excerpt offers other examples of collective benefits generated by actions of a few persons (including DRA retailers).

Commissioners are working in part from two Lawrence Chamber of Commerce reports released this year. The first report outlined several measures for increasing the downtown's economic vitality. The report was followed by another Chamber study, this one suggesting a measure to increase Lawrence's appeal to cultured, arts-oriented tourists. Suggestions in the reports include expanding downtown boundaries, building a town center, creating a public transportation system between downtown and Kansas University and attracting national retail chains. (King 1992)

The DLI also surveys DRA merchants to get their views on topical issues. Recent surveys concern goals for the area, chain stores, parking problems and potential solutions, relocation of the Farmer's Market, and keeping national bike championship in the DRA.

Downtown Lawrence will survey downtown business owners during the next several days to determine how merchants feel about parking, standardized business hours and several other issues. The survey, which will be hand-delivered by Downtown Lawrence members to most businesses located in the downtown area, was distributed at the Downtown Lawrence board of directors meeting this morning. "What we're really looking for is for you to get as many of these out as you can. Hopefully, we can have some results by next month," said Andy Ramirez, a Lawrence attorney and vice chairman of the board. (Group plans survey 1990)

Downtown businesses support more long-term parking in the central business district, favor the construction of both an eastern and a southwest trafficway, and are opposed to increased penalties for repeat parking offenders in the downtown area, according to results of a survey. The survey, which was conducted by the Downtown Lawrence organization, was distributed in mid-March to 386 downtown business owners and managers. It consisted of about 20 multiple-choice questions on issues affecting retailers and non-retailers in the downtown area. A total of 176 Downtown Lawrence member and non-member businesses responded to the survey. (Dekker 1990c)

DLI's positions and actions are based on task force work and survey input from merchants. The following excerpts describe some important task force issues.

A task force studying downtown parking wants a new garage across the street from the city's outdoor pool -- provided there's enough money and support. "This is a no-brainer," said Tom Wilcox, owner of Round Corner Drug and a member of the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce's Downtown Parking Task Force. "It's just a win-win situation for everybody." Wilcox joined a handful of other chamber and downtown business leaders Tuesday morning to discuss strategy for adding parking to the downtown area. Building the parking garage would be the most expensive option, but it would also add 300 spaces, the most of any proposals being considered. Because the three-level garage would be located atop a city lot along Vermont Street -- and bordered by Lawrence Aquatic Center, Lawrence Public Library and Lawrence Senior Center – city taxpayers would be expected to pick up most of the cost, task force members said. Members even suggested having the city pay the entire cost of the garage, while downtown businesses would pick up the tabs for upgrading an existing lot and acquiring property for a new one. "The leverage we have with the city over here is phenomenal," Wilcox said, referring to the proposed garage. "But selling it to the Massachusetts Street people would be difficult." (Fagan 1998c)

A new task force will help the city decide how to renovate and grow in the downtown area. Commissioners established the Downtown Design Guidelines Task Force to come up with guidelines for preserving downtown's unique character and historic feel in the face of continued redevelopment projects. Mayor Erv Hodges plans to appoint 16 members [including one city commission, and 15 DRA store and/or building owners] to the task force during the coming weeks, and he's looking forward to a set of usable guidelines. (*City briefs* 1999)

Lawrence city commissioners will have at least two sets of recommendations to consider when they tackle the issue of providing services to the homeless. Members of Downtown Lawrence Inc. said Wednesday that they would submit a formal set of recommendations to city commissioners at the same time the city's Task Force on Homeless Services presents its plan. That is expected to be in March or April. The two plans likely will be markedly different. The Downtown Lawrence recommendations center on a system that would require people to present an identification card to receive certain services, such as access to shelters or soup kitchens. "The identification system is key," said Peter Zacharias, a downtown merchant and member of the committee that drafted the regulations. "In order for any city to get a grip on the problem, you have to have some sort of identification system." Zacharias, though, said some had misunderstood homeless people to wear badges as a means for people to identify them. "That's not what we're talking about," Zacharias said. "Our perception is that it would be like how the rest of us have to show driver's licenses when we want to cash a check or rent a movie. We don't think it would be any more of an inconvenience than that." The system also would require homeless residents to enroll for treatment programs or classes designed to help them exit homelessness. If they refused to enter the program, they would be denied the card and the services that it entitles. The identification/service card system is not currently in the draft version of the plan created by the task force. Task force members had previously discussed, and may discuss it again at a retreat next month, but rejected it after several members said food and shelter shouldn't be denied for those who didn't enroll in a treatment program. Downtown Lawrence members also are discussing taking the system one step further and requiring homeless people to show they have ties to the community and are not transients. In the draft version of the recommendations, the downtown group calls for transients to receive service for no more than three days. Zacharias

said that would be an attempt to cut down on Lawrence's reputation as a magnet

for homeless individuals. But Zacharias said the idea needed more discussion by

group members before it was presented to city commissioners. (Lawhorn 2005a)

Negative Consequences of SCRC

SCRC may negatively affect some marketers and consumers, because its benefits may not be complementary and the benefits from evading norms may conflict with the social controls that underlie SCRC. SCRC's negative consequences include:

- restriction of opportunities and individual freedoms,
- excessive claims on some group members and free riding by others,
- downward leveling of norms,
- tragedy of the commons effects, and
- exclusion of outsiders and the formation of in-groups.

Restriction of opportunities and individual freedoms. The norms and social controls that underlie SCRC create conformity demands that may limit opportunities and freedoms. Some persons argue that policies created by SCRC are too restrictive. For example, they note that historic preservation guidelines keep or delay retailers and building owners from remodeling stores, alcohol sales restrictions are unfair, and DRA civility ordinances on use of public space and skateboarding limit consumer activities.

The store's manager told me the owner was beginning to regret her decision to buy and move into a neighboring building. "She's faced enormous headaches because of this historic registry stuff." The manager said restrictions on modifications had slowed progress to "a snail's pace. We're nearly two months behind schedule now." (FI retailer, Patricia 2006) Company officials hope to build a new shipping facility; a new combined newsroom for the Journal-World, Sunflower Cablevision and Internet site; and a new television studio. But no construction work will proceed before an Oct. 3 city commission meeting at which company officials will appeal a ruling by the Historic Resources Commission, said Ralph Gage, general manager of the company. The special commission ruled that a proposed pedestrian bridge would harm nearby historic properties. (*Lawrence Briefs* 2000)

SCRC also creates other informal restrictions. Some retailers report that they feel forced to stay in undesirable joint buying arrangements, participate in DRA activities and events, contribute to charitable funds, and park outside the DRA. Employees also face limits from their employers, as is evident in the following account.

[An employee] comes in carrying a full cup of Starbuck's.... I told her that ... there are too many people who shop here who are offended by stores like that and it's my personal preference that she keep that container out of sight. (INT retailer, Nicola 2001)

Some consumers indicate that they face social sanctions if they do not shop, eat, or go to DRA events and activities, express favorable views on chain stores and discount merchants and retail development outside the DRA, or criticize the DRA's defects. I feel really guilty about going to Wal-Mart because most of my friends are very staunch local shoppers so I always feel incredibly guilty to say that I actually go to Wal-Mart. (INT customer, Alexandra 2001)

Residents in adjacent areas also worry that the DRA will encroach on their neighborhoods (there are many attempts to expand it) and that problems of homeless persons and crime in the DRA will spread to their areas. They are also unsure that they can protect their own interests, given the powers of the DRA's merchants and supporters.

Ardys Ramberg of the East Lawrence Neighborhood Assn. sees another version of the two-sided coin. As downtown revitalization continues seeping eastward, she worries about the business district's ever-growing need for more parking. "We sit on top of downtown, and downtown wants to grow," she said. . . . "When I moved into this neighborhood, it was quiet. This neighborhood has a feeling of the countryside about it, with stone buildings and big wooden barns." Now, construction of the new Lawrence Arts Center in the 900 block of New Hampshire Street has claimed several existing homes, she said, and put her home a little closer to the bustle of a commercial district. "My house, in another 20 years, might be on the front line," she said. (Mathis 2001b)

The [proposed library expansion] projects [in the DRA] also could affect adjacent neighborhoods. Three of the five proposals would overlook the East Lawrence neighborhood. K.T. Walsh, a board member for the East Lawrence Neighborhood Assn. said she was disappointed that only one developer — Jeff Shmalberg of the

900 New Hampshire Street project — had formally approached the association. She said she had concerns that several of the projects would build large multistory buildings that could essentially "wall off" East Lawrence from the downtown. "We would like to get involved sooner rather than later," Walsh said. (Lawhorn 2006c)

Excessive claims on some group members and free riders. Retailers and consumers suggest that excessive claims are made on some persons while others free ride.

When I was a local retailer, I naturally wanted to support my community and was happy to make donations of merchandise and/or coupons. I also felt that it was good advertising and good karma. However, I don't think the average citizen realizes just how often our downtown businesses are requested to make donations. Between all of the sports teams, graduation parties, local nonprofit projects, school groups, and various organizations at Kansas University, it can be difficult for a small business. During certain times of year, we would get multiple requests in a single day. We wanted to support them all, but most small businesses simply can't afford to donate to everyone who asks. It is extremely difficult to have to make choices. (Zinn 2002)

She called to tell me she'd heard [erroneously] I was joining the DLI board. She was aghast. "They'll suck you dry. You don't want to do it." (FN 2006)

She told me her business partner once served as president of DLI. That led to a three-year commitment to remaining on the board. "We went out and had a drink the day her commitment ended. December 31st. She was SO happy." (FN 2006)

Typically, some types of merchants are seen as free riders, including storeowners who do not live in Lawrence, national chain stores, and side street merchants. (Yet, many retailers do not expect side street merchants to do as much in DRA events as main street merchants, since they get fewer benefits due to their locations.) The first two excerpts exemplify some of these views; the last one concerns an individual retailer.

I don't really think The Toy Store participates to the extent she [the owner] could [in downtown activities and events]. They do the sidewalk sale, but that's about it. I think they only do Halloween if it's during their opening hours. She [the owner] is from Topeka and that's where her main store is. I don't really think of her a part of this community. (INT retailer, Ann 2005)

I never go to Starbucks. I do sometimes shop in what I call 'the Nationals' but I guess I've made Starbucks my cause. It's symbolic to me of what the Nationals represent. The don't bank locally, they don't contribute locally, they take money out of this community. (INT banker, Abbie 2005)

R: The downtown retailers always participate in this kind of stuff. I mean by either promoting themselves or each other. I: Right they promote themselves or each other. But you do know some that do not participate?

R: Yea. I can think of that hardware store guy who lives in his own little island. He has been there forever. He is not going anywhere. I don't know if anyone has seen him. (INT consumer, Connie 2005)

Informants suggest that other free riders include the homeless population and youth who congregate in the DRA after school.

Jon Gilbert and John Spotted Elk live on the streets of Lawrence. They sometimes make themselves at home on the bus benches at the northwest corner of Ninth and Massachusetts streets. But they don't often ride the bus. "We hold our councils there," Gilbert said of the shady seats. But Gilbert, Spotted Elk and their fellow homeless friends won't be welcome on those benches much longer unless they buy a bus ticket. The Lawrence City Commission is expected to give preliminary approval tonight to an ordinance outlawing anyone but passengers from using the benches and shelters at the city's bus stops. Under the language of the ordinance, people who don't plan to patronize the bus won't be allowed to "use, sit, lie, lean against or seek the protection or comfort of the Lawrence Transit System benches and shelters." (*Ordinance would stop loitering at bus stops* 2002)

She told me her mom doesn't care to have junior high children in the store. They "pour into downtown on Wednesday afternoons." She continued proudly, "Mom's gotten rid of them in here, though." I watched the young girls leave the store – happy, nice young girls. "Your Mom couldn't be referring to girls like these, though, could she?" She hesitated, unable to explain what exactly was wrong with the young girls' behavior. "You know," I said, knowing I should bite my tongue, "children between the ages of 8 and 15 spent nearly \$155 billion in the U.S. last year." "Hmm," she said, looking unconvinced. (FN 2006)

Downward leveling of norms. Another consequence of SCRC is downward leveling of norms. Observation suggests that retailers do not engage in head-on price competition, comparative advertising, or denigration of other DRA retailers. Moreover, as these excerpts indicate, they limit their hours of operation and goods and service mixes.

She told me that historically adherence to downtown norms regarding hours of operation have preoccupied many business owners; although she also said that new threats, including retail development outside the downtown district and encroachment by Internet retailers, had made such preoccupations a rare luxury. Still, she says that at one time, "Somebody wanted to stay open late on a day other than Thursday. You'd have thought Hitler had come to town!" (INT merchant, Jane 2005)

R: I would say that our hours are fairly restrictive. During the weekdays they're10 to 5... but we stay open late on Thursdays til 8, which is typical of downtown.It's a known fact. I think most people in town know that our stores stay open [onThursday nights]. We're open on the weekend. And a lot of people are usually

surprised that we're open on Sundays 1 to 5 but, uh, usually they can, if they can't make it during the week, then they can usually make it during the weekend.

I: You mentioned that it's common for local businesses to be open til 8 on Thursdays. Is that one dimension of this downtown community to have – retailers at any rate – have the same hours?

R: For Thursday nights?

I: Just over all.

R: Just in general. We're 10-5. And I know that some stores – they're only difference is they're 9 to 6. Uh, the big chain stores, like the Gap and Eddie Bauer, they stay open til 9. I think that's corporate policy, though. (INT retailer, Mary 2001)

We try to avoid carrying products that other stores have. It's a small community; it's almost like we feel like they have "dibs." There are times, you know, that we know we could sell something, maybe even at a better price, but – I mean it's kind of a toss up – but we feel like it would be wrong somehow. (INT retailer, Sara 2001)

Tragedy of the commons effects. There are two tragedy of the commons effects. First, single events may be of such scope that they create negative effects. The turnouts at parades, sales events, festivals, and other events cause long lines, congested parking, restricted access, and accumulation of trash. These comments reflect such problems. We didn't really trick-or-treat very long. Really. It was really busy. They had lots of lines. (FN 2005)

I don't usually attend [merchant sponsored sales events] because I just can't I personally don't like the insane crush of people. It's just my nature that I don't personally like that and it tends to irritate me to have a bunch of people crammed together trying to fight over merchandise. (INT customer, Beth 2005)

I think things like parades they do create a discomfort that people can't drive downtown during certain hours of the parade. (INT customer, Connie 2005)

He described as a 'hot button' issue a recent bicycle race and he said his first concern was the impact on consumers. He said you know people could not get in, you couldn't park downtown and if you did park downtown you were unable to leave. . . . Because parking is already compressed and there are only about 120 to 140 parking spaces in any given block and therefore when you add an event that is going to shut down parking from 8 a.m. to 3 p.m., at a minimum, it is a double whammy. So that is why he had such great concerns about the bike race (FN OF INT retailer, Bill 2005)

Second, the DRA's extensive activities and events schedule limit its economic and consumption-related functions. Therefore, the very things that make the DRA a focal point of community pride may also overtax its capabilities. For example, some merchants

and consumers believe that the DRA is overused and its parking and other infrastructure cannot handle the growing multitude of events and activities. Many of them also express concern with the costs and inconveniences that they equate with these happenings.

I am always anxious about going downtown. You never known when there's a parade or if it's game day. Summer's pretty safe, but during the school year, it's almost a sure bet you'll run up against something that makes you drive blocks out of your way. (FI customer, Becky 2006)

"Invariably, any kind of event downtown -- parades, races, whatever – are business killers unless you're selling coffee or soda," [Steve Wilson, manager of Kief's Downtown Music, 825 Mass] said. "On the other side of it, a lot of people get a positive association with downtown when they visit it and maybe they'll come back." (Mathis 2005c)

We're going to lose a lot business today [due to the cycling race], he told me, shaking his head regretfully. (FI retailer, Greg at 2005 National Cycling Championship Race)

He said, "Do you think I think this cost people a lot of money? Yes, I think that small businesses were forced to bear the brunt of an activity downtown that could have been handled differently and with less substantial impact." . . . He thinks he lost a couple of thousand dollars that day. He said if you went around and asked merchants, "Are you in support of having a bike race downtown, and will you throw in a couple of thousand dollars" the answer is obvious, "No." He says there are other merchants that view this very differently. Ernie Cummings with Kaiser-Cummings was wholly in support of it and really felt that if the price to pay was one day's worth of lost business he was willing to contribute that for the downtown good. (INT retailer, Bill 2005)

I was thinking downtown is not always a rosy, wonderful, glowing thing. There are times where you downtown and let's say it's a game day or something's going on and it's really busy downtown then I think that can really, sometimes really strain, I mean really, sometimes that can be fun but sometimes that can be really stressful, too, going into a store and there's just a bunch of people who are maybe – maybe they aren't following the norm that maybe I think they should and they're being pushy or they're being too demanding of the sales people or you know just, exactly, somehow falling outside the norm. (INT customer, Beth 2005)

Exclusion of outsiders and the formation of in-groups. As in other contexts in which SC operates, the norms, bonds, and expectations that underlie SCRC lead to the exclusion of some outsiders and the formation of in-groups. Some SCRC operates to exclude or disadvantage outsiders. For example, some retailers who hope to locate in the DRA are not privy to insider information, as indicated in the following interview report.

She said she felt that local merchants had the inside track on more favorable rental agreements. "We are privy to store closures before out-of-towners. We know what constitutes reasonable rent. We know who NOT to rent from." (FI 2004)

Outsiders are also those who do not offer mainstream goods or services or conform to widely held values (e.g., tattoo shops, consignment stores, bars, and chain stores). The following excerpts reflect to some ways in which such outsiders are excluded.

Winter Inc., owned by two of Winter's cousins, is waiting for the right tenant before building, he said. "They're being pretty careful to make sure they wouldn't let just anybody go in there," Winter said. "That's one reason it's still vacant." (Merkel-Hess 2001d)

I remember years ago when Arizona Trading [a consignment clothing store] came to town. The owner was a young woman, probably in her 20's. She'd go to these [DLI] meetings and they treated her, I thought, with such disrespect. I kept thinking, "God, and she's probably making money hand over fist." And I think she was. She's since opened another store in Columbia [Missouri] and expanded her downtown store. She became the business model to duplicate. (INT retailer, Debbie 2003)

The protesters said they also were standing up for locally owned Lawrence businesses. "When things get this globalized, it is hard to know the origins," said Free State High School student Emily Seibel, 17. "Most people shrink away from it when there is a simple solution: Focus on locally owned businesses. And in Lawrence there is such an opportunity for that." Most businesses on Massachusetts Street are locally owned. Among the exceptions are Gap, Abercrombie & Fitch, the Buckle, Maurice's, Urban Outfitters and Chipotle Grill. (McCombs 2000) Consumers and merchants also note a preference for local consumers in the DRA. Sometimes, [DRA bar owner] Mike Elwell figures, it's just not worth collecting cover charges and selling drinks to visitors from Topeka. So he doesn't. . . . On Friday nights, Abe & Jake's often requires that customers have two forms of ID to get in: One establishing age, and another establishing enrollment at Kansas University or Haskell Indian Nations University. (Fagan 2006)

Moreover, the DRA's social organization appears stratified by status. Main street merchants, particularly those in the 700 through 900 blocks, are more highly esteemed by some retailers. Retailers on side streets, secondary thoroughfares and the 600, 1000 and 1100 blocks, often describe themselves as "step children" in the larger DRA family.

Jan Pence, owner of The Flower Shoppe, 1101 Mass., said shop owners on the block "always feel like we're kind of the downtown stepchildren." Pence said whenever there are downtown functions, people start walking through the 1000 block, which has little retail, and often turn back before they reach the 1100 block. "The Tin Pan Alley, (a restaurant at 1105 Mass.) generates a lot of the traffic around here, so that's good for us," she said. (Toplikar 1991) Flannery said the most improved area in the downtown has been the 600 block, noting the improvements at Journal-World building, Liberty Hall and the Free State Brewing Co. "It was always kind of the stepchild of the downtown block for many years. Now its a shining example of refurbishment," he said. (Toplikar 1991)

"I also feel like New Hampshire Street is a step-child of downtown," he added. (Taylor 1990)

The project developers, 9-10 L.L.C., argued that the 16 angle spaces on the east side of New Hampshire were crucial to give shoppers the impression of being in the middle of downtown Lawrence. "To be competitive on New Hampshire, the retailers need to feel they are not second-class citizens to the Massachusetts Street properties," said Dale Glenn, president of GLPM Architects. (*Commission briefs* 2000)

Merchant in-groups in the DRA have a long history. Some informants note that a strong informal merchant group of conservative males was dominant 30 years ago. A new, more liberal cohort of both women and men has replaced it. Informants advised me of their concerns about how this cohort heavily influences DRA activities. (Much of the interview and observational data I collected on this topic was given in confidence.) Informants concerns and my observations indicate that a merchant in-group sometimes successfully circumvents general norms in pursuit of its own goals. A DRA retailer who is outside this network describes effect of in-group SCRC in the following complaint.

Though plans have been in motion for months, some Lawrence merchants were surprised this week to find out that some downtown streets and parking lots will be closed Friday, May 13, for a national bicycle race. "I hate to be cut off from both the front and the back," said Tim Arensberg, whose shoe store at 825 Mass. will lose access to a parking lot in the back along Vermont Street. "I know that it's going to be a day of business that's basically lost." But race advocates noted that City Hall and Downtown Lawrence Inc. had both given approval for the event --and said the chance to showcase the city's historic shopping area should offset any temporary costs. . . . Arensberg, though, was caught unawares. He said he doubted race spectators would be buying shoes, and expressed concern the street closure would cut him off from regular customers. "No one approached me or asked me ---I got a letter (from the visitors' bureau) saying they'd work with me, but it looks like a done deal," he said. (Mathis 2005c)

There are also suggestions of favoritism in DRA development. Advocates call for public-private projects to enhance the DRA's roles as the city's economic, social, and cultural center. Critical retailers and consumers express concerns about the social ties involved in building these projects. They argue that city officials favor socially connected builders. (Several prominent local builders recently submitted proposals for a new library in the DRA. Favoritism, if it exists, reflects in-group formation that is a possible negative consequence of SC). The following reactions by bloggers typify these types of tensions.

"Public/Private Partnerships" The new PC term for ripping off the taxpayers! If the track record of such things as the parking garage which cost the taxpayers nearly DOUBLE the national average price per space is to be followed, such a "partnered" project will be overly rich in profits for the "Private" and devastatingly injurious to the "Public". I have seen all of the proposals to date, know that the library director was in bed with GLPMA and realize that the properties which are being considered for construction of the new library are controlled or owned by local developers who are just waiting to swoop in on all that fat tax money. A deal is in place with the Salvation Army to purchase the old property at 11th and New Hampshire after the new "shelter" is built in the middle of a residential area as well. The old property will then be sold to the city based on its value as a commercial property, which of course will be an astronomical figure. The architectural contracts will then be let to firms already involved with the project and further imposition of the "VISION" for downtown will progress. I think that these "VISIONS" really are all of nice numbers in the checkbooks of the conspirators in this matter. The fix is in! (BLOG, Marion, 041706)

As Marion said, LAST WEEK (capitalization throughout is by blogger for emphasis) the train has left the station, elevator, elevator, we got the shaft! THIS IS A DONE DEAL. Finished, over, end of discussion! All the commissioners have left to do is decide which developer they want to make wealthy. Too bad Dolph is not a "FRIEND OF THE FAMILY' His concept makes as much sense as any. I bet this deal hits 50 million or more by the time everyone gets their "pound of flesh" But won't it be just "swell"? (BLOG, macon47, 051506)

MEANINGS OF THE MARKETPLACE

Per P8, there is direct and indirect evidence that SCRC by marketers and consumers contributes to the DRA's shared and contested meanings. SC underlies co-production of a wide range of store activities and functions and meso- and area level activities and events in the DRA. The scope of SCRC shapes and reflects many retailers' and consumers' conceptions of the DRA and its role as a focal point in the community. What retailers and consumers co-produce and the co-produced activities and events that they attend, observe while downtown, and learn about in the media affect and are affected by the meanings that they ascribe to the DRA. These activities and events combine economic, consumption-related, social, cultural, and political elements. As the excerpts below exemplify, retailers, consumers, and the media describe the DRA in terms of a blend of these broadly understood meanings, although they may stress different aspects of it character.

"[What I noticed most upon moving to Lawrence was] the community – just walking downtown, there was a sense of vibrancy and that there were diverse opinions going on around here. And those diverse opinions were helping to keep Lawrence lively. It wasn't a community that had a dominant philosophy, that this was the way Lawrence was. There's positive tension in communities, and it's particular to Lawrence and it's a good thing. . . . I'm grateful that we still have downtown. We all define it differently, but downtown has a lot to do with that: There is still a place where people go. We wouldn't be what we are if we didn't have downtown, that sense that you can still run into neighbors, even with the population approaching 100,000. There are parades and art shows. And independently owned stores: Sunflower and Phoenix Gallery and Free State Brewery. Those are the businesses that define this community. When I'm in Free State Brewery, I'm in Lawrence, Kansas. And that's important." (Fagan 2002)

Even though some businesses have moved elsewhere, downtown still is a center of business and government activity in Lawrence. It's also a social center and a gathering place for Lawrence residents. Downtown churches continue to invest in their buildings and the community. It's wonderful that the Lawrence Arts Center has decided to maintain its home downtown and new developments already are drawing new office tenants to the area. The Downtown 2000 project in the 900 block of New Hampshire also includes residential space that hopefully will bring even more activity downtown. The adaptive reuse of the Barteldes Seed Co. building as office space on New Hampshire Street is another highlight, along with the attractive new buildings in the 700 block of Massachusetts. (Simons Jr. 2000)

Ah, Lawrence. Larryville. Law-City. L-Town. We loved it, at times we loathed it, but we all called it home. It was another year of revolution Darwinian and otherwise for our fair city. As the debate over natural selection raged across Kansas, Lawrence remained one of the best little towns in the state, home to a diverse and eclectic blend of people and ideas. As always, restaurants and specialty shops opened and closed downtown, reshaping and redefining one of Lawrence's most beloved locales. Sometimes this was for better, sometimes not, but you can't deny the sheer spirit of our downtown area, ever shining through the corporate glare. New chain stores even opted for funky, organic auras while establishments such as Liberty Hall, The Love Garden, Waxman Candles and The Replay Lounge remained imbued with character and characters! (Britt, et al. 2001)

Though many residents may not, Jeremy Douglas, executive director of Downtown Lawrence Inc., understands the prominent role music plays in the city's central business district. People who come to town for a show may pop into a restaurant for a meal, or they might return the next weekend to shop for clothes, furniture or anything else offered inside the dozens of shops lining Massachusetts Street or anywhere else in town, for that matter. "It's the heart of the evening time in Lawrence," Douglas said. "For the nightlife, it plays the biggest of roles." . . . "The music industry is the biggest draw in town, second only to the Jayhawks," Fortier said. "I don't think anyone else brings more people to town. It's KU sports and us. That's the simple fact, and I don't think a lot of people realize it." Filling Liberty Hall, the Granada and the Bottleneck for shows on the same night means 2,100 people dancing, singing and spending money in downtown Lawrence. (Fagan 2001a)

Typically, retailers' and consumers' interpretations are sufficiently malleable to allow them to recognize and accept the DRA as a place for varied activities and the expression of diverse views. The legitimacy of broad and malleable conceptions of the DRA may be due to several factors that are reflected in the prior excerpts. First, retailers and consumers are generally positive about the DRA's economic, consumption-related, social, cultural, and political meanings. (Later sections deal with tensions about legitimate meanings and uses.) Second, co-produced activities and events are polysemic, i.e., persons may not view them in the same way. Finally, the meanings of co-produced activities and events are interrelated and overlap. For example, they may be both consumptionrelated and social in nature and cultural events may affect the DRA's economic character.

SCRC and Shared Economic Meanings of the DRA

Many retailers and consumers see the DRA as a site of construction and other economic activities (e.g., daily retail activity, the Sidewalk Sale, Holiday Open Houses, and Farmers' Market) that create revenues, support varied organizations, and expand jobs, tourism, and the tax base. These excerpts typify such ideas and reflect the interrelated and mutually reinforcing nature of the DRA's economic and other meanings. They also stress economic factors that are affected by SCRC, as noted in discussions of P1-7.

There are people who just flat out don't understand that this downtown is a little economic engine. It's frustrating to me that they don't seem to have any numbers. There must be some way to quantify how much money this downtown brings in. They talk about tourism dollars being in excess of \$40 million. So people come to Lawrence --- why? To see Wal-Mart? For all the stuff we offer kids? I don't think so. It's the Jayhawks – then art, culture, music and shopping – and that's downtown. The University and the Lied Center probably bring people in, but I'd say

having been to the Lied Center that we get an awful lot of locals there. No, it's downtown. That's the draw. People come to Lawrence to go downtown to socialize, to hang out, the people watch. To be a part of a unique cultural experience. The question is: how much of that \$40 million is directly attributable to the efforts of our downtown shops. And the answer is: we don't know. But I'm telling you, it's big (laughs)! (FI downtown employee, Mike 2005)

[City commissioner Schulte does not believe that tax abatements] should be reserved only for companies that pay a "high, white-collar kind of wage." "We're going to need jobs for everybody," he said. The groundwork for growth also must include maintenance of Lawrence's historic character. "Those resources are real important and tie into downtown," he said. "We need to maintain that and enhance the character of the whole town." (Brack1991)

He thinks the city's importance as a civil war site is something the DRA could trade on. You can go to plenty of generic cities in America but Lawrence has the opportunity to develop their DRA – to have a unique community and a unique merchandizing proposition. He also said that he thinks that destination tourism is growing and is something that the DRA can capitalize on. (FI retailer, Jeff 2005)

I don't think we should lose sight of the fact that a lot of money is spent developing and maintaining the downtown. City-funded projects like the parking garage downtown and the arts center released a lot of money into the local economy. Those two projects alone pumped about \$11 million into our economy, and though I don't know the figures, I'm sure created jobs. (FI customer, Rosa 2001)

They sold fresh flowers and fresh vegetables at the Farmer's Market. There were a number of churches that use this as an opportunity to get their parishioners involved in the community and in church fundraising. One vendor said that people in the church sign up to either provide the coffee, brownies, or the other goods that they are selling that day or to work in the booth. (FN 2005)

SCRC and Shared Consumption-Related Meanings of the DRA

The DRA's consumption-related roles are widely known by consumers and retailers. The prior sections refer to shopping, entertainment, eating, dancing, drinking, meeting others with similar interests (e.g., hobbies), and other consumption-related activities that are affected by SCRC. These excerpts typify some of these uses. (Later sections discuss social, cultural, and political aspects of consumption-related matters in the DRA).

I: When I use the term "downtown Lawrence," what do you think of? R: I think of, I think of like our main shopping area where you go for the shopping experience (emphasis on word by informant) because to me shopping is more than just parking your car, getting out, going into a store, getting back into your car, driving to another store, getting out, shop – I mean, I don't – that's not my preferred shopping style. (INT customer, Connie 2005) It's sort of almost two separate things. You know, you'll go downtown to stroll and look at shops or whatever or maybe it's Ed and I will be going to a movie and we're a little bit early and so we'll walk up and down and look in store windows. But say I'm going shopping with Ursula. We go down and so although we'll stroll a little bit there are always certain stores that she'll want to go to. (FI customer, Barbara, St. Pat's Parade 2005)

SCRC and Shared Social Meanings of the DRA

Social interaction in the DRA. The DRA is known as a place for social interaction. As retailers and consumers note in the excerpts below, social interaction is integral to the DRA. Many of them anticipate seeing friends and neighbors at celebrations and happenings, such as holiday parades and sales events (partially created via SCRC).

Of course everything happens downtown. (FI customer, Sissy 101505)

"I didn't know it (the sidewalk sale) was so big," said Kim Wanders of Kansas City, Mo. "It's so exciting. There are big sales everywhere, and I got to see my friends." (Mathis 2002b)

"Downtown without hospitality is a mall," Boulter said. "Lawrence, really, is a village. Coffee shops, bars, they help make a village." (Mathis 2004a)

They also see the DRA's businesses (stores, bars, coffee houses, bookshops, restaurants, etc.) as places for social exchange. These comments typify their understandings. R: if I'm in the Bay Leaf and someone's wondering and looking at cookware and I know I have it you know I might 'oh, I know that's fantastic. You'd really love it' and you know you'd actually kinda almost sell the person on um you know the item or this store or

I: What motivates you to do that?

R: I don't know! Uh, it probably is the atmosphere. It's a lot more like we've talked about a lot more socially interactive or it just feels more um I don't know how to put it but you know how if you're at a party you feel a lot less inhibited about maybe talking to someone you don't know very well. More like that. You know how the proximity, a relaxed atmosphere and it doesn't feel like um . . . you actually feel like you're actually having this social moment and maybe the barriers are down a little bit and so you don't feel uncomfortable (INT customer, Rebecca 2005)

Ask baristas around town, and you'll quickly learn that Lawrence's coffeehouse scene offers a comfortable hangout to suit just about everybody's taste. Whether you're seeking to sip a latte in a serene atmosphere surrounded by art and books — that would be Signs of Life, 722 Mass. — or you dig a more eclectic environment — try Henry's, 11 E. Eighth St., home to a funkier, artsy crowd — it won't take you long to find a niche that feels just right. It's all about finding a "third space" — somewhere aside from work or home — where you can find a sense of community. That's according to Charlie Whitman, owner of the 11-year-old Bourgeois Pig, 6 E. Ninth St. — a place to tap out a paper on your laptop, study for a midterm exam or just hang out and watch the passing parade of Lawrence life. "You can gossip and find out who's been there and who's coming. Your barista is like your bartender," Whitman says. There are plenty of coffeehouses to choose among; Lawrence is thick with them. "There's a fair amount of choices, for the size of the town. There's definitely something for everyone," says Ryan Folker, a barista at Henry's. (Baker 2005a)

SCRC reflects and contributes to the DRA's perceived character, by providing opportunities for interactions among retailers and consumers. Their conversations are not limited to what is co-produced. As these excerpts exemplify, they may discuss varied and personal topics and develop ties that extend beyond SCRC in retail settings.

A lot of customers kinda watch what other people are buying and will strike up a conversation, 'oh why did you choose that?' I'm always surprised when that happens because you're not used to having customers talk to you when you're shopping. At least I'm not. But when it does happen, generally customers are really enthusiastic to tell this stranger, 'oh I'm getting this chocolate because I grew up on it when I lived in Austria for the first ten years of my life when my dad was in a military base.' Lots of conversations start up between customers. (INT retailer, Nicola 2001)

[It] was fun because I saw a lot of people I knew, out doing the same thing [entering for door prizes], and it was very enjoyable. [I] ran into some people I hadn't seen for a long time. It was kind of a social thing really..... [L]ike on the street they'd say 'may the best person win' [door prizes] and stuff.... It's a lot of fun and it puts me in the Christmas spirit [Do you] remember that one year Alyssa was going to bring Angus [her dog], and she put that sign in your window.... (INT customer, Lou 2001)

We've had people who have met [in the store] and become friends and continue to correspond with each other They come back and they tell us, 'Hey, remember that lady I met in your store 6 months ago? Well, she sent me a birthday card. I talked to her and I sent her some cookies.' (INT retailer, Mary 2001)

[Attending DRA events] feels like a party. I just really -- especially when you talk about the St. Patrick's Day parade, the sesquicentennial thing -- I just think there's a really, really strong like I said again feeling of ownership of Lawrence, that these are Lawrence events, that you're being involved in your community by doing these sorts of things and there is a certain group of people that you sorta almost always expect to be there and that I do see at these events so that there just a real strong feeling of 'I'm a part of Lawrence and I should be involved in things that are a part of Lawrence.' (INT customer, Barbara 2005)

Some of them have businesses in other locations but they always enjoy the opportunity to come to the farmer's market. Some of them do make some money and there are some sales involved but many of them just really enjoy contact with other vendors. (FN 2005)

Retailers and consumers also have opportunities for social interaction through SCRC in various community centers in the DRA. For example, youths, seniors, and other members of the public use the community building's basketball and racquetball courts and weight room. In pick-up basketball games, players integrate new arrivals into teams based on their skill levels. Seniors also co-produce exercise routines, by agreeing on time limits and order of equipment use and sharing tips on exercise, fitness, and health. The DRA library hosts many co-produced activities and for youths and adults that are contexts for social interaction (e.g., art exhibits, lectures, children's storybook hours, and book club discussions) and its meeting rooms are used by many community organizations. Other community centers in the DRA also host and sponsor such clubs, interest groups, organizations, and activities, as the examples in these excerpts indicate.

Artists who gather once a week at Senior Center for camaraderie, critiques will be among participants in 2004 Lawrence ArtWalk Sunday, October 17, 2004. As members of the Downtown Tuesday Painters quietly chat, Carole Peters dips her brush into her watercolor palette and carefully applies paint to her canvas. Her mother, Millie Peters, concentrates intensely on her own painting across the ring of tables. Carole once lived halfway across the country. Her mother convinced her to join the Downtown Tuesday Painters about nine years ago, when Carole retired and moved home to Lawrence from New Jersey. Now the two retirees get together once a week to paint. "I roped her in because we were such a small group then," says Millie, a founding member of the group. "We don't have that problem anymore." (*Only on Tuesdays* 2004)

Douglas County Senior Services, 745 Vt., has several classes taking place. All Douglas County residents age 55 and older are invited to participate. Future seniors also are welcome if space allows. . . . Several program opportunities are available including: Monday Open sewing, 9:30 a.m. to 4 p.m. Handcrafts, 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. Pinochle, 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. Bridge, 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. at Vermont Towers, 1101 Vt. Open computer lab, 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. Also on Wednesdays. Tuesday Downtown Tuesday Painters, 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Bingo, 12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. Intermediate French, 1:30 p.m. to 3 p.m. Open woodshop, 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. Wednesday Chair Exercise, 10:30 a.m. to 11 a.m. Also on Fridays. Creative Writing, 10:30 a.m. to noon. Quilting bee, 12:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Poetry group, 3 p.m. to 4 p.m. Thursday Friendship coffee, 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. New Horizons Saxophone Group, 4 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. Friday Dominos, 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. to 4 p.m. New Horizons Band, 4 p.m. to 5 p.m. (*Recreation calendar* 2000)

Moreover, the DRA is used as a site for co-produced gatherings that bring together retailers and consumers who share other common interests and experiences (e.g., memorial services for Princess Diana, the Queen's Jubilee celebration, and celebrations of University of Kansas' sports victories). The following excerpt concerns the annual April 15th tax night festivities at the DRA post office, which feature impromptu presentations by varied musicians and other performers and servings of 'roadkill stew.'

Alferd Packer band member Steve Mason came up with the idea for a tax night performance at the post office 18 years ago. He remembered how he felt the previous year after mailing his taxes at the last minute. He said he felt a tremendous relief that the ordeal was over but couldn't find a place to party. "There was kind of a letdown," Mason said of his mood that night. "It's the physical feeling you get when you're walking out of a big test you had prepared for. It's like somebody has taken their thumb off your head." (Belt 2005a)

Social services in the DRA. The DRA has a long history as a site for social services. Retailers and consumers support charitable events for drop-in center for the needy, overnight facilities for the homeless, soup kitchens, and other social services and assistance in the DRA (some of which are noted in the following excerpts).

LINK [Lawrence Interdenominational Nutrition Kitchen] serves meals to 135 people per day, four days a week, and the [Lawrence Community] shelter houses 20 people per night, Morgan said. (Diepenbrock 2006)

Ricky Edwards' plan to emerge from homelessness includes homemade cookies and biscotti. Hey, it is a better plan than he had just a few months ago. Edwards is the first, and thus far, only salesman for Melting Pot Cookies and Biscotti, a Lawrence-based company that seeks to use homeless residents to market cookies and other sweets at area farmers markets. For Edwards, a former farmhand who has been staying at the Lawrence Community Shelter since November, it may be the break that could give him just enough money to get back on his feet. "I'm like a lot of people down here who want to do a job but the job doesn't want them because of the bad reputation of the homeless," Edwards said. "If you don't have an address, you don't get a job in this town. It's that simple." The cookie project is one of four new initiatives at the Lawrence Community Shelter, 944 Ky., aimed at helping residents break into the job market. Other projects include a new partnership with Cottonwood Inc. to bring a job coach to the shelter, a shelter-run business to sell "welcome rocks" to homeowners and businesses, and a program that would have shelter residents walking up and down Massachusetts Street with a sign seeking donations for a homeless-produced newspaper called Change of Heart. (Lawhorn 2005c)

Needy and homeless Lawrence residents will be the beneficiaries of a fund-raiser planned by the Community Drop-In Center. "Chocolate and Tea At Three" will feature baked goods and music, as well as a silent auction featuring items from Natural Way, Lawrence Athletic Club, Marisco's, the Kansas City Royals, the Kansas University Athletic Department, The Topiary Tree and others. Tickets are \$25. The event will be from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. Nov. 10 at Abe and Jake's Landing, 8 E. Sixth St. (*Charity* 2001)

SCRC and Shared Cultural Meanings of the DRA

The prior sections include examples of many co-produced cultural activities (e.g., art and crafts installations, exhibits, and tours; performances by musicians, dancers, and magicians; parades, celebrations, festivals, contests; historical tours, reenactments, commemorations, book sales; and religious ceremonies). As these excerpts typify, the media, consumers, and retailers view the DRA as a site for cultural experience and expression.

Several events are planned in conjunction with the opening of the new Lawrence Arts Center, 940 N.H.: Monday: Arts-based preschool students walk to the new arts center from the old building, 945 Vt.; arts education, dance and drama spring sessions begin; art exhibition opens in gallery. Friday and Saturday: "New Works Concert," by Prairie Wind Dancers, 8 p.m. April 14: Open house and dedication, 2 p.m. April 20-21: "Stuart Little," by the Seem-To-Be Players, 1:30 p.m. April 27: Lawrence Arts Center Art Auction, 7 p.m. Above, Kansas University student Ryan Ludwig examines artwork hanging on the walls of the new building. The arts center opened its doors to the public Saturday night. (*Local briefs* 2002)

Although he and Bill were among the people who perceived by the downtown Lawrence board as being anti-bike race, he was saying that he would really welcome these events, he would be horrified if this race were moved to South Iowa and it were somehow to become associated Wal-Mart. He definitely believes strongly that this community needs to continue to perceive downtown as the appropriate place for these activities and in his words, "The cultural center of the community." (FI retailer, Richard 2005)

To allow outlying developments to sap the energy of downtown would be a tragedy that would be felt far beyond the pocketbooks of downtown merchants; it would diminish our community in many ways. People come downtown to see a performance and eat dinner. They come downtown to visit the library or go to a park. They come downtown to shop and visit a professional office. But they don't come downtown to visit big box stores. (Simons Jr. 2001)

Other things Lawrence is doing right, he said, include providing an information center at the Lawrence Visitors Center where tourists can pick up brochures and fliers about the outdoor sculpture display, events, galleries and other cultural opportunities in Lawrence; keeping the Lawrence Arts Center in the downtown area so it is accessible to the public; and supporting businesses like Southwest and More, a gallery that focuses on American Indian and Southwest art. (Biles 1999)

Merchants' and consumers' views of the DRA as a cultural site are socially reinforced in many ways. As noted, there are numerous cultural performances and installations. A substantial portion of the 235 events listed on the VisitLawrence.com website's events calendar are cultural activities in the DRA. For instance, institutions in the DRA have many educational programs, presentations, exhibits, tours, and other cultural activities that involve SCRC (e.g., the Watkins Community Museum of History; GetDowntown, a live music event; Annual Lawrence Indian Art Show held at the Lawrence Arts Center; and Children's Theatre performances). The local media often feature these activities. Moreover, views of the DRA as a cultural center are supported by the recognition it has received from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, publications (e.g., Forbes Magazine, Expansion Management, and John Villani's "The 100 Best Small Arts Towns in America"), and organizations such as the one in this news item.

FindYourSpot.com selected Lawrence this week as one of its "Top Spots" to live, work or retire. The city was chosen for its vibrant cultural life and standout down-town. "Lawrence is too often known as just a college town, when in fact it has the diverse economy and high quality of life to be one of the best hometowns in the country," said Brent Eskew, president of FindYourSpot.com. As part of the honor, the Web company has compiled a report about Lawrence for prospective residents. The report, which calls the city "the cultural capital of Kansas," can be viewed online at www.FindYourSpot.com/LawrenceKS. (*Lawrence named top spot* 2001)

SCRC and Shared Political Meanings of the DRA

The DRA as a political stage. Comments from informants, the media, and bloggers (e.g., the one in excerpt below) indicate that the DRA is generally seen as a site for airing varied political views. These views are often expressed via co-produced parades, protests, demonstrations, and petition-drives, which focus on patriotism, ecology, legalizing hemp, Native American rights, the Iraq war, abortion, and other political topics. (See Figures 21 and 34.) The following comment typifies the local view.

I have lived here for only about 4 years now, but I just absolutely love this town and this community-and I'm a Republican! I love Mass St., the Honk-for-Hemp guy, the farmers' market, the eclectic shops, the old houses-all of it! (BLOG, redmorgan, 020606)

SCRC and Contested Economic Meanings of the DRA

The DRA's economic primacy. There are tensions about the DRA's economic primacy in the city and the protection it receives. (As discussed, SCRC contributes to favored treatment and protection of the DRA). Some actors think that the DRA is the city's primary business area and must be protected. These excerpts typify these views.

Why, in the face of the obvious, should we not insist that the downtown area be retained as the central business district, to paraphrase from your column? Instead of carping about it, why not revel in it? You argue for continued growth, not a bad thing in itself, but go on to add, "The kind of growth that in past years has made Lawrence such an attractive city." Much of the growth that I have seen consists of ugly strip malls, many of whose buildings become vacant and subsequently eyesores, or the neon, fast-food horror of 23rd Street. Do we honestly need a Target Store in this city? If we took you in blindfolded to such a place, could you differentiate it from Wal-Mart or K-mart, which we already have? I fear that much of the growth you write about contributes not a lot to the charm and livability of Lawrence. The challenge, of course, is to create a community where business interests thrive but which does not drain the vitality out of the downtown area of

threaten the quality of life that many of us have enjoyed here. Judy Batson, 2535 Mo. (Batson 1993)

My family and I love the downtown. Getting to know the business owners on a first name basis over the past 20+ years has made it our destination of choice. We are not looking forward to a second "downtown" or "second city center." We like the original. Nothing beats a friendly, familiar face. (BLOG, SteelHorseRider, 011506)

A community has every right to distance itself from that which preys upon its balance. (BLOG, Escapee, 011606; regarding the construction of additional retail developments outside the DRA)

In contrast, the following excerpts exemplify the view that the DRA is just one of the city's business areas and that protection limits the tax base, employment, and growth. A number of residents express concerns about protectionism tactics employed by city planners on behalf of the DRA (and orchestrated, in part, by retailers' collective efforts via the DLI). They argue that such protectionism limits progress, access to services in other parts of the town, and development in the broader community.

That's called free enterprise. He who has the better store wins, and it should be the owner of the store who decides whether he wants to compete or not, and if so, how best to do that. If that means having a larger inventory of a wider variety of items at more affordable prices, then that should be the owner's choice, and the city should have nothing to say about it. If that means being a little specialty shop with limited inventory, limited variety, and "specialty" pricing, that's the owner's choice, too. If the market will support one and not the other, well, that's how this game is played, and the city should do nothing to try to manipulate the market in a way that favors one owner over the other. (BLOG, Pilgrim, 011606)

Some Lawrence city commissioners and a few city officials are so obsessed with protecting the downtown or so-called "central business district" from any competition from major suburban shopping malls, that it is highly questionable whether there will be any relaxing of land use and zoning policies in Lawrence. . . . Current local debate centers on the "Western Development Plan" and the utilization of a sizable acreage between West 23rd and Sixth streets and west of Wakarusa Drive. . . . Many supposedly well-intentioned individuals have spent considerable time working on the Western plan, and hopefully they are motivated by a desire to do what they think is in the best interests of Lawrence. Unfortunately, however, they and others are tying the Western plan into Plan 95, which has been used far too long as the benchmark for Lawrence land development. . . . City commission actions the past few years on land-use matters, with the assistance of some city officials, have resulted in the loss of many jobs for Lawrence residents, new businesses and millions of tax dollars. (Simons Jr.1989) Downtown Lawrence has a special place in the city's heart, planning officials say, but it no longer is the only big shopping district. South Iowa Street also shares that distinction. So proposed revisions to Horizon 2020 would call downtown "a" primary commercial center instead of "the" primary center. (*Downtown may lose 'exclusive' status in guide* 2001)

She also wished there were more service-oriented businesses on the city's west side. "Some people think that [west side development] would take away from downtown, but I don't. Downtown will still be eight minutes away," she said. (Rothschild 2001)

Downtown needs to evolve with the rest of the city. If Downtown is strong enough and worthy enough to retain its' place as the "center", or "focus" of town, then it should have no problem with competition. Competition is the thing that drives all businesses to be their best, and perhaps this competition [a west side new urbanism development known as Bauer Farms] will drive the Downtown area to become even better. If Downtown sucks and isn't worthy to hold it's reputation as the city's focus, then it's only natural and healthy that a new shopping area take it's place. (BLOG, aquakei, 011506)

I wonder if adding a little "competition" to Dowtown Lawrence will eventually result in lower rental prices on Mass Street? (BLOG, Kookamooka, 011506, referring to proposed Bauer Farms retail development in NW Lawrence) "No, no, we can't have 'sprawl."" "No, no, we can't have high density." "Welcome to Lawrence. The answer is NO!" (BLOG, Pilgrim, 011506, referring to actions on the city to restrain retail development in the city)

SCRC and Contested Consumption-Related Meanings of the DRA

The DRA's goods and services mix. Views on the DRA's goods and services differ. Some individuals think that the DRA has a limited product assortment, high prices, resticted store hours, and inconvenient parking. As discussed, these matters are possible negative consequences of how SCRC may restrict freedoms, level norms downward, and create tragedy of the commons effects (in the case of parking).

Usually downtown is not my first choice for shopping. There isn't much there that interests me, other than Yarn Barn and Borders. Even dining out we don't go to the restaurants downtown very often. We're much more likely to drive to the commercial zone on south Iowa Street to visit those stores and restaurants. Before that was developed (and before Borders came to town), I made very regular trips to Kansas City. . . . I'm not sure that this new development [on the west side of town] will offer anything that I will personally enjoy, but I'm all for offering people new choices, especially since downtown is not the be-all and end-all of every-thing people need or want. (BLOG, Jillster, 011506)

"The thing that makes Lawrence absolutely unique is that it had the vision and the resources to preserve its downtown," he said. "This would be just another univer-

sity community without the downtown." But Gerhard believes more needs to be done to preserve downtown. He wants to create incentives for people to move into downtown and the surrounding neighborhoods -- people with money who will spend it on Massachusetts Street. "Finding ways to upgrade and improve the neighborhoods, and to add new housing, is critical to downtown," he said. "Otherwise, the shops will be increasingly college-oriented. They've tried that in Aggieville (in Manhattan, KS, a nearby college town) and you see how that's worked." (Mathis 2003a)

Matthew Jones lives in Eudora but does most of his shopping in Lawrence. Few of his dollars, however, make their way downtown. "I hardly ever go down there," he said Wednesday while shopping at Wal-Mart, 3300 Iowa. "Most of the places down there are more expensive. I can find whatever I need without going down there." (*Downtown may lose 'exclusive' status in guide* 2001)

I feel really guilty about going to Wal-Mart because most of my friends are very staunch local shoppers so I always feel incredibly guilty to say that I actually go to Wal-Mart. (Laughter.) But the reason I got to Wal-Mart is because I have this frame of reference that I'm really poor and I don't have much. . . . [And] I'm just going to go where I can go on a Sunday and get it cheapest – but I know my friend, Sally Haines, will go – she'll go out of her way – she doesn't have a car and so she'll stay at the very local level and she'll go purposely even if she pays a dollar or two more but because she doesn't have a car, she doesn't have the ex-

pense of a car, she can put her money into supporting the downtown merchants. (INT customer, Alexandra 2001)

My only problem with downtown is that almost everything closes right after dinner. Unless I have a free weekend to shop downtown, my shopping ends up going elsewhere. I do stay in Lawrence, though. I can almost always find what I need in Lawrence. And yes, I shop at Wal-mart. And Target. (BLOG, char, 011606)

What hurts downtown is lack of parking and limited foot traffic. Downtown as we have known it is declining and that will continue until it becomes really lofty (pun) and by that time it too will be an elitist area. (BLOG, Marion, 111506)

Types of retailers in the DRA. There are mixed views about some types of retailing in the DRA. For example, some persons object to secondhand stores, bars and nightclubs, tattoo parlors, and other retailers with (what they see as) distasteful or non-conventional goods. These retailers' survival is due, in part, to their joint efforts with one another and, in some cases, with consumers (e.g., bars, as noted).

Jennifer Sievers, owner of Arizona Trading Co., 734 Mass., said the idea of used merchandise was becoming more accepted. "I think the attitude has changed about used merchandise in general," said Sievers, whose store sells used clothing. "It's not the old thrift store idea anymore. It is something more hip that appeals to a wider audience." Joe Flannery, president of Weaver's department store, says downtown Lawrence is attracting shoppers and business is good. There are some concerns about the trend. John Kiefer, president of Lawrence-based Kief's Audio-Video, 2429 Iowa, opened Kief's CDs and Tapes, a used music store, on Massachusetts Street about five years ago. But he said he had concerns about a proliferation of used merchandise sellers changing the image of downtown from that of a "plaza-like shopping area" to a flea market. Dave Wright, owner of Play It Again Sports, 1029 Mass., agreed that a secondhand image probably wasn't desirable for downtown. But he said he didn't see the downtown gaining that image anytime soon. "I don't think people feel like downtown is some sort of flea market," Wright said. "I think they just kind of stumble onto our stores. But the stores that are down here now are drawing traffic, and anything that draws traffic, I think, is great for downtown." (Lawhorn 2004c)

"I think once you get a certain concentration of drinking establishments, an area becomes like Aggieville in Manhattan [Kansas] or Westport in Kansas City," Commissioner Boog Highberger said Friday. "And I don't think that's anybody's vision of what our downtown should look like." (Mathis 2004b)

Nancy Ness opened her design studio on downtown's bustling Massachusetts Street to sell furniture, art and design advice to Lawrence residents. But each morning, she begins her day with a different kind of job, cleaning up the aftermath of the city's nightlife: cigarette butts, paper plates, and on occasion, even vomit. "It's hard to come into an upscale art gallery and furniture store and have to step over vomit," Ness said of Carmesi, her business at 1021 Mass. She keeps a spray bottle filled with bleach and a pooper-scooper for the offensive chores. But she is amazed that she has to do such tasks in the heart of a downtown blossoming with new stores and high-dollar investment. Her plight points to a natural friction between those who do business while the sun shines and those who make their money by the light of the moon. (Blackwood 2000c)

Linda Day, a Lawrence resident, told commissioners that they needed to investigate whether specific bars were attracting violence. She also suggested they at least consider an earlier closing time for bars because many of the violent acts have happened in the early-morning hours. (*City hears ideas for downtown safety* 2006)

"Has anybody been in this new store, this anime store, can you explain it?" the retailer asked. He described taking another long time merchant downtown to look at this business, Jack Arensberg with Arensberg Shoes, and how confused they were by the kinds of products in that store. One of the merchants commented, "I think it adds to the uniqueness of downtown even if nobody ever goes there." And so we had a discussion about the cultural attributes of that business. The first retailer continued to shake his head. (FN 2005)

Chains stores in the DRA. There are also tensions about chain stores in the DRA, as these excerpts and the photos in Figures 35 and 36 reflect.

Downtown's largest support group will not offer unified comment concerning a proposal to bring a Borders bookstore downtown. A position paper proposed by Downtown Lawrence Inc.'s board of directors, and sent to the group's 150 members for comment, will not be forwarded to the Lawrence City Commission because of a lack of support, said David Longhurst, DLI president. "It's a complicated issue," Longhurst said. "I don't want to send a letter if it enjoys a majority of responses unless it's a pretty convincing consensus. "We're looking for consensus here." . . . Longhurst said the DLI board circulated the letter because "it seemed like something relatively easy to support." In the end, however, the survey only revealed the deep divisions within the DLI membership about the controversial project. Commissioner Bob Moody had requested that DLI survey its membership about the Winter proposal. Longhurst said a consensus opinion was unattainable. "We'll have to rely on individual members to make their views known," said Longhurst, a former mayor. "It'll be a tough vote." (Fagan 1996)

The protesters said they also were standing up for locally owned Lawrence businesses. "When things get this globalized, it is hard to know the origins," said Free State High School student Emily Seibel, 17. "Most people shrink away from it when there is a simple solution: Focus on locally owned businesses. And in Lawrence there is such an opportunity for that." Most businesses on Massachusetts Street are locally owned. Among the exceptions are Gap, Abercrombie & Fitch, the Buckle, Maurice's, Urban Outfitters and Chipotle Grill. Free State student Lee Davis, 17, said the protesters heard mixed response from shoppers. Some were rude, some indifferent and some supportive. "We don't want to make people mad. We want to inform them," Davis said. "We don't want the Gap downtown. We need to keep downtown local. That is what makes it great and unique." Jerry Bottenfield, executive director of Downtown Lawrence Inc., said there are good and bad national chains. He said Gap has been a good member of the community and Lawrence Downtown Inc. I wish we had more businesses like them in participation and their wish to make downtown better," Bottenfield said. (McCombs 2000)

I had wanted to see a few chain stores like the Gap and stuff so I was glad those went in and I think that goes to show that it's not like downtown died because a couple of big box retailers came in. They sort of forced them to fit into the downtown Lawrence model rather than the other way around you know. Like when the Gap first opened they were a very small store and they were sort of forced to fit into the downtown model rather than the downtown having to accommodate big box retail. And you know they did that with Borders, too, you know they forced Borders to use you know historic parts of that building. They made them forced them to fit into the downtown model rather than the other way around. (INT customer, Beth 2005)

> Insert figures 35 and 36 about here Gap Protestor, Wal-Mart Sucks

These divisions are based on different beliefs about chain stores' impact on (particularly small) merchants, consumers, and the local economy, as these excerpts indicate. Moreover, they reflect issues related to the consummatory motives that are sources of SCRC, cohesion and solidarity fostered by SCRC, and effects of SCRC (and the associated norms and social control) on exclusion of outsiders and formation of in-groups.

"I've never been one to think that the mom-and-pop stores are sacrosanct. I do not think national chain stores are inherently evil." (Koger 1999a)

That's called free enterprise. He who has the better store wins, and it should be the owner of the store who decides whether he wants to compete or not, and if so, how best to do that. If that means having a larger inventory of a wider variety of items at more affordable prices, then that should be the owner's choice, and the city should have nothing to say about it. If that means being a little specialty shop with limited inventory, limited variety, and "specialty" pricing, that's the owner's choice, too. If the market will support one and not the other, well, that's how this game is played, and the city should do nothing to try to manipulate the market in a way that favors one owner over the other. (BLOG, Pilgrim, 011606)

I never go to Starbucks. I do sometimes shop in what I call 'the Nationals' but I guess I've made Starbucks my cause. It's symbolic to me of what the Nationals represent. They don't bank locally, they don't contribute locally, they take money out of this community. (INT banker, Abbie 2005)

I don't' know how I would feel if Starbucks joined in [the St. Patrick's Day Parade]. I really worry that they would be stoned if they had a big float. (INT customer, Connie 2005)

I told him some people think downtown should include more chain stores, to draw more shoppers. He wrinkled up his face. "I don't think so, " he said. "I think downtown should be reserved for small businesses." (FI Gap Protest 2004)

[In a pro-DRA discussion thread] When was the last time you heard of a 'good neighbor' award for Walmart? (BLOG, Escapee, 011506)

Why is it that people who are so addicted to the 'Let's Make the Most Money' game are ALWAYS the ones who are the least interested in 1) what's good for the majority, and 2) long-term planning for a community? Isn't one of Walmart's hallmark stock manipulatives that old game of -- let's close this store and put up a new one down the street...thereby dousing that old long-term monitoring tool: Year-to-date sales...remember those? Oh, yeah, Wal-Mart doesn't use that any-more.... (BLOG, Escapee, 011506)

There are a lot of things that I don't like about 'Lawrence Life,' but downtown ambiance is not among them. Please, don't allow anything to destroy the downtown livelihood that currently exists. It IS possible to build up shopping/cultural areas elsewhere within town limits, but -- they should resemble facilities with the parameters that we put on our downtown tenants -- to the exclusivity of anything 'Wal-Mart-like' in any way, shape, or form. Predatorial retail...is not a good thing. (BLOG, Escapee, 011506)

If televangelists hated Wal-Mart, they would probably look and sound something like Bill Talen. Talen — better known as "Reverend Billy" — led a choir and two-dozen acolytes of his "Church of Stop Shopping" down Massachusetts Street on Wednesday afternoon, part of a nationwide campaign against holiday consumerism. "We're saving Christmas from the Shopacalypse!" Talen shouted. "Amen, hallelujah!" Though attired in a TV preacher's blonde pompadour and pastor's collar, Talen's "church" has no religious intent. He started his satirical congregation in the late 1990s, in response to growing corporate control over New York's Times Square. On Wednesday, he was accompanied by a documentary crew making a movie about Talen's Christmas campaign, a New York-to-Los Angeles trip covering 4,500 miles in the three weeks before the holiday. During his Lawrence stop, Talen preached against big-box stores and sweatshops, heard "shopping sins" in a confessional and proclaimed local merchant Ernst Hardware a "saint." If you must shop, Talen said, shop local. "Go to Massachusetts Street, go to a proprietor whose name you know," Talen said, before interrupting downtown traffic. In Lawrence, Talen's followers said, he was probably preaching to the converted. "Lawrence," said Matthew Roth, a spokesman for the campaign, "is one of the model towns in the country for supporting local businesses." (Mathis 2005a)

SCRC and Contested Social Meanings of the DRA

The DRA as a locus of community connectedness and inclusiveness. Views on the DRA's social character differ, despite wide agreement that it is a social meeting ground. A point of contention concerns the idea that the DRA is a locus of community connectedness and inclusiveness. As prior examples and the following excerpts exemplify, many retailers and consumers regard co-produced DRA events and activities as venues for meaningful social gatherings. For instance, they see Halloween Trick-or-Treating as more than a safe and fun activity, the Christmas parade as more than entertainment, and sesquicentennial events as more than historical commemorations. They view them as opportunities to enhance feelings of community and connection.

He also said that the other things, Halloween as a primary example, is extremely important. When I asked him if he participated in that he said, "Oh, yes!" He exclaimed this, he said this is the thing he gets the most comments from people in the community about, is that had the suburban development taken place in the late 70s and downtown had dried then a very important function like Halloween would have had no place to take place in this town and it is extremely important to the children in this community. He also said that the Christmas Parade is equally important. It is very nostalgic. It is important for the children in this community to see this, he said. There are bells and jingling and all that. In his words, "it sets the stage for a wonderful holiday season." (INT retailer, Bill 2005). Bill's position was that he is 100% in support of activities, events, parades that are placed in the downtown area. He believes that it is a very important function that downtown plays in this community and something that you don't see in most other communities today. (FN of INT with retailer, Bill 2005)

The downtown participates in Halloween. The store vendors hand out candy and I have participated as a parent in that for a number of years. I take my children down there. As a storeowner I will be handing out Halloween candy this Halloween. Also I was looking through the parks and recreation catalog a couple of weeks ago and they mentioned that kids who wanted to sign up to paint the windows of merchants downtown could sign up to do so and I have discussed with my partners if we want to make our front window available to the children. It will be at the beginning of our business and might have to move a lot of nice things out of the window for them to paint but I think we should participate. Although there may be some cost to the store in terms of the durability of window displays, we still feel it is important to do. At least talk to them and see. (INT retailer, Ruth 2005)

Even if some folks didn't find the perfect gift, there was merit in mingling with thousands of holiday shoppers strolling the streets. "Everybody's down here," said Nancy Haggart of Lawrence. "It's a happening," added friend Barbara Moorman of Great Falls, Va. (Carpenter and Ludwig 2001) I must say that I think all those things [consumers' participation in parades and in store activities, painting windows, parade of trees or whatever] are positive and necessary for us to develop sort of a community identity. When you go downtown and you are watching this parade you are like oh I recognize some of those people and I have seen them before and I know oh there is so and so's daughter and I think it is great. I don't know necessarily if I consider the merchants, when they participate I look favorably on that too because oh look they have taken the time out to do this and participate. I love that when I see that connection between the community and retail. (INT customer, Connie 2005)

One of the things that makes the area so special are the many activities centered there, especially during the holiday season. Last weekend's Old Fashioned Christmas Parade is a great event that draws thousands of people downtown. The Festival of Trees, the Gingerbread Festival, holiday arts and crafts shows and many other activities make a trip to the heart of Lawrence worthwhile. (Simons Jr. 2000)

Members have come and gone since the commission's inception, but Clenece Hills, the group's president, said a core group of about 20 people had consistently worked on projects. 'Sense of community' The biggest sesquicentennial event draws were the parade and festival on Saturday, but dozens of smaller projects funded by the Sesquicentennial Commission also touched the community. Those include: ·A mural, completed by Van Go Mobile Arts, at the Lawrence Public Library, 707 Vt. •Walking tours of historic trees by the Master Gardener program. •CDs of historical information for elementary teachers to use in their classrooms. • A program highlighting the history of black churches in Lawrence. "These are all things that we hoped would get people connected with each other and understand the sense of community here," Crowe said. (Rombeck 2004)

"It's one of the things constituents talk about all the time: having downtown be a place where all segments of the community feel welcome and not just be a down-town party scene," Rundle said. (Mathis 2004a)

The reality and desirability of the DRA's inclusiveness. Statements by those who find fault with the DRA's social character seem to partially reflect negative consequences of SCRC, such as the exclusion of outsiders and formation of in-groups. Typically, these persons see the DRA as insufficiently or as overly inclusive. For instance, they note that:

Downtown seems to do very well without me, and also without the segment of the Lawrence population who doesn't overly enjoy the whole downtown experience. (BLOG, Jillster, 011506)

Well, I think I got turned off as a student. Just like the downtown businesses seemed to always look more closely at the student population. Once, this lady that owns that Greek restaurant actually made me re-do my check because she thought my signature was too sloppy. It killed her to take my check. And it [the check] was good. So my friends and I don't really go downtown. If we want to socialize, it's definitely not there. (FI consumer, Laura 2002)

I think the Haskell [Indian Nations University] students kinda get left out. I mean, I think once I saw they had some floats in a parade, and you can get Indian tacos at the sidewalk sale, but really it doesn't seem like they're really a part of the downtown social scene (FI customer, Martha 2003).

I don't' know how I would feel if Starbucks joined in [the St. Patrick's Day Parade]. I really worry that they would be stoned if they had a big float. (INT customer, Connie 2005)

The contested meanings of DRA's social character also involve tensions between its social and other (e.g., economic and consumption-related) roles. For example, some persons think that the DRA is overly inclusive because out-of-towners who patronize DRA establishments harm the social atmosphere. As these excerpts suggest, some persons tolerate outsiders since they aid the economy but others openly criticize them.

I think a lot of people who live in Lawrence and have lived here a long time can almost pinpoint the people who come from out of town to shop here and sometimes I think they find them very irritating because maybe they don't quite fall into that very casual, laid back kind of thing. You know they're more demanding, maybe, they're just you know more aggravating somehow (laughs). (INT customer, Beth 2005) I think one of the norms is you're from Lawrence (laughs). You know, I mean I think that for people who live in Lawrence it'd be interesting to talk to people who come from out of town to shop in Lawrence because I think for people who live in Lawrence and have lived here a long time sometimes those out-of-towners can be a real irritant. If you need to go downtown on Saturday and there's a big game day or something you know there's people from out of town coming in and you know my husband and I always joke about you know even though they irritate us we stop and go you know we should just be happy they're here because they're spending money. (INT customer, Sarah 2005)

"I don't know what it is about that community, but it seems like a lot of the problems (in Lawrence bars) can be identified with people from Topeka driving over here and bringing their bad habits with them," said Elwell, owner of Abe & Jake's Landing, at Sixth and New Hampshire streets, and former owner of The Granada, 1020 Mass. (Fagan 2006)

Although I have no statistics to support my position I would suggest that the majority of violent crime that occurs in downtown Lawrence late at night is perpetrated by out-of-towners who live in a culture where violence is much more common and tacitly accepted. It's natural for them to resolve their issues through violence. Lawrence has managed to grow while avoiding the problems of extreme poverty which inevitably breeds violence. Lawrence has grown without fostering violent gangs. This is not a Lawrence problem. It is a problem with our neighboring cities that has unfortunately spilled over into our town. (BLOG, ebbenji, 020606)

City commissioners at their Tuesday meeting agreed to send a letter to the Topeka City Council assuring all Topeka residents that published comments made by a Lawrence bar owner insinuating that Topeka residents were troublemakers were not the general opinion of Lawrence residents. The comments were made in a Journal-World article following the shooting death of a Topeka man last week outside a downtown nightclub. "Our intent shouldn't be to alienate any of the visitors to downtown," City Commissioner Sue Hack said. "I don't think it is right at all to single out individual groups as people we don't want in downtown." The comments were made by Lawrence bar owner Mike Elwell, who operates Abe & Jake's Landing at Sixth and New Hampshire streets. In a Feb. 7 Journal-World article, Elwell said that on Friday nights he often requires customers have two forms of ID to get in to his bar: one establishing age, and another establishing enrollment at Kansas University or Haskell Indian Nations University. Elwell also said in the article that he thought many of the problems that come to Lawrence drinking establishments "center on Topeka." "I just want people to understand that is not the community's sentiment," Mayor Boog Highberger said about why he proposed to write a letter to Topeka leaders. (*City hears ideas for downtown safety* 2006)

Other criticisms suggest that the DRA is overly inclusive, because it attracts free riders who detract from its social atmosphere, particularly homeless persons and teens. These excerpts reflect the nature of such concerns.

She also reported some success in regard to their issues in terms of the homeless activities downtown that two weeks ago they were successful in passing additional ordinances particularly to take care the aggressive panhandling and the use of the right away and actually sleeping on the downtown sidewalks by the homeless people. (FN 2005)

Weekend nights, bored teen-agers come to downtown Lawrence like bees to a flower. They hang out, have fun and aim to cause just enough trouble to get noticed by friends but not police. "This is the excitement for the weekends," said Thomas Vervynck, 19. In a town where teens complain most entertainment is geared for university students or older folks, hanging out on Massachusetts Street is a faithful diversion. It's all about seeing and being seen, hearing and being heard. It's not just teens who hang out on Massachusetts Street, though. University students flit back and forth between bars, packs of motorcyclists stop to watch the action, couples and families stroll as they window shop or head for a favorite restaurant. But it's all punctuated with the teens' booming car stereos, squealing tires, impromptu sidewalk dances, an occasional fight and a good dose of teen troublemaking. Sometimes, even the police can't keep up with it. (Merkel-Hess 2001c)

Finally, crime and anti-social behaviors loom large in some persons' views of the DRA's social meaning. They are ironic byproducts of SCRC's enhancement of DRA's

multiple roles and functions. The co-produced activities and events and vibrancy that draw consumers to the DRA also attract criminals and others who many retailers and consumers see as undesirable. Informants and the following news items express concerns about crime, transients, muggers, and graffiti "artists" (who arguably view the DRA as a site for political and artistic expression, since graffiti is uncommon elsewhere in the city). Photos of graffiti that I took and that ran in the local newspaper are in Figures 37 and 38.

Richard Gwin's photograph (Journal-World, Feb. 7) not only depicted the crime scene in the alley behind the Granada [in the 900 block of Massachusetts Street] but also subtly illustrated an underlying cause of — or at least a contributing factor to — the rampant increase in scofflaws in Lawrence. The fliers posted on the utility pole in the photo foreground [violation of a city ordinance], camping on the sidewalk in front of Weaver's [at 9th & Massachusetts], [combined with] the almost-complete transformation of downtown Lawrence from a retail center to an Aggieville [a bar district in Manhattan, Kansas] and I can only be surprised at Commissioner Mike Rundle's being surprised that a partygoer was shot dead on Massachusetts Street. (Mitchell 2006)

Some other residents who asked not to be identified said they do worry about security for themselves and their possessions, and noted they've found people asleep in their doorways on occasion. (Smith 1989) Police had no suspects on Thursday in the robbery of an elderly man in downtown Lawrence. The robbery occurred at 3:20 p.m. Wednesday when the 78-year-old man was walking down the alley west of the 1000 block of Massachusetts Street. The victim was approached by two men when one pushed him to the ground and both began searching through the victim's pockets, Lawrence Police Sgt. Mike Pattrick said. The victim suffered a minor head injury from the fall but didn't require hospitalization. An employee at Aladdin Cafe, 1021 Mass., saw the incident and called police, Pattrick said. (*Police seek suspects in downtown robbery* 2001) cite

Someone armed with a can of spray paint over the weekend struck 17 Lawrence businesses and office buildings in the downtown area, Lawrence Police said. Graffiti was sprayed onto the walls of the buildings. Most of it appeared to be similar to letters or symbols found in an unidentified Asian language, police spokesman Sgt. Mark Warren said. (*Downtown buildings vandalized* 2001)

Eight police reports came out Wednesday documenting graffiti painted since March 17 on buildings and utility boxes ranging from the 700 block of Vermont Street to the 1000 block of New Hampshire Street. Total damage from the vandalism was estimated at more than \$1,300. (*Vandals target downtown buildings* 2006) Artwork is welcome at the Lawrence Arts Center, but not this kind. Police say a teenager was caught early Wednesday morning spray-painting graffiti onto a brick wall on the rear of the Arts Center, 940 N.H. Another suspect got away. (*Teenager accused* 2006)

Insert figures 37 and 38 about here Downtown graffiti as political and artistic expression

Homeless persons and social services in the DRA. Many of those who express concerns about homeless and transient persons in the DRA favor moving social services out of the area and new ordinances and policies to deal with such persons.

Occasionally I do worry about like the homeless that are downtown and you know you don't necessarily like to walk by them with kids or whatever but during the day I don't feel too particularly worried about it. It might be maybe more at night would be worrisome but they have accosted us you know you walk by them there if you use . . . the [parking] garage that's behind the bank. . . . As you walk there there's the bus stop and that's where the homeless people like to hang out and the Replay Lounge is right across the street. .There's a lot of homeless people there and I've never had them like hurt us or really scare me terribly badly but they have come up to me with my children along with me and like you know sort of accosted me and one time I remember walking through there and there was some kind of argument going on with them and it was weird and you know this the middle of the day and I hurried through with Ursula and then we came back through you know maybe 45 minutes later and the police were there and there'd been some big horrible fight and they were arresting one of the guys so that's a little disturbing but on the other hand I don't want to be one of those people who like advocates like killing the poor or the homeless (laugh) but you know I don't know what kinds of things can be done you know that would be good for both parties or both sides of that issue but it is obviously if you're just talking strictly about comfort in going downtown and affecting downtown you know I could see that being a factor. I could see some people think I can't use that parking garage. I can't take my children past the homeless people because they're always there. (INT customer, Beth)

[The letter-to-the editor writer who supports social services for the homeless in the DRA] implies that the current situation with this population concentrated in the downtown is acceptable. She really needs to read last weekend's article on churches and the homeless downtown: outdoor bathroom, theft, distruction [sic], etc. beyond that: public lewdness; disturbances; arson; property crimes; intimidation as panhandling; etc. this is all right with her? really? (BLOG, bearded_gnome, 070806)

And they should have something to say about this why? Have they heard the phrase, "Beggars can't be choosers?" If it's our tax money being spent on their shelter, we get to decide, not them. They don't want to be moved away from

downtown because there aren't any sidewalks out on 31st Street where they can harass and mooch off of people. Lawrence is already a destination city for the professional homeless. Let's not make it any more attractive by letting them tell us where they can go to pick up more of our hard earned money. (BLOG, Pilgrim, 070806)

If my eyes served me right on my walk through downtown last night, the homeless have quite a vast shelter available already. It's called Mass Street. With the wide sidewalks, benches, various storefronts and whatnot to take in, it's disheartening that everyone has to relegate their path to the precise center of the sidewalk to make way for the homes (and pandering storefronts, of sorts) of these folks. Put in all the flowers you want, city, but it won't save downtown from a litter-ridden ambiance if you have more folks passed out on the street or random pleas and hands shooting out from the sidewalk edges than windowshoppers. (BLOG, justsomewench, 070906)

Robert Gilmore [a homeless man who lives in the downtown] is back on the street and at least one downtown resident isn't happy about it. "I'm not a heartless person; in fact, I'm a very caring person," said Jim Denman, who lives in an apartment above the parking garage at 10th and New Hampshire. "But this guy is living 100 feet from my front door. He sleeps on the sidewalk, he urinates in public. I've seen him strip down and bathe himself, using a two-liter of water -- in public view." Denman says he lives in daily fear that he or his daughter will have the misfortune of happening upon Gilmore's frozen, dead body. "I don't think I should have to put up with that, I don't think anybody should," he said. . . . "Just think about the person -- my daughter, maybe -- who happens to look away for a second and hits him with her car. Kills him," Denman said. "That person will be scarred for the rest of their life." Denman said he's frustrated that police haven't done more to control Gilmore's aberrant behavior. "Ask yourself -- if he did this in Alvamar [a country club district] or in front of (Kansas University men's basketball coach) Bill Self's house, you don't think he'd be arrested in a minute? You think that would be tolerated?" he said. "There's no way. But for some reason it's OK downtown?" (Ranney 122103)

The community is spending so many years of its existence focusing on these transient students and bars -- and lets have more eateries and bars! -- that in someway it's contributing to the homeless problem because the students can be easily mixed in with the homeless because a lot of the homeless are under the age of 20. There are a lot of runaways coming through Lawrence and hanging out and blending with these students and sleeping on their couches and you know. And I was thinking if you focused on families you bring more families downtown Lawrence, the homeless people are going to stand out. They are not going to be able to blend in so easily and I think they might contribute in some ways to a measure of discomfort. As soon as you can start making a community less tolerant and less comfortable to be kind of cool -- and I am just talking about the homeless people that are choosing to be homeless. Because I know quite a few young people who are disenfranchising themselves on purpose even though their parents have plenty of money but they really want to be public nuisances for fun. And those are pretty much the people I am thinking. (INT customer, Jenny 2005)

When I read Friday's article on homelessness in Lawrence, I thought of [City manager] Mike Wildgen's campaign this August to destroy campsites in the woods near the river [north of downtown]. If homeless people are not allowed to live peacefully in out-of-the-way places, no wonder they've ended up downtown. Where else are they supposed to go? Would the upset business owners prefer to have them sleeping in alleys in residential neighborhoods? In my 18 years in Lawrence, I have never experienced "aggressive panhandling," though I worked and spent time downtown almost every day for years. I am dismayed that business owners have such little respect and tolerance for the members of our community who are most in need. What's the true "menace" here: homeless people who are having a hard time, or greedy business owners who have no sense of charity even in the season when their businesses are thriving? (Miller 2004)

Saw about four early 20's or so kids with two dogs on Mass. Street yesterday. They had a sign that said something like "traveling, broke and hungry." I thought, well, welcome to a life lesson. What I should have asked is "how much to get your traveling butts to move on down the road and never come back?" Does anybody know how much the city/county contributes to [Home Shelter Director] Loring's band of misfits? Close the wet shelter and hold people accountable for their actions. Help those that truly want to get back on their feet and tell everyone else to hit the road. Don't ever give a dime to the beggers on the street. They have a place to sleep and food to eat. All they need the money for is booze and drugs. If they don't get any money for that, they'll move on. (BLOG, Moderateguy, 080906)

The beauty and appeal of downtown Lawrence needs to be protected from people camping on sidewalks or in alleyways, city commissioners said Tuesday. Commissioners in a 4-1 vote gave initial approval to an ordinance that would make it illegal to camp on any public right-of-way in the downtown area. Commissioners took up the ordinance after City Commissioner Mike Amyx — a downtown business owner — said he saw people sleeping in doorways, sidewalks and alleys on a weekly basis. "Downtown Lawrence truly is the jewel of our community, and as we work to maintain it, I just don't believe camping on the sidewalks is an appropriate deal," Amyx said. Commissioner Mike Rundle cast the lone dissenting vote. He said he wanted the city's new Community Commission on Homelessness to review the ordinance and provide a recommendation to city commissioners. He also said he thought the ordinance would do little to help solve the core problems of homelessness. Two advocates for the homeless agreed. Loring Henderson, director of the Lawrence Community Shelter, and Helen Hartnett, a professor at Kansas University's School of Social Welfare, expressed concerns about the ordinance. "It won't resolve the situation," Henderson told commissioners. "It may move someone from a certain spot, but it won't resolve it." The ordinance also

will have an impact on people who aren't homeless. City staff members confirmed that the new ordinance would make it illegal for people to camp outside Liberty Hall for concert tickets. Doug Redding, a manager at Liberty Hall, said he didn't think the new law would greatly affect the venue's operations. But he said he thought it would be a pain nonetheless. "I think it is going to open up a can of worms," Redding said. "I don't understand it because everybody's pretty harmless, even the homeless people." (Lawhorn 2006d)

[Maria Martin, DLI director] also reported some success in regard to their issues in terms of the homeless activities downtown that 4 to 6 weeks ago they were successful in passing additional ordinances particularly to take care the aggressive panhandling and the use of the right away and actually sleeping on the downtown sidewalks by the homeless people. (FN 101505)

Recently, the passage of civility ordinances led the National Homeless Coalition to name Lawrence as the "second meanest" city to the homeless in the United States.

Lawrence is one mean city. That's the conclusion of the National Homeless Coalition, which has rated Lawrence the second meanest city in the country when it comes to treatment of the homeless. Only Sarasota, Fla., is meaner, according to the coalition... "My challenge to Lawrence is that if it wants to continue to be known as a progressive city — which it is — it needs to quit criminalizing homelessness and arresting someone for camping, for sleeping, for sitting in the doorway," said Michael Stoops, acting director of the Washington, D.C.-based coalition. The ranking was announced Wednesday on the coalition's Web site, www.nationalhomeless.org, and during a national telephone news conference. Even some of Lawrence's homeless advocates were taken aback. "The city is not an environment that is mean," said Loring Henderson, director of the Lawrence Open Shelter. "There are people who are outspoken about the issues, but I think it was an inappropriate finding."... The coalition ranked the cities by considering criteria that included the number of anti-homeless laws each had, the enforcement of those laws, penalties for violations and the general political climate. The coalition, along with the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, has been issuing the rankings over the past few years. This is Lawrence's first appearance on the list. What put Lawrence near the top was the City Commission's passage of so-called "civility" ordinances following complaints from downtown merchants that homeless people were intimidating customers and trashing their surroundings, including the rooftops of downtown shops. Some merchants wanted a requirement that homeless people present special ID cards to receive services. The "civility ordinances" included an aggressive panhandling law, a law prohibiting trespassing on rooftops and a law limiting sleeping or sitting on city sidewalks. Stoops said he had traveled to Lawrence a number of times in the past several years and had friends here. He also has received Kansas University students who have done volunteer work for the coalition in Washington. In addition to his own knowledge of the city and its homeless issues, the coalition has monitored local media accounts, local attitudes toward the homeless and passage of laws. "Quite

frankly, I was shocked that there was such an anti-homeless sentiment in Lawrence and Douglas County," Stoops said. (Belt 2006a)

The "meanest city" designation highlighted tensions that led to efforts to improve relations between the DRA's homeless persons and neighborhood residents.

Lawrence city commissioners told city staff members Tuesday that their suggestions on how to deal with some local homeless residents were too harsh. Staff members had suggested that clients at the Lawrence Community Shelter be restricted to a back patio area to cut down on complaints about loitering. "It cannot be enforced," Commissioner Mike Amyx told staff members. "There's no way." Instead, the commission asked the shelter to work with neighbors — including members of neighborhood associations — to reach an agreement on how and when residents could spend time outside the shelter at 944 Ky. Under the commission's proposal, the shelter will have 60 days to return to the commission with a plan that both the shelter's directors and neighbors can agree on. Ideally, the two sides would reach a "good neighbor agreement," where each side agrees to meet a certain set of criteria — for example, that people can only sit on the lawn outside the building during certain hours. The suggestion came from members of the Community Commission on Homelessness, who drafted a proposal at the city's request in response to the community complaints. "This has been an emotional issue, and you're trying to make a decision on a procedure," said Sara Taliaferro, a member of the homeless commission. "I believe what we're offering is option three." (Knox 2006)

Good will came in the form of hot dogs, hamburgers, guitar music and name tags Friday evening for frequent guests of the Lawrence Community Shelter and the Lawrence Interdenominational Nutrition Kitchen [LINK] and their neighbors. LINK coordinator Dianne Morgan said about 250 people attended the second annual block party that also was touted as a way to improve and harmonize neighborhood relations between Oread Neighborhood residents and the homeless services offered including the shelter at 214 W. 10th St. (Diepenbrock 2006)

SCRC and Contested Cultural Meanings of the DRA

The DRA's cultural primacy. Another tension concerns efforts by city administrators and others to insure that cultural institutions that need to expand, e.g., the library and arts center, stay in the DRA. Critics argue that they should move to other sites with more and cheaper land for expansion and parking. These excerpts are indicative of support for DRA locations. As suggested the local paper changed positions on this matter.

The plan – a kind of "wish list" of possible city building projects – included more than 150 proposals. The library was perhaps the most contentious item on the list. Commissioners opposed to the satellite plan said they don't want anything to detract from Lawrence's downtown, where the public library's only branch is located at 707 Vt. "I don't want to move government facilities away from the cultural center of town," Commissioner Myles Schachter said. . . . The debate came down to dueling visions of Horizon 2020, the city-county long-range planning guide. It calls for city government facilities to be centrally located downtown – but it also envisions satellite libraries popping up as the city grows. Even opponents of a satellite conceded the latter provision was important. (Mathis 2002c)

I am writing to express my sadness and dismay with the Journal-World's unwavering position against the planned expansion of the Lawrence Arts Center. I believe that the newspaper's negative attitude could jeopardize the development of the arts in Lawrence as well as diminish the appeal of our downtown. There are many obvious reasons why the location of the LAC should stay with the Carnegie Library. First of all, the historic charm of the building attracts people and makes them want to go there. Also, the centralized downtown location makes it accessible to the most people because many people go downtown for various reasons. In the Journal-World editorial "Rethinking Arts Center," is stated that most people arrive at the Arts Center by car. I think it would be more apropos to say most people get downtown by car. When people visit the Arts Center they often combine it with other downtown activities: drop the kids at class, get some shopping in, stop for coffee; or visit a gallery show and have lunch; attend a performance or gallery opening, then have dinner and take in some music downtown. I feel that an arts center at the edge of town, as the J-W supports, would not be as well-attended for this very reason. I have seen an example of this in another town -- a big, state-ofthe-art facility on the outskirts of town, huge empty parking lot. The arts center needs to have a strong feeling of community to reach its full potential. On the subject of objection to the planned addition on the basis of historic preservation, I feel that the J-W's editorial statement that there will always be uses for the building is questionable. But by making it an integral part of a major Midwest arts center, the future of the building as a cherished part of Lawrence's identity will be assured. I'm not so sure that turning it into a city office building will achieve the same results. Finally, I believe that the high visibility downtown location of the Lawrence Arts Center contributes a sense of cultural balance to our very active downtown scene. It helps to assure that there is something for everyone downtown. This is something that is so valuable and rare about Lawrence and we must struggle to maintain it. (Piller 1998)

It's wonderful that the Lawrence Arts Center has decided to maintain its home downtown. (Simons Jr. 2000)

Quality of culture in the DRA. Opinions vary on the quality of the DRA's culture and art. For example, these excepts reflect some objections to street musicians (and others like Homeless Santa in Figure 39) and the value and cost of art in the DRA.

"I am entirely tired of the street musicians who hang out across the street from my business." he said. "Many of my customers are senior citizens who find them intimidating and frightening." (FN, DLI meeting 2001)

Jazz music flowed from the corner of Eighth and Massachusetts streets Saturday afternoon. Topeka residents Dan Kozak, on saxophone, and Torrence Cushinberry, on drums, played for passersby downtown. Starving Artists Movers, a Lawrence moving company, sponsors the musicians and others who play downtown every weekend. "For jazz heritage to be perpetuated, you have to put it out on the streets," Kozak said. About two weeks ago, the duo was asked to move from a downtown corner by the Lawrence Police Department *following a complaint*. Tom Van Holt, owner of the moving company, said neither man was acting disorderly or did anything wrong. He videotaped Saturday's events in case anyone is issued a citation in the future. Van Holt said he'd like to see more musicians downtown on the weekends. (*Complaint doesn't keep musicians from downtown* 2001)

I wish someone would graffiti some of the so called 'art' downtown that the city spent thousands and thousands of dollars on. (BLOG, catwoman, 062906)

Amen catwoman! (BLOG, bankboy119, 062906)

... merchants need to pay their fair share of its costs. Downtown is the most taxpayer subsidized area in town. The buck needs to stop somewhere and this is the perfect time. Then they can start paying for the upkeep and cleaning, the promotion, the rented "art" displays, the empty parking garage, and the arts center.

(BLOG, lunacydetector, 020606)

Insert figure 39 about here Homeless Santa *Historical meanings in the DRA*. The historical emphasis in the DRA is not unchallenged. For example, the Kanza Indians raised questions about the Shunganunga boulder, a 10-foot-tall, 23-ton stone in a park at the north end of the DRA. In the 1800s, it was in the Kansas River. It was a sacred site for the Kanza, the area's dominant tribe. In 1929, Lawrence residents moved it to the park, dedicated it to the city's founding fathers, and affixed a plaque to it that reads: "To the pioneers of Kansas who in devotion to human freedom came into a wilderness, suffered hardships and faced danger and death to found this state in righteousness." To the Kanza, the movement of a sacred stone remains a profane act. The tribe, now in Oklahoma, asked the city about returning it to the River.

Moreover, many owners are eager to restore DRA buildings, but others (and news items) point to concerns over the DRA's historic district designation and its restrictions.

"I think there might be competing viewpoints about whether or not being a historic downtown district is a good thing because it does restrict certain freedoms that tenets and landlords have in developing their buildings and their businesses." (INT retailer, Jeff 2005)

Without much public comment on the matter, Lawrence city commissioners have decided to press ahead on making all of downtown Lawrence a "historic district." This probably sounds fine to many local residents who are proud of the city's history, but how much thought has been given to the matter? Some years ago, a group of residents had a plan to seek historic designations for specific buildings in the downtown area. Any new construction or remodeling on buildings within 500

feet of structures designated as historic sites must have the approval of various city or state officials to make sure the project does not infringe on the historic structure. The plan or goal of those who wanted to designate strategically located buildings as "historic" was to control all development in the downtown area. Now, the "historic" subject has been raised again, and city commissioners have given their blessing to the project. If this effort should become a reality, it will be interesting to watch the impact on downtown Lawrence. Lawrence may end up with one of the nation's most picturesque and historic-appearing downtowns but not have much major retail business in the area. It already is costly to buy or build in downtown Lawrence, and the historic designation is sure to add expense and time delays on most renovation, expansion or new building projects. As an aside, if city commissioners and others are so concerned about preserving the historic appearance and integrity of downtown Lawrence, what happened when the appropriate officials reviewed exterior plans for the new Lawrence Arts Center building? It certainly doesn't look like anything that mirrors Lawrence's past or is compatible with nearby buildings. (Simons Jr. 2002)

SCRC and Contested Political Meanings of the DRA

Political activity in the DRA. There are some points of contention about political expression in the DRA. For example, some retailers and consumers indicate their personal discomfort with anti-war protestors. Others note their intolerance for preacher Fred Phelps (of nearby Topeka, Kansas) and his followers, who picketed the parade that is described in the excerpt below. Yet, Phelps's actions are an exception. Counter protests and overt demonstrations against others' political expression in the DRA are rare.

A human rights parade held Saturday in downtown Lawrence proceeded without any conflicts despite the presence of about 20 parade protesters. The parade, which was sponsored by the organizers of Gay and Lesbian Awareness Week, attracted about 260 participants from various groups in Kansas and Missouri. Disbarred attorney and Topeka minister Fred Phelps, who regularly holds antihomosexual protests, led a group from his church who held signs with antihomosexual messages and sang hymns at the corner of 11th and Massachusetts streets as the parade passed by on its way from city hall to South Park. The Lawrence police department said there were no reports of incidents related to the parade. Two patrol cars and two officers on bicycles were assigned to monitor the march and control traffic. An additional officer was specifically assigned for security purposes. Many people gathered on the corner across from the Phelps group holding signs supporting the parade and its participants. Although not all downtown shoppers who saw the event were in favor of the group's effort, parade marchers were greeted more than once with applause and calls of support from observers. (Dorsey 1993)

Chapter 4

CONTRIBUTIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND EXTENSIONS

The following discussion focuses on this study's contributions to marketing knowledge and then considers the limitations and possible extensions of this work.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MARKETING KNOWLEDGE

This study demonstrates the value of ethnographic methods and SC to investigate marketplaces from a so-called broad view (see Chapter 1). A broad view contrasts with a narrow view, which depicts marketplace actors as agents who seek self-interest via individual actions (transactions) in a social organization (a market) with an exchange nexus. A broad view reflects the idea that the social whole of the marketplace is not reducible to the sum of its parts. It stresses the need to examine how desires, the flow of goods, institutions, and collective action in the marketplace are linked to ties among actors, negotiation of acceptable demands in social life, and awareness of the larger social entity's outlook. In this study, micro-level actions by individual actors produced not merely store and area level activities and events and proximal benefits, but also more general positive and negative consequences and marketplace meanings. Moreover, micro- and meso-level activities produced outcomes at the macro-level. In these respects, this study responds to calls for work on neglected facets of marketplace processes and relationships. These facets concern group-level social action (Bagozzi 2000), co-production of marketing activity by marketers and consumers (Peñaloza 2000; Peñaloza and Gilly 1999), extraeconomic aspects of marketplace behavior and ambiance (Sherry 1990) and tensions between market logic and communal relations (Kozinets 2002).

This research extends knowledge on these issues by using the concept of SCRC to gain insights about how social and commercial elements may interact in marketplaces. It contributes to our understanding of marketplace processes and relationships, by:

- enhancing our grasp of how marketplace activities and meanings are embedded in larger social entities and co-produced by marketers and consumers;
- offering insights on tensions and conflicts between individual agency and collectivity in the marketplace;
- highlighting the convergence and divergence of marketplace and community interests; and
- shedding light on how the market both undermines and enhances SC.

Moreover, it helps integrate narrower and broader views of the marketplace. In particular, as noted in the following sections, it offers new insights about SC and co-production in the marketplace and offers a framework for understanding the sources and effects of SCRC (see Figure 2). As also subsequently discussed, it expands our knowledge about interfirm relationships and commercial and business friendships.

SC and Co-production in the Marketplace

This research extends knowledge about the nature, boundaries, and effects of coproduction. It underscores the protean qualities of SCRC (see Figure 1), which are reflected by the varied: motives; actors; ties among actors; intended beneficiaries; forms of co-production; benefits; consequences; interpretations of the DRA; and marketplace levels that are associated with SCRC. An understanding of these protean qualities can aid marketing scholars in at least two ways. First, it can help them to differentiate SCRC from co-production that results from primarily psychological motives (e.g., an interest in the intrinsic value of what is created) and co-production that is dyadically-oriented to another individual rather than a larger social entity. Second, it also can help scholars to explain many marketplace relationships and actions that may conflict with conventional notions of individual self-interest and relationships between retailers and consumers.

Varied motives. Unlike work in marketing that stresses profit and shopping satisfaction motives for co-production, this study reveals consummatory and instrumental motives for SCRC. Motives for SCRC are related to expectations about value introjection, bounded solidarity and identification, reciprocity, and enforceable trust. Knowledge about these motives and expectations helps explain what may otherwise seem to be irrational features of marketplaces, such as rivals' cooperation and apparent inefficiencies in retail practices. For example, DRA bar owners jointly worked to address a perceived common threat from imposition of a smoking ban. Art galleries jointly promoted art walks in order to benefit their stores and the DRA. Retailers limited their store hours and services based on their understandings of the DRA community's expectations.

Moreover, an understanding of the varied motives for SCRC may help explain findings or resolve apparent inconsistencies in work on other types of co-production in other contexts. For example, it may be useful in reinterpreting findings that co-production in a membership-based organization is not related to continuous commitment based selfinterest (Gruen, Summers, and Acito 2000). It also may be helpful in explaining why self-interest and other non-specified motives besides perpetuation of the community are related to co-production in brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn 200; Muniz and Schau, unpublished) and subcultures (Kates 2002, 2004). In addition, it may offer added explanations for motives underlying co-production in brand communities, besides the existence of common threats (Muniz and Schau, unpublished), brand worship (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), and competition among brands (O'Guinn and Muniz 2000).

Varied actors. Typically, the marketing literature depicts co-production as an activity that occurs between marketers and customers (often in terms of dyads of sellers and buyers) or among brand owners. In contrast, SCRC in a DRA occurs among a wider set of actors (among retailers, among retailers and consumers, and among consumers). This study offers insights about the collaborative actions of these diverse sets of actors, which challenge scholarly views about co-production. They challenge the adequacy of current marketing perspectives about the nature of co-production. They also raise doubts about the seemingly prevailing notion that co-production is, necessarily, a process through which marketers manage or engage consumers (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Prahalad 2004). Due to the varied configurations of actors who may be involved in SCRC, opportunities for such management or engagement are likely to be more rare and more complex than is assumed in the marketing literature.

Varied ties among actors. The ties among actors who are involved in or influence SCRC are more diverse than the ties that are typically discussed in marketing literature on co-production. The ties that are associated with SCRC may be direct or indirect. They may be actual or imagined ties. They may be ties among varied numbers of retailers and or consumers. They may be ties among all, nearly all, or subsets of retailers in the marketplace (including those who may be seen as rivals). They may be ties among various subsets of retailers and consumers. For example, they may be ties among retailers and their customers or among retailers and consumers who are not their customers. They may be ties among consumers who are or not patrons of the same stores. The ties may entail varied blends of elements that are economic, commercial, consumption-related, social, cultural, and political in nature. Moreover, the underlying bases for the ties may be instrumental or consummatory.

Thus, for example, actors may engage in SCRC to co-create patriotic political ceremonies or music festivals with others whom they do and do not have economic- or consumption-related ties, common values, or shared expectations about reciprocity from the larger community. Furthermore, the configurations of actors involved in SCRC may be constricted by social mechanisms (i.e., some actors may be excluded) or relatively unfettered (as in the case of macro-level celebrations), due to the relative permeability of the social structure. It should prove useful for researchers to more fully investigate how social structures and mechanisms affect ties among actors who engage in SCRC.

Varied forms of co-production. Most research on co-production in marketing focuses on a relatively limited set of goods and services that are jointly produce by marketers and customers. In comparison, SCRC results in more diverse forms of co-production. In this study, SCRC encompasses most store level and area level functions and activities in Table 1. They vary in their degrees of commercial emphasis, formality, and festiveness (Sherry 1990; Pryor and Grossbart 2006). For instance, those with a greater commercial emphasis include customer service, merchandise display, and area-wide multi-store sales events. Those with an ostensibly less commercial nature include social, political, and cultural undertakings, such as charitable events, memorial services for public figures, and aesthetic decoration.

More generally, there are many examples of blends of commercial emphasis, formality, and festiveness in SCRC in the marketplace. For instance, varied blends of these elements are reflected in marketers and consumers decorating store fronts along the main street for Halloween, volunteers playing holiday music for patrons in stores, and carolers entertaining shoppers throughout the DRA during the Christmas season.

In more specific terms, there are cases of co-produced activities that illustrate contrasting blends of these elements. For example, the Annual Sidewalk Sale and Moonlight Madness are commercial, somewhat formal in organization, and relatively festive. Holiday parades and concerts are low in commercial emphasis, somewhat formal in organization, and festive. Celebrations of sports victories and street musicians performances are non-commercial, informal, and festive. Rallies, protests, and demonstrations are non-commercial or explicitly anti-commercial, moderate to low in formality, and low in festiveness. Finally, Chamber of Commerce and DLI socials are commercial (although they do not include sales activity), moderate in formality, and moderate to low in festiveness.

Varied beneficiaries. Research in marketing on co-production between marketers and consumers implies or explicitly assumes that those who engage in it are the beneficiaries. In contrast, these findings indicate that the intended beneficiaries of SCRC are not limited to those who engage in it for several reasons. SCRC is rooted in actual or perceived membership in social entities, it may be based (in part) on consummatory motives, and it may create public goods. Consequently, there are a wide range of beneficiaries from SCRC including, but not limited, to those who are directly involved in coproduction. For example, merchants and consumers collaborate on preservation projects and holiday parades to benefit all DRA businesses or families in the city. More generally, SCRC helps make the DRA a focal point for social events, cultural activities, and civic pride for others besides those who are co-producers.

Varied proximal benefits. The marketing literature on co-production primarily focuses on its proximal benefits for co-producers, which are largely restricted to efficiencies for marketers and services from products for consumers. These benefits are less extensive and less varied than benefits of SCRC. These findings indicate that the benefits of SCRC for retailers and/or consumers include access to employment/employees; access to markets; access to information (i.e., broader sources of information and more efficient and timely information diffusion); sympathetic treatment/ moral and material support; organizational learning/ skill development/ innovation; resource exchange; and certification of social credentials/ reinforcement of identity and recognition.

Varied consequences. In addition to the previously noted benefits, SCRC has more general positive and negative consequences that have mixed effects on marketplace activities and behaviors. Five categories of positive consequences result from the norm observance and social controls associated with SCRC. SCRC reduces the need for monitoring and formal controls, facilitates resource flows, increases allocative efficiencies, increases adaptive efficiencies, and creates public goods.

Research on co-production in marketing and on SC in other contexts largely stresses their positive consequences. Yet, some studies suggest that the same mechanisms appropriable by individuals and groups as SC can have adverse affects. In this DRA, the norms, bonds, and expectations that underlie SCRC create negative consequences that disadvantage some marketers and consumers in a variety of way. SCRC's negative consequences include restriction of opportunities and individual freedoms, excessive claims on some group members and free riding by others, downward leveling norms, tragedy of the commons effects, and exclusion of outsiders and the formation of in-groups.

These findings highlight the convergence and divergence of marketplace and community interests. Much has been written to support the conventional view that vibrant DRAs enhance surrounding property values and the quality of life in adjacent neighborhoods (Civic Economics 2002; National Trust for Historic Preservation 2004). This study's findings include examples of positive effects of the DRA on the larger community. Still, in contrast with the conventional view, the evidence also suggests that the interests of the DRA and those of the larger community are not always compatible or complementary. For example, if SCRC contributes to the vibrancy of the DRA or fosters cooperative efforts to expand the DRA, it may contribute to encroachment on surrounding neighborhoods. Moreover, a strong DRA with strong political support may actually subvert progress in other areas of the city, divert or drain local public and private resources, and stall the development of secondary business districts. The processes through which these tensions are managed are neither known nor theorized in the marketing literature. Research is needed to shed light on how the mixed effects and the tensions that SCRC may create relate to the function, structure, and nature of DRAs and other marketplaces.

Varied meanings of the marketplace. Most research on co-production neglects its links to marketplace (or other aggregate level) meanings. The exceptions are a few studies that consider how co-production (among marketers and consumers and among consumers) is related to macro-level meanings of consumer celebratory events, brand rallies, brand communities, trade shows, and flea markets (Kozinets 2002; McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig 2002; Muniz and Schau, unpublished; Peñaloza 2000; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Sherry 1990). Compared to a DRA, such settings are more temporary and more limited in the range of their marketing and other activities.

This study's findings help explain how SCRC affects and is affected by marketplace meanings. Different marketers and consumers use the DRA in different ways and express different views about its meanings. The findings suggest that the meanings of marketing and consumer activities are socially constructed, which is consistent with evidence from research in other social contexts (e.g., ethnic subcultures and the gay community). In this study as in other investigations, evidence suggests that the social construction of meaning is a result of the continual flux in the marketplace and the renegotiation of meanings through boundary spanning processes and interactions among and between actors (Bouchet 1995). However, prior research suggests that much of this negotiation occurs in consumption episodes.

It is important to note that the meanings that are relevant to the DRA marketplace's functioning are not only consumption-related. This study highlights economic, social, cultural, and political, as well as consumption-related, activities through which marketers and consumers co-create and reflect the marketplace's meanings. Arguably, the perspective in this study is consistent with a macromarketing approach to the study of a marketing system. In contrast, most examinations of co-production in marketing are more micro-focused and less sensitive to the interplay of marketing and consumer activities with economic, social, cultural, and political elements in the environment.

There are socially acceptable variations in marketplace meanings, which allow retailers and consumers to accept the DRA as a site for varied activities and the expression of diverse views. The malleability of merchants' and consumers' conceptions of the marketplace is due to the generally positive meanings of the DRA to those involved. It is also due to the polysemous, interrelated, and overlapping nature of the meanings of DRA activities and events that are co-created by SCRC. However, the DRA's meanings are not entirely positive. There are some tensions and inconsistencies in retailers and consumers' views of the DRA. For example, there is discontent and negativity among some individuals who feel that they are excluded from the DRA, the DRA is overly inclusive, and some activities overly extend or undermine the DRA (e.g., celebrations and social services).

The meanings of marketplaces in other communities are not apt to be identical to those in this study, as even casual observation suggests. This study does not predict the effects of SCRC on the character and valence of meanings in other marketplaces. Likewise, it does not demonstrate the existence or limits to the socially acceptable variations in meanings in other marketplaces. Instead, it offers insights about the processes by which SCRC may affect and be affected by accommodation of diverse interests and views, tensions in the community, and the malleability of marketplace meanings. That is, this study expands our knowledge about how and why SCRC may shape the perceived character of a marketplace and, in turn, be shaped by that character in both positive and negative ways. The marketing field will benefit from investigations of these issues in other marketplaces and communities, which have different levels and types of accommodation, tensions, commercial vibrancy, and social, cultural, and political activities.

Varied marketplace levels. Research on co-production in marketing that largely focuses on dyadic relationships at the store or brand level. In contrast, this study indicates that SCRC involves different numbers of actors, stores, and portions of the marketplace. That is, SCRC occurs at and creates benefits on micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of the marketplace, which correspond to individual stores, groups of stores or parts of the DRA, and the DRA as a whole. It should be worthwhile to investigate SCRC on multiple levels in other marketplaces (e.g., other DRAs, shopping malls, and trade shows). Other possible extensions of this research are discussed in a later section.

Interfirm Relationships

This study suggests that relationships among retailers may be more complex than previously considered, due (in part) to SCRC. The findings offer new insights on the nature of interfirm relationships among retailers and the social contexts in which they are embedded. More understanding of ties among retailers is needed, in light of industry consolidation in retailing, expansion of national chains and franchises, and shifts in manufacturers' and retailers' relative power in channels of distribution. Due to these factors, small and large retailers may increasingly engage in co-production to survive, gain competitive advantage, and integrate themselves into marketplaces and communities. Research may reveal that SCRC is a significant factor in each of these respects.

Prior work on interfirm relationships in marketing primarily concentrates on a limited number of firms (often dyads), limited types of firms (in manufacturing and technology), limited types of relationships (e.g., formal ties among strategic allies), and limited kinds of motives (managers' desires to gain economic benefits for their own firms).

In contrast, this study focuses on a larger number of retailing firms in a DRA marketplace (a marketing system). It deals with a diverse set of informal and formal ties. It concerns how consumers are incorporated into business practices (as more than customers) and how retailers are involved in consumer and community activities. It also highlights and explains relationships that are not formal or narrowly economic in nature (e.g., among retailers who do not have ties as buyers and sellers or other formal relationships and retailers' ties to consumers who are not their own customers). Furthermore, this study reveals how these relationships are affected by social norms that are external to the stores in question and are not rooted in retailers' explicit organizational goals. These findings respond to (and reflect the wisdom of) calls for research on neglected facets of interfirm relationships in marketing. These facets include the social contexts of actors involved in interfirm relationships (Borch and Arthur 1995). They concern informal (nonstrategic) ties versus the current emphasis on relationships formed for specific business purposes (e.g., Aldrich and Mueller 1982; Balakrishnan and Koza 1993; Barney 1991; Gomes-Casseres 1996; Hagedoorn 1993; Hamel 1991; Miles and Snow 1992). They also address social aspects of relationships versus the current emphasis on economic or psychological facets of such relationships (Barringer and Harrison 2000).

Moreover, this study expands our grasp of motives that underlie SCRC. Among other things, these motives lead competitors to cooperate. They foster diverse links among retailers, some of which involve consumers and other merchants (e.g., when consumers and other merchants facilitate retailers' relationships with vendors). For instance, BS is the basis for DRA bar owners' coordinated efforts to deal with a proposed smoking ban. VI leads DRA gallery owners to co-create gallery walks. ER motivates some retailers to assist each other, help one another's customers, and favorably depict one another's stores. ET leads some retailers to take part in joint charity and sales events and to adhere to common DRA store practices. A mixture of these motives also underlies DRA retailers' joint efforts to co-create, sustain, and promote a broad range of (consumption-, socially-, culturally-, and politically-related) area-wide marketplace events and activities.

Commercial and business friendships

Scholars who study commercial friendships note that they are relatively compartmentalized. They describe such friendships as contextually circumscribed, in the sense that few participants interact outside the service setting. They ascribe this lack of interaction to dissimilarities between service providers and their clientele (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989). They also suggest that the social context may constrain the formation and nature of such friendships (Price and Arnould 1999). They also describe the underlying motives for these ties as entirely instrumental (cf., Beatty and Jungki 1996).

This study challenges these views. It offers insights into how and why the motives, relational ties, and outcomes associated with commercial and business friendships may be more varied and broader than is recognized in the marketing literature.

Varied motives. Research on commercial friendships suggests that sales associates are highly selective and instrumental in their relationships with customers. They initiate relationships with customers to serve strategic, economic purposes (Beatty and Jungki 1996). In contrast, in this study commercial friendships are formed to meet social as well as commercial needs. The motives that bring actors together and form the basis for such friendships are both instrumental and consummatory. The result is a blurring of commercial and social boundaries. In this DRA, commercial friendships are not restricted to the service (or retail) setting. Some friendships deepen into what Schonscheck (2000) refers to as "complete friendships." Parties exchange gifts, are important sources of moral support and empathy, join in activities and clubs together, and share personal information with one another. These findings also suggest that motives for business friendships are also more varied than is typically recognized by researchers.

Wider range of ties. The evidence in this study indicates commercial friendships involve and are affected by a wider range of ties than previously considered. Research on commercial friendships has a dyadic focus. Yet, arguably, such friendships are best understood in the context of their network of actual social relationships (Price and Arnould 1999) and their situational setting within more diffuse social entities. Consistent with Uzzi (1997), the findings suggest that commercial relationships in the DRA are embedded in social relations and social relations may be partially embedded in economic ties. Moreover, there are both actual and imagined ties among DRA retailers and consumers. In addition, relationships between DRA retailers and consumers involve a wider range of ties and motives (consummatory and instrumental) than those described in characterizations of constrained social friendships (Price and Arnould 1999) and instrumentallyfocused friendships (Beatty and Jungki 1996). In addition, the findings indicate that business friendships may involve a wider range of ties than is commonly recognized in research.

Broader range of outcomes. The study also reveals a broader range of outcomes than previously considered. Research on commercial friendships focuses on a relatively limited set of positive outcomes. These outcomes include enhanced customer satisfaction, loyalty to the salesperson and firm, positive word-of-mouth (WOM), increased share of purchases, and social benefits (e.g., a sympathetic listener; Price and Arnould 1999; Reynolds and Beatty 1999). One notable negative outcome is that positive WOM may be constrained by clients who refuse to share their hair stylists with friends or family members (Price and Arnould 1999). Yet, as this study suggests, commercial and business friendships among marketplace actors do not exist in isolation. They are often embedded in larger social entities. Therefore, these friendships have a broader range of effects previously reported. For example, they may contribute to SCRC of many store and area level functions and activities (Table 1). (In addition, [in contrast to prior evidence] these friendships may enhance WOM.) They also may contribute to SCRC of public goods, celebrations, charitable contributions, and other positive outcomes for other marketers and consumers who are not involved in these friendships. Moreover, commercial and business friendships may create a broad set of negative outcomes. For instance, they may lead to altered expectations and norms for behavior (e.g., special favors). As a result, combined with actual and imagined ties, commercial and business friendships may create multiple conflicting obligations and other constraints, which conflict with social controls, erode cohesive elements in a marketplace, and undermine potential positive consequences of SCRC.

LIMITATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

The limitations and other possible extensions of this research relate to methodology, conceptual approach, and other potentially salient factors and settings.

Methodological Considerations

This study used ethnographic research methods to investigate the protean qualities, antecedents, and potential effects of SCRC in a DRA marketplace. Research in other DRAs and use of other methods is necessary to more fully understand the nature and operation of SCRC and weigh the plausibility of ideas discussed here.

Ethnography is local. Therefore, the findings are not readily generalizable to other marketplaces (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte 1999). Moreover, key informants and other interviewees in this study may not be representative of the population, since they were limited in number, chosen on the basis of predetermined criteria, and not randomly selected. Some of their comments also may have been biased by their perceptions of the interviewer's expectations. Similar considerations apply to secondary and observational data. Whenever possible, other sources were used to corroborate data from media accounts, editorials, and letters to the editor. Still, evidence gleaned from media may not be fully representative of the experiences of all actors and happenings in the DRA. Despite precautions, similar limitations may apply to data from fieldwork, participant/ observation, and photography. This data may not be fully representative of the dynamics of the DRA, due to the diversity of its many merchants, consumers, and stores and undetected variations in its activities and events over the years of this study. In addition, this study's qualitative findings are not amenable to statistical analyses or indicative of the prevalence of motives, behaviors, or views in the overall population.

Conceptual Considerations

This study uses Portes' (1998) conceptualization of SC. Despite its advantages, this perspective of SC necessarily places limits on the collection and interpretation of data. Arguably, there are three general conceptual approaches to the study of SC (Grossbart and Pryor 2006). They stress qualitative, structural, and contextual factors. The qualitative emphasis primarily focuses on motives and expectations that are sources of SC. It is the approach used in this study. The structural emphasis primarily deals with different types of ties that form dimensions of SC. The contextual emphasis highlights the interplay of processes and structural factors in a community that affect development efforts. Future research based on structural and contextual factors may offer added insights on how SCRC manifests itself and operates in a DRA marketplace.

Woolcock (1998) and other scholars focus on structural conditions or the socalled network architecture of relationships (Uzzi 1997). For example, they emphasize structural factors, such as the presence and absence of ties, structural holes, and tie strength, to theorize about how SC functions. Woolcock suggests that seemingly contradictory evidence about SC's effects is due to the changing calculus of the costs and benefits of embeddedness in networks as development continues. In particular, he argues that different outcomes result from various combinations of two structural dimensions of SC. One dimension is integration (i.e., intra-community networks). A second dimension is linkage (i.e., extra-community networks). A structural approach to the study of SCRC may offer valuable insights about the linkages among retailers and consumers in the DRA and changes in the effects of SCRC over time.

Flora (1998), among others, employs a contextual emphasis to investigate the effects of SC. According to Flora, entrepreneurial social infrastructures (ESIs) affect communities' tendencies to engage in collective action for community betterment. ESIs encompass three sets of indicators of processes and structures. First, communities with well-developed ESIs support the legitimacy of alternatives and the acceptance of multiple views in several ways. In particular, they accept controversy, depersonalize politics, and create processes to decide courses of action (e.g., via impartial presentation of options in media or other forums). Second, they mobilize local resources (private and public investment) through supportive norms and mechanisms for contributing. Third, they have networks with bonding-bridging forms of SC that create flexible and permeable boundaries. These networks have diverse and inclusive ties, which are horizontal and vertical as well as internal and external.

Horizontal ties link those of similar status. Internal, external, and vertical ties link those of different status and link local persons and entities to external organizations and resources. This combination of bonding and bridging enhances intracommunity collaboration more than either bonding or bridging alone. Bonding without bridging may create exclusive networks, strong distinctions between insiders and outsiders, and relatively narrow foci. Bridging without sufficient bonding may produce hierarchical networks, small elites with external ties, and single answers imposed from above. Contextual investigations of SCRC may shed light on how it creates both negative and positive outcomes. It might also offer public policy insights about the interactive impact of community settings and public-private partnerships on the effects of SCRC in the marketplace.

Other Potentially Salient Factors and Settings

Factors that were not examined in this study may influence the operation and effects of SCRC. For example, as McDowell (1999, 4) notes, marketplaces, like other places, are "contested, fluid and uncertain . . . made through power relations which construct the rules which define boundaries . . . [that] are both social and spatial." Therefore, a political power perspective may be useful to understand SCRC in the marketplace. For instance, the SC literature suggests that the role of women in DRA development is important (c.f., Flora 1998). Future investigations should examine how established male merchants' views and behaviors regarding SCRC are affected by their beliefs about female retailers' roles and relative power in the DRA community. In addition, in this study, the homeless population and their advocates exerted unique pressures and made unique demands for concessions from the DRA community. Both proponents and opponents of restrictions on homeless persons used SCRC in attempts to achieve their goals. These actions and counteractions raise questions about SCRC's association with these and other countervailing forces in marketplaces.

In addition, physical and spatial characteristics may play influential roles in SCRC. The findings indicate that these elements affect the DRA's social organization. Furthermore, retailers and consumers are aware of at least some physical and spatial influences. For instance, some retailers with stores on side streets or secondary thoroughfares refer to themselves as "stepchildren" and main street merchants have higher status and more influence on DLI initiatives than other DRA retailers. In addition, some merchants propose removing benches in order to make the DRA less welcoming to homeless persons. Other physical factors, such as the recent increase in outdoor dining areas in the DRA may also affect actors' feelings of connection to the DRA and their inclinations to take part in SCRC. Too often, marketing scholars treat marketplaces as neutral contexts and overlook the interplay between their spatial/physical features and their social characters. This study considered some, but by no means all, spatial and physical elements in the DRA that may affect SCRC and its effects in the DRA. Future work may shed new light on how spatial and physical factors influence the nature and effects of SCRC at multiple levels in the market place.

Furthermore, research suggests that that the effects of SC and embeddedness may depend on social structure and social organization. This study deals with only one DRA. Other DRAs and, more generally, other types of settings may differ in social structure and social organization. Future investigations should consider how SCRC manifests itself in these other settings. Such settings include (but are not limited to) other DRAs, other marketplaces (e.g., shopping malls, trade shows, and other temporary marketplaces), organizations (e.g., firms, retail co-ops, retail buying groups, nonprofits, and professional associations), and consumer groups (e.g., brand communities and hobby enthusiasts' associations), and contexts not typically studied by marketing scholars (e.g., schools and immigrant communities).

Finally, this study focused on a form of co-production among marketers and consumers that is generally neglected by marketing researchers, SCRC. There is a need for a fuller understanding of other types of co-production that may also exist. Future work may offer marketers, scholars, and public policy makers a richer understanding of their varied forms, processes, and effects. APPENDIXES

SEMI-STRUCTURED FIELD INTERVIEW REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONS EXPLORATORY PHASE

Introduction

Hi. My name is Susie Pryor. I'm a doctoral student doing research about the downtown

retail area. Would you mind if I asked you a couple of questions?

Representative (typical) questions (followed by probes as warranted)

I noticed you were just helping another customer.

- Did you know her/him previously?
- Do you often talk to other customers while shopping in the DRA?
- Why did you help him/her?

I noticed you posted a flyer in this store.

- Are you posting this flyer in other parts of the DRA?
 - Why or why not?
- In other parts of Lawrence?
 - Why or why not?

How did you become involved in participating in today's parade?

- What kinds of things did you do to help out?
- Why did you do these things?
- What is your relationship with the business who sponsors the float?
- Can you describe the atmosphere and how you felt as you participated?

• How did it affect your relationship with the retailers and other consumers involved?

- How did the parade make you feel about:
 - The retailers who participated?
 - The retailers who did not participate?
 - The customers who attended?
 - The customers who did not participate?
 - The DRA as a whole?

What brought you downtown to this event?

- Can you describe the atmosphere and how you felt as you attended it?
- How did it affect your relationship with the retailers and other consumers in-

volved?

- How did the events you attended make you feel about:
 - o the retailers who participated?
 - the retailers who did not participate?
 - The consumers who attended?
 - The consumers who did not participate?
 - The DRA as a whole?

RETAILER LONG INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE EXPLORATORY PHASE

Introduction

My name is Susie Pryor. I'm a doctoral student in marketing at the University of Nebraska. I'd like to interview you about the downtown retail area. The interview will be taped, but your responses will be completely confidential. You can refuse to answer any questions or stop at any point.

Biographic Questions

Biographic information - business

- How long has this store been open?
- Have you always been in downtown Lawrence?

Choice of store location

- What does the term "downtown Lawrence" mean to you?
- What do you consider the physical boundaries of downtown Lawrence?
- What made you pick downtown Lawrence in particular as a place to open your business?
- Do you remember having any particular feelings about the downtown business district before you opened this store?
- Do you shop downtown? If so, why?
- Do you consider yourself a regular customer of the DRA?
- Do you have specific stores that you shop in or do you stop into a number of stores when shopping downtown?

Items related to research questions

Customer-retailer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

- Does it seem to you that many DA customers share a similar outlook or point of view about the downtown and DA retailers and how customers should treat DA retailers?
- Can you describe any things that many DA customers do that reflect these points of view about the downtown and DA retailers?
- What happens if DA customers don't do things that reflect these points of view about the downtown and DA retailers?

Customer-customer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

- Does it seem to you that many DA customers share a similar outlook or point of view about other DA customers and how DA customers should treat one another?
- Can you describe any things that many DA customers do that reflect these points of view about other DA customers?
- What happens if DA customers don't do things that reflect these points of view about other DA customers?

Retailer-customer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

• Does it seem to you that many DA retailers share a similar outlook or point of view about DA customers and how DA retailers should treat DA customers?

- Can you describe any things that many DA retailers do that reflect these points of view about DA customers?
- What happens if DA retailers don't do things that reflect these points of view about DA customers?

Retailer-retailer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

- Does it seem to you that many DA retailers share a similar outlook or point of view about the downtown and other DA retailers and how DA retailers should treat one another?
- Can you describe any things that many DA retailers do that reflect these points of view about the downtown and other DA retailers?
- What happens if DA retailers don't do things that reflect these points of view about the downtown and other DA retailers?

Retailer-customer relationships (followed by probes)

Nature of relationships

In how many cases (none, a few, or many) are:

- Customers of your store friends with whom you discuss personal and social matters
 - and with whom you do personal, social or professional things outside the store? (go to weddings, parties, movies, community events, meetings, etc.)
 For you, is this true in no, a few, or many cases? Probe for examples.
 - but with whom you don't do things outside the store? Would you say that this is true in no, a few, or many cases?

- Customers of downtown stores <u>who do not shop in your store</u> friends with whom you discuss personal and social matters
 - and with whom you do personal, social or professional things outside the store? (go to weddings, parties, movies, community events, meetings, etc.)
 For you, is this true in no, a few, or many cases? Probe for examples.

Interactions (Probe for examples of content, new information, advice)

Do you often talk with DA customers about things related to:

- Your store's products or services?
- The products and services of other downtown stores?
- The downtown district?
- Issues in your lives?
- Lawrence as a whole?
- Other things (social, personal, cultural, political, civic)?

Others

- I notice that many of the stores in the DA have posted flyers or other printed material for display or distribution in your store.
 - What does having these things posted in your store and other stores mean to you?

Trust

- Do you trust downtown customers? (Probes in terms of theft, honesty)
- Do they seem to trust retailers? In what ways?
- Does it matter to you that they trust you and/or other retailers?

• Do downtown retailers do things to monitor their customers? (e.g., watch them closely, check IDs when accepting checks, use of cameras or mirrors)

Reciprocity and sympathetic treatment in retailer-customer relationships

- Do DA customers do favors or special things for you? If so, what?
- Do people who shop in the downtown do favors or special things for retailers in stores in which they do not shop?
- Are there some negative things about shopping in the DA or in particular downtown stores that your customers are willing to be understanding about but do not accept in stores outside the DA?
 - What? Why?
 - Do you think that other DA retailers notice the same things about their customers?
- Are there some negative things about shopping in the DA or in particular downtown stores that your customers are not really understanding about but feel forced to accept?
 - What? Why?
 - Do you think that other DA retailers notice the same things about their customers?
 - Probes: having to wait to get help from store employees, older and less attractive facilities/fixtures, and smaller assortment of products, etc.
- Do you do favors or special things for downtown customers:
 - Who shop in your store?
 - If so, what?

- Why?
- Who <u>do not</u> shop in your store?
 - If so, what?
 - Why?
- Probes (information on new products/services, customer loyalty, WOM, new knowledge, emotional support, gifts, other acts of goodwill)
- Do other retailers also do favors or special things for DA customers?
 - Probe: are these things for retailers in whose stores they do/do not shop.
- Besides sales of products and services, are there other reasons you own a store downtown? Probe: information, social things, kinds of feelings, or other things?

Retailer-retailer relationships (followed by probes regarding content, information, advice, support)

- Do you and other retailers talk about things related to:
 - Your stores or their products or services?
 - The downtown district?
 - Issues in your lives?
 - Lawrence as a whole?
- Have you made friends with other DA retailers as a result of owning businesses downtown?
- Are there DA retailers who you who you wound up:
 - Made joint purchases with, sold products to, shared advertising with, or did other similar things with?

- Recommended, or were recommended by, for a social or community organization
- Forming some other kind of relationship with? (e.g., bought things from or sold things to, or traded collectibles with, that were unrelated to your businesses but related to personal interests)
- Have other DA retailers had the same experiences?
- Do DA retailers seem to do favors or special things for one another because they shop there? What?
- Do you feel any sense of likeness, or connection with other DRA retailers?
- How are relationships among DA retailers affected by customers who shop in the DA?

Customer-customer relationships (followed by probes)

- What are relationships like among customers in downtown Lawrence?
- Can you talk about things they've done for one another?
- Do DA customers often recommend DA stores to one another?
- Do DA customers talk to other DA customers who they do not know? (Probe: does this occur in the store as they shop? At downtown events? What about?)
- Are relationships among customers who shop in the DA affected by DA retailers?

Participation in DRA events and organizations (followed by probes)

Merchant sponsored events

• Can you describe the atmosphere and how you felt when you participated in retailersponsored events in the DRA (e.g., Sidewalk Sale, Holiday Open House, Moonlight Madness)?

- How did it affect your relationship with the customers and other retailers involved?
- How did the events you attended make you feel about:
 - o the retailers who participated?
 - the retailers who did not participate?
 - the customers who attended?
 - those customers who did not attend?
 - the DRA as a whole?

City- or Chamber- sponsored events

- Can you describe the atmosphere and how you felt when you attended an event sponsored by the City or the Chamber of Commerce (e.g., St. Patrick's Day Parade, Harvest of Arts, Chamber of Commerce Ribbon Cutting)?
 - How did it affect your relationship with the customers and other retailers involved?
 - How did the events you attended make you feel about:
 - the retailers who participated?
 - the retailers who did not participate?
 - the customers who attended?
 - those customers who did not attend?
 - the DRA as a whole?

DRA organizations

- Are you active in any clubs, organizations, or political groups that meet in the DRA?
 - Why does the group meet in the DRA?

• What kinds of people are members and what are their relationships with the DRA?

Interplay with larger community (followed by probes)

- Have your relationships with other DA retailers or DA customers affected your involvement in other community activities or events (e.g., charity auctions, school events, clubs, organizations, or political groups)? How?
 - o Do you think other DA retailers are affected in the same way?
- Do you feel that owning a business in the DRA affects how others in Lawrence view you?
- Do you think other DA retailers are affected in the same way?
- Have relationships among customers and retailers in the DRA affected what happens in Lawrence as a whole? How?
- Have relationships among customers and retailers in the DRA been affected by what happens in Lawrence as a whole? How?
- Does the way you look at Lawrence as a whole affect your view of the DRA?
 - o Do you think other DA retailers are affected in the same way?
- Does the way you look at the DRA affect your view of Lawrence?
 - o Do you think other DA retailers are affected in the same way?

Changes and threats (additional probes if not mentioned)

- Do you or other people DA customers or DA retailers feel that there are things that might somehow change the DA in ways that you thought would make it better?
 - o If so:

- What are some examples?
- What did you or others do about these things?
- If not, probe with examples and same follow-up questions:
 - New stores that you would like to see in the DA?
 - Parking?
 - Benches, artwork, or landscaping?
 - Special events?
- Do you or other people DA customers or DA retailers feel that there are things that might somehow change the DA in ways that you did not like?
 - o If so:
 - What are some examples?
 - What did you or others do about these things?
 - If not, probe with examples and same follow-up questions:
 - Development of south Lawrence by big box retailers?
 - Opening of franchise and chain stores downtown?
 - Opening of certain kinds of stores (tattoos shop, franchises, chain stores, etc)?
 - Actions by the city government in Lawrence (e.g., locating homeless shelter downtown, parking meters, art displayed)?

CONSUMER LONG INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE EXPLORATORY PHASE

Introduction

My name is Susie Pryor. I'm a doctoral student in marketing at the University of Nebraska. I'd like to interview you about the downtown retail area. The interview will be taped, but your responses will be completely confidential. You can refuse to answer any questions or stop at any point.

Transition to theory-based questions

I'm going to ask about some of your history of downtown shopping and then about retailers and other customers in the DRA.

Experience with DRA (followed by probes)

- What does the term "downtown Lawrence" mean to you?
- What do you consider the physical boundaries of downtown Lawrence?
- How long have you been shopping in downtown Lawrence?
- How often do you shop in downtown Lawrence?
- Why do you shop in downtown Lawrence?
- Do you consider yourself a regular customer of the DRA?
- Do you have specific stores that you shop in or do you stop into a number of stores when shopping downtown?

Items related to research questions

Customer-retailer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

- Does it seem to you that many DA customers share a similar outlook or point of view about the downtown and DA retailers and how customers should treat DA retailers?
- Can you describe any things that many DA customers do that reflect these points of view about the downtown and DA retailers?
- What happens if DA customers don't do things that reflect these points of view about the downtown and DA retailers?

Customer-customer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

- Does it seem to you that many DA customers share a similar outlook or point of view about other DA customers and how DA customers should treat one another?
- Can you describe any things that many DA customers do that reflect these points of view about other DA customers?
- What happens if DA customers don't do things that reflect these points of view about other DA customers?

Retailer-customer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

- Does it seem to you that many DA retailers share a similar outlook or point of view about DA customers and how DA retailers should treat DA customers?
- Can you describe any things that many DA retailers do that reflect these points of view about DA customers?
- What happens if DA retailers don't do things that reflect these points of view about DA customers?

Retailer-retailer relationships (followed by probes)

Norms and sanctions

- Does it seem to you that many DA retailers share a similar outlook or point of view about the downtown and other DA retailers and how DA retailers should treat one another?
- Can you describe any things that many DA retailers do that reflect these points of view about the downtown and other DA retailers?
- What happens if DA retailers don't do things that reflect these points of view about the downtown and other DA retailers?

Retailer-customer relationships (followed by probes)

Nature of relationships

In how many cases (none, a few, or many) are:

- retailers from downtown stores in which <u>you shop</u> friends with whom you discuss personal and social matters
 - and with whom you do personal, social or professional things outside the store? (go to weddings, parties, movies, community events, meetings, etc.)
 For you, is this true in no, a few, or many cases? Probe for examples.
 - but with whom you don't do things outside the store? Would you say that this is true in no, a few, or many cases?
- retailers from downtown stores in which <u>you do not shop</u> friends with whom you discuss personal and social matters

and with whom you do personal, social or professional things outside the store? (go to weddings, parties, movies, community events, meetings, etc.)
 For you, is this true in no, a few, or many cases? Probe for examples.

Interactions (Probe for examples of content, new information, advice)

- Do you often talk with DA retailers about things related to:
 - Their products or services?
 - The products and services of other downtown stores?
 - The downtown district?
 - Issues in your lives?
 - Lawrence as a whole?
 - Other things (social, personal, cultural, political, civic)?

Others

- I notice that many of the stores in the DA have posted flyers or other printed material for display or distribution in your store.
 - When you see so many of these things in DA stores, what does this mean to you?
 - Have you or other DA customers you know ever posted a flyer or left other printed material for display or distribution in a downtown store? If so, why?

Trust

- Do you trust downtown retailers? (Probes on policies, pricing practices, quality of information)
- Do they seem to trust their customers? In what ways?

- Does it matter to you that they trust you and/or other customers?
- Do downtown retailers do things to monitor their customers? (e.g., watch them closely, check IDs when accepting checks, use of cameras or mirrors)

Reciprocity and sympathetic treatment in retailer-customer relationships

- Do DA retailers do favors or special things for their customers? If so, what?
- Do DA retailers do favors or special things for consumers who don't shop in their stores but shop elsewhere in the DA? If so, what?
- Are there some negative things about shopping in the DA or in particular downtown stores that you are willing to be understanding about but do not accept in stores outside the DA?
 - What? Why?
 - Do you think that other customers feel the same way?
- Are there some negative things about shopping in the DA or in particular downtown stores that you are not really understanding about but feel forced to accept?
 - What? Why?
 - Do you think that other customers feel the same way?
 - Probes: having to wait to get help from store employees, older and less attractive facilities/fixtures, and smaller assortment of products, etc.
- Do you or other customers do favors or special things for downtown retailers:
 - In whose stores you shop?
 - If so, what?
 - Why?
 - In whose stores you <u>do not</u> shop?

- If so, what?
- Why?
- Probes (information on new products/services, customer loyalty, WOM, new knowledge, emotional support, gifts, other acts of goodwill)
- Besides buying things that you want, are there other reasons you shop downtown?
 Probe: information, social things, kinds of feelings, or other things?
- How are relationships among customers who shop in the DA affected by DA retailers?

Customer-customer relationships (followed by probes for information, recommendations, advice)

- Do you and other DA customers often talk about things related to:
 - DA stores and their products or services?
 - The products and services of other downtown stores?
 - The downtown district?
 - Issues in your lives?
 - Lawrence as a whole?
 - Other things (social, personal, cultural, political, civic)?
- Have you made friends with another customer as a result of shopping downtown?
- Did you ever meet another customer in the DRA who:
 - Hired or were hired by
 - Recommended, or were recommended by, for a social or community organization

- Forming some other kind of relationship with? (e.g., bought things from or sold things to, or traded collectibles with)
- Have these kinds of things happened to others you know?
- Do people who shop in the DRA seem to do favors or special things for one another because they shop there? What?
- Do you feel any sense of likeness, or connection with other DRA shoppers?
- When you are shopping downtown and you meet other customers that you don't know, do you often talk to them? Why? About what?
- When you go to an event downtown (like a parade and so forth) and you meet other customers that you don't know, do you often talk to them? Why? About what?

Retailer-retailer relationships (followed by probes)

- What are relationships like among retailers in downtown Lawrence?
- Can you talk about things they've done for one another?
 - Has a downtown retailer ever referred you to another downtown store?
 - How are relationships among DA retailers affected by customers who shop in the DA?

Participation in DRA events and organizations (followed by probes)

Merchant sponsored events

- Can you describe the atmosphere and how you felt when you attended events in the DRA sponsored by downtown merchants (e.g., Sidewalk Sale, Holiday Open House, Moonlight Madness)?
 - How did it affect your relationship with the retailers and other consumers involved?

- How did the events you attended make you feel about:
 - the retailers who participated?
 - the retailers who did not participate?
 - The customers who attended?
 - The customers who did not participate?
 - The DRA as a whole?
- Have you ever worried that a retailer might have missed your presence at an

event s/he sponsored or participated in?

City- or Chamber- sponsored events

- Can you describe the atmosphere and how you felt when you attended an event sponsored by the City or the Chamber of Commerce (e.g., St. Patrick's Day Parade, Harvest of Arts, Chamber of Commerce Ribbon Cutting)?
 - How did it affect your relationship with the retailers and other consumers involved?
 - How did the events you attended make you feel about:
 - the retailers who participated?
 - the retailers who did not participate?
 - The customers who attended?
 - The customers who did not participate?
 - The DRA as a whole?

DRA organizations

- Are you active in any clubs, organizations, or political groups that meet in the DRA?
 - Why does the group meet in the DRA?

• What kinds of people are members and what are their relationships with the DRA?

Interplay with larger community (followed by probes)

- Have your relationships with DA retailers or other DA customers affected your involvement in other community activities or events (e.g., charity auctions, school events, clubs, organizations, or political groups)? How?
 - Do you think other DA shoppers are influenced in the same way?
- Do you feel that shopping in the DRA affects how others in Lawrence view you?
 - Do you think other DA shoppers are affected in the same way?
- Have relationships among customers and retailers in the DRA affected what happens in Lawrence as a whole? How?
- Have relationships among customers and retailers in the DRA been affected by what happens in Lawrence as a whole? How?
- Does the way you look at Lawrence as a whole affect your view of the DRA?
 - Do you think other DA shoppers are affected in the same way?
- Does the way you look at the DRA affect your view of Lawrence?
 - Do you think other DA shoppers are affected in the same way?

Changes and threats (additional probes if not mentioned)

- Do you or other people DA customers or DA retailers feel that there are things that might somehow change the DA in ways that you thought would make it better?
 - o If so:
- What are some examples?
- What did you or others do about these things?

- If not, probe with examples and same follow-up questions:
 - New stores that you would like to see in the DA?
 - Parking?
 - Benches, artwork, or landscaping?
 - Special events?
- Do you or other people DA customers or DA retailers feel that there are things that might somehow change the DA in ways that you did not like?
 - o If so:
- What are some examples?
- What did you or others do about these things?
- If not, probe with examples and same follow-up questions:
 - Development of south Lawrence by big box retailers?
 - Opening of franchise and chain stores downtown?
 - Opening of certain kinds of stores (tattoos shop, franchises, chain stores, etc)?
 - Actions by the city government in Lawrence (e.g., locating homeless shelter downtown, parking meters, art displayed)?

Biographic information

- What do you do for a living?
- Where do you live?
 - Lawrence residents: How close is that to the DRA?
 - Out-of-towners: How close is that to Lawrence?
 - How often do you shop in Lawrence?

SEMI-STRUCTURED FIELD INTERVIEW REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONS FOLLOW-UP PHASE

NOTE: Designations in parentheses following items, for example (P1), indicate corresponding proposition.

Introduction

Hi. My name is Susie Pryor. I'm a doctoral student doing research about the downtown

retail area. Would you mind if I asked you some questions?

Representative (typical) questions (followed by probes as warranted)

I noticed you were just helping the retailer assist a shopper.

- Why did you do what you did (probe)? (P1)
- What is your relationship with this retailer (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)?
 (P3)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
- Do you think that there may be any other more general positive or negative results from what you did (probe)? (P7)
- Do you help this retailer with shoppers at other times?
 - If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
 - Why do you do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Have you done other things to help this retailer (show store level list)?
 - o If so, what?
 - Why did you do what you do these things (probe)? (P1)

- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
- Do you think that there might be any other more general positive or negative results from what you did (probe)? (P7)
- Have you done things to help other shoppers in the DRA?
 - o If so, what?
 - Why did you do what you do these things (probe)? (P1)
 - [If it was in a store or stores:] What was your relationship with the retailer or other people who worked in the store (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
 - [If it was in a store or stores:] What was your relationship with the shopper or shoppers you helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
 - Did you work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was your relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
 - Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did you think that there might be any other more general positive or negative results from what you did (probe)? (P7)

Have you done things to help retailers in the DRA (show store level list)?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
 - Why do you do these things (probe)? (P1)
- What was your relationship with the retailer or other people who worked in the store (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)

- [If they helped shoppers, ask:] What was your relationship with the shopper or shoppers you helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did you work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was your relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did (probe: the person you helped, the retailer, anyone else)? (P4)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did (probe)? (P7)

I see that you are (or were) involved in working on this activity (or event).

- What did you do?
- Why did you do these things? (P1)
- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Did you work with anyone else in doing these things? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was your relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen? (P6)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did? (P7)

- Have you helped with other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA (<u>show</u> <u>downtown area activities and events list</u>)?
 - Why did you do help with these activities (or events) (probe)? (P1)
 - Did you work with anyone else in this? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was your relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
 - Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen? (P6)
 - Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did? (P7)

Have you worked on any of these types of things in the DRA (show <u>downtown area ac-</u> <u>tivity and events list</u>)?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Why did you do participate in this activity (probe)? (P1)
- Did you work with anyone else in doing these things? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was your relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen? (P6)

- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did? (P7)
- Have you helped with other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA (show downtown area activities and events list)?
 - Why did you do help with these activities and events (probe)? (P1)
 - Did you work with anyone else in this? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was your relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
 - Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen? (P6)
 - Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did? (P7)

RETAILER LONG INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

FOLLOW-UP PHASE

NOTE: Designations in parentheses following items, for example (P1), indicate corresponding proposition.

Introduction

My name is Susie Pryor. I'm a doctoral student working on a study about Lawrence's DRA. Will you please answer some questions? Thanks. The interview will be taped, but your answers will be completely confidential. You can refuse to answer any questions or stop at any point.

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) This list includes examples (there may be others) of activities and services in and around stores. Have your customers helped you with any of these or other activities or services?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- What was your relationship with the customers who helped you (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did they work with anyone else in helping you? (P2)
 - If so, what was their relationship with others that they worked with to help you (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did they do what you did (probe)? (P1)
- Who did they expect to benefit from what they did? (P4)

• Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) Do you know if other people who shop downtown have helped DRA retailers with any of these or other activities or services?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- What was their relationship with the retailer they helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was their relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why do you think that they did these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who do you think that they expected to benefit from what they did (probe: the person they helped, the retailer, someone else)? (P4)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) Have you helped other DRA retailers with any of these or other activities or services?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- Why did you do what you did (probe)? (P1)

- What was your relationship with the retailer you helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did you work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was your relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did you do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did (probe: the person they helped, the retailer, someone else)? (P4)
 - Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) Do you know if any DRA retailers have helped one another with any of these or other activities or services?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
- What was their relationship with the retailer they helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was their relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why do you think that they did these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who do you think that they expected to benefit from what they did (probe: the person they helped, the retailer, someone else)? (P4)

• Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) Have shoppers in DRA stores helped one another by doing these or other things that people who work in the stores might be expected to do for customers?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- What was their relationship with the retailer or other people who worked in the store (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- What was their relationship with the customer or customers they helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was their relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did they do what you did (probe)? (P1)
- Who did they expect to benefit from what they did (probe: the person they helped, the retailer, anyone else)? (P4)
 - Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>downtown area activities</u>.) This list includes examples (there may be others) of activities that involve all or parts of the DRA. Have you helped with these or other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Did you work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was your relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did you do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen? (P6)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>downtown area activities</u>.) Do you know if shoppers who shop in the DRA have helped with these or other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was their relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did they do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who did they expect to benefit from what they did? (P4)

- Did these things happen (probe)? (P6)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>downtown area activities</u>.) Do you know if other DRA retailers have helped with these or other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2 and P5)
 - o If so, who (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was their relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did they do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who did they expect to benefit from what they did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen (probe)? (P6)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)
- In general, what are your feelings and views about parts of the DRA or the DRA as a whole (probe)? (P8)

(Show informant list of examples of store activities and services.)

• Has what you or other people have done to help retailers with any of these or other activities or services affected your feelings and views about the DRA or parts of the DRA (probe)? (P8)

(Show informant list of examples of downtown area activities.)

• Has what you or other people have done to help create these DRA activities affected your feelings and views about the DRA or parts of the DRA (probe)? (P8)

(Show informant list of examples of downtown area activities.)

• Have your experiences when you went to these or other DRA activities affected your feelings and views about the DRA or parts of the DRA, whether or not you helped to create them (probe)? (P8)

Biographic Questions

Biographic information

- How long have you owned this store?
- Was the store in business before you bought it?
 - If so, were you a store employee or customer before you bought it?
- How many employees do you typically have working in your store at any one time?
- How long have you lived in Lawrence?
- Are you involved in the DLI at all?
 - o If so, how?

Examples of Store Activities and Services	
Advertising and promotion	Merchandise and service assortment
Alterations	Merchandise display
Assembly of merchandise	Parking
Assistance to customers	Personal assistance in selecting merchan-
Bridal registry	dise
Child care	Personal shoppers
Credit	Provisions for customers with special needs
Customer service	(wheel chairs, translators)
Delivery	Repair services
Demonstrations of merchandise	Service recovery
Display of merchandise	Signage
Employee recruitment	Special orders
Extended store hours	Store design
Gift wrapping	Store location
Information systems	Vendor relations

Examples of Downtown Area Activities (Involving Some or All of Downtown Area)		
Aesthetics (art, beautification, decoration,	Festivals	
and preservation)	Holiday celebrations	
Ceremonies (political, religious, athletic,	Parades	
memorial, etc.)	Political events	
Charitable events	Provision of facilities and amenities (park-	
Contests	ing, seating, art, etc.)	
Cultural activities (art, music, etc.)	Sales	

CONSUMER LONG INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOLLOW-UP PHASE

NOTE: Designations in parentheses following items, for example (P1), indicate corresponding proposition.

Introduction

My name is Susie Pryor. I'm a doctoral student working on a study about Lawrence's DRA. Will you please answer some questions? Thanks. The interview will be taped, but your answers will be completely confidential. You can refuse to answer any questions or stop at any point.

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) This list includes examples (there may be others) of activities and services in and around stores. Have you helped DRA retailers with any of these or other activities or services?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- What was your relationship with the retailer you helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did you work with anyone else in helping this retailer? (P2)
 - If so, what was your relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did you do what you did (probe)? (P1)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)

• Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) Do you know if other people who shop downtown have helped DRA retailers with any of these or other activities or services?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- What was their relationship with the retailer they helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was their relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why do you think that they did these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who do you think that they expected to benefit from what they did (probe: the person they helped, the retailer, someone else)? (P4)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) Do you know if any DRA retailers have helped other DRA retailers with any of these or other activities or services?

• If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)

- What was their relationship with the retailer they helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was their relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why do you think that they did these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who do you think that they expected to benefit from what they did (probe: the person they helped, the retailer, someone else)? (P4)
 - Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>store activities and services</u>.) Have you helped other shoppers in DRA stores by doing these or other things that people who work in the stores might be expected to do for customers?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2)
- What was your relationship with the retailer or other people who worked in the store (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- What was your relationship with the customer or customers you helped (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Did you work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2)
 - If so, what was your relationship with them (probe: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did you do what you did (probe)? (P1)

- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did (probe: the person you helped, the retailer, anyone else)? (P4)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>downtown area activities</u>.) This list includes examples (there may be others) of activities that involve all or parts of the DRA. Have you helped with these or other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Did you work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was your relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did you do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who did you expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen? (P6)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what you did? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>downtown area activities</u>.) Do you know if other consumers who shop in the DRA have helped with these or other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who were they (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was their relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did you do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who did they expect to benefit from what they did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen (probe)? (P6)
- Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

(Show informant list of examples of <u>downtown area activities</u>.) Do you know if DRA retailers have helped with these or other activities that involve all or parts of the DRA?

- If so, how and in what ways (probe)? (P2 and P5)
- Did they work with anyone else in giving this help? (P2 and P5)
 - If so, who (probe: DRA retailers, other consumers, other people)? (P2)
 - What was their relationship with them (probe in each case: commercial/ personal/ social)? (P3)
- Why did they do these things (probe)? (P1)
- Who did they expect to benefit from what you did? (P4)
 - Did these things happen (probe)? (P6)

• Were there any other more general positive or negative results from what they did (probe)? (P7)

In general, what are your feelings and views about parts of the DRA or the DRA as a whole (probe)? (P8)

- (Show informant list of examples of store activities and services.) Has what you
 or other people have done to help retailers with any of these or other activities or
 services affected your feelings and views about the DRA or parts of the DRA
 (probe)? (P8)
- (Show informant list of examples of downtown area activities.) Has what you or other people have done to help create these DRA activities affected your feelings and views about the DRA or parts of the DRA (probe)? (P8)
- (Show informant list of examples of downtown area activities.) Have your experiences when you went to these or other DRA activities affected your feelings and views about the DRA or parts of the DRA, whether or not you helped to create them (probe)? (P8)

Biographic information

- What is your occupation?
- Do you live in Lawrence?
 - If so, probe North Lawrence, East Lawence, West Lawrence, Southwest Lawrence or Other
 - If not, probe for city they live in.

- How often do you come to the DRA?
- Which comes closest to your level of education? (Show card with education levels.)

Examples of Sto	ore Activities and Services
Advertising and promotion	Merchandise and service assortment
Alterations	Merchandise display
Assembly of merchandise	Parking
Assistance to customers	Personal assistance in selecting merchan-
Bridal registry	dise
Child care	Personal shoppers
Credit	Provisions for customers with special needs
Customer service	(wheel chairs, translators)
Delivery	Repair services
Demonstrations of merchandise	Service recovery
Display of merchandise	Signage
Employee recruitment	Special orders
Extended store hours	Store design
Gift wrapping	Store location
Information systems	Vendor relations

Examples of Downtown Area Activities (Involving Some or All of Downtown Area)		
Aesthetics (art, beautification, decoration,	Festivals	
and preservation)	Holiday celebrations	
Ceremonies (political, religious, athletic,	Parades	
memorial, etc.)	Political events	
Charitable events	Provision of facilities and amenities (park-	
Contests	ing, seating, art, etc.)	
Cultural activities (art, music, etc.)	Sales	

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TABLE 1

EXAMPLES OF STORE LEVEL AND AREA LEVEL FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES THAT MAY BE CO-PRODUCED

Stor	e level
Advertising and promotion	Merchandise and service assortment
Alterations	Merchandise display
Assembly of merchandise	Parking
Assistance to customers Bridal registry	Personal assistance in selecting mer- chandise
Child care	Personal shoppers
Credit	Provisions for customers with special
Customer service	needs (wheel chairs, translators)
Delivery	Repair services
Demonstrations of merchandise	Service recovery
Display of merchandise	Signage
Employee recruitment	Special orders
Entertainment	Store decoration
Extended store hours	Store design
Gift wrapping	Store location
Information systems	Vendor relations
۸ro	a level
Aesthetics (art, beautification, decora-	Festivals
tion, and preservation)	Holiday celebrations
Ceremonies (political, religious, ath-	Parades
letic, memorial, etc.)	Political events
Charitable events	Provision of facilities and amenities
Contests	(parking, seating, etc.)
Cultural activities (art, music, etc.)	Sales
Store level examples are adapted from	

Store level examples are adapted from Levy and Weitz's (2004) designations of retail functions, areas of the retail mix, retail strategy, and retail services.

TABLE 2 DATA COLLECTION PHASES

Phase/ summary of sample considerations and data features

Exploratory phase

Participant observation

Attended all major area events and activities during 36 month period; Observed, shopped and/or worked in stores in all spatial quadrants of DRA; Field notes and photo accounts

Semi-structured field interviews

Convenience sample of customers and retailers, selected on basis of their involvement in critical behaviors in stores and at events

Retailers,
$$n = 16$$

Consumers, n = 44

Long interviews

Key informants selected on basis of experience and involvement in the DRA

Retailers, n = 6

Consumers, n = 6

Secondary data collection

Artifacts, including photos; fliers posted in stores; newspaper, television, and Internet-based newspaper reports on DRA activities; and ads, direct mail, and other print material from stores and the DRA

Follow-up phase

Participant observation

Attended all major area events and activities over subsequent 18 months Observed, shopped and/or worked in stores in all spatial quadrants of DRA; Field notes and photo accounts

Semi-structured field interviews

Convenience sample of customers and retailers, selected on basis of their involvement in critical behaviors in stores and at events

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Retailers, n = 6
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Consumers, n = 16

Long interviews

Key informants selected on basis of experience and involvement in the DRA and snowballing

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Retailers, n = 10
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Consumers, n = 6

Semi-structured follow-up interviews

Identified via snowballing

Secondary data collection

Artifacts, including photos; fliers posted in stores; newspaper, television, and Internet-based newspaper reports on DRA activities; and ads, direct mail, and other print material from stores and the DRA

TABLE 3 DRA ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS ATTENDED

Event/activity Annual Old Fashioned Christmas Parade (3)^a Art in the Park (4) Art Tougeau Parade (2) Band Day Parade (2) Brown Bag Concerts (numerous) Cardboard Boat Parade (1) Celebration of University of Kansas football victory over Kansas State University (1) Chamber of Commerce and DLI socials (4) Concert in the Park (numerous) DLI executive board meeting (1) DLI members' meeting (2) Farmers' Market (numerous) Festival of Pointsettias (2) Festival of Trees (1) Halloween Trick or Treating event (5) Harvest of Arts (3) Holiday Open House (5) Homecoming Parade (1) Lazer Block Party (1) Mass St. Mosey (2) Modeling club meeting (1) Moonlight Madness sale (1) Mother's Day Tea, Watkins Community Museum (1) National Cycling Championship Race (2) Painting windows for Halloween event (3) Political Rallies (3) Protests (2) Queen's Jubilee celebration (1) Red Hat Ladies parade (1) Santa Claus Arrival (1) Sesquicentennial Parade (1) Sidewalk Sale (5) St. Patrick's Day Parade (4) Street musicians performances (numerous) Tax Night festivities (2) Walktober (1)

^a Numbers in parentheses indicate number attended, except for frequently staged activities and events that are designated as numerous

TABLE 4 ORGANIZATION OF DATA COLLECTION IN FIELD NOTES: EXPLORATORY PHASE

Classification bases	Considerations
Observational	Hymes' SPEAKING framework
	Scene
	Participants
	Ends
	Act sequence
	Key
	Instrumentalities
	Norms
	Genre
Theoretical	Reciprocity
	Networks
	Forms and patterns of relationships
	Information exchange between retailer/customer
	Information exchange among customers
•• // • • • • •	Sympathetic treatment
Methodological	Spatial factors
	Environmental factors
	Pace of interactions
Personal	Emotional reactions
	Introspection
	Physical
	Interpersonal interactions

TABLE 5 ORGANIZATION OF DATA COLLECTION IN FIELD NOTES: FOLLOW-UP PHASE

Classification bases	Considerations
Observational	Hymes' SPEAKING framework
	Ścene
	Participants
	Ends
	Act sequence
	Key
	Instrumentalities
	Norms
	Genre
Theoretical	Marketers and consumers' motives for SCRC
	Configurations of actors (i.e., SCRC among mar-
	keters and consumers, among marketers, and
	among consumers)
	Intended beneficiaries of SCRC
	Types of prior ties among those involved in SCRC
	Levels (micro-, meso-, and macro-) at which SCRC
	occurs in the marketplace
	Marketplace levels (micro-, meso-, and macro-) at which SCRC creates benefits
	Actors, stores, and portions of marketplace involved in SCRC
	Consequences of SCRC, beyond specific benefits, in terms of marketplace behaviors and meanings
Methodological	Spatial considerations
	Environmental considerations
	Pace of interactions
Personal	Emotional reactions
	Introspection
	Physical
	Interpersonal interactions

Name	Characteristics ^a	DRA use ^b	Location ^c
Connie	WF, 30's	Week, day	Local
Beth	WF, 40's	Week, day	Local
Jenny	WF, 30's	Week, day	Local
Alexandra	WF, 50's	Weekend, day	Local
Lou	WF, 40's	Weekend, day	Local
Helen	WF, 70's	Weekend, day	Nonlocal
Blaire	WF, youth	Weekend, day	Nonlocal
Violinist	WM, youth	Weekend, day	Local
Becky	WF, 40's	Weekend, day	Local
Kara	WF, 30's	Week, day	Local
Jason	BM, 20's	Weekend, night	Local
Hannah	WF, 20's	Week, day	Local
Banks	WF, 20's	Week, day	Local
Brad	WM, 30's	Weekend, night	Nonlocal
Laura	WF, 30's	Weekend, day	Nonlocal

TABLE 6 **CHARACTERISTICS OF CONSUMER INFORMANTS**

^aWF = white female; WM = white male; BM = black male; youth = informants estimated to be under 20 years old; other age estimates are in ten year increments (e.g., 30's);
 ^b When informant typically visits DRA;
 ^c location of residence; local = in city; nonlocal = out-of-town;

Name	Characteristics ^a	Quadrant ^b	Street ^c
Jane	WF, 50's, banker, 30+ years	Q1, Q4	Other, Main
Julie	WF, 40's, 5 years	Q1, Q2	Main, Side
Terri	WF, 30's, 15 years	Q1, Q2	Main
Nicola	WF, 40's, 5 years	Q1, Q3	Main, Side
Ruth	WF, 50's, <1 year	Q2	Main
Barbara	WF, 40's, <1 year	Q2	Main
Bill	WM, 60's, 30+ years	Q2	Main
Richard	WM, 50's, 30+ years	Q2	Main
Elliot	WM, 50's, 10+ years	Q2	Main
Lisa	WF, 30's, 5 years	Q2	Main
Flora	WF, 40's, 10+ years	Q2	Side
Jeff	WM, 50's, 20+ years	Q2, Q3	Main
Mary	WF, 40's, 10 years	Q2, Q3	Main, Side
Susan	WF, 40's, 2 years	Q3	Main
Chris	WF, 40's, 2 years	Q4	Main
Robert	WM, 60's, attorney, 30+ years	Q4	Main
Charlene	WF, 40's, 3 years	Q1, Q3	Main, Side
Peggy	WF, 40's, 8 years	Q1	Main
Pat	WM, 50's, 20+ years	Q2	Main
Edward	WM, 40's, 20+ years	Q4	Main
Patricia	WF, 40's, 4 years	Q3	Main
Mike	WM, 30's, 3 years	Q3	Main
Crystal	WF, 50's, 5 years	Q1	Main

TABLE 7 **CHARACTERISTICS OF MARKETER INFORMANTS**

^a WF = white female; WM = white male; age estimates are in ten year increments (e.g., 30's); years indicate time in business in the DRA;
 ^b Q = quadrant of DRA; Q 1 = northwest; Q 2 = northeast; Q 3 = southwest;

Q 4 =southeast;

^c Retail location: main = main thoroughfare; side = side street; other = street parallel to main thoroughfare;

TABLE 8
SAMPLE UNIT SELECTION CRITERIA IN RELATION TO PROPOSITIONS

Sample units	Sample unit selection criteria	Propositions
People	Retailers Participants/non-participants in SCRC at multiple	P1 – P8
	(micro, meso, and macro-) levels Main/side street merchants	P1 – P4, P8
	Consumers Participants/non-participants in SCRC at multiple (micro, meso, and macro-) levels	P1 – P8
	Predominantly weekday versus weekend shop- pers Locals/out-of-towners Shoppers who patronize different stores	P1 – P4, P8
Scenes	Days/Evenings Weekdays/Weekends Main street (across four quadrants) Side streets Secondary thoroughfares (two streets that run paral- lel to the main street)	P1 – P4, P8 P1 – P4, P8
Events	More typical and reoccurring/less typical and less frequent At micro-, meso-, and macro-levels	P1 – P4, P8 P5 – P7
Activities	More typical and reoccurring/Less typical and less frequent At micro, meso, and macro-levels	P1 – P4, P8 P5 – P7
Artifacts	Photos Fliers posted in stores Newspaper, television, and Internet-based newspa- per reports on DRA activities Ads, direct mail, and other print material from stores and the DRA	P1 – P8

TABLE 9 **OVERVIEW OF PROPOSITIONS AND FINDINGS**

414

• other consumers via

charity events

P1 Marketers and consumer	s have consummatory an	d instrumental	motives for SC	CRC i	n marketplace.
Consummatory motives <u>Instrumental motives</u>					
Value introjection	Bounded solidarity	Expected rec	iprocity	Enfo	rceable trust
	Area	a level			
Aesthetic enhancements &	Area sales events	Celebrations		Coop	perate in joint pro-
amenities	Celebrations	Charitable ev	rents		tional activities &
Celebrations	Ceremonies	Cultural & art	istic activi-	eve	ents
Ceremonies	Festivals	ties		Main	tain their properties
Charity events	Joint store promotions	Parades		Shar	e limited resources
Contests	Parades	Preservation	efforts		
Festivals	Political & cultural ac-	Shared prom	otional		
Joint promotions & sales- related activities	tivities	events			
Parades					
Political events					
	Ste	ore level			
Advertising	Child care for customers	s Custor	mer service		Joint open houses
Displays	Clean, paint interiors	Delive	ry		Other charity &
Joint sales events	Clean & sort goods	Emplo	yee recruitme	nt	sales events
Off-load & store shipments	Restore & preserve build				Pub crawls
Vendors	Share, move, store & as	sem- Goods	s demonstratio	ns	
	ble fixtures				
P2 SCRC occurs among ma			rs, and among	g cons	umers.
Among marketers & cons			Among cons	sumer	<u>s</u>
		level			
Aesthetics	Aesthetics		Aesthetics		
Ceremonies	Ceremonies		Ceremonies		
Charitable events	Charitable e	events	Charitable e	vents	
Contests	Contests		Contests		
Cultural activities	Cultural acti	vities	Cultural activ	vities	
Festivals	Festivals		Festivals		
Holiday celebrations	Political acti		Political eve	nts	
Parades	Sales-relate	d activities			
Sales events					
••••••••		elevel		•	
Merchandise assortment		& promotion	Advertising	•	
Relocation & resumption	of retail		Customer se		
operations after fires			Merchandise	e dem	ionstrations/displays
Do Drive terms and the set		4 1			
P3 Prior transactional ties ar					
	e of absence of prior ties a				
	e co-produced activities &			rs who	o co-create them
 diffuse social entities 	s relate to some actors' m	otives for SCR	C		
			,		
P4 Intended beneficiaries of SCRC are not limited to those who engage in it.					
Retailers & consumers	Retailers			sume	
Help co-create some e		s as primary be	-	-	SCRC to benefit:
educate, sensitize &		some of their S			ers because they
ers' views		contributions			e DRA merchants &

• Charitable events

Holiday celebrations

•

Get intrinsic hedonic benefits from

SCRC but intend to benefit others

Table 9 (continued)

P5 SCRC by marketers and	d consumers in marketplace occurs of	on micro-, meso-	and macro- levels.

Micro-level

- Micro-level SCRC involves store level functions & activities, e.g.,:
 - Promotional activities
 - Assembly, demonstrations & display of merchandise
 - Customer assistance & service
 - Employee recruitment
 - Store hours
 - Gift wrapping
 - Merchandise & service assortment
 - Signage
 - Store design & layout
 - Vendor relations
- Micro-level SCRC in public places often involves political & cultural activity

- <u>Meso-level</u> Meso-level SCRC linked to commonalities in:
 - Establishments' locations
 - Goods & service mixes
- Shared threats or problems
- Disruptions & interests
- Desires to leverage market opportunities
- Meso-level SCRC includes:
 - Block parties & pep rallies,
 - Festivals & store window paintings
 - Cultural activities
 - Ceremonies
 - Sales & other events for charities
 - Political activity
- Help for merchants with stores
 damaged by fires
- Marketing & sales events

Macro-level Macro-level SCRC involves large & diffuse collectivity of marketers & or consumers, most or all stores or area in DRA & includes:

- Aesthetic enhancements
- Ceremonies
- Charitable events
- Contests
- Cultural activities
- Festivals
- Holiday celebrations
 - Parades
 - Amenities (e.g., parking, benches)
- Sales events

P6 SCRC by marketers and consumers in marketplace creates benefits on micro-, meso- and macro-levels.

- Access to employment/employees
- Access to markets
- Access to information
- Sympathetic treatment/moral & material support
- Organizational learning/ skill development/ innovation
- Resource exchange
- Certification of social credentials/ reinforcement of identity & recognition

P7 SCRC by marketers and consumers in marketplace has positive and negative consequences on micro-, meso- and macro-levels.

Positive consequences of SCRC

- Less need for monitoring & formal controls
- Resource flows
- Allocative efficiencies
- Adaptive efficiencies
- Public goods

- Negative consequences of SCRC
 - Restriction of opportunities & individual freedoms
 - Excessive claims on some actors & free riders
 - Downward leveling norms
 - Tragedy of commons effects
 - Exclusion of outsider & formation of in-groups

P8 SCRC by marketers and consumers contributes to shared and contested economic, social, political, cultural, and consumption-related meanings about the marketplace.

Economic	Consumption-related	<u>Social</u>	<u>Cultural</u>	Political		
	Shared meanings concerning DRA's character					
DRA as source			DRA as site for var-	DRA as site for		
revenues, jobs		social interac-	ied cultural ex-	varied politi-		
tourism & taxe	s tainment & meet consun	n- tion & social	perience & ex-	cal expres-		
& support for v	ar- ers with similar interests	services	pression	sion		
ied organizatio	ns					
	Contested meanings (te	ensions) concerning D	RA's character			
DRA's eco-	Goods & services (e.g.,	DRA as site for com-	DRA's cultural pri-	DRA as site		
nomic primacy	assortment, prices & park-	munity connected-	macy in city & na-	for anti-war		
& protected	ing), types of retailers	ness & inclusive-	ture of its cultural	& other par-		
position in city	(e.g., bars, second-hand	ness, the homeless	expression & his-	ticular pro-		
	& chain stores) in DRA	& social services	torical meanings	tests		

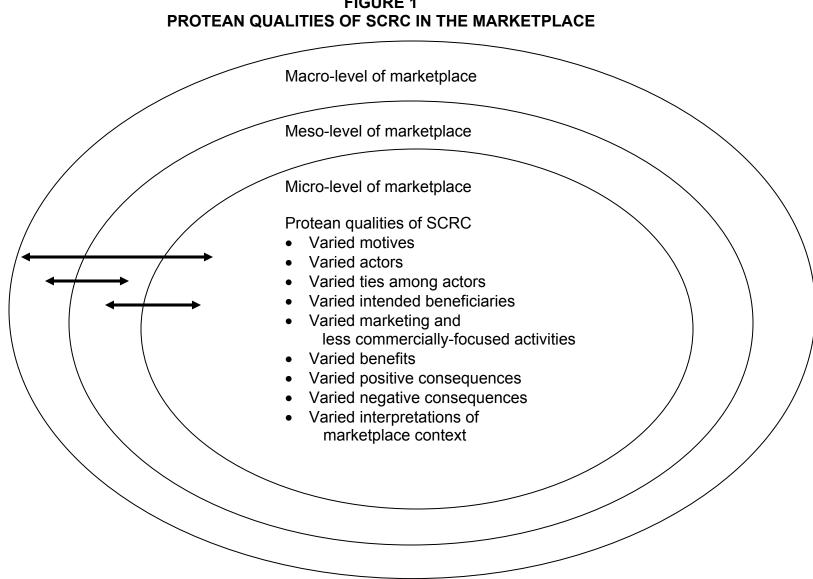


FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2 OVERVIEW OF TENTATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR SOURCES AND EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL-RELATED CO-PRODUCTION IN THE MARKETPLACE

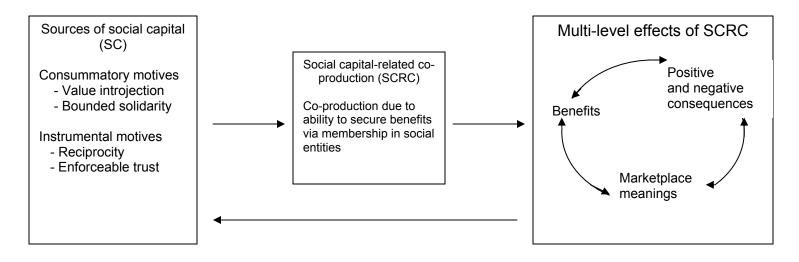
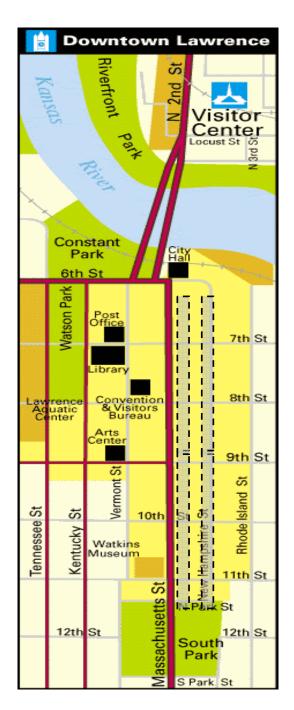


FIGURE 3 DRA RESEARCH CONTEXT



Note: Broken lines indicate DRA and quadrants of the area.

FIGURE 4 ART TOUGEAU PARADE





FIGURE 5 ANNUAL OLD FASHIONED CHRISTMAS PARADE

FIGURE 6 HALLOWEEN TRICK-OR-TREATING



FIGURE 7 2004SIDEWALK SALE



FIGURE 8 2005 SIDEWALK SALE



FIGURE 9 SIDEWALK SALE RED LYON BAR PETITION



FIGURE 10 2004 ST PATRICK'S DAY PARADE



FIGURE 11 BAND DAY PARADE



FIGURE 12 PEACH MADL AND SAND BAR EMPLOYEE CLEANING UP

FIGURE 13 JAYHAWK SCULPTURE



FIGURE 14 DOWNTOWN PLANTINGS



FIGURE 15 SIDEWALK SALE MERCHANDISE



FIGURE 16 SIDEWALK SALE ENTERTAINERS



FIGURE 17 SIDEWALK SALE SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES



FIGURE 18 SIDEWALK SALE NONPROFITS



FIGURE 19 SIDEWALK SALE POLITICAL CANDIDATES



FIGURE 20 TOY STORE SHELF PHOTO



FIGURE 21 STATUE OF LIBERTY FLOAT



FIGURE 22 ROBERT BURNS EVENT



FIGURE 23 LAWRENCE ART WALK



FIGURE 24 SAVE THE TREE PROTEST



FIGURE 25 BIG SNAKE LECTURE AT PUBLIC LIBRARY

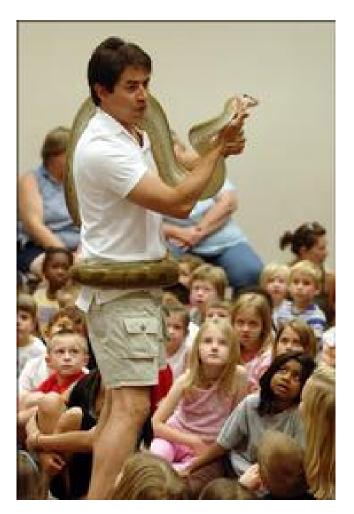


FIGURE 26 FARMERS MARKET



FIGURE 27 FLOAT CONSTRUCTION FOR ART TOUGEAU PARADE 2006



FIGURE 28 CARDBOARD BOAT PARADE 2005





FIGURE 29 ST. PATRICK'S DAY PARADE FLOAT CONSTRUCTION

FIGURE 30 COUCH PROTEST



FIGURE 31 CONSUMERS AND RETAILERS JOINING TOGETHER TO CLEAN UP THE DRA



FIGURE 32 WEST 9TH STREET STOREFRONTS





FIGURE 33 AERIAL VIEW OF BAND DAY PARADE

FIGURE 34 600 SQUARE FOOT FLAG IN INDEPENDENCE DAY PARADE



FIGURE 35 GAP PROTESTOR



FIGURE 36 WAL-MART SUCKS











FIGURE 39 HOMELESS SANTA

