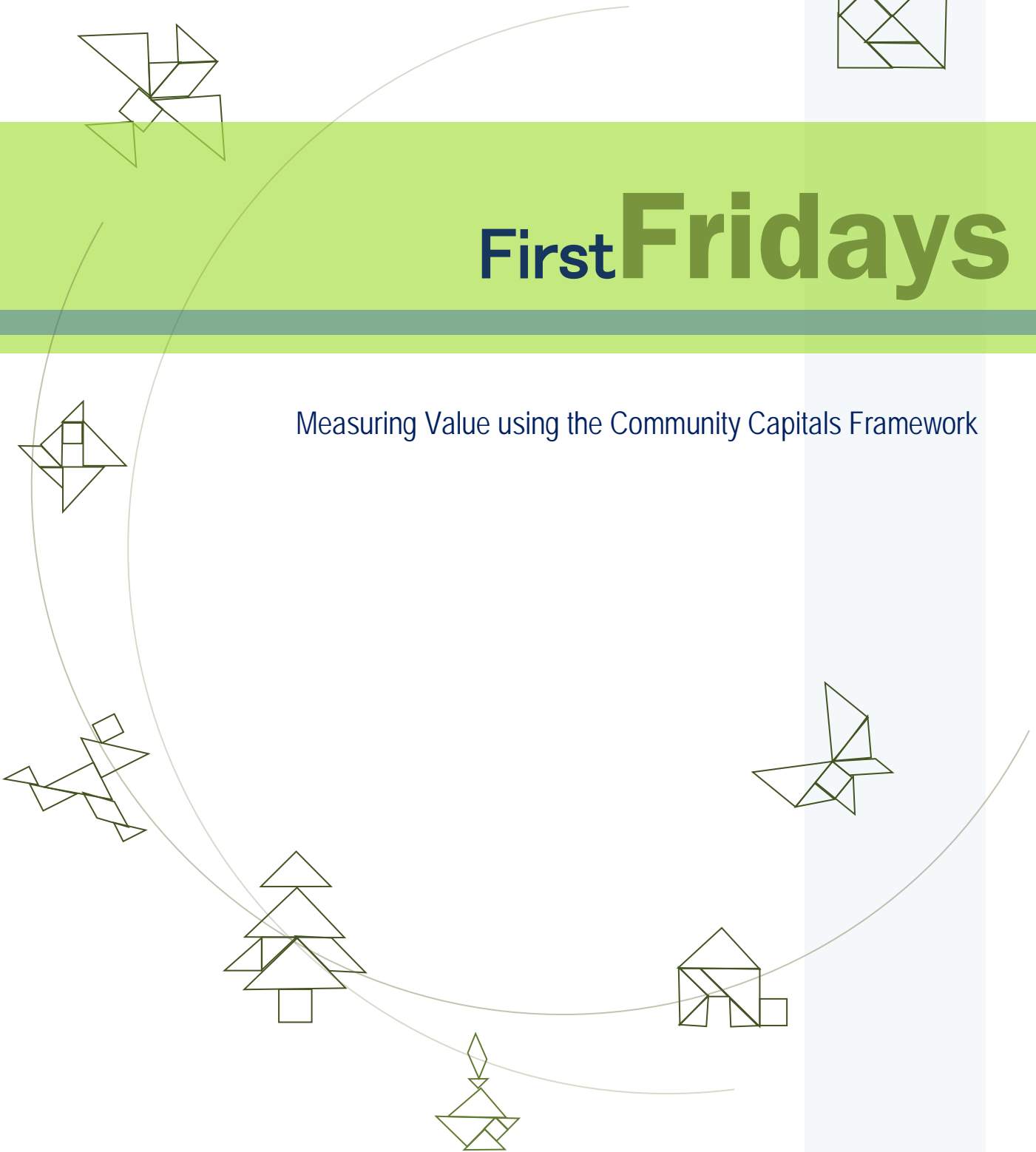


# First Fridays

Measuring Value using the Community Capitals Framework



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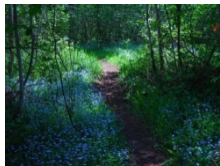
## Executive Summary

This report summarizes the results of a research project aimed at understanding how First Fridays and the art scene in Calumet contribute to community development. The project inventoried community assets and assessed how First Fridays contribute to these assets using participation observation, interviews, and surveys of First Fridays participants.

The research team surveyed 368 visitors to eight art spaces on First Fridays in February, March, and April of 2013. Counting the same people more than once at different art spaces and in different months, we observed a total of 1,077 total visits over the period. The average age of survey respondents was 48 years, significantly older than the general population. About a third came from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden. About one quarter of those surveyed indicated they “almost always” attend First Fridays, while 27% indicated this was their first time visiting.



Study results indicate that First Fridays and the art scene are making broad contributions to community assets in Calumet. The program has potential to spur a “spiraling up” process of holistic community development. A critical mass of people attend First Fridays and are interested in engaging in the art scene and related community development in Calumet, as evidenced by the number of visitors we observed and the 123 individuals who provided their email addresses to learn more. By organizing and working toward a shared vision, the arts community in Calumet could take advantage of additional opportunities to stimulate productive community change.



The art scene is contributing to a general shift in the way the natural world is valued toward more spiritual, recreational, and aesthetic values and a more environmentally conservation oriented perspective.

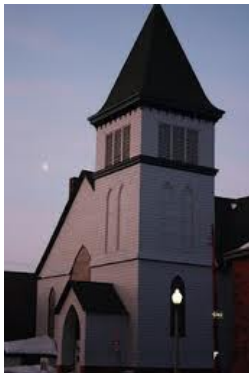
Artists thrive within and build upon the rich cultural legacy in Calumet. First Fridays are contributing to a general re-shaping of community identity toward a vibrant, cultural and historical destination and beginning to build a can-do, pro-change attitude in the community where local residents control their own community destiny. Still, the art scene suffers from focusing on competition as much as collaboration and it may not be well integrated into the broader community’s perception of itself.





First Fridays builds human capital by teaching techniques and trainings and providing some jobs, but leadership is scarce and the program may be missing opportunities to develop new community leaders.

Social relationships are one of the most important things that First Fridays participants value, and the development of social capital is perhaps the most key contribution of First Fridays. However, we find that social capital associated with First Fridays remains somewhat narrow with many of the same similar people who visit the same art spaces each month and interact with one another. These relationships are important, but First Fridays may be missing opportunities to establish new relationships among multiple groups and to integrate younger people and families.



First Fridays help to provide artists and residents who value art and culture with a political voice that may have been silent in the past, but this voice isn't particularly well coordinated and remains eclectic rather than unified.

Artists and art spaces have been instrumental in restoring and preserving Calumet's historical buildings, and they have invested significant financial capital into the community through private funds, attracting grants, and bringing in tourist dollars. Still, the amount of money generated through sales during First Fridays isn't reaching its full potential.

Based on these findings, the team suggests that First Fridays and the art community in Calumet could build on current successes by engaging in a visioning process whereby community members work together to define a vision and goals for the First Fridays program. The process could help to coordinate advertising efforts, build and solidify social relationships, coordinate with external agencies (such as Main Street Calumet, Michigan Tech, or Finlandia), develop leadership, establish a political voice in the community and beyond, and attract more and more diverse visitors. The community may find that Calumet community members, artists and art space proprietors would benefit from forming a formal Calumet Arts organization that would serve to organize these efforts and coordinate with external groups.

As a research group, it is not our intention to tell the community what to do. Our role is to provide an unbiased account of the relationships between First Fridays and community development. We hope the results of this project will stimulate dialogue within the community.

## Introduction

Once at the center of the copper mining industry of the Upper Peninsula, the Village of Calumet is situated within Calumet Township, Houghton County, Michigan. Located on the Keweenaw Peninsula, the village includes the Calumet Downtown Historic District, listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is located entirely within the boundaries of the Keweenaw National Historical Park (KNHP). Calumet, like many rural communities across the U.S., has been faced with high poverty rates and decreasing population since the close of the mining industry. Yet there has been a recent revitalization in the downtown area and a growth of the art scene in recent years.

On the first Friday of each month (First Fridays), art spaces are open late for special exhibits, artists' openings, receptions and other events. First Fridays provide an opportunity for community members to see art, to visit with one another, and to walk the downtown. But can this effort stimulate the kind of systematic change that could revitalize downtown Calumet?

This report assesses how First Fridays affect local community sustainability in Calumet. It is the culmination of a community-based research project rooted in a partnership between Main Street Calumet and Michigan Technological University. Dr. Richelle Winkler and her class worked together with members of the Calumet community to investigate how this art program is influencing community development in the Village of Calumet. The effort aimed to involve Calumet community members as much as possible in the research process. Starting in summer 2012, Winkler met with a group of four members of Main Street Calumet who defined the research question. A follow up meeting informed the research design, participant recruitment, and refined our questions. This meeting included a broader mix of community members, including elected representatives, artists, and gallery owners. One community member fully engaged in the entire class and conducted research together with the class as a full partner. Several other community members spent some time with the class and contributed to this project and our understanding of the Calumet community.

## Background

Over the past century the arts have increasingly been seen as a potential engine for community and economic development (Phillips, 2004). Artists, the creative class, and arts activities have inspired community development efforts from urban central cities to sparsely populated rural areas. Pockets of artists can be found in several specific rural areas across the U.S. and Canada (Bunting & Mitchell, 2001; Wojan, Lambert, & McGranahan, 2007). A combination of economic, aesthetic, and personal values play into which communities artists decide to populate. The beauty of local landscape can be a formidable factor in attracting artists. Recent studies of artist migration find that migrants consider not only landscape but also quality of social services when moving to a new area. The pull to dramatic landscapes is tempered with a desire for social amenities like affordable housing, quality hospitals, and easy access to urban hubs (Wojan et al., 2007).

The growth of rural artist havens has been found to create both positive and negative effects on the local community. The type of economic growth fostered by the efforts of artists

and the relationship with the surrounding community determines whether these benefits are positive or negative (Chapple & Jackson, 2010; Grodach, 2009). Typically the development of an artist haven creates revenue through a growth in the local tourism industry. The simple clustering of art galleries attracts tourists and eventually, new inhabitants, into a community. Some jobs may then be generated in the hospitality and recreation sectors of the economy. Aside from the creation of new jobs, if not managed, these artist clusters may promote gentrification of the area through rising housing costs, eventually pricing out the original inhabitants and the artists who originally moved there (Chapple & Jackson, 2010).

By taking a more thoughtful approach to artist havens, positive benefits for artists and the local community can be created (Phillips, 2004). In contrast to the art gallery model of economic development, artists may create a cooperative to support beginning artists and provide programs to build the business skills necessary to boost their career. This approach is similar to the “business incubator” model and provides artists within a community an outlet to exhibit their work to the greater community as well as supporting business skills development which provides artists the ability to live off the work they produce (Grodach, 2011). This approach also improves the local economy through growth in tourism. However, the creators of art incubators are encouraged to put a time limit on leases if they provide studio space in order to allow new artists to move in. Otherwise some artists may never leave; turning the incubator into a closed exclusive space and limiting the cooperative’s ability to support new artists (Grodach, 2009).

Artist havens have, however, been associated with unintended negative consequences. Unless some planning is put into place, areas which become artist havens may suffer from gentrification as a result of increased cost of living (Chapple & Jackson, 2010; Phillips, 2004). Community centers which work to serve the artist community may not reach the broader community due to difficult building egress or poor communication of services to broad populations. Artist cooperatives may produce an exclusive club-like group which prevents new artists and community members from getting involved (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). However, by being thoughtful of possible consequences artists and artist havens can provide real social and economic benefits to the community (Grodach, 2009). The presence of an arts community in a neighborhood has been found to improve community performance indicators in health, crime, and education (Newman, Curtis, & Stephens, 2001). Community arts centers provide a communal space for social gathering and artists support the preservation of an area’s historical legacy by restoring buildings for use and preserving culture through the arts (Newman et al., 2001).

## Research Approach

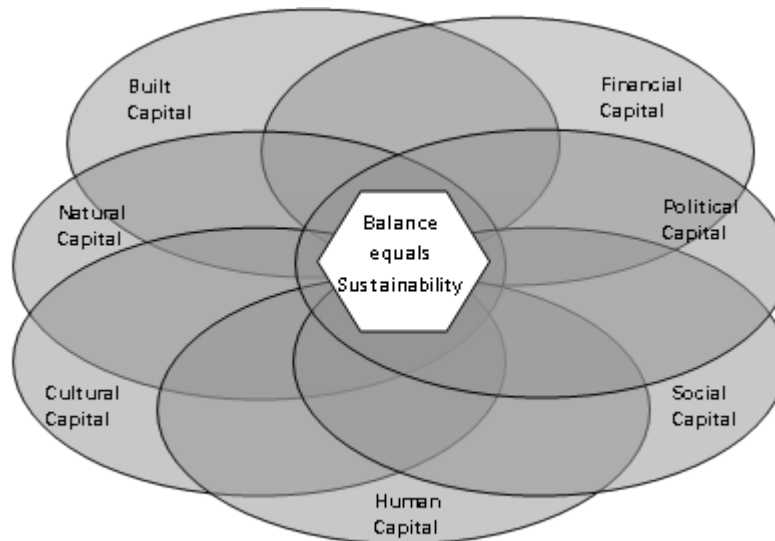
The aim of this research is to assess First Fridays’ contributions to broad community development in Calumet. The approach we took to analyze this question is based on Flora and Flora’s Community Capitals Framework (2008). This model is used to understand communities and assess community development efforts by examining a broad range of community resources, or “capitals”. It provides a structure by which to assess a community’s existing assets and how they change in response to specific community based efforts, like First Fridays. The goal is to discover opportunities to build on successes and to identify new opportunities for holistic community development. The Community Capitals Framework helps to re-identify a



community's assets in an unbiased, holistic, noninvasive, and positive way, in an attempt to redefine community opportunities (Flora and Flora 2008).

A "Community Capital" can be tangible such as parks or trails, buildings or roads, and businesses. They can also be intangible, identified as a shared sense of place or identity, pride in heritage, shared faith or belief, political influence, and a vision of community values. Flora and Flora identify these capitals, or resources, as: natural, cultural, human, social, political, financial, and built. These capitals are kinetic and interact with each other. Each is described in detail below.

**Figure 1: Community Capitals**



*Source: Modified from Flora and Flora (2008).*

*Natural Capital:* consists of assets associated with a community's natural landscape, including land, natural resources, air or water quality, amenity value and scenic beauty. Assets include parks, trails, and the biological and ecological landscape.

*Cultural Capital:* accounts for the way that people see their world and how they identify with each other's values, norms or expectations. It is a shared belief in how a community views themselves to be, how they feel, what they perceive and their attitudes. There is a shared collective memory regarding the past, the rituals they share, how relationships have formed, and how they work together. Assets include community programs such as heritage initiatives, festivals, cultural events, art, innovation or creativity, and cooperation.

*Human Capital:* includes the attributes that allow individuals to earn a living, participate in community development, and contribute to their families or themselves. It is the skills and abilities of people, which are either inherent or acquired, and include leadership abilities, labor force, education, the artisan or crafts skills base, and drive or ambition.



*Social Capital:* considers the kinetic relationship between people or groups, how they interact with each other and within their community. Valuable attributes associated with these relationships are seen in collaboration, initiative, organization, and reciprocity (e.g. volunteers). Tight knit close relationships are important (known as bonded social capital) but relationships with external organizations and between different groups within the community (bridging social capital) are also vital.

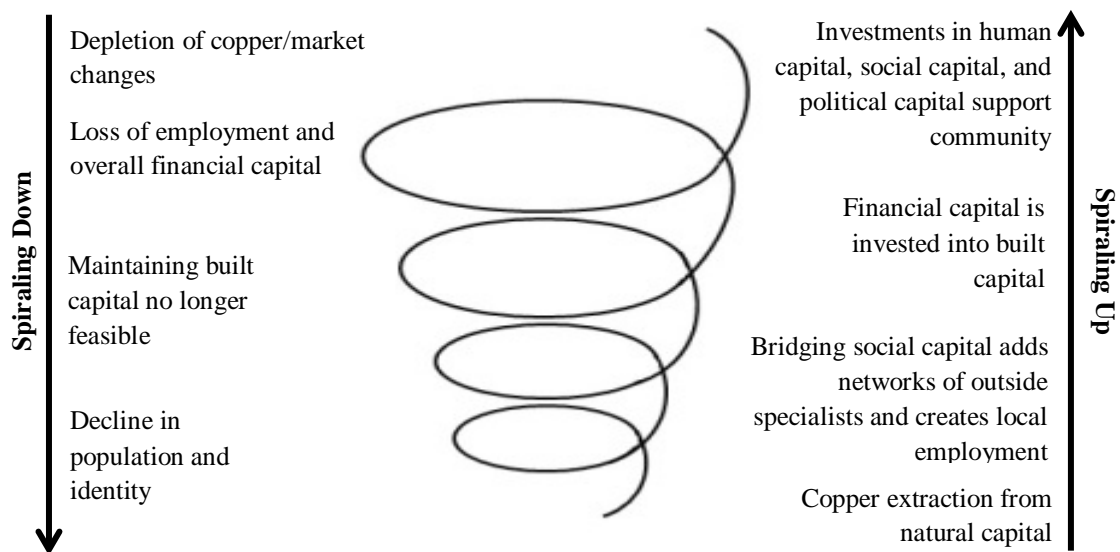
*Political Capital:* reflects the ability for people to access, influence or distribute power, resources, agencies, programs or agents of power at the local, county, state or national level. It is reflected in the ability of communities to make and enforce decisions for themselves and in the degree to which different community members have a voice.

*Financial Capital:* includes the monetary resources available to a community which can be used to generate more capital. It can be invested into community development, such as business development, marketing, civic initiatives, or entrepreneurial opportunities. It can be accumulated, saved, invested, used or lent. This capital is used to maintain infrastructure, waste management initiatives, recreation services, health and safety, and community development. It can come in the form of individual assets, community tax base, loans, and/or grants.

*Built Capital:* involves the physical infrastructure of any given community such as roads, sidewalks, safety infrastructure, water and sewer systems, buildings, communication systems, and energy grids.

While each community capital is unique, they are all connected and affect one another. The ways in which a community's resources are being actively engaged and used to create new resources or additional assets are vital for community development. Community capitals can be invested, engaged, or modified in various combinations to achieve long-term sustainability and community balance. When capitals are out of balance, deficits emerge. For example, Calumet was historically a community built around resource extraction, specifically copper mining. This primary industry created a variety of employment opportunities and financial capital which opened up further opportunities to create infrastructure and to invest in human, social and cultural capitals. This phenomenon of building upon existing resources to generate broad community benefits is called "spiraling-up." However, when mining operations shut down, all the capitals which were built upon this industry began to decline and change. The consequence of losing the industry was a dramatic decline in financial capital which then contributed to a loss of employment, people, and the resources to maintain the community's infrastructure.

**Figure 2: The Spiraling Up of Capital Assets**



*Source: Modified from Emery and Flora (2006).*

In order to create a new balance within Calumet's current structure the people within the community, and their government, must harmonize, balance, and promote the remaining community's capitals. Let's consider each capital as a building block of the community and if the block has been fractured, or it erodes, the structure becomes unstable. If it is fused, or reinforced it becomes supportive, benefits increase, and additional assets can be built upon its foundation. When this happens it creates an "upward spiral" of community capitals.

In this research project, we examined First Fridays in Calumet through the lens of the Community Capital Framework, investigating how First Fridays contributes to each capital and identifying unmet opportunities. We gathered a wide range of qualitative and quantitative information through participant observation, interviews, and surveys of First Fridays' participants. The information gathered from these experiences was then evaluated to identify if one, or many, of the community capitals are present, out of balance, and how they interact with each other. The results stimulate a dialogue about First Fridays, identify strengths and examine opportunities for further community development. It is not our intent to generate a plan of action; instead we aim to help the community think objectively about First Fridays and their community impact.

## Methods

This section describes the research methods used to collect data and assess how First Fridays affects community sustainability in Calumet. The research was conducted by a team of professional, student, and community-member researchers based out of Michigan Technological

University. The core team included one professor, five graduate students, two advanced undergraduates, and one community member. Team members engaged in the community by touring buildings, participating in First Fridays for three months, and engaging in conversations with residents regarding the local community and their thoughts on the First Fridays program. Detailed participant observation notes based on these experiences were recorded and then examined, coded, and interpreted using the Community Capitals Framework.

Surveys were conducted at eight art spaces on February 1, March 1, and April 5, 2013. These included the Calumet Art Center (CAC), Café Rosetta, Ziyad & Co. Art Gallery, Hahn Hammered Copper, Copper Country Associated Artists (CCAA), 5<sup>th</sup> & Elm Coffee House, Gallerie Boheme, and the Omphale Gallery & Café.<sup>1</sup> Visitors were asked to sign-in at each location recording their name and city/state of residence. Visitors were also asked to fill out a short survey where they shared how often they came and what they value about First Fridays. Both the sign-ins and surveys can be found in Appendix A and B. The research team aimed to survey the full population of visitors to First Fridays in February, March, and April. Each participant was asked to participate and could decline if they chose too. In total, 368 unique First Fridays participants were counted. Survey and sign-in data were entered into an electronic database for analysis. The research team generated summary statistics, computed correlation matrixes and conducted factor analysis to analyze and interpret results. This included calculating the mean age of visitors, generating summaries of frequency of visits, calculating the proportion female, place of residence, and correlating visitors to each particular art space with visits to other art spaces.

Finally, the team conducted eight interviews with local artists and art space proprietors on March 1, 2013. Questions addressed experiences, feelings, and beliefs about the First Fridays art program and about the Calumet community. Each interview was transcribed, coded, and analyzed with attention to themes from each of the community capitals. A copy of the interview questionnaire can be found in Appendix C. The artists who chose to participate in the one-on-one interview did so willingly as a volunteer. No compensation was offered. These artists will remain anonymous.

## Calumet Context

This section provides an overview of the community capitals context in Calumet. It is a brief summary of the starting base for the capitals, or the asset base, that Calumet has to work with. Later in the report, the focus will shift to how First Fridays affects these assets. Calumet's current community capitals base is directly related to the village's history as the center of the copper mining industry in Michigan. As employment in the mines decreased over the

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<sup>1</sup> Data was only collected at 5<sup>th</sup> and Elm in March. No data was collected for Omphale in February or for Rosetta or Hahn in April, due to closings.

decades since about 1910, residents moved out of the area in search of jobs and other opportunities. Following the closure of the last mine in the 1960s, the population in the Village of Calumet has decreased to 726 (Appendix D).

*Natural Capital:* Calumet's natural beauty and outdoor recreation opportunities attract thousands of visitors each year. The village is located in the heart of the Keweenaw Peninsula, which is proximate to Lake Superior, and has a significant amount of public lands and forests with a wealth of trails for biking, hiking, cross country skiing, and boating. Likewise, Calumet's remote location discourages heavy industry from developing or investing in the area simply due to the logistical difficulties related to the remote location and guarantee of a skilled labor force.

Historically natural capital, specifically copper, has defined Calumet and the surrounding area. This natural capital has provided a legacy that continues to help shape and define Calumet. Even today the legacy of copper mining continues to define the region, as highlighted by the extensive use of the word copper to for festivals and descriptions of the area (i.e. CopperDog 150 dogsled race and Copper Country as a name for the region).

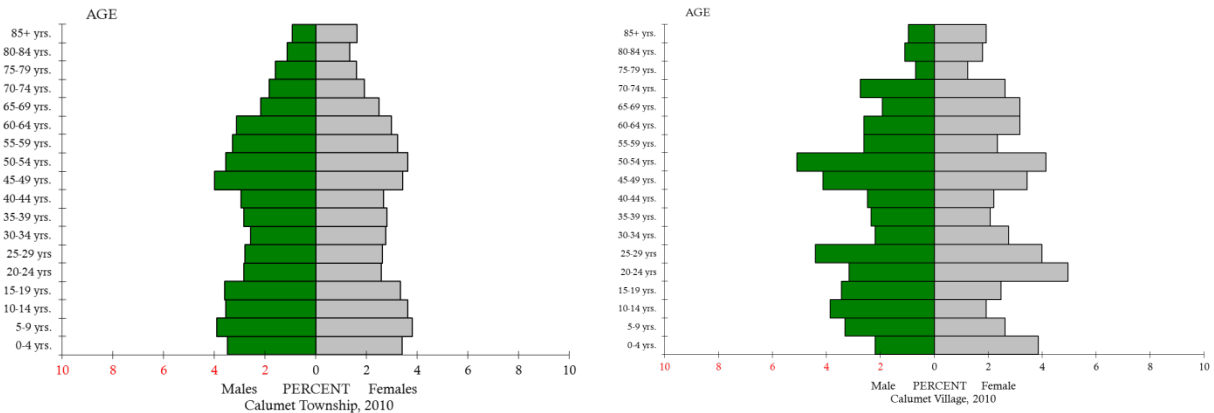
*Cultural Capital:* Calumet's history, especially as related to copper mining and location, has resulted in the area retaining a unique cultural identity. This manifests in the Village having an identity that combines the historically large number of Finnish-American residents with the shared cultural and historic legacy of the copping mining industry. The predominate Finnish-American identity is complimented by buildings reflecting the faiths and architectural forms of a diverse ethnic population. This is evidenced by the names of the commercial blocks (i.e. Isakson, Jacka, Hennes, Bloy), and also in the names of social fraternities represented, including the Odd Fellows, Elks, and the Union Building, which housed several social fraternities. Although Calumet was settled, especially during the mining boom, by immigrants from across Europe, Finnish immigrants provided the strongest and longest lasting cultural legacy.

Other cultural legacies of the mining era remain in the community. The bitter labor strike of 1913 and the tragedy at the Italian Hall on Christmas Eve 1913 forever changed the history of the community, and the controversy regarding the circumstances surrounding the tragedy has never really been resolved. The closure of the last mine on the Keweenaw Peninsula in 1968 saw a steady decline in population, infrastructure and financial capital, which continued for the next several decades. Calumet, like many post-industrial towns, was left with a legacy of dependence on external forces for its identity and a perception that the community has limited power to shape its destiny, a legacy which the community is gradually overcoming.

Calumet's festivals celebrate its diverse ethnic heritage and foodways. Each summer Calumet's Heritage Celebration features the traditions and foodways of one of the many ethnic groups who came here from all across Europe and other countries to work in the copper mines. Calumet's foodways also show the blending of cultures, for example, the pasty, a Cornish meat pie which the miners took down into the copper mines, was adopted by all groups, and has become a regional foodway. PastyFest is a celebration of this regional foodway which draws a thousand or more to Calumet each summer.

*Human Capital:* Outmigration from the area and limited employment opportunities have resulted in Calumet having a relatively small working age population, or in other words, a highly age dependent population with relatively high proportions at both young, (under 18), and old (over 65) ages compared to the Michigan average (Appendix D). Figure 3 shows the age structure of Calumet Township and Calumet Village and the relative proportion of population ages 30-44 in both the Township and the Village.

**Figure 3: Age structure of Calumet Township and Calumet Village, 2010**



*Source: Census 2010.*

This disproportionate population is partially a result of the limited employment opportunities for young adults, especially professionals. Much of the employment opportunities in Calumet are in the service sector, specifically unskilled work in the food service or retail. In fact, according to census data, roughly 51% of people employed in Calumet work in the service or closely-related retail and office sector (Appendix D). Other residents in Calumet report working in “management, business, science and art” (26%), “production, transportation & material moving” (14%) and lastly in “natural resources, construction & maintenance” (9%) (Appendix D). However, many of these jobs are also directly related to the service industry.

*Social Capital:* There is a long history of fraternal organizations and societies in Calumet such as the Odd Fellows, Elks, Masons, and ethnic organizations such as the daughters of Isabella, whose purpose was to provide socialization and a safety net for new immigrants. Fraternal organizations and social societies still in existence today in Calumet include the Elks, the Foresters, Lions Club and Knights of Columbus who still meet for socializing and do community or charitable work. Reflecting the legacy of the mining era, The Miscowaubik Club, a private club founded in 1903 for the Copper Country’s elite male population--mining captains, merchants, lawyers and bankers, is still in existence today, although membership is open to anyone, including women, who wish to pay the dues

Volunteer groups such as Main Street Calumet, The Swedetown Trails Club, and CopperDog 150 also form social connections. Popular sports such as hockey, biking, curling and cross country skiing also form social groups centered on a specific interest. In addition, art and music also tend to attract specific groups. Social capital helps to stimulate development of the other capitals, creating a vital force for a spiralling-up process of community investment and change.

*Political Capital:* Political capital is about the different voices in the community and the ability to get things done, make decisions locally (local determination), and enforce codes. The most prominent forms of political capital (voice) in Calumet come in the forms of prestige, connections, and economic capability. Those individuals who have lived in the area their entire lives have a certain amount of political leverage through the prestige and local connections that come with growing up and living their whole life in the area. Through the simple process of being here, these people have connections and knowledge of personal local history that can be used to shepherd ideas or decisions toward their goals.

Another form of political capital is possessed by those who have the economic means combined with a personality which allows them to gain a positive reputation among the population. The ability to finance or use external connections to move projects forward allows these individuals to complete projects without the restrictions that may come from money attached to grants or loans. Those individuals who have recently moved to the area (or returned after time away) also bring with them the network connections and knowledge gained from living elsewhere.

Calumet, like many post-industrial towns, was left with a legacy of dependence on external forces (such as the C & H Mining Company) and a perception that the community has limited political power to shape its destiny, a legacy which the community is gradually overcoming. Local civic ordinances, such as The Calumet Village Historic District Ordinance gives the local community a voice (rather than, for example a large developer) as to how new construction as well as rehabilitations of existing buildings within the local historic district (which encompasses the entire downtown) can be constructed and how it will appear in context to the historic buildings in the village. The Village is currently working on changes to the ordinance in order to address demolition by neglect.

*Financial Capital:* Financial sustainability is one of Calumet's biggest challenges both in the public sector (the Village) as well as for many residents and building owners. The Village has a very high rate of poverty (32% compared to Michigan total of 15.7% (Appendix D)), which may contribute to the immobility of financial capital. Many building owners don't have sufficient financial capital to maintain and rehabilitate their buildings in a way that is both historically appropriate (required by the Village's Local Historic District Ordinance) and cost effective. Some defer maintenance to the point of demolition by neglect. The loss of buildings to abandonment and neglect negatively affects the tax base of the village and its ability to provide services, maintain infrastructure, and enforce its ordinances.

Calumet, like many small rural communities, relies on federal and state grants to gain access to financial capital for public improvement projects. The community also utilizes public/private partnerships in order to leverage financial capital to get projects done. The Village of Calumet, and the Downtown Development Authority, has worked with partners such as Main Street Calumet, MEDC (Michigan Economic Development Corporation), MSHDA (Michigan State Housing Development Authority) and the Keweenaw National Historical Park to leverage grant monies to fund several successful rehabilitation projects in the village.

CDBG (Community Development Block Grants) have been utilized by Calumet for economic development, community development and rehabilitation projects. The MEDC

administers grants for Blight Elimination, Façade Improvements, Downtown Public Infrastructure and Signature Building Acquisition. Federal and State Historic Tax credits are another way owners of historic properties in Calumet have been able to increase capital to spend on rehabilitation projects in Calumet's downtown historic district. Local banks have provided low interest loans to building owners in the downtown.

*Built Capital:* One of the most defining characteristics of Calumet is the rich architectural heritage found within its historic downtown area. There are numerous early-twentieth century buildings, many of which are comprised of Jacobsville Sandstone, that serve multiple purposes. The "heart" of Calumet (the downtown area) is designated as a National Historic District by the National Park Service. Outside the downtown area, Calumet is filled with distinctive mining homes, the Calumet Theatre, and numerous other historic structures. Within the Village (63%) and Township (78%) more than four times the Michigan average percentage (16%) of housing units were built before 1940 (Appendix D).

Historic buildings pose both challenges and opportunities. Architectural heritage encourages tourism, preservation, and political efforts to help preserve the unique historical legacy of many of Calumet's buildings. The buildings connect the community to its past and offer a sense of identity and uniqueness. Yet, many of these historic structures are in danger. A recent survey conducted by the Village of Calumet revealed that 126 buildings in the downtown area alone are in need of repair and stabilization. Likewise, many of the historic homes suffer from neglect and low property values. The research team observed, for instance, that derelict buildings detract from the atmosphere of First Fridays. According to the American Community Survey, Calumet Village (77%) and Township (84%) have over twice the Michigan average (33%) of total housing units that are worth less than \$100,000 (Appendix D).

Low property values limit the Village's ability to generate tax revenue. Furthermore, the Village's small (726) population means that essential services, such as snow removal in the winter, are strained by the limited resources provided by the small tax base. The result is that the built capital of the Village is diminished because the Village has to prioritize and focus on maintaining existing infrastructure, limiting opportunities for growth and investment. On one hand, the community does not want to part with their properties; on the other hand, the community does not have sufficient economic and financial resources to maintain them. This situation affects the preservation of old buildings, but at the same time, the situation is an indicator that the community, despite everything, has roots. The result is a vicious cycle where historic buildings are valued but not preserved because of the lack of funds.

While buildings and imposing physical structures are one of the most obvious characteristics of the built environment, Calumet (and other cities and villages) are also shaped by more mundane creations. For example, Calumet would not exist without roads, electricity, running water, and other utilities. Not only do these utilities provide services to residents of the Village, but they also have influenced the growth and development of the Village. The physical layout of Calumet's downtown contributes greatly to its "walkability". New and emergent technologies provide exciting possibilities for growth and for preservation of Calumet's built infrastructure. The internet, for instance, provides residents with the opportunity to connect with businesses and employers from outside the immediate area. As a result, businesses and individuals located in Calumet have the potential to reach a wide audience which in turn can encourage investment back into the community.



## Results

### Survey Results

The research team surveyed 368 independent visitors to Calumet's art spaces on First Fridays during the months of February, March, and April. There were additional visitors who were missed or who refused to participate in the survey.<sup>2</sup> The number of art space visits (people who walk through the door at one of the art spaces on a First Friday, which may include counting the same person who visits multiple locations) numbered 115 in February, 924 in March (with 417 visits to Café Rosetta alone), and 158 in April. In total over the 3 months surveyed we counted 1,197 visits to Calumet art spaces on First Fridays.

**Table 1: Surveyed First Fridays Visitors, February-April 2013**

	Number of Surveyed Visitors			Average Age	% Female	% always come	% first time visitors	% from Calumet, Laurium or Lake Linden	% from Houghton or Hancock
	Feb	March	April						
CAC	11	9	5	58	46%	37%	21%	46%	26%
Rosetta	21	14	--	42	55%	28%	25%	46%	18%
Ziyad	19	68	37	52	52%	28%	32%	28%	46%
Hahn	4	28	--	55	47%	16%	32%	38%	19%
CCAA	22	79	29	49	63%	27%	21%	49%	34%
Boheme	25	33	43	60	46%	36%	16%	42%	33%
Omphale	--	52	39	44	46%	35%	24%	28%	55%
Total	67	258	85	48	55%	25%	27%	36%	37%

*Note: Omphale was closed in February. Hahn and Rosetta were closed in April.*

The average age for participants was 48 years, with a range of 0-81 years old. Women were somewhat overrepresented among participants. About a third came from surrounding communities; another third came from the Houghton/Hancock area; and the other third came from elsewhere in Houghton or Keweenaw Counties (14.5%), elsewhere in U.P. (4%), or out of state (5.5%). This results were somewhat skewed due to the CopperDog 150. However, only 66 of the 193 respondents that only attended during CopperDog 150 reported that this was their first

<sup>2</sup> During CopperDog 150 (March), it was difficult to obtain an accurate count at crowded locations. This was especially true in Café Rosetta and 5<sup>th</sup> and Elm.

time attending First Fridays.

One quarter (25%) of participants indicated that they “almost always” come to First Fridays. Another quarter (27%) of participants had come only for the first time. Almost half of participants were then split between attending “several times a year” to only “a couple of times ever.” People from Calumet and the immediate area were more likely than people traveling greater distances to indicate they almost always come to First Fridays.

**Table 2: Number of Art Spaces that First Fridays Guests Visit, February-April 2013**

	February		April	
	People	%	People	%
1 location	48	71.6%	44	51.8%
2 locations	8	11.9%	21	24.7%
3 locations	6	9.0%	17	20.0%
4 locations	5	7.5%	3	3.5%
Total				
Visitors	67	--	85	--

On average people who come to First Friday visit only 1-2 art spaces. We counted that no one visited more than 4 art spaces between February and April. The places where our registered participants were mostly likely to have visited at least once during our study were: Ziyad (119), CCAA (116), Boheme (84), Omphale (82), Rosetta (33), Hahn (32), and CAC (22). Rosetta, Ziyad, and Omphale are the most likely places to attract people new to First Fridays. Places like Boheme and CAC at the ends of the street rarely get new visitors. Boheme and Omphale are favorites of those who almost always come out. CAC, Rosetta, CCAA, and Boheme are most likely to attract people from the immediate area (Calumet, Laurium, or Lake Linden). Ziyad and Omphale attract a relatively high proportion of people from Houghton/Hancock.

### ***How do First Fridays Affect Community Capitals?***

This section summarizes the findings with regards to the ways in which First Fridays and the art scene more generally contribute (or not) to various community assets (community capitals) in Calumet. The primary question addressed in this section is, “how do art related activities impact, benefit, change the value of, or build upon each of the community capitals in Calumet?”



#### ***Natural Capital***

First Fridays and the art community rely on natural capital for inspiration and to enhance a sense of well-being. Artists and visitors draw on the natural environment to inspire creativity which creates a new kind of relationship between them and Calumet’s natural environment. This represents a value shift toward appreciating the natural world more for its spiritual, aesthetic, and legacy values rather than seeing it as resources to be used. When people feel a sense of connection to a place, or space, people will start to invest in its use, protection, and sustainability.

The aesthetic value of the natural environment is considered to be an essential asset to both the visitors and residents of Calumet. Each season, artists are interacting with their environment looking for subject matter and scenic beauty in Calumet's changing vistas. Artists use natural resources as materials within their projects, as a place to host concerts, festivals, events, or performances, and a place to walk through and enjoy. There is an appreciation of Lake Superior and its historic mining industries, its forest regrowth, and its newly rejuvenated and undeveloped vistas. Visual art depicts stories of Calumet's historic mining and exploration activities with members of the community reusing reclaimed granite in rehabilitation projects. Copper is used as a medium by various artists, or it is incorporated as accents within mixed media work. The deindustrialized landscape, the soft shoreline of Lake Superior, as well as the rugged cliffs created through historic mining activities within the region are often a focus of interest. Images of animals, trees, wolves, fish, and birds are depicted; scenes of serenity, ecology, or Calumet's local diversity have been incorporated into paintings, various ceramics, jewelry, metal work, woodcarving, photography, felting, weaving, glasswork, and graphite drawings. It is clear that their makers appreciate the community of Calumet, its local culture, and environment. There is a pride of heritage that connects both the old and the new together. Nature and local scenery clearly inspires Calumet's artists, and the artistic interpretation of the natural world reshapes the ways in which the community thinks about and values the natural world.

There are many options for people to purchase locally produced food, beverages, or locally inspired pieces of art work. Artists wander the land accessing various natural amenities, such as footpaths, roads, cliff ridges, local parks and Lake Superior. Local establishments are incorporating native berries, specifically Thimbleberries, into regionally specific foods. Sculptors and potters are incorporating local mediums into their work, as well as using local materials to host events such as pit fires or raku. First Fridays impacts natural capital through inspiration, by providing subject matter in representations, and people are seeking experiences within their natural environment – in a way that is different from its historic use built solely around resource exploitation. Local proprietors and artisans are, in a sense, redefining Calumet's historic landscape, creating images that represent local places, enhancing the beauty in the town, and bringing it back to life.

First Fridays impacts natural capital by introducing audiences, students and people to Calumet's natural environment which contributes significantly to quality of life, identity, and value. When people are happy with their environment or community they will protect it, contribute and maintain it. These acts will, in turn, encourage others to visit Calumet, perhaps consider it as a place to live or visit regularly, maybe buy a house, plant a garden – or a tree – which will impact the community's financial and built environments by causing property values to rise. Of course, one art program alone cannot create radical change –but, one person at a time can. Programs aimed at showcasing Calumet's vast park and trail system will attract specific populations. There has been mention that Agassiz Park would be a great location to create a variety of attractions or outdoor art walks. Land use contributes to quality of life by providing an arena to host ethnic themed music festivals, or concerts which can be harnessed to create additional capital.



## *Cultural Capital*

The research suggests that First Fridays contribute to three aspects of cultural capital: identity, rootedness, and agency. These are reflected in the art that is produced, the interactions that people have, and the topics that are discussed in the spaces of First Friday. Finally the art scene and First Fridays are helping to dissolve some of the resistance to outside pressures and is a reflection of the resilience of the people of Calumet.

Identity refers to the aspects of life that people hope to pass on to the next generation. This was often seen reflected in comments that people made such as, “this is the Calumet of my youth” referring to the crowds at CopperDog 150. Respondents (26%) mentioned the fact that First Fridays allowed them to be a part of something and fostered a sense of community. They were able to come out and support the artist community and the small businesses. In so doing, they were able to talk about their past experiences with people they might not have ever met before. In conversations fostered by the First Friday experience, elders were able to pass on some of the history of place, such as what used to be situated in a building, to others who were eager to learn. The art, which reflects what can be seen in the community, is also helping to foster the identity that Calumet is no longer an old mining town, but that they are also something more.

The town’s identity is also tied to sense of place, or the rootedness that many of the people feel with the area. This rootedness is also reflected in the local art, through what is portrayed, and the materials used. For example some people are using copper in their art, which is a reflection of that which made the area what it is today. Others have incorporated parts of the landscape, but beautified them to reflect not a scar on the landscape, but rather a proud history. This rootedness also manifests through the efforts of people who work to protect the history of their place. This subcategory also affects what decisions are made, how they are made, and who is involved in making them. But it also can be seen in people who connect to the area, even though they live elsewhere, or once lived elsewhere, and the fact that an artist can make woodcarvings here that are being displayed and sold in urban galleries. Finally this is reflected in the art styles that are being used, which are a mix of traditional art, and what artisans often refer to as craft.

That being said, First Fridays also are fostering agency, by creating a new social norm that shows the whole town they are in this together; that the local community can take control of its own destiny to create positive change. The changes that First Fridays have facilitated may seem insignificant when looked at in all their individual parts, but when taken in context and all together, are astounding. The work done thus far has shown that when Calumet as a community works together, many more opportunities are created. Community members valued First Fridays because they were uplifting and inspiring, and because they provided a positive energy, along with a vibrant atmosphere (10%). Another 4% valued first Fridays for the exposure to new ideas they got or ideas that they shared, which was possible due to the diversity of people and ideas First Fridays are bringing to Calumet. As a resident said, First Fridays “keeps Calumet busy and vibrant”, it “makes it [Calumet] a destination, and encourages people to come out.”

Thus First Fridays have much to offer to the greater Calumet community through fostering identity, strengthening agency, and deepening rootedness. Identity keeps the town going, and the art is often a way of fostering a common identity and creating a physical manifestation of it. Art is also creating a deeper sense of rootedness, as people see that there are

things going on that can help them remain here. The art is bringing back life to this community, which is alleviating a deep-set fear that Calumet has been forgotten. This ties in with agency, which is incredibly important to the continued positive influence of First Friday in Calumet.



## ***Human Capital***

Human capital is represented by attitude, friendliness and buoyant spirits, which accumulate to create community, where skills, education and resources forge elasticity within and around this community. This is exemplified by the enthusiasm of respondents who note the ambience of First Fridays.

“Energy in town, art, meeting new/old people, music” –Calumet resident

Human capital is also represented by skills, education and the productive use of such attributes. Productive use includes volunteerism, leadership, sharing of art and other aspects that enhance the human community.

First Fridays and the art scene in Calumet provide employment to a growing number of artists and entrepreneurs, and they increase the customer base for the various art spaces. Yet, most artists represented in Calumet don’t rely on art as their main income. Many also teach art and/or have other jobs to supplement their income. First Fridays and the art scene have potential for generating employment in advertising, building renovation, reclamation services, tourism, gallery/store owners, artist entrepreneurships, landscaping, Agassiz Park maintenance, community center/studio space, art therapy and alternative wellness.

Because of a weak local economy, Calumet must rely on summer tourism and occasional events that attract people from extended communities, e.g. Houghton, Hancock, and the Keweenaw, to actually sell art. Yet, potential jobs exist for locals who possess the necessary skills to contribute to the art scene, which will help improve the economic situation, prevent gentrification, as well as retain Calumet’s cultural integrity. There is strong potential for job creation in restoration and revitalization efforts, where art and construction coalesce.

First Fridays create and can further the opportunity for education. This includes practical, hands-on art making, as well as knowledge of the cultural significance of art and the interpretation of it. The quote below from a Calumet artist explains how local production matters. First Fridays encourages a broader community of people to value local production, which could stimulate more local employment opportunities as well as support the production of local art.

“I think there is a whole movement to buy local to buy handmade, people want a different experience, not something that is mass produced, and I’m totally behind that”.

–Calumet artist

Interdependence amongst the art community, the Village of Calumet, Main Street, the KNHP, Calumet residents, surrounding towns, local businesses and other important stakeholders reinforce the development of human capital. Reciprocity amongst these entities will contribute to local economy circulation of goods, services and finances. As a Hancock resident explains, First Fridays inspire this kind of integration. He states,

“I like the sense of cooperation between art; local business and community: There is a reason to visit Calumet on a Friday night.”

First Fridays provide an opportunity for community development, though leadership isn't agreed upon and is currently lacking fulfillment.

A particular niche for Calumet could be not only art, but functional art, created via traditional ways that embrace Calumet's ethnic heritage, combined with natural, sustainable and recycled techniques. Re-skilling workshops and apprenticeships are invaluable methods for obtaining skills that will contribute to the community's human capital.

## ***Social Capital***

Research on rural community development suggests that social capital may be the most important of the community capitals by stimulating development of the other capitals creating a vital force for a spiraling up process of community investment and change (Emery and Flora 2006, Fey et al. 2006). First Fridays in Calumet serve as a catalyst for building “bonding” and “bridging” social capital. Bonding social capital describes connections among individuals and groups of similar backgrounds. In contrast, bridging social capital connects diverse and different groups within the community to each other and to other groups outside the community. Both bonding and bridging social capital have elements that can be positive and negative, and both the positive and negative associations play out during First Fridays in Calumet.

Bonding social capital was especially prevalent during First Fridays. First Fridays facilitate bonding by bringing similar groups of people together to socialize. Many of the visitors (73%) to First Fridays (excluding during Copper Dog 150) were visitors who had previously attended the event. They often knew each other and the art space owners and artists. This created an overall atmosphere of familiarity and socialization that centered around both social interactions and with the art itself. The familiar social atmosphere was further reinforced by the similar age of the visitors, 75% of whom were over the age of 50. Overall, the way First Fridays brings similar people together encourages the formation of positive social bonding within the Calumet community.

Despite the positive aspects of the bonding capital that occurred during First Fridays, First Fridays also encourage (to a limited extent) negative aspects of bonding social capital—specifically the formation of “boundaries” that can serve as a deterrent for new individuals to feel comfortable. This was evidenced by observations that indicated that there seemed to be a real or perceived boundary between the visitors to First Fridays and the wider Calumet community. This boundary was partially formed as a result of the somewhat narrow appeal of art to the wider community and also the observation that many people already knew each other at the First Fridays events. Likewise, the similar age of the vast majority of respondents indicates that First Fridays may not be appealing to younger people—which further highlights a potential boundary between First Fridays and the wider Calumet and Houghton County communities. There appears to be a distinct lack of families at the art spaces, which may be influenced by the fact that there is no community place where parents could leave their children to say learn about art, while they [parents] enjoyed the art.

Despite the somewhat insular nature of the bonded social capital observed, First Fridays also created positive bridging social capital. Specifically, First Fridays helped draw different



groups of people to Calumet. While the majority of visitors seemed familiar with each other, there also were visitors (especially during Copper Dog 150) who were new to the Calumet art scene. Overall, survey data indicated that 27% of visitors to First Fridays were visiting for the first time. Likewise, survey data also indicated that the majority of visitors were actually from outside of Calumet, with the majority being from the Houghton/Hancock area (37%). As a result, First Fridays appear to be bridging, to an extent, different groups and individuals, which possibly could start the bonding process of breaking down boundaries.

Overall, First Fridays facilitate both bonding and bridging social capital, with bonding being the predominate capital observed. In a very positive sense, First Fridays help bring similar people together to socialize on a regular basis and help them to identify common interests. First Fridays also encourage visitors to visit shops and locations they might not otherwise visit, such as local coffee shops. The result is that a sense of social community is formed by the relationships that develop amongst visitors to First Fridays. Yet, at the same time, these bonded relationships present a challenge for the First Fridays movement—specifically in the way in which some individuals or groups may feel excluded from the art scene. The challenges of encouraging new visitors and creating an environment that welcomes new forms of bridging and bonding social capital thus forms one of the main challenges for the future of First Fridays in Calumet.

### *Political Capital*

The political structure of Calumet is similar to many towns across the U.S.; however the size of Calumet Village makes it easier for an individual to make changes to the area. The genuine care that people hold for the Village of Calumet is reflected in the number of organizations and individuals who are working to make a positive impact on the community. An effort to cultivate partnerships among groups and individuals will allow First Fridays to increase the positive impacts of these programs across a wider audience.

The creation and continued efforts of First Fridays has allowed artists within the area to gain some political capital as a group they may not have otherwise had as individuals. The regular, monthly nature of First Fridays has provided a regular social venue which allows for the exchange of ideas and social connections among artists, art space owners, and tourists. This interaction allows for the creation of a collective voice local artists, as a group, may not otherwise have. While there is a wealth of political willpower to promote the Village of Calumet and the many businesses within, there does not appear to be much if any coordination among the individuals or groups working within Calumet.

Main Street Calumet is a local organization that works through community involvement to revitalize the downtown. By following a community-based vision, with the proven track record of the National Main Street organization, Main Street Calumet has been able to organize or facilitate cultural events, such as PastyFest and the CopperDog 150. Partnering with organizations such as the MEDC, the Keweenaw National Historical Park and the Village of Calumet, they assist with facilitating rehabilitations in the community and working with community volunteers to improve the appearance of the downtown through projects like “Windows Into the Past”, spring clean-up and downtown beautification projects. First Fridays and the art community have also been instrumental in helping give the community an emerging new identity as an “art town”.

These types of community-based initiatives show that Calumet, despite its challenges, is moving away from dependence on external forces and showing a determination toward shaping its own destiny.





## *Financial Capital*

Significant public and private financial capital has been invested in this community over the past several years related to the arts and culture. The KNHP Calumet Visitor Center stands out as an example of federal tax dollars invested in the community. Over the past several years, there has also been significant private capital investment related to the arts and culture in Calumet, including the opening of several private galleries in the downtown, as well as the Calumet Art Center, a 501(c)(3). Main Street Calumet, another private 501(c)(3), has been instrumental in helping with downtown revitalization efforts, helping to promote Calumet as an arts community, raising awareness and bringing many visitors into the village by organizing or facilitating successful cultural events such as Calumet's annual Heritage Celebration, PastyFest, and the CopperDog 150 which contribute to the local economy.

Artists are investing in the community of Calumet. There have been a number of successful rehabilitation projects in the downtown over the past several years, funded by private dollars or a combination of public and private capital, several of which now house art venues including the Calumet Art Center, Ziyad & Co. Art Gallery, the Copper Country Associated Artists, 5<sup>th</sup> & Elm Coffee House, Gallerie Boheme and the Omphale Gallery. Buildings that have been maintained or rehabilitated in a way that respects the architectural and historic integrity of the structures contribute to the cultural heritage and artistic vision in the downtown.

Artists are bringing dollars into the community as they invest in buildings, open art-related businesses; sell their art in local galleries and in supporting venues such as the cafés. The multiplier effect can be seen on First Fridays when the artists sell their work, the gallery gets a commission, the local café's and supporting venues get business, and the fact that there are several galleries within a short distance encourages patrons and visitors to make multiple stops in other galleries within the village. Patrons are also spending money in local restaurants and in other businesses. Several of the artists interviewed stated that they also maintain some connection with urban galleries or sell commissioned work outside this area. This export-based activity also contributes to the financial capital of this community; when local artists sell their work out of the area, some of those dollars come back and are spent locally.

Interviews with artists in the community indicated that First Fridays are a valuable event that has improved their success financially; several reported they have had sell-out events at First Fridays. There are several established artists in the community whose primary income comes from producing and selling art. However, like artists in other rural communities, many artists in Calumet also hold second jobs, either in teaching art or have income support from spouses. Several artists indicated that financial wealth was not the only motive for their craft; quality of life, community, the ability to live and make art on their own terms, affordable housing, and proximity to the beauty of the natural and built environment in Calumet was an important part of their decision to live here.

Calumet's downtown businesses are vital to the local economy. With few exceptions, Calumet's downtown cafés, restaurants, galleries, and businesses are unique, locally owned and operated, providing visitors, artists and residents with an authentic and unique experience, bringing in dollars from outside the area as well as helping keep local dollars here. It was noted that First Fridays do bring people into the community, and raise awareness about the unique businesses in Calumet. Some of the comments from gallery owners, and also from the visitors in

our surveys, indicated that First Fridays are an important community event that brings visitors back into the downtown galleries, Cafés and shops even if they don't buy art that very evening. Calumet's downtown businesses are also contributing to the local economy when they house art spaces and provide affordable housing (upstairs) for residents, artists and visitors in rehabilitated historic buildings.

Having a vibrant art scene also opens the door for several art grants that could be utilized in the community of Calumet. For instance, Federal and State Grants for the arts include NEA (National Endowment for the Arts) Grants for Arts Works Projects and provide grants for arts engagement, innovative programming, festival or performance or public art projects. Creative Placemaking projects engage public, private and non-profit partnerships to revitalize the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town or region based on art & cultural activities which contribute to the livability of a community.



### ***Built Capital***

Artists and art spaces have been instrumental in restoring and preserving Calumet's historical buildings. All the art spaces that we have considered in this study are culturally and historically valuable in themselves and at the same time are valuable because the buildings they are located within form part of a rich cultural and historical landscape. The buildings are more than simple infrastructure: they are part of the art itself and comprise something more like "built heritage." In this sense, we might not think of each building as an isolated element, but as part of a valuable community legacy that when preserved contributes to community identity. The downtown buildings (of which each of the art spaces take advantage) are witnesses of the past, and they are professors, communicating the community's heritage to residents and visitors. This implies that their management must be aware and cautious, thinking of the best strategies for their conservation and revitalization, and promoting that the present and the future generations inherit their heritage.

The monthly art events in Calumet have shown that art, rather than a commodified product, is an event that creates a rich dialogue between works of art, the public and the art community. This dialogue takes place in tangible spaces: buildings. Any efforts to promote or further development First Fridays and the local art scene will need to consider the restoration of architectural spaces and the enhancement of the landscape in which it is carried out.

While the art scene contributed to the restoring of Calumet's built heritage, additional opportunities remain. First Fridays could inspire more revitalization and further stimulate built heritage by improving the quality of exhibition space, while working in the spatial re-adaptation with talented criteria of conservation and revitalization. Not only the facades of the buildings are precious, but also the internal spaces. By appreciating internal architectural historical values, it is possible to integrate the art works in a harmonic and rich relationship with architecture.

Furthermore, abandoned buildings could be reused to provide housing and workshops for artists so that more of the historic buildings could participate in the cultural life of Calumet. In this way, they could be appreciated as truly professors of the past, the present and the promising future of this former mining community.

The art produced in Calumet, both landscape paintings and the actual Calumet landscape; reflects the deep desires and the reality of the community. The paintings generally show an idealized, beautiful, peaceful and harmonious landscape. In the actual Calumet landscape, the

outer beauty of the buildings is so strong that it still remains, despite the neglect. The idealized landscape must become reality in the tangible heritage, in a bottom-up process, this requires a great artist: a strategic plan.

## Limitations

There are several limitations to this study that need to be recognized. The first is the timeframe of the project. Due to the time restraints placed on the researchers being part of a class and having to fit the research into a semester, the project was conducted in the winter and early spring. Not being on site during the summer means that only part of the First Fridays season has been observed.

Another shortcoming of the project has been in who has been represented in the surveys. Again, due to the limitations discussed above, only certain people were interviewed and took surveys. Perhaps in a larger time frame surveys could be sent out to the community at large to get a better understanding of their feelings about First Fridays. This may help lend to the understanding of why people attend or do not attend. Finally, it could have been useful to talk to businesses and learn more about their feelings about First Fridays. This may answer the question of why they choose to be open or decide to close. This may also be different in the summer than in the colder months.

## Summary

Overall, the research suggests that the concept of First Fridays has become important to both the residents and visitors of Calumet. The art showcased at First Fridays reflects Calumet's evolving identity and the value of reusing materials from the natural environments. Works incorporating local natural capital are pieces of pride to local residents and promote the many outdoor attractions in the area. The community's strong historical legacy can also be seen in some works and is passed on to the younger generations through participation and art education. As artists are selling their work during First Fridays, other local businesses also have a chance to increase their revenues via the multiplier effect. This was especially seen in Cafés during our study. Financial wealth is not the only thing spread by First Fridays. The program also is giving artists a cohesive voice within the community that can be used to promote the revitalization of Calumet.

First Fridays provides an environment in which community members and visitors can interact with one another to create social relationships solidifying bonds with close neighbors and among the art community as well as forming new connections with different groups within and outside the local community. The very nature of art making is social, whether it is through the visual fine arts, creative writing, music, or the performing arts (Newman et al. 2001: 5). Art connects people together as makers, interpreters, audiences, or catalysts. The development of First Fridays have built relationships between people from Calumet and surrounding areas. These relations build the asset base of the community and can spur further development.

By encouraging people to walk the downtown area to enjoy the local art scene, the beautiful historical-architectural heritage also benefits. Artists have been a part of the movement

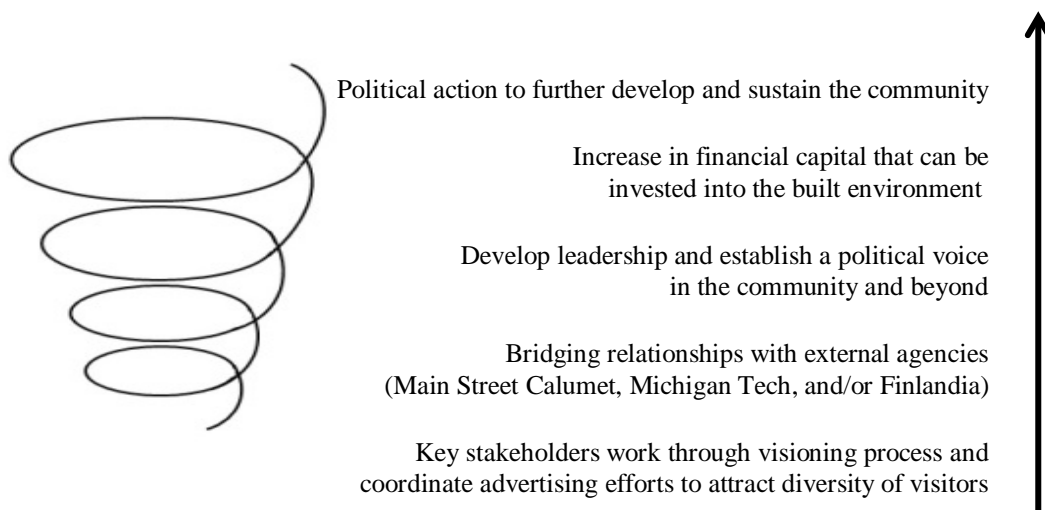
to preserve and redevelop a number of buildings in the downtown. All of this has contributed to an atmosphere of energy, activity, and light into the downtown again during First Fridays. It creates reason for people to leave their homes and get into their community.

First Fridays clearly contributes in multifaceted ways to Calumet's community sustainability. Still, our findings point to particular areas where the full opportunities associated with how First Fridays and the art scene might contribute to a broad-based process of community development are not being realized. For instance, social capital is not being fully utilized. First Fridays provides a strong bonding experience for those that visit on a regular basis. However, these visitors only go to one or two art spaces on average according to our surveys. This limits the amount of bridging between various groups that can occur. Bridging among groups is an important aspect to political capital. By promoting a larger diversity of community members and visitors to participate in First Fridays, the developing new voice in the community will become stronger and more able to promote the revitalization of the downtown. Our observations suggest there is an increasing pro-change attitude in the community and this will be instrumental in community revitalization efforts. This could also increase the amount of money made during First Fridays. This money could then be reinvested in the downtown to preserve more of the historical-architectural heritage. Overall, First Fridays has many opportunities to increase its use of the community capital base already available and to further develop it to create sustainable community development.

## Implications and Opportunities

These findings suggest opportunities for ways that First Fridays could further contribute to a “spiraling up” process of community revitalization. Emery and Flora (2006) suggest that social capital is a critical community capital that can influence the other capitals to build a sustainable community.

**Figure 3: The Potential Spiraling Up of Capital Assets from First Fridays**



*Source: Modified from Emery and Flora (2006).*

Currently however, First Fridays lacks a cohesive vision that could solidify its role in stimulating a broader change process. Beyond the regular visitors, many people did not know what First Fridays was, had stumbled upon it, or weren't sure what (if anything) would be going on each month and where. There is not enough advertisement (either within or beyond the community) and art space owners do not coordinate with one-another enough on their plans and goals. This was directly observed during an interview: "I think that you know just having it be more sustainable, more organized, more valuable, I think if people banded together I think we could do a lot better." – Calumet artist.

Once all of its stakeholders get on the same page, then First Fridays can better facilitate bonding and bridging. This organization could work to coordinate a more targeted advertising campaign to attract new audiences (families, students, young people, etc.). This can then create new collaborations to bring outside specialists together with internal community wisdom. Collaborating with the local universities could very well help create a broader range of visitors to First Fridays and ultimately help attract people back into the downtown area. By doing so, this could foster a stronger can-do attitude and help leaders in the community work together to sustain First Fridays and to promote broader community development efforts. The increasing participants in First Fridays would also increase the amount of financial capital accumulated, which could then be reinvested into the downtown.

Calumet has the potential to become a regional, even national or international arts and cultural center. The unique architectural heritage of Calumet's downtown, its walkability, increasing investment of artists and other private investment in the community indicate potential economic growth in the arts and cultural sectors. The presence of the KNHP, the Calumet Theatre and other cultural sites, and the village's proximity to the beauty of the Keweenaw Peninsula's natural environment as well as two nearby universities are indicators of Calumet's potential to increase its presence as an arts and cultural center and recreation destination. Members of the Calumet community will have to determine if this is the kind of identity and development direction that they would like to take, and if so, to work together toward efforts that would move the community in that direction.

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## Appendix A: Sign-in Sheet



Michigan Technological University

Department of Social Sciences

209 Academic Office Building  
1400 Townsend Drive  
Houghton, MI 49931-1295  
906-487-2113 • Fax 906-487-2468

### First Fridays in Calumet Sign In

	Name	City/State	Email*
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\* Only include email if you would like to receive a copy of study results

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## Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire



Michigan Technological University

Department of Social Sciences

209 Academic Office Building  
1400 Townsend Drive  
Houghton, MI 49931-1295  
906-487-2113 • Fax 906-487-2468

### First Fridays in Calumet Survey

**Thank you** for taking the time to fill out this brief survey in conjunction with a class on Rural Community Sustainability at Michigan Tech University. The purpose of this project is to assess First Fridays in Calumet, analyzing the extent to which the program contributes to community and economic development, how it might be improved, and how its successes might be applied to other programs. The results will be used by Main Street Calumet (local community organization) and community artists and galleries to improve efforts toward making Calumet a more sustainable, vibrant community.

While we ask for your name, it is only so that we can know which galleries people go to. We will not share your name or contact information. You are welcome to use a pseudonym, just please use a consistent one.

Participation is not required, but we invite you to provide the following information. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact: Richelle Winkler, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Michigan Tech University, [rwinkler@mtu.edu](mailto:rwinkler@mtu.edu), (906) 487-1886.

Please join us for a community presentation of the results on Thursday, April 25 at 7:00pm, NPS Visitors Center.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

City/State of Residence \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

**How often do you come to First Fridays?**

- ☐ Almost Always
- ☐ Several times a year
- ☐ Rarely: 1-3 times a year
- ☐ Only a couple of times ever
- ☐ This is the first time I've been

**What do you value about First Fridays?**

**If you would like to share any additional comments, please do so on the back.**

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## Appendix C: Interview Questionnaire

### Interview Questions

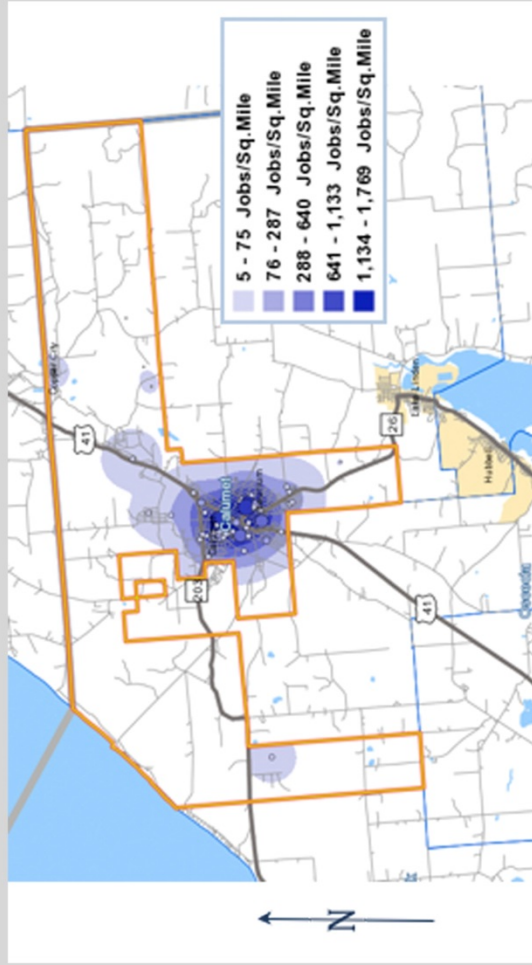
- 1- How long have you lived in Calumet?
  - a. If always, why did you stay here?
  - b. If moved in, why did you move here?
  - c. If grew up here then left and came back, why did you come back?
- 2- Do you expect to always stay in this community? Why or why not?
- 3- What are your goals as an artist/musician?/Why do you do it?
- 4- Who is your audience and how do you think about them?
- 5- Where do you display/sell your work? (outside calumet as well). If musician: Do you perform? (travel, etc.)
- 6- Let's talk about First Fridays. Tell me about your First Fridays experience.
- 7- What do you see as the purpose or goals of First Fridays?
- 8- To what extent are those goals met?
- 9- Who is really driving First Fridays and making it happen?
- 10- What is working about First Fridays?
- 11- What could First Fridays do better? What would need to be done to make that happen?
- 12- Who would you say benefits from First Fridays and the arts scene in general in Calumet?
- 13- Is anybody left out? Who? Why?
- 14- How economically and socially secure do you feel in your life here in Calumet? Do you think that is similar to the situation of most of your peers in the community?
- 15- Do you feel welcome and valued in the Calumet community? (follow up with, "can you tell me more?" if it's a simple answer.)
- 16- Is there anything else that you think I should know?

## Appendix D: Demographic Information

	Village of Calumet	Calumet Township	Houghton County	State of Michigan
<b>Population Structure</b>				
Total Population	726	6,489	36,628	9,883,640
Median Age	40.4	39.5	33.1	38.9
% Male	49.3	50.1	54.1	49.1
% Female	50.7	49.9	45.9	50.9
% under 19	23.7	28.7	26.9	26.8
% over 65	18.2	16.6	15	7.8
% Non White	4.7	3	4.3	21
%Female Head of Household	14.6	9.7	7.7	13.2
<b>Housing</b>				
Total Housing Units	512	3,595	18,636	4,532,233
% Occupied	73.4	75.7	76.4	85.4
% Owner occupied	28.2	74.2	69.1	72.1
% Renter Occupied	71.8	25.8	30.9	27.9
% Vacant	26.6	24.3	23.6	14.6
% Seasonal, Recreational, or Occasional Home use	4.3	8.4	14.8	39.9
% of housing built 1939 or earlier	63.0	78.0	48.4	16.0
% of housing < \$100,000	77.0	84.0	56.7	33.0
<b>Educational Attainment (population &gt; 25 years)</b>				
% Less than 9th grade	2.3	4.4	2.8	3.5
% 9th to 12th grade, no diploma	10.2	10	6.3	8.1
% High School graduate/equivalency	34.2	37	35.2	31.1
% some college, no degree	22.3	20.9	18.3	23.8
% Associate's degree	7.6	9.2	8.8	8.2
% Bachelor's degree	14.1	13.2	17.1	15.6
% graduate or professional degree	9.2	5.2	11.4	9.7
<b>Economic Information:</b>				
<i>Income: % of people whose income is below the poverty level</i>				
All families	35.2	12.3	12.6	11.1
All people	32.0	17.0	22.8	15.7
Per capita income	\$15,982	\$16,318	\$18,556	\$25,482
Median household income	\$22,969	\$32,528	\$34,625	\$48,669
Mean household income	\$34,064	\$39,568	\$47,019	\$64,478
Median family income	\$31,250	\$42,540	\$48,506	\$60,895
Mean family income	\$44,660	\$49,331	\$60,458	\$76,467
<b>Occupation</b>				
% Management, business, science and arts	26.3	25.8	35.6	34
% Service Occupations	30.1	28.5	24.5	18.2
% Sales and office occupations	22.8	23	22.2	24.9
% Natural resources, construction and maintenance occupations	5.8	8.8	8.7	8.1
% Production, transportation and material moving occupations	15.1	13.9	9	14.8

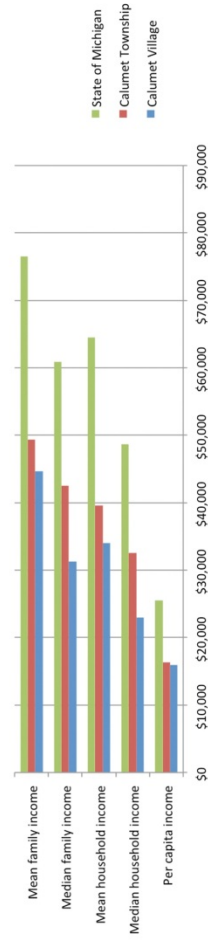
US Census 2010 and American Community Survey 2007-2011

# Calumet, Michigan



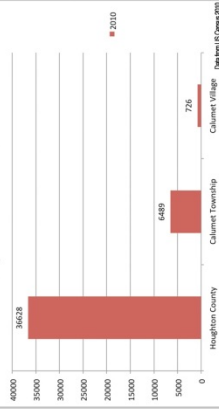
Employment within the Calumet Township, Houghton County, Michigan. (OnTheMap: Beginning of Quarter Employment, 2nd Quarter of 2002-2010).

## Calumet vs. State of Michigan Incomes

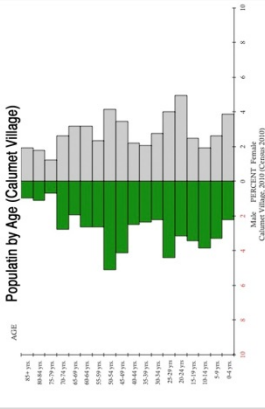


Data from 2007-2011 American Community Survey (US Census)

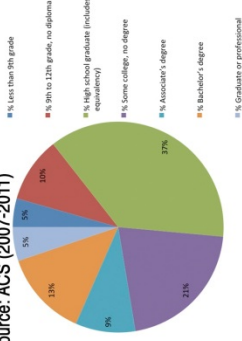
## Population Totals 2010



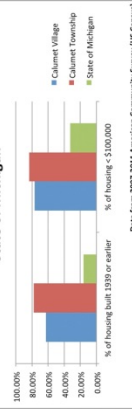
## Population by Age (Calumet Village)



## Education Attainment (Calumet Township) n = 4,250 source: ACS (2007-2011)



## Housing Differences Between Calumet and the State of Michigan



Data from 2007-2011 American Community Survey (US Census)

## Appendix E: Survey Data Results by Art Space

### *Calumet Art Center*

The Calumet Art Center (CAC) was the least visited location in this study. A total of 22 different people signed in at CAC on at least one First Friday between February and April.

	First Fridays Visitors			Total
	Feb	March	April	
Unique Registered Individuals	11	9	5	22
Total Visits	13	9	5	27

The average age of CAC visitors is 58.3 years. This is older than the average for First Fridays visitors to other locations. More males than females visited CAC on First Fridays during this period. A relatively large proportion of the visitors (37%) said that they almost always come to First Fridays. About 21% reported that they had come to First Fridays for the first time.

Visitor Characteristics	
Average Age	58.3
% Female	45.5%
% Always Come	36.8%
% First Time	21.1%
% from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden	45.5%
% from Houghton/Hancock	26.3%

The people who visit the CAC are significantly more likely to visit multiple galleries than the average First Friday goer. They visit, on average 2-3 art spaces each month. They are most likely to also visit Gallerie Boheme or Ziyad.

Notes on Methodology and Limitations: The data reported on this fact sheet represent the results of a survey of people who attended First Fridays in Calumet in February, March, and April of 2013 conducted by a class of undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan Tech University and one Calumet community member under the direction of Assistant Professor Richelle Winkler. The team counted the number of people visiting each gallery between 6:00 and 9:00pm each month, and they collected basic demographic information. The month of March was unusual for a First Friday because the large CopperDog 150 Festival was also being held downtown. This may have skewed some of the survey results. The research team did our best to count each and every First Friday visitor, but we undoubtedly have missed some and some people did refuse to participate in the study.

## *Café Rosetta*

Café Rosetta had 22 visitors for First Friday in February. It was extremely busy with CopperDog 150 in March, seeing approximately 417 visitors. Because of the large number and crowded atmosphere, the research team was only able to uniquely sign in and track 14 of the March visitors. The Café was closed in April. A total of 33 different people signed in at Rosetta in February and March.

First Fridays Visitors				
	Feb	March	April	Total
Unique Registered Individuals	21	14	--	33
Total Visits	22	417	--	439

The average age of Rosetta visitors is 42.1 years. This is significantly younger than the average for First Fridays visitors to other locations. More females than males visited Rosetta on First Fridays during this period. Compared to other art spaces, an average proportion of the visitors (28%) said that they almost always come to First Fridays. About 18% reported that they had come to First Fridays for the first time.

Visitor Characteristics	
Average Age	42.1
% Female	54.5%
% Always Come	28.1%
% First Time	25.0%
% from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden	45.5%
% from Houghton/Hancock	18.2%

The people who visit Rosetta have an average likelihood to visit multiple art spaces. In February, Rosetta visitors were likely to only visit this one art space (67%), while 19% visited one other art space, 14% visited two other art spaces, and nobody visited more art spaces. Rosetta visitors were most likely to also visit CCAA or Ziyad & Company.

Notes on Methodology and Limitations: The data reported on this fact sheet represent the results of a survey of people who attended First Fridays in Calumet in February, March, and April of 2013 conducted by a class of undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan Tech University and one Calumet community member under the direction of Assistant Professor Richelle Winkler. The team counted the number of people visiting each gallery between 6:00 and 9:00pm each month, and they collected basic demographic information. The month of March was unusual for a First Friday because the large CopperDog 150 Festival was also being held downtown. This may have skewed some of the survey results. The research team did our best to count each and every First Friday visitor, but we undoubtedly have missed some and some people did refuse to participate in the study. Rosetta was closed in April and so data are limited and should be interpreted with some caution, since they primarily only represent the February event.

## *Ziyad & Company*

Ziyad & Company (Ziyad) was one of the most visited locations in this study. A total of 119 different people signed in at Ziyad on at least one First Friday between February and April. The art space saw 135 total visits, including people who may have visited in more than one month and people who did not sign in or fill out a survey.

First Fridays Visitors				
	Feb	March	April	Total
Unique Registered Individuals	19	68	37	119
Total Visits	23	112	39	174

The average age of Ziyad visitors is 52.1 years. This is similar to the average for First Fridays visitors to other locations. Slightly more females than males visited Ziyad on First Fridays during this period. Compared to other art spaces, an average proportion of the visitors (28%) said that they almost always come to First Fridays. About 32% reported that they had come to First Fridays for the first time.

Visitor Characteristics	
Average Age	52.1
% Female	52.1%
% Always Come	28.4%
% First Time	32.1%
% from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden	28.7%
% from Houghton/Hancock	46.1%

The people who visit the Ziyad are more likely to visit multiple galleries than the average First Friday goer. They visit, on average 2-3 art spaces each month. Excluding CopperDog 150 when fewer participants visited multiple art spaces, about 34% of Ziyad visitors only came to this art space each month, 23% visited one other art space, 29% visited two other art spaces, and 14% made the rounds to three other art spaces. They are most likely to also visit Gallerie Boheme or CCAA, followed by Omphale and CAC.

Notes on Methodology and Limitations: The data reported on this fact sheet represent the results of a survey of people who attended First Fridays in Calumet in February, March, and April of 2013 conducted by a class of undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan Tech University and one Calumet community member under the direction of Assistant Professor Richelle Winkler. The team counted the number of people visiting each gallery between 6:00 and 9:00pm each month, and they collected basic demographic information. The month of March was unusual for a First Friday because the large CopperDog 150 Festival was also being held downtown. This may have skewed some of the survey results. The research team did our best to count each and every First Friday visitor, but we undoubtedly have missed some and some people did refuse to participate in the study. Because of the relatively large number of surveys filled out at Ziyad during CopperDog 150, the results for this art space may be especially affected by the unusual nature of that particular First Friday.



## *Hahn Hammered Copper*

Hahn Hammered Copper (Hahn) was one of the least visited locations in this study. A total of 32 different people signed in at Hahn on at least one First Friday between February and April. The art space saw 59 total visits, including people who may have visited in more than one month and people who did not sign in or fill out a survey. Almost all of these occurred during the March CopperDog 150 event.

First Fridays Visitors				
	Feb	March	April	Total
Unique Registered Individuals	4	28	--	32
Total Visits	4	55	--	59

The average age of Hahn visitors is 54.8 years. This is somewhat older than the average for First Fridays visitors to other locations. More males than females visited Hahn on First Fridays during this period. Compared to other art spaces, a low proportion of the visitors (16%) said that they almost always come to First Fridays. This may be because almost all of the surveys filled out at this location were during CopperDog 150. About 32% reported that they had come to First Fridays for the first time. A relatively high proportion of visitors came from the local community, and relatively few came from Houghton/Hancock.

Visitor Characteristics	
Average Age	54.8
% Female	46.9%
% Always Come	16.1%
% First Time	32.3%
% from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden	38.7%
% from Houghton/Hancock	19.4%

The people who visit Hahn are more likely to visit multiple galleries than the average First Friday goer, even though most of the visitors came during CopperDog 150. They visit, on average 2-3 art spaces each month. In February, all four Hahn visitors also visited 2-3 additional art spaces. In March (CopperDog 150) 71% only visited Hahn, but 21% visited another art space and 7% visited two other art spaces.

Notes on Methodology and Limitations: The data reported on this fact sheet represent the results of a survey of people who attended First Fridays in Calumet in February, March, and April of 2013 conducted by a class of undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan Tech University and one Calumet community member under the direction of Assistant Professor Richelle Winkler. The team counted the number of people visiting each gallery between 6:00 and 9:00pm each month, and they collected basic demographic information. The month of March was unusual for a First Friday because the large CopperDog 150 Festival was also being held downtown. This may have skewed some of the survey results. The research team did our best to count each and every First Friday visitor, but we undoubtedly have missed some and some people did refuse to participate in the study. Because almost all of the surveys filled out at Hahn were during CopperDog 150, the results for this art space may be especially affected by the unusual nature of that particular First Friday.

## *Copper Country Associated Artists*

Copper Country Associated Artists (CCAA) was one of the more visited locations in this study. A total of 116 different people signed in at CCAA on at least one First Friday between February and April. The art space saw 121 total visits, including people who may have visited in more than one month and people who did not sign in or fill out a survey.

	First Fridays Visitors			Total
	Feb	March	April	
Unique Registered Individuals	22	79	29	116
Total Visits	24	97	48	169

The average age of CCAA visitors is 48.7 years. This is average for First Fridays visitors. Significantly more females than males visited CCAA on First Fridays during this period. Compared to other art spaces, an average proportion of the visitors (27%) said that they almost always come to First Fridays. About 21% reported that they had come to First Fridays for the first time. A relatively high proportion of visitors live in the local communities of Calumet and Laurium (49%).

Visitor Characteristics	
Average Age	58.7
% Female	62.9%
% Always Come	26.5%
% First Time	20.6%
% from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden	49.1%
% from Houghton/Hancock	33.6%

In February half of CCAA visitors also visited 2 to 3 other art spaces. This is a relatively large amount of visiting around. Still, 32% did not visit any other art space, indicating that several CCAA visitors do not make the rounds. In April when CCAA had a longer program, 48% of CCAA visitors did not go to any other art spaces, 20% visited one other space, 27% visited two additional spaces, and 12% visited three additional spaces. CCAA visitors are most likely to also visit Hahn, Boheme, or Ziyad.

Notes on Methodology and Limitations: The data reported on this fact sheet represent the results of a survey of people who attended First Fridays in Calumet in February, March, and April of 2013 conducted by a class of undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan Tech University and one Calumet community member under the direction of Assistant Professor Richelle Winkler. The team counted the number of people visiting each gallery between 6:00 and 9:00pm each month, and they collected basic demographic information. The month of March was unusual for a First Friday because the large CopperDog 150 Festival was also being held downtown. This may have skewed some of the survey results. The research team did our best to count each and every First Friday visitor, but we undoubtedly have missed some and some people did refuse to participate in the study. For instance, about one-third of the people who visited CCAA in April chose not to sign-in and participate in the study. This could have an important impact on results.

## *Gallerie Boheme*

Gallerie Boheme (Boheme) is a favorite among people who are regular First Friday's participants. A total of 84 different people signed in on at least one First Friday between February and April. The art space saw 116 total visits, including people who visited in more than one month and people who did not sign in or fill out a survey. More than any other space, the same people visited this art space each month.

First Fridays Visitors				
	Feb	March	April	Total
Unique Registered Individuals	25	33	43	84
Total Visits	32	38	46	116

The average age of Boheme visitors is 60.2 years. This is significantly older than the average for First Fridays visitor. Somewhat more males than females visited Boheme on First Fridays during this period. Compared to other art spaces, a high proportion of the visitors (36%) said that they almost always come to First Fridays. Only 16% reported they had come to First Fridays for the first time.

Visitor Characteristics	
Average Age	60.2
% Female	46.4%
% Always Come	36.2%
% First Time	15.9%
% from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden	41.7%
% from Houghton/Hancock	33.3%

In February, almost half (48%) of Boheme visitors did not visit any other art space, but a high proportion (20%) made the rounds to 3 additional art spaces, despite the harsh weather. In April, 28% of Boheme visitors only visited this space, while 32% visited one other space, 28% visited two others, and 12% visited three additional art spaces. Boheme visitors were most likely to also visit Ziyad and Omphale.

Notes on Methodology and Limitations: The data reported on this fact sheet represent the results of a survey of people who attended First Fridays in Calumet in February, March, and April of 2013 conducted by a class of undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan Tech University and one Calumet community member under the direction of Assistant Professor Richelle Winkler. The team counted the number of people visiting each gallery between 6:00 and 9:00pm each month, and they collected basic demographic information. The month of March was unusual for a First Friday because the large CopperDog 150 Festival was also being held downtown. This may have skewed some of the survey results. The research team did our best to count each and every First Friday visitor, but we undoubtedly have missed some and some people did refuse to participate in the study.

## *Omphale Gallery & Café*

Omphale Gallery & Café (Omphale) was closed in February but attracted a relatively strong contingent of visitors in March and April. A total of 82 different people signed in at least once. The art space saw 93 total visits, including people who visited in more than one month and people who did not sign in or fill out a survey. There was little overlap in the people who visited in March and those who visited in April.

First Fridays Visitors				
	Feb	March	April	Total
Unique Registered Individuals	--	52	35	82
Total Visits	--	53	40	93

The average age of Omphale visitors is 44.4 years. This is significantly younger than the average for First Fridays visitor. Somewhat more males than females visited Omphale on First Fridays during this period. Compared to other art spaces, a high proportion of the visitors (35%) said that they almost always come to First Fridays. On the other hand, 24% reported they had come to First Fridays for the first time. The research team observed that many first time visitors had come to see the specific artist's work or music. Many of these people visited from Houghton/Hancock, with 55% of all Omphale visitors from there.

Visitor Characteristics	
Average Age	44.4
% Female	46.3%
% Always Come	35.3%
% First Time	23.5%
% from Calumet/Laurium/Lake Linden	28.0%
% from Houghton/Hancock	54.9%

In March, most Omphale visitors only visited this space, but 25% also visited CCAA, Ziyad, or Boheme. In April, 34% of Omphale visitors only visited this space, while 20% visited one other space, 37% visited two others, and 9% visited three additional art spaces. Omphale visitors were most likely to also visit Boheme or Ziyad.

Notes on Methodology and Limitations: The data reported on this fact sheet represent the results of a survey of people who attended First Fridays in Calumet in February, March, and April of 2013 conducted by a class of undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan Tech University and one Calumet community member under the direction of Assistant Professor Richelle Winkler. The team counted the number of people visiting each gallery between 6:00 and 9:00pm each month, and they collected basic demographic information. The month of March was unusual for a First Friday because the large CopperDog 150 Festival was also being held downtown. This may have skewed some of the survey results. The research team did our best to count each and every First Friday visitor, but we undoubtedly have missed some and some people did refuse to participate in the study.

